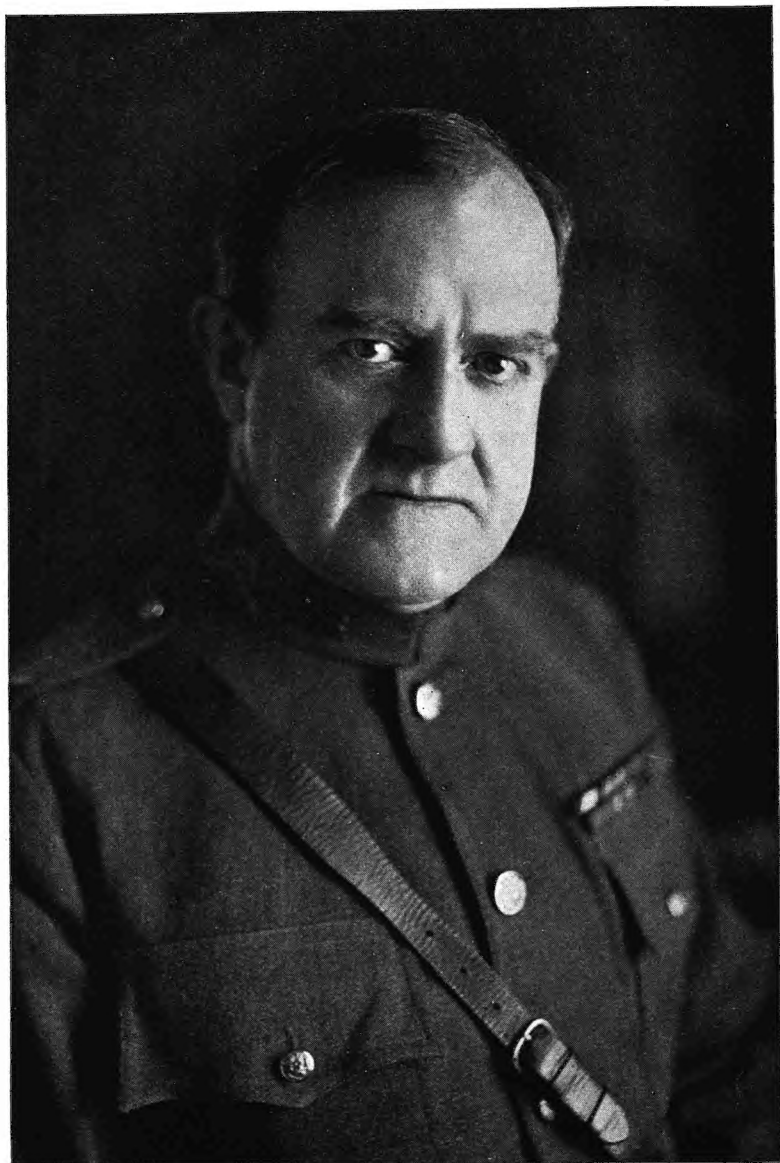


**THE STORY OF  
THE 168TH INFANTRY**



COLONEL MATHEW A. TINLEY, COMMANDING OFFICER OF THE  
168TH INFANTRY FROM SEPTEMBER 3, 1918, TO MAY 17, 1919

**THE STORY OF  
THE 168TH INFANTRY**

BY  
**JOHN H. TABER**

**IN TWO VOLUMES**

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## XXVII

### THE TRAGIC THIRTIETH

AT six o'clock in the evening of the 29th of July Major Brewer had received the following message from Colonel Bennett:

“By direction of the Brigade Commander you are hereby placed in command of all the troops in the line of this organization, and attached troops. It appears that there is some dissatisfaction with the situation. Re-organize the troops and report as soon as possible with sketch showing disposition.”

This was in confirmation of verbal information which had come forward earlier in the afternoon to the effect that the next morning Major Brewer was to attack north of Sergy and capture Nesles.

Immediately upon the receipt of this order Major Brewer sent for Major Stanley and Major Worthington. He read the order to them, and the three very carefully went over the situation. The experience of the past two days had convinced them that the enemy did not intend to give up the hills beyond Sergy without a bitter fight. They were unanimous on the point that it would be impossible to effect any advance without support on the right. The lack of support in this direction was as much a bar to the attack as the positions to the immediate front and flank. They then jointly prepared a communication to the Brigade Commander, General Brown, calling his attention to the fact that the Germans strongly held Pelger, Planchette, and Jomblets Woods with machine



guns; that the enemy artillery which was located in the woods to the north of Nesles could sweep the field over which they would have to advance; and that such an attack was doomed to failure unless those forces were subdued by our own artillery.

When night came with its deepening shadows, a motorcyclist rode up from Brigade Headquarters with an order for Major Brewer to report there. He met Colonel Bennett, who was in his automobile just beyond the broken bridge across the Ourcq, and with him went to General Brown's P. C. at the Croix Blanche Farm, arriving there at 2 A. M. With the Brigade Commander was Major Rumbaugh, his adjutant, Major Winn of the 151st Machine Gun Battalion, and Brigadier General Dwight E. Aultman, commander of the 51st Artillery Brigade of the 26th Division, which was supporting the infantry of the 84th Brigade.

"I have received your report, Major Brewer, and have noted what you say of the proposed attack", said the General by way of greeting, "but it is an Army order. The Corps orders the attack. I have no choice. We shall make it."

In spite of the protests of every field officer in the regiment, and against the better judgment of the Brigade Commander himself, the weakened remnants of the 168th were to be thrown against the gun-bristling woods held by the Prussian Guard.

Major Brewer had absolved himself of all responsibility. He had counseled against it and had gone on record in writing.

"You are to attack at nine o'clock tomorrow morning", he was told.

At that time he was to take the auctioneer's hammer of

battle, and force the best bargain he could for the lives of the men under his command. It was a sacrifice sale at the best. He understood that.

It was a grim picture around the flickering candlelight in the bare little room of the battered farmhouse. Colonel Bennett came out of the shadow and bent with the others over the map as the plan was outlined.

At the disposal of Major Brewer was placed the Third Battalion of the 47th Infantry which, with the First Battalion of the 168th as support, was to make the assault. The Machine Gun Company of the 168th and a company of the 149th Machine Gun Battalion were to aid them.

General Aultman then stated that he would hold the three patches of woods under heavy bombardment before, during, and after the assault, until the infantry should have reached its objectives. The axis of the advance followed a high tension line running slightly east of north from Sergy. It was agreed that the infantry would keep to the left of this line and the artillery to the right.

Colonel Bennett and Major Brewer, speaking for the men they commanded, took up every point. They were assured that with the artillery program planned there should be no extraordinary difficulty. With this assurance, the conference ended at three o'clock.

Colonel Bennett had telephoned to Captain Ross at La Cense Farm to hunt up the commanding officer of the battalion of the 47th Infantry and to have him at the regimental P. C. when he returned. When he arrived he was astounded to hear that no trace of the 47th could be found. Soon after, a lieutenant from that outfit appeared at Headquarters and said that he knew nothing of the whereabouts of the rest of the battalion — had

himself, in fact, been looking for it. For two hours the Operations Officer scoured a large area to the front and rear, trying to locate these troops, and at daybreak he came upon a captain who informed him that the battalion was so badly scattered and disorganized that it could not be assembled within a reasonably short time.

Major Brewer had reached his post on the side of Hill 212 just at dawn. The promised artillery and machine gun support had slightly strengthened his confidence, but he still had misgivings. However, he did believe that there was a fighting chance if things went according to schedule, and he resolved to give the best that was in him. Dog-tired, sleepy, dirty, and hungry, he adjusted his steel helmet for a pillow, bidding for a few minutes' sleep. But at six o'clock he was wakened by a messenger with a note from Colonel Bennett.

Herewith the order for the attack and the map. The battalion of the 47th Infantry appears to be badly disorganized as a result of the casualties yesterday, and I doubt if they will be available for the attack. If you believe it possible to attack without them I suggest that you employ the First Battalion for the assault. If you think it absolutely impossible to make the attack under the existing conditions, report to the Brigade Commander at once through these Headquarters.

The First Battalion had received orders from the field commander to move to the base of Hill 212 early in the morning. In small groups, and slowly, the men and officers of that organization came across the valley without difficulty to the designated position. But it had not the appearance of a battalion. It was but a remnant of the strong force that once had paraded on Hempstead Plain.

Half an hour later, at 8:30, the captain commanding

the Third Battalion of the 47th Infantry reported to Major Brewer on the west slope of Hill 212 with approximately 300 men.

Here the officers in charge were given their final instructions. Time was rushing on and there were but a few minutes for entering into the potential phases of the problem. It was merely that the troops would get in liaison with Alabama on the left and advance with them, guiding on the right on the high tension line. The 47th Infantry was to lead off with two companies in the line. The Division order designated Sergy as the place where the 84th Brigade would establish headquarters. It was an ambitious plan.

Lieutenant Pearsall with the outpost force from G Company withdrew to permit the attacking troops to pass through and reported everything clear to the outskirts, but he indicated that resistance would be encountered as soon as the troops were out of Sergy.

At nine o'clock the assault waves of the 47th Infantry moved forward. They were almost clear of the village when the first shells began to drop. On they rushed to the outskirts. *Nach Nesles* read a sign in bold German characters.

More shells were falling now, German shells. But where was the American artillery? Above the roar of the enemy bombardment it could not be determined that it was in action at all. Certainly it was not sweeping the field as planned, and the totally inadequate fire that was directed on the German positions in the woods was far from smothering them.

The first waves had reached the open. Flaming machine guns greeted them, bowling over the first line like tenpins. Major Brewer met the commander of the

47th's battalion on the road. "Press on as quickly as you can — it is your only hope. Don't give the enemy time to prepare for you", he told him. But the enemy had already found them and was enveloping them in a cyclone of high explosive and shrapnel, and his machine guns were snapping away with malevolent determination. The slope of the hill north of Sergy was to be their Calvary. They were not long in finding out that no infantry could make it.

The battle was going according to schedule, but unfortunately it was the enemy's schedule. From the right came machine gun fire with fury and precision. The gunners in Pelger and Planchette, unperturbed by our artillery "preparation", had found their targets. The brave lads of the 47th, new to the battle field, were struggling to carry their crumpled line forward. But they were paying in blood for their slight gains. The right was held almost stationary. Lead and steel were beating against it, and it was being sloughed away like a crumbling bank before the spring flood.

Over on the crest of Hill 212 the men of I and M Companies had crawled far out, and unobserved by the enemy, whose attention was concentrated on the advancing line, they were trying to silence the nearer guns. With them were the snipers, who diligently picked off every German who presented himself as a target. This, however, seemed to have not the slightest effect on the volume of the enemy fire.

In advancing through Sergy to their jump-off positions, the men of the First Battalion had many losses. Into the town the enemy poured such a fire that it was boiling and seething like an angry volcano. Great clouds of red dust were rising from the church where shells had

crashed through the tile roof; everywhere blinding, choking smoke. The men hugged the rocking walls as they moved through to the north edge. Following the road from Hill 212, the Machine Gun Company was caught just as it came into the village. Near the front an entire squad was knocked out, and two guns were reduced to a useless tangle of twisted steel before they could be put in the field.

D Company took up position on the right, strung out along the sunken road leading east. Behind it a short distance was A Company. C Company formed the left of our line, with B Company in close support. Held here by the ineffectual efforts of the struggling troops ahead of them, the men took what cover they could find in shell holes and along the banks.

In spite of the heart-breaking attempts of the 47th, they had not been able to cut through more than sixty yards of the roaring barrier, and the First Battalion was now sent into action. By this time our artillery had long ceased its feeble efforts to quiet the German machine guns to the front and flank, and they had everything their way.

At half past ten Lieutenant Silver stepped out with the Fourth Platoon of C Company. Before they had passed the barracks on the village edge, they came in for a part of the violent fire that was directed on the flank of the line ahead. "Here goes the rest of the platoon", said Silver as he gave the order to advance. He was convinced that it was a little more than the men back of him could accomplish. Flat on their stomachs, they worked their rifles and Chauchats, trying to crawl forward. From over the hill came a shower of bullets. Corporal Leo R. Keck was struck and fell over dead on his lieutenant.

The enemy behind his wire defenses in front of Nesles was cutting them with his indirect fire. Then he brought his minenwerfer into play, sending over jarring bombs whose concussion bruised the body and forced the blood to the nose and deafened ears. Later, Cecil Fisher, who was wounded by one of them, wrote back to his company:

"I'm all right. That is, with the exception of losing an eye. But that isn't bad. I'm minus a few teeth, but I can get along without them. And there is a hole in my ear which doesn't bother me much. Aside from that, I'm fine. The wound in my leg is healing first rate. I guess some of the boys were wounded pretty seriously."

Alabama, on the left flank, also reënforced with a battalion from the 47th Infantry, was meeting with better success, for they had only frontal fire to contend with. One nest on the left slope of the hill had kameranaded and its occupants, members of the 93rd Reserve Regiment, which had the strictest orders to hold at all costs, were on their way to the rear.

Informed that C Company was moving out, at 10:30 Captain Haynes gave the word for D to go forward. He shrank at giving the order that he knew meant certain death for many of his men, but it was no time for sentiment. Already he had lost his runners when a shell fell close to him, one losing an arm in addition to other wounds, and the other killed outright.

As they advanced slowly over the open field they were subjected to a murderous and unopposed machine gun fire from the flank and front. The time for rushing was past.

"We had to crawl from the start", relates the Captain. "The bullets were just skipping over the top of the ground, in a seemingly solid wave. Shells were falling thick and fast all around us, and they had the range to a

foot. We crawled along as best we could. Ahead of us in a draw was a small stream lined with a few trees. To this bit of shelter — all that was offered — 300 yards away, we determined to go.”

The company, reduced to two platoons under Lieutenants Dolan and Fraser, worked toward the objective that seemed unattainable on account of the fire. There was not a breath of wind stirring, and the heat rose in shimmering waves. Here a man went hurtling into the air to fall to earth a shapeless, quivering mass; there another was swirled completely around by the impact of a bullet full in the body. The distant horizon seemed to weave before the clouded eyes of the survivors. It seemed to be but a question of time until they were annihilated. Their frayed nerves could not stand much more. One man went stark, staring mad, and ended his misery with a bullet from his own gun.

“I had a pack on my back”, continues the company commander. “We had gone a hundred yards, and I was utterly fatigued. I threw the pack away. But this did not seem to help much. It was suffocatingly hot, and I was dripping with perspiration. We had by that time learned that we could never reach our objective by crawling, so we tried rushes. I jumped up and ran about twenty yards, fell flat, then ran again. A hundred yards ahead of me in the draw I saw some men, and thought they were from my company. I ran toward them. The machine gun bullets whistled about me. I must have hurdled them. I know I was stepping high and fast. The half dozen men I found there were not from D, but from C Company. There was an officer with them, Lieutenant Mathew I. Fox, but he was badly scratched up.

“I looked back, and could see our men diving from



shell hole to shell hole. Gradually the line was being built up, one man coming up, then another and another, until eleven had joined us, but they were not coming forward fast enough for me. I was puzzled to know what had become of Dolan and Fraser with the rest of the company, so I sent a sergeant back with the message for the lieutenants to 'move up with the rest of the company, and do it damned quick.' In about fifteen minutes I saw about fifteen men get up and rush toward me. Two of them dropped as they ran, but the others reached the line in safety. They brought word that both the lieutenants had been badly wounded, and thinking that I too, had been hit, they were awaiting orders."

The Captain then sent a runner a hundred yards up the hill to see what lay before them. The line of the 47th Infantry was supposed to be ahead of them, but all he found were fourteen men, five of them wounded, and no officer with them. Their battalion was spent as an assault unit and had vanished into the thin air.

Company A had in the meantime been subjected to the same withering fire on the open stretch. Lieutenant Irwin had bravely led his men forward as long as he was on the field. He saw Lieutenant Miller, the other officer of the company, and many of his non-coms fall, and finally he himself received the wound that was to cause his death. First Sergeant Wintrose was left in command of the handful that remained, and with splendid initiative and rare ability he took them forward and directed them. Many men lost their lives in the tragic rushes forward over the hill from Sergy. It was determination such as Sergeant Spautz displayed, when, severely wounded, he continued to advance with his men until he was killed, and the example set by Private Fonda W. Creger, who

also refused to leave the field when badly hit, that lent courage to the few men left.

On the other flank, Company C, which had escaped the cross fire from the woods to the right but was nevertheless exposed to the deadly frontal fire, had made slow progress. The striking power of the company had been weakened by its heavy losses. B Company, following, had endured the same terrifying, devastating punishment of shell and bullet as it came over the field west of Sergy. Gradually they pushed forward until they came up on a line with Company C and then tried to go farther. Lieutenant Witherell finally did succeed in reaching the ravine where Captain Haynes found them.

Slowly the line was reorganized along the wooded strip, with B on the left, C in the center, and D on the right. The Boche artillery soon spotted them and began to shell them heavily, employing that most dismaying of weapons, shells with delayed-action fuses. And they could do nothing but rage at their impotence.

The Alabama regiment, with the First Battalion of the 47th Infantry in the front line, and their own First and Third combined into one, as support, had reached the heights but was still short of its objective and could go no farther because the 168th had been stopped.

The runners who came on the field with Major Brewer, men from all three battalions, were carrying on in splendid manner. Where it seemed impossible for humans to advance, they carried the commander's directions. Private Woodard, a Company B runner, on his way back with a message, brought a wounded soldier with him. By some miracle he had managed to get the man off the field without being hit himself. Many of the others, however, were wounded before the day was spent.

At a moment when all the runners were exhausted, Private Burks, the Major's orderly, volunteered to carry a message over a path where two messengers had just been killed. He was told that no one could get through the sweeping machine gun fire. But he insisted; the message was written; and off the lad raced. Half-way through the littered streets of Sergy he tore, and then fell with a bullet through his heart, the written message clutched tight in his hand. Private Groat found him, and breaking through where others had failed, relayed the message to the rear. That was how reports were transmitted that day.

The captain from the 149th Machine Gun Battalion had attempted to set up his guns, but they were marked targets as soon as they were brought forward, and many were killed and wounded in the attempt to operate them. Artillery fire, and a deluge of that, was the only thing to silence the enemy guns. Lieutenant Newquist, with the seven guns remaining to the 168th Machine Gun Company, was later able to put over a comparatively effective fire against a nest about four hundred yards to the front which had been causing us heavy casualties, but the flanking fire was undiminished.

Near the edge of the village was a little cellar of stone, all that marked the spot where a house had stood before the enemy had blasted it down. Here Major Worthington had taken up his post of command, and Lieutenant Wood, his adjutant, was attempting to give aid and direction to the advancing line. The P. C. was crowded with men who had come from the field. Into it stumbled a man from Company A, so cruelly wounded that it took courage to face him. He had rushed forward with the men under Lieutenant Irwin, and had been shot in the face. Unable

to talk, for a bullet had clipped off part of his tongue, with an ear hanging by a shred, cheek laid open, blood dripping over his shirt and dyeing his hands crimson, he yet listened intently as he was given directions to the dressing station. Accompanied by another who had only lost a finger, he started back, one of the many walking cases. There were no stretcher-bearers up this far. They had their hands full with the men who had already struggled back part of the way to the aid station. There was an almost continuous line of maimed men walking, crawling, staggering along the road back of Hill 212. The aid stations were, of course, choked, and, like every other spot in the vicinity, were being heavily shelled. While voluntarily working out in the open caring for and dressing the wounded, Lieutenant Frank L. Williams of the Medical Detachment was severely wounded in the abdomen, receiving for his bravery in this and the Champagne battle a well-merited D. S. C.

In a wood not far from La Cense the kitchen of the Headquarters Company was established, and it furnished the wounded with slum, hot coffee, and bread as they came back to the ambulance station at the Farm.

Out on the advanced line Captain Haynes, after a short conference with Lieutenants Silver and Witherell and several of the sergeants, at a quarter of two sent a message back to Major Brewer saying that it would be impossible to advance farther without the artillery. The Major returned that he had tried in vain to secure artillery support, and he left it to the Captain's judgment whether to hold on until he (the Major) went back afoot to get artillery action, or whether to retire. There was no alternative; men could not remain long upon that field and live. Captain Haynes reluctantly ordered a runner

to notify the few men out ahead and likewise informed his left. The scant force started for the rear, following the course of the stream behind the hill which was protected from the fire of the machine guns, so that they suffered no more losses.

There were few men from the 47th Infantry left to fall back — forty effective riflemen and four officers. While on the face of it this battalion appears to have been practically wiped out in the two days' fighting, according to the official reports of their regiment, the total losses of the two battalions operating with the 84th Brigade in the entire engagement in the vicinity of Sergy, covering two days, were 25 officers and 462 men killed, wounded, and gassed. And the next morning, the 31st, Captain Fuller, commanding the battalion, informed Colonel Bennett that upon reaching the Bois de Beuvarde the night before he had reformed his forces and had rounded up six officers (exclusive of two medical officers) and approximately 400 men. It is safe to assume that many of the missing men supposed to have been killed or wounded turned up later, but at any rate their losses were high, and they fought with credit and honor in the face of insuperable odds.

The First Battalion returned with less than the strength of one company. Upon the field were left 114 men and 5 officers.

A small detachment was detailed to hold the line in front of Sergy. Taking cover in the ravine, they were to prevent the enemy from regaining the village. It seemed too much to ask any one who had gone through what they had just experienced to again face the enemy, but there were men in that battered battalion who were capable of anything.

The soldiers were avoiding the village as they regained the protecting terraces of Hill 212. But any route was dangerous, and shells fell about them as they marched back to their original position to the right of the Third Battalion.

Major Brewer, accompanied by Lieutenant Newquist, started back for his headquarters on the hill. It was no time to tarry. Buildings were being shattered on every hand, and the air was thick with the acrid fumes of exploding shells. The enemy was putting a barrage on the town and around it, determined that no American should return alive from the field. A shell burst near the returning group, sending a shower of stones over them. All were knocked to the ground. Lieutenant Newquist's arm was broken at the elbow, and he was painfully injured in the back by a flying stone. Major Brewer and his adjutant, Lieutenant Tucker, bandaged the arm, using a lath from a torn building, and helped him to the edge of the village where stretcher-bearers took him in charge; but on the way to the aid station, another shell lit near him, breaking his other arm and killing one of the stretcher-bearers and wounding two others. Thus crippled, the Lieutenant continued to the dressing station afoot.

Others who were in Sergy at the time of the retirement suffered. Some of the wounded lying in the streets were killed by the terrific barrage before help could get to them. On the way out, Lieutenant Chapman and Frank E. Hill, one of his scouts, were wounded.

A force was immediately organized from the Second Battalion to remove the dead and wounded from the village and from the fields around it. Captain Yates was to wait for the cover of darkness to carry out the order;

but there were men at the mercy of the Hun who were in need of immediate aid, and so with a few volunteers from E Company he went into Sergy while it was still under bombardment and brought wounded back. All that was possible was done during daylight, and when night fell and more men could be employed the task was completed.

Major Brewer went back to report in person to the Brigade Commander on the operations. During the action an amazing situation had existed. The regimental commander and his staff had been completely ignored, for Major Brewer had been ordered specifically to report directly to Brigade Headquarters, leaving Regimental Headquarters to learn of the progress merely by chance; and in view of the difficulty in maintaining communications, their information was meagre.

The Colonel, however, was well aware of the activity of the Boche artillery, for the line along Hill 212 held by the Third Battalion, and the valley leading to the regimental P. C., as well as La Cense Farm itself, was bombarded constantly throughout the operation. The woods behind them were shelled so violently that the supply columns stationed there were driven out. In addition, they had witnessed several daring raids by enemy airplanes which bombed and machine-gunned our men in the valley and in the front line.

Many wild reports had drifted back as to the losses of the regiment, and in response to a request from the Colonel as to the strength of the troops in the line Major Stanley reported:

Present effective strength as follows:

	Officers	Men
A	0	20
B	3	50
C	1	26
D	1	18
E	2	84
F	1	35
G	1	57
H	3	102
I	2	109
K	4	98
L	4	86
M	4	59
C 151 M. G. Bn.	1	61
D 151 M. G. Bn.	5	65
168th M. G. Co.	2	44
47th U. S. Inf.	2	40

This is a total of 954 men and 36 officers. The strength of the 168th Infantry is 805 men. Including field officers, there are 32 officers.

Major Stanley commented on the miserable condition of the men, emphasizing the fact that they were utterly fatigued, had had no sleep for many nights, and had not sufficient strength to hold the sector against a strong attack. He also noted that many of the missing would probably soon report. Some had strayed from their command, others had helped wounded to the rear, and a number who had been only slightly wounded would no doubt return to the line. But at best it was less than the normal strength of a single battalion.

While out of the actual fight, the Third Battalion, which had not moved from its position on the slope of Hill 212, suffered from high explosive, airplanes, and



gas. A gun from the woods in front of the 28th Division sector was registering hits with diabolical accuracy, its enfilade fire reaching portions of the line that only shrapnel from the front could menace. One of the shells, an Austrian 88, exploded on the edge of the fox-hole where Lieutenants Christopher, Tucker, and Lainson had dived, sprayed them with dirt and blew them out, but injured none of them. It was one of those inexplicable escapes that makes one think he is under the protection of some guarding hand of mercy.

Throughout the night this same gun continued to make the position miserable. All appeals to our artillery to silence it had failed, and it only ceased fire when its emplacement was captured the next morning in the advance of the Allied line.

At nightfall Lieutenant Tushek, who had that day returned from the hospital, with a detail of fifty men from Company K was assigned the pleasant task of outposting Sergy, relieving the temporary detachment from the First Battalion. He disposed his men so as to give them the full advantage of what little cover the position offered, but no spot in the vicinity of the village was healthy. The enemy artillery played constantly on their position during the dark hours, killing one man and wounding several others.

So at the end of the day the lines of the 168th were exactly where they had been twenty-four hours previous, and nothing had been accomplished in spite of the woeful casualties. The breakdown of this attack was due to two things: the failure of the artillery to carry out its program, and the failure of the troops on the right to come up on the line.

Early in the morning our men had again seen men of

the 28th Division advancing in brave lines against Cierges, and had seen them driven back after a futile effort to capture that stronghold. Later in the day they carried their lines forward to the edge of the village, and at dark entered it to find it full of gas; but they were unable to approach the group of woodlands which were causing our regiment so much grief.

Naturally there had been great indignation over the artillery's desertion of the infantry — an action that had nearly resulted in the annihilation of the assaulting troops. What had happened was this: about an hour after the jump-off, the Brigade Commander, at la Croix Blanche Farm, received information from a lookout post of the 167th Infantry that American troops could be seen from their station moving toward the enemy line at the very point where our artillery was firing. He twice called up the Headquarters of the 168th to inquire if the troops in question belonged to that regiment and each time was positively told "No"; but having again received confirmation from the 167th that they were Americans, in the face of the protests of General Aultman, he ordered the artillery to cease firing. Later, when he got the report of Major Brewer stating that on account of the fire of machine guns from the right and front his command had been unable to advance, he realized that the order to cease firing had been an error, and he states that he then gave the order to renew it. But, whether that fire was resumed or not, the damage had been done and several hundred men of the 47th and 168th paid for it with their blood.

A few days later, when he had an opportunity to examine the German emplacements of machine guns and artillery, the Brigade Commander admitted that "the

artillery preparation had been entirely inadequate to carry the line, and that nothing short of an overwhelming fire over a considerable period of preparation, and a heavy support of artillery during the advance would have enabled the 168th to carry the position". No one could better testify to that than the troops who had attempted the impossible.

General Aultman personally witnessed the assault of the infantry and believed at the time that the reports of Americans in the German position were false, but when the Infantry Brigade Commander directed that the artillery fire be withdrawn from the woods he had to comply because the latter was his superior. "This battle", he says, "is one of the greatest regrets of my whole career in France. I felt it bitterly at the time and since, but I was obliged to carry out the orders given me. The failure of the artillery support was due neither to the lack of will to give it, nor of the knowledge of when or where it was necessary, but to the failure of others to understand the principles of the employment of artillery. I am personally positive that the failure of the attack and the terrible losses were entirely due to the order to the artillery to cease firing."

Lieutenant Colonel Willard B. Luther, who at the time was General Aultman's adjutant, and who was with him during the attack, states "That the 168th did not receive the support that they should have had was due solely to unjustified orders from the then commander of the 84th Brigade to cease fire. No artilleryman who knew the history of these orders will ever cease to regret them. It was a matter of infinite regret and great indignation to us both."

By a new order issued late in the afternoon of the

30th, Lieutenant Colonel Tinley was placed in command of the troops in the line. The post of command was not in the rear in some safely sheltered spot, but in the front line itself on Hill 212, and shortly after arriving, the Colonel was shelled out of his P. C. In the few days that followed he had more than one hairbreadth escape from the whistling shells.

After dark food was brought up to the men. During the day the routes to the rear had been so constantly covered that no one thought of attempting to bring it before. The kitchens had moved farther forward; and although it was a long carry for the chow details, there were not so many men to provide for. But it was a difficult haul at that. The details often started with food which the men in the line never saw. Once a party had got as far as the Ourcq with the coffee when the falling shells forced them to leave their heavy cans. When they came back the precious liquid was streaming out of large holes punctured in the containers by shell fragments. On several occasions the marmites with an entire company's supply of slum were destroyed before they reached their destination, and that meant that the hungry men must do without food for another day.

## XXVIII

### THE 32ND DIVISION ATTACKS

DURING the night of July 30-31 the 63rd Brigade of the 32nd Division relieved the 55th Brigade of the 28th, thus giving the division, which already had its other brigade in the line, the entire front of the French 38th Corps, stretching from the Bois des Grimpettes, on the right, to the right flank of the 168th. Early in the morning the Second Battalion of the 125th Infantry established liaison with the First Battalion of the 168th, although its lines were still well to the rear of our position.

Aside from a half hour's bombardment that commenced at ten o'clock and a nocturnal visit from their bombing planes, the Boches granted us a night of comparative quiet.

The powers directing the battle had by this time learned that before the 168th, and with it the rest of the 42nd Division, could advance the three patches of woodland which lay beyond its sector must be cleared out. It was reported that in the afternoon the 32nd Division would move forward and attempt to capture these positions which had baffled the 28th Division, and which had nullified every attempt of the 168th to advance on Nesles.

During the day Lieutenant Colonel Tinley made no material changes in the disposition of his forces. The forward positions were held by outposts, and the bulk of the troops kept under cover at the base of the hill. But the enemy was not allowing us much rest. Frequent

showers of high explosive on the outpost around Sergy, on the line of the Second Battalion on the left side of the hill, and on the fronts of the Third and First Battalions kept the men in a state of constant uncertainty.

The sole activity of the regiment was a reconnaissance conducted by a patrol of an automatic team and two riflemen under Lieutenant Jones of L Company, whose mission was to discover if the enemy were still occupying his previous positions in strength. Edging up close enough to the German line to draw a hail of fire, and an instant response from their artillery, he was able to report that the enemy was very much in occupation and on the alert.

The arrival of Field Orders No. 13 of the Headquarters of the 84th Brigade determined the activities of the 168th for the next few hours. At three o'clock the 63rd Brigade on the right was to attack in the direction of Jomblets and Planchette; and when the left of the 168th was passed in the advance by the 63rd Brigade, we were to move forward. For this action the sector limit on the right had been modified so as to pass through a point two hundred meters northwest of the peak of Hill 212, through the middle of Bois Pelger, through the creek running north from there, and thence along the east bank of that creek, with Hill 207, two kilometers north, as its minimum objective. The Sergy-Nesles highway limited the western zone of action. The other three regiments of the Rainbow were not to advance until the 168th had straightened out the line, and then there was to be a general advance northward. The success of the entire operation depended upon the ability of the 32nd Division to clear the troublesome woodlands on the heights.

Not long before the time set for the attack the weary men on Hill 212 saw troops in a perfect alignment of combat groups appear on the horizon beyond La Motte Farm and start down the hill toward the river where it had been death to even show oneself. The Iowans had seen this slope sprayed with shrapnel and torn by the fury of high explosive, and the men of the 125th Infantry probably never knew of the prayers that went up for them as they advanced over that perilous ground. If it were only possible to reach out and jerk them across the intervening valley where the enemy had poured tons of steel and explosive and gas! One marvelled that they had advanced so far unharmed.

“God, if we only could help them”, exclaimed one of the tensed doughboys across the river. “They’ll surely catch Hell when they strike the valley.” They were now well down the slope.

If they would only run—do any damn thing but parade over there in the broad daylight—they might get here. Why don’t they hurry?—There it goes! A swift shell ripped overhead and burst with a mighty roar before our eyes. One man, two—perhaps a whole squad—were flung high into the air. That warning was sufficient, and the closely bunched groups scattered. Fortunately for them, nothing resembling the barrage the 168th had anticipated followed. Shells were falling, but only singly, checked over the field.

Major Stanley was just returning from La Croix Blanche Farm where he had received directions from General Brown to lead his battalion forward in conjunction with the 32nd Division. He hastily ordered H Company to form up for attack and E, F, and G to support it. Lieutenant McKeon with the Fourth Platoon

of H Company set out through Sergy to get in position. Fifteen men under Sergeant Eastburn and Sergeant Herbert got part way down the hill, and the Lieutenant was starting down with the rest when the Boche met them with a spout of bullets, wounding the officer in the leg and putting him out of action. The rear group fell back over the crest, carrying the wounded Lieutenant with them, and Lieutenant Green was sent forward to take his place. No one knew where the men who had already gone ahead were, so runners were sent out to locate them and to tell them to filter back. Private Elvin B. Elliot went first, and came back soon, wounded in the leg. Private Charles L. Nye was the next to go, and after waiting some time to hear from him Private Childs went forward. He found that Nye had been shot in the head by a machine gun bullet, and that the forward party, some of whom had been hit, was being covered by the fire and dared not move an inch from the position in which it remained until after dark.

The foremost waves of the 125th Infantry were now clambering up to the first ledge of Hill 212 and moving forward through the Third Battalion, which had withdrawn its forward posts to allow them to pass through, with their left about in line with the Z-shaped Bois Vital; but when they advanced to the line formerly held by the Third Battalion and came within full view of the enemy in the opposite woods, they were stopped short by an overwhelming blast of fire. Half of the first line was toppled over, but those behind struggled forward. The men of the 168th, forced to play a passive part and powerless to aid, watched with horror the battle staged before them in panorama. Wounded men by the score were coming down the hill, and the road, already con-



gested with troops of two regiments, became a place of wild confusion as the enemy guns turned on it violently with shrapnel and gas.

The 51st Artillery Brigade was again supporting the infantry attack. But before the time set for the guns to commence firing, General Aultman went forward to an observation post, leaving Lieutenant Colonel Luther at the P. C. of the 84th Brigade. His reason for this was that he feared that there might again be an attempt to check the artillery fire. He had directed Colonel Luther to protest in his name against any order that varied in the least from the original plan, and in no circumstances to direct that the fire on Pelger, Planchette, and Jomblets cease, except upon written order from the commander of the infantry brigade.

As a matter of fact, when the attack had been in progress some time, the Brigade Commander again received word that our troops were in the woods, and immediately gave orders to stop all artillery fire in support of the troops on that front. Colonel Luther duly protested in the name of General Aultman, and requested a written order, which was given him. The order was then passed to the batteries, and the fire stopped. Five minutes later the Infantry Commander directed that the fire be resumed on all points except Bois Pelger and Planchette; but the important part, that involving the use of the heavy artillery, was the part omitted. Les Jomblets, upon which the fire was reordered, was the most distant from the attacking regiment, and really out of our sector.

The effects of this order were disastrous to the Third Battalion, 125th Infantry, which not only failed of its objectives but which was decimated in its futile attempts

to carry the Boche positions. Major Matthews, the commanding officer of this unit, who, with the colonels of both the 125th and 126th Regiments, had temporarily established his P. C. in the shelter of Colonel Tinley, received one disheartening report after the other. At 5:25 Colonel Tinley notified Colonel Bennett of the necessity of artillery on Pelger and Planchette. Ten minutes later he reported that M Company, 126th Infantry, had been all but wiped out, and that K Company, 125th Infantry, which had lost its captain, was in a desperate situation. They had run out of ammunition, so Major Stanley immediately rushed what he could spare to them.

In spite of their great sacrifice, the attacking troops were unable to bring their line abreast that of the Second Battalion of the 168th, and after darkness they withdrew and reorganized for the next day's attack. The outposts of the 168th, however, maintained their positions.

In his strength report that evening, Colonel Tinley said: "Our losses have now reached about 69 per cent. Morale — good, but at point of breaking. My opinion is that the regiment could not effect an attack even against an inferior foe, and could offer but little resistance to a counter-attack. This opinion is shared by all three Battalion Commanders."

And yet the regiment was to remain in line forty-eight hours longer!

With the lowering clouds of night came the constant rumor of counter-attack to increase the apprehension of all. The few prisoners taken had stated that such a move had been contemplated by their command. It was evident that the enemy was disturbed by the appearance of new forces on our front, but he sent forward only a few

patrols and shelled our position, causing some few casualties. A low-flying bomber, motor roaring, flew up and down the line dropping bombs on the quaking, helpless men below; though his charges exploded with tremendous detonations, gouging out craters large enough to swallow a score of men, and nerves were tightened to the snapping point, he missed every time. Throughout the long tedious hours until morning, our guns, which seemed to have taken on new life, shelled the German line with a vengeance.

## XXIX

### THE LAST OF THE BATTLE

AUGUST 1st found the Iowans anxiously gazing back over the hills for signs of a relieving force, but instead came the order to renew the attempt to reach Nesles. The 168th was again to support the attack of the 63rd Brigade, maintaining liaison and advancing with it to the objectives set out in the order of the day previous.

Although the enemy so far had prevented a breakthrough, his line of defense north of the Ourcq was now badly frayed at many points, and it was hoped that with the coöperation of the artillery, which had been tearing up the woodland fortress throughout the night, we might finally drive him from the heights. It was not expected that this could be accomplished without difficulty, for in spite of the heavy pressure exerted by the 32nd Division on the flank, the enemy positions were so strong that they had been able to repulse the attacks of that division on practically the same ground that it had held the 84th Brigade on the 30th of July.

At half past three, following a half hour's furious bombardment of the woods by the 51st Field Artillery Brigade, the troops of the 125th and 126th again toiled up the deadly slopes toward the rattling machine guns. By 5:15 they were reported to have advanced about 75 yards, and were working forward cautiously.

The march order for the Second Battalion remained unchanged; H in the first line supported by what was left of E, F, and G, in that order. Lieutenant Hoar, with a

liaison platoon augmented by several machine guns, was already in position, and the advance party of 36 men under Lieutenant Douglas B. Green moved up the ravine a slight distance ahead of the 63rd Brigade line and there waited for them to come abreast.

Gradually the Michigan troops forged their way ahead, fighting for every inch, until their line was brought to the point where they could rush the enemy nests and get in with the bayonet. Before long there was a thin stream of Boche prisoners coming down the hill with the American wounded. It was remarked that an extremely high percentage of them were wearing Red Cross brassards on their arms, in direct violation of the Hague Convention. But we had already learned just how much attention the enemy paid to the International Rules of Warfare when it was more expedient for him to disregard them. These men were not in the medical service, but machine gunners serving their guns at the time of their capture. They were wearing the insignia of Mercy as a means of protection.

The troops on our right had now swept through the Bois de la Planchette and were attacking the Bois Pelger, so Lieutenant Green was enabled to advance up the slope to a point parallel to its northern edge. Unexpectedly an enemy counter-attack developed from the woods and forced the 125th Infantry on our flank to withdraw precipitately.

The Boches, having driven the Americans of the 32nd Division from the woods, now suddenly menaced the men of H Company who were overwhelmed and held to the ground by a heavy outbreak of enemy fire. A large group bore down on them from the right and appeared to be cutting them off. At this moment, Lieutenant Green, who

was slightly in advance of his line, fell mortally wounded. Privates Keefe and Peter H. Thomas braved the fire to go to his aid, and succeeded in dragging him back, but it cost Thomas a painful wound.

Without an officer to direct them and practically surrounded by an outnumbering force, the H Company men gave themselves up for lost. But Captain Yates, noting the exigent situation, quickly threw in a platoon of E Company, under Lieutenant Vaughn, on the right. The latter fought off the enemy until the whole force was able to withdraw to the foot of the hill. But for the speedy action of Captain Yates and the prompt response of Vaughn's men, the H Company platoon would have undoubtedly been wiped out or captured. As it was, they left a number of dead on the field when they retired.

Again the enemy had come out victorious.

When the artillery was notified of the withdrawal of the infantry, it smothered the woods with fire. No one could complain of the support of the guns now.

About three o'clock in the afternoon the 63rd Brigade made another attack which again carried it through Planchette and Pelger; but it was obliged to relinquish Pelger before nightfall under the pressure of a spirited counter-attack.

For the rest of the day the troops of the 168th remained in position, suffering under the eternal shelling which they began to believe would never end; but they held grimly on — and prayed for relief. After seven days of continuous bombardment which was gradually thinning the ranks, each man began to ask himself "When does my turn come?" Certainly if they remained much longer in the line, there would be no regiment to relieve. At intervals squadrons of enemy planes, swooping down

from the clear sky, poured the contents of their spitting guns into the American line. During the afternoon the stretcher-bearers were busied evacuating the wounded of the 32nd Division, and our dressing stations were still overflowing. Ammunition for rifles, auto-rifles, and machine guns had been delivered at the ruins of the bridge across the Ourcq, and this had to be lugged up the hill to the front line where it was sorely needed. There was work for everyone.

At dusk the Boche let down a terrific barrage, and drenched the valley with gas. For two hours he pounded the line, but got little in return for his efforts, for but three slight wounds resulted. At nine o'clock it was reported that the enemy was advancing, and the artillery responded almost immediately to the call for barrage, letting loose with a vengeance, and far into the night a deluge of shells went screaming into the German position. Soothed by this sweet music, our men could lie down to rest, if not to sleep, with some sense of security.

While our guns were still roaring, a messenger from Brigade Headquarters brought cheering news to Colonel Bennett. The 117th Engineers were coming into the line to relieve the 84th Brigade! They were to push forward, providing the 32nd Division was successful in the attack planned for 4:15 in the morning. But the 168th was to remain where it was.

Dawn found a strange calm settled over the battle field of the Ourcq — such a hush as had for many days been unknown to its slopes and valleys. The enemy cannon were silent, and his fearful machine guns mute.

At a quarter after four the 32nd Division jumped off and met with so little resistance that it plunged right through the woods. Here and there the men side-stepped

dead Germans killed by our intense artillery fire, but of the living enemy there was not a trace. They had withdrawn, leaving behind them only isolated groups of machine gunners to delay our advance. Moving over the brow of the hill, the Americans discerned in the murky distance the ragged lines of the Boches marching northward.

As soon as it was discovered that contact with the enemy had been lost, General MacArthur, Divisional Chief of Staff, notified Colonel Bennett to follow and support the 117th Engineers.

This dismaying news, coming like a blow beneath the belt, was greeted in partial silence, and then from the depths of the gloom: "My God, are we the *only* division on the Western Front?" No doubt this was the plaint of every organization that was pushed to the limit, but it did seem as though the Rainbow had had its share of misery and that its bloody sacrifice in the past week ought to have been enough to appease even the voracious Gods of War.

Hollow-eyed, sunken-cheeked, feverish; worn almost to the snapping point from nervous strain, lack of proper food, water, sleep, and cover; alternately chilled from night exposure and scorched by day; sick with dysentery, throat and lungs raw from gas, they needed but one more straw to finish them completely. The rumor of relief had partially restored their drooping spirits, but now came the order for yet another advance. Well, what was the use of grumbling? What must be done, must be done, and they resolved to go forward until they dropped — either from exhaustion or at the merciful release of an enemy bullet — and one could do no more.

So in due time the 168th headed northward, not know-



ing what lay before it or what to expect in the way of further trials. The Second Battalion set out in the lead, with the Third and First in support and reserve at wide intervals. Without interruption from machine guns or infantry resistance, the Second Battalion progressed over the hotly contested ground of the days previous. But a sporadic shelling from long distance cannon caused a few casualties, among them Private Miller Riley of Company G, who was killed just beyond Sergy.

The thin column passed the battered church with its tottering steeple, and through the shell-torn, littered streets of the village unopposed. Up over the hill it went, beyond the bloated bodies of grey-green soldiers, abandoned machine guns, strips of web belting, and heaps of cartridge cases.

The artillery had not entirely escaped. Here and there along the route to Nesles there lay puffed and swollen horses, fouling the atmosphere — dumb brutes who had obeyed the enemy's bidding unto the end.

Regimental Headquarters were temporarily established in Sergy, but it was so shot up that it was difficult to find a place whole enough to shut out the rain that came down in intermittent showers. But by way of compensation for the miserable quarters, someone unearthed a case of the finest Hungarian wine that had been abandoned by the German staff, and it served to give the not inconsiderable number who were fortunate enough to sample it a rosier and more optimistic outlook on life.

The main body of the battalion had advanced halfway to Nesles, plodding through the fields becoming heavy under the rain, when General Brown rode up to Major Stanley and directed him to fill in the gap which had arisen between the 167th and the Engineers. In order to

maintain liaison with the 32nd Division, the Engineers had been forced to veer off to the east, and were not guiding on the axis assigned to them and the 168th. Major Stanley ordered H and F Companies to close the breach, and, with E and G in support, the battalion advanced on through the village of Nesles.

At 2 P. M. Major Stanley reported to Lieutenant Colonel Tinley, who had moved to Nesles: "We are stopped at the eastern point of the Forêt de Nesles, a kilometre and a quarter north of Nesles. Fire comes from Bois de la Pisotte. Am having a reconnaissance made."

The Engineers had halted just east of Nesles and had not yet moved up. Alabama, too, had been checked and was awaiting the results of their reconnoitering parties before attempting to push farther on. Far off to the right the regiments of the 32nd were advancing against a steadily developing artillery fire in wide formation of combat groups — a pretty sight viewed from a distance.

By four o'clock the Second Battalion had moved forward and was occupying a line on the northeast edge of the Forêt de Nesles from the point where the road emerged from the woods to the east tip, three-quarters of a kilometre southeast. Machine gun fire had now developed from Les Bons Hommes Farm and from the Bois de Dôle. But the Engineers were still a thousand yards to the rear, so Major Stanley's men were held there. It was raining every few minutes, which in a way was fortunate, for it curtailed the activity of the enemy planes, although one did come out and hover over the line until driven off by rifle fire.

The advance companies of the Third Battalion were halted at the southeast edge of the woods east of the

Nesles-Les Bons Hommes Farm road, and they immediately began to dig shelter against the possible spread of the artillery fire that was now being directed to the front of the line of the Second Battalion and on the paths through the woods.

After the troops had cleared Sergy, Colonel Bennett moved up with his staff to Nesles and there established his headquarters. In this village, even more badly torn than Sergy — for our heavy artillery had bombarded it for long periods — two wounded prisoners of the First Foot Guards, First Guard Division, were found. This was rated as one of the very best German shock divisions and could be counted on to bitterly oppose the troops who should assail the new position to which it had withdrawn.

The ancient Château de Nesles, portions of which were well preserved, had not entirely escaped damage; the tiled roofs were scattered about the cratered fields, and several large-sized holes, where shells had pierced the masonry, yawned in the enclosure walls, flanked by its six towers. This stronghold, built in 1230 by Robert de Dreux, Comte de Braime, had in its time witnessed many foreign invasions, and now the youth of a land undiscovered at the time of its construction was waging battle beneath its shadow. A mighty shell had burst on the top of the old donjon, once an imposing landmark one hundred feet high, and had settled it deeper in the ruins of centuries. Even the graveyard to the west of the village had been ploughed up by our guns, and the fresh graves of German soldiers had been harshly dealt with.

In the meantime our artillery was shelling the woods and positions that harbored enemy machine guns. Soon Sergeant Templeton reported the way clear, and moved with his scouts to a point a full kilometer to the northeast

of the Bons Hommes Farm. The Engineers had come up on the right and the Second Battalion was in close liaison with Alabama, which reported that it was ready to resume the advance. It was then seven o'clock and Major Stanley had sent word to his companies to move forward in twenty minutes. But at ten minutes after the hour, Captain Van Order, the Regimental Adjutant, and Lieutenant Bentz, the French Liaison Officer, arrived at the battalion P. C. with welcome news and orders.

"Dig in where you are, Major", Captain Van Order told him. "You are to be relieved tonight."

If the men had not been so utterly fatigued, they might have shouted at this announcement. Instead, they bent to the task of making their positions secure for the few hours more that they must spend on the field.

The battalion, as it lay with the scouts well beyond Les Bons Hommes Farm, had advanced five kilometers since morning, and the men had toiled from dawn till dark on empty stomachs. Most of them were wet to the skin from the heavy showers, but at that the knowledge of certain relief kept them going.

The First Battalion, in position six hundred yards northeast of Sergy, was the first to be relieved. At half past eleven a detachment from the 47th Infantry took over its line, and at midnight the Third Battalion was released from its position. The kitchens had sent forward a hot meal, but the men were too tired to eat and too anxious to get back where they could sleep — sleep and forget. Back they trudged, sloshing over the shell holes, these silent old men, who ten days before were youths with songs on their lips.

Over the hill and on through Sergy listlessly trailed the motley throng — grimy, mud-stained, hairy-faced.

The blurred, unbelievable realization that they had been spared and that they were going away from the hideous thunder of the guns and the everlasting crackle of bullets had left its impress on their minds. Their numbed senses could register little else.

The muddy roads and soggy fields were as heavy as a treadmill, and no ten kilometers were ever half so long as the ten traveled that night back to the fastness of the Forêt de Fère.

The battalion of the 39th Infantry of the Fourth Division which was to relieve Major Stanley's men was slow in coming up. It was after midnight when the troops began to arrive, and then their major wisely insisted on feeding them before sending them into the line; it was four o'clock before the last member of the 168th got out. Just as Major Stanley left, the fresh troops received the order to advance.

Three hours later, after a march that called forth every bit of reserve they possessed, the exhausted men of the Second Battalion dragged themselves back to the starting point of the week before and flung themselves on the damp ground for a sleep so deep that not even the cannon's roar could have aroused them.

XXX  
IN RESERVE

In nine days of fighting, the Rainbow Division had driven the enemy from his redoubtable positions in the Forêt de Fère, forced the crossing of the Ourcq, taken prisoners from six German divisions, restored to France fifteen kilometers of conquered territory, freed scores of civilians from the yoke of subjugation, and had captured vast quantities of stores and ammunition. Yet the enemy had conducted a skilful and successful retreat before the Allied soldiers of the Sixth and Tenth Armies, losing comparatively few men and guns. But it was a jolt from which his morale never recovered.

For its share in writing this glorious chapter in the history of the war, the 168th Infantry paid with the lives of nine of its officers and 226 of its enlisted men who fell before the Croix Rouge Farm, along the Ourcq, on Hill 212, and around Sergy. Thirty-eight officers and 1266 men were wounded, bringing the casualties to the sad total of 1539. This figure does not include the losses of the two attached companies from the 151st Machine Gun Battalion, the exact number not being available, but it is known that they suffered heavily. Many others of the Iowa regiment had been evacuated because of sickness, and the huddled groups of sleeping men in the woods represented but thirty per cent of the fighting force that had set out to face the enemy at the beginning of the operation on the 25th of July. In a short time practically all of the sick returned, and a fair proportion of the

wounded were eventually able to rejoin their companies, but scores had been maimed and permanently disabled so that they could never again march with the regiment which they had served so well.

Throughout the action the auxiliary arms had been playing their parts with courage and persistence. The Band and Pioneer Platoon, as already noted, started out as stretcher-bearers, and the latter, when relieved of that duty, was detailed to the Chaplain to bury the dead. Small cemeteries were grouped, a kilometer or so apart, at La Croix Rouge, La Croix Blanche, and La Cense Farms, and near the Ourcq; and here the details carried the dead, often under shell fire, to give them a decent and reverent burial.

The Signal Platoon, although hampered by the incessant shelling, maintained its stations in places of such varying adaptability as the Croix Rouge Farm, a broken-down armored car, and beneath a demolished bridge. It was not their fault that the front line had to depend upon runners to get its messages through; the fire was too heavy to keep up their lines. The loss of a number of their men, when specialists were most in demand, crippled them but temporarily, for those who remained only worked the harder to offset it.

The Supply Company was frequently bombed and shelled unmercifully and it was in the maddening position of being unable to strike back. Several times it was driven from its position in the woods, and during this period it lost three men killed and eight wounded, and about fifty per cent of its horses and mules were destroyed. There was a breakdown in the transportation from the rear, and for days our own transportation was used to bring forward rations and ammunition to the

regimental dump, as well as to carry them from that point up to the front, over a road seldom free from shell fire. The Combat Train was ready to go, and went, on a moment's notice to the dump at the bridge. In every way during these critical days the Supply Company put forth every effort to serve, and its entire personnel worked day and night struggling with its inexperience in supplying an advancing fighting force and to overcome the tremendous physical difficulties which it faced.

The men of the company kitchens had not been having the pleasantest adventure of their lives either. There were graves as well as shattered trees around the goulash cannon.

“There was one thing that helped, though”, relates Cook Hopley of Company L. “It made us feel a little better to know that we were taking something of a chance. We knew what you were doing up front. You should have heard the cheer when word came back with the wounded that you had beaten the Dutch from Hill 212. That was one day when we didn't have any trouble in getting details to carry the food up. Did you get it? No, I know you didn't. What chance did those lads have to get it to you when the Boche punctured their cans with shrapnel and filled the valley through which they had to pass with gas? You went hungry, and we cursed. That's about all we could do — cook food, try to send it up, and then curse.

“Once a shell struck a ration cart in which three men were sleeping. They, and a mule tied to the cart, were all killed. Cook Vermillion and I were under a kitchen a few yards away. We found that it wasn't a very comfortable spot, especially when some planes came over and dropped bombs so we wouldn't feel slighted. Sometimes



when the shells came too thick, we got behind a big tree near our kitchen. One night when we were working at top-speed, cooking hamburgers for the boys in the line, the Boche turned loose with his fireworks and killed one man, wounding several others. Those of us behind the tree were hugging it so close that my principal fear was that we would shove it over.”

So it was that every man in the regiment did his bit, and did it well; unconquerable infantrymen, runners, medical men, signalers, and K. P.'s — good soldiers, all.

When the noontime sun was breaking through the trees of the Forêt de Fère on the 3rd of August, most of the regiment was still asleep. Like the dead they slept, these warriors who for days had not known what two consecutive hours of slumber meant. When they finally did wake, it was to crowd around the kitchens, which for that day were serving meals at all hours. In the afternoon came the greatest antidote to depression, mail — letters, papers, and packages from home. How eagerly every page was scanned, every word read and re-read, for it had been long since news had come from America, and this renewed a link that some had thought lost forever. But the large piles of unclaimed letters were sad reminders of absent comrades.

Major Brewer brought out his famous victrola to try some of the new records that he had just received. It seemed strangely appropriate that he should first pick by chance and play for the benefit of the soldiers crowded about his tent — men who had just come victorious from one of the bitterest struggles of the war — Harry Lauder's "The Laddies Who Fought and Won".

Regimental Headquarters, which upon relief of the regiment had withdrawn for the night to La Cense Farm,

moved back on the evening of the 3rd to La Croix Rouge Farm. The Headquarters Company, stationed in the village of Fresnes a kilometer or so to the right, remained in position.

The Rainbow Division had now passed into the reserve of the First Army Corps, but was to be held where it was for some time in case an emergency demanded its recall to the line. But the Boche had already fallen back to his defensive position north of the Vesle, and the fighting line was so far away that only the faint rumble of guns was audible. The only dangers now to be feared were from bombing planes and sickness.

Had the troops had any choice about the matter they would have selected for their camp a spot as far away as possible from the Forêt de Fère. Many animals had been hastily buried, and not too deeply, in the vicinity. The woods were stagnant with filth, crossed with shattered trees, and potted with water-filled shell holes. It rained almost incessantly and the mucky ground under foot was turned into a veritable swamp. The hot, damp weather had bred millions of flies which settled over everything and which became even more obnoxious than the foul odors. In addition, fully half of the men were still suffering from diarrhea.

Attempts were made to make the camp a more livable place, but the physical handicaps were too great to overcome. However, there was some satisfaction in being able to walk around without being shot at and in viewing the immense stores of enemy shells with which the woods were crammed. The men tried hard to be merry and to forget, and at times one would hear a peal of laughter and a song; but during these rainy, sickening days, when there was little to do but lie in the comfortless pup tents

thinking of home, of things just passed, and of buddies who had been killed, it was a life that palled.

There was some work, however; on the 4th the Third Battalion policed the battle field from the Croix Rouge Farm up to the Ourcq, collecting the salvage, and identifying, where possible, and burying the dead who had been overlooked by the regular details. The following day the Second Battalion policed from the Ourcq to the outskirts of Sergy, and on the 5th the First Battalion completed the task.

That day Brigadier General Douglas MacArthur was named to command the 84th Brigade. General Brown, who had led it ever since its organization at Camp Mills, had been relieved and ordered to Blois. The regiment was sorry to see him go. Personally he was a courageous soldier, his heart had always been with his troops, and he was proud of the record of his organization. He had loyally supported the officers under his command, and the relations between them had been of the pleasantest; and so, when he came to bid his friends of the 168th good-bye, there were only those who wished him well.

On the 8th there was a sudden let-up in the steady rain, the clouds blew over, and the sun came out. The Band, which had spent the time since its relief from stretcher-bearing in rehearsing, gave its first concert in more than six weeks. The stirring music seemed to put new life into the regiment, and it was cheered over and over. Then Elsie Janis, the favorite of the A. E. F., plodded up through the mud to give a clever and spirited performance for the benefit of the mildewed soldiers in the forest. If applause is food to the artist, then Miss Janis carried away that day enough nourishment to last her throughout several incarnations.

The heavy officer casualties had necessitated several changes in the commissioned assignment. A dozen new second lieutenants had been sent to us to partially fill up the gaps, and 150 enlisted men came as replacements, although ten times that number were needed. Lieutenant Christopher of M Company was transferred to command Company G; Lieutenant Jones of L, to lead Company H; and Lieutenant Bradley of K was first sent to D and then to take command of F Company. Lieutenant Hoar of Company H had been ordered to the United States as an instructor, and with him went one N. C. O. from each company. There was not a man who did not envy them the prospect of seeing home and family, but as they marched out of the sodden camp there were hearty cheers to send them on their way.

On the 8th two of Iowa's Congressmen, the Honorable Cassius C. Dowell and the Honorable Burton E. Sweet, came to visit the men of their home State. They saw what few American civilians were privileged to see — a fighting regiment just back from battle, camping on ground that it had but recently wrested from the enemy. They returned with many messages for the home folk, some interesting facts about the war, and all the souvenirs they wanted. Before they went they had an opportunity to witness a battalion parade. Major Worthington's command looked more like a company than a battalion when it was lined up on the field for the review. This ceremony was repeated the next day, much to the disgust of the Second Battalion which had to stage it. All the men wanted was to be left alone, and they couldn't understand why they had to pile out and march around when they had proved their worth as soldiers in the battle line. The order had come from higher up,

though, and it didn't make much difference whether they understood or not.

“Maybe we are still rookies after all”, observed one disgruntled doughboy. “We ain't never done nothing much but fight, so how do we know whether we're real soldiers or not?”

## XXXI

### BACK TO REST

“THE Second Battle of the Marne ends, like the first, in a victory. The Château-Thierry ‘pocket’ no longer exists.” So read the order of Fayolle, the French general commanding the group of armies on our front.

“Broken in his fifth attempt of 1918, the invader is retreating. His effectives are diminishing, his morale is being shaken, while at your side your American brothers are making the enemy, already disconcerted, feel the vigor of their blows.” These were the words of General Pétain, the gallant defender of Verdun, then Commander-in-Chief of the French Armies of the North and East.

No longer was there need to hold the Rainbow Division in reserve. The enemy had been driven across the Vesle, and there was no probability of any sudden change in the military situation which would require our services.

Late in the afternoon of August 9th came the joyous news that we would move out of the Forêt de Fère the next day and march to the rear—joyous because it definitely dispelled the persistent rumor that we were to be thrown into the fight again, and because it meant putting distance between us and this pestilential, fly-infested swamp.

Breakfast was served at an early hour in order to allow for a thorough policing of the camp, and promptly at twelve o'clock the column marched out into the intoxicating, splendid sunlight. It seemed like another world. Already some of the men had started in on a

rollicking marching song. The farther they got from the front, the better grew the morale; drooping in the forest, it was rising at Verdilly; at Château-Thierry it was high; and by the time they reached Ste. Aulde it was overflowing.

Now we were retracing our steps over what two weeks before had been the bloody and stubbornly contested battle field of the Yankee Division — past endless piles of German shells, neatly stacked in their wicker baskets, wrecks of caissons, wagons, and trucks, an abandoned howitzer, unused bands of machine gun bullets trampled into the mud, dented helmets, discarded gas masks, lonesome roadside graves — the familiar marks of battle.

The men were stepping along gaily, almost lightly, under the burden of their weighted packs. They were marching in daylight, a novel experience; and they could smoke if they wanted to. Beuvardes and Epieds, the dead shells of once happy villages, were soon behind them. They could breathe in the open air and sunshine and look off into the waving fields of golden grain, already under the scythes of French Reservists rushed forward to save the precious crop. Through avenues of trees still majestic in their battle splendor the column moved in steady cadence, scarcely conscious of any effort. Thirteen kilometers from the starting point a halt was called and the regiment prepared for the night outside of Verdilly, a hamlet three kilometers north of Château-Thierry. On a well-drained grassy field skirted by a rippling stream the regiment pitched its shelter tents and lined up for chow.

The day had been very hot, but after the sun had gone down it became surprisingly cold and one blanket was insufficient cover. Although the gun flashes were plainly

visible on the northern horizon, not a sound came to the camp, and sleep was at first a trifle difficult in the unaccustomed tranquility of that beautiful starlit night.

The entire regiment was up before daylight, prepared for an early start. This day the roads were congested with a heavy traffic — great convoys of camions bringing up new forces to the line of battle, long lines of artillery, of supply wagons creaking with ammunition and food — so that the progress of our march was at times impeded.

The route, winding down to the valley of the Marne, took the column through Château-Thierry. That historic town was not so badly shot up as rumor had it, but it was sadly damaged. The interior of the houses, articles of clothing, drapery, bric-a-brac, and furniture scattered about, spoke mutely of the thorough pillage and wanton destruction committed by the Boches before they withdrew at the persuasion of a certain number of determined Americans. It seemed to be Château-Thierry's fate to suffer from war: it had been captured in 1421 by the English, and by Charles V in 1544; it was sacked by the Spanish in 1591; pillaged in 1652 in the war of the Fronde; and it had suffered in the campaign of 1814 when Napoleon defeated the Russo-Prussian forces nearby. But each time it was courageously rebuilt; and now it faced the task anew. The ancient château, said to have been built by Charles Martel in 720, was unchanged, for the simple reason that it had been in ruins for long years; in fact there was nothing left but the outer ramparts when the Hun came to destroy.

Every building in the city bore some mark of the battle — the charred remains left by an incendiary shell, a caved-in roof or perforated wall, or merely a face pitted by shrapnel and machine gun bullets.



In spite of its condition Château-Thierry seemed to have suffered but lightly when compared to Vaux and Le Thiolet, through which the regiment passed soon after. These two villages marked the supreme triumph of the gunner's art. No two walls of the same building remained upright — there was not a habitable place left. Shelled first by the Allied artillery and then by the German, its jagged outline stood guard over a hopeless tangle of splintered beams, iron grilles and fences, and heavy blocks of stone. A thick, choking layer of pulverized masonry and plaster was kept in constant suspension by the passing troops and rushing lorries. The intervening woods and fields were shell-torn from the battle, and farther back one could see the thick belts of barbed wire, and a system of trenches recently dug to stave off the once threatened drive on Paris. How unnecessary these lines were now, and how completely saved was Paris!

Turning off the Paris highway, the various units of the regiment made for their respective stations. After a hike of eighteen kilometers, Regimental Headquarters, the Headquarters, Supply, and Machine Gun Companies, and the four companies of the First Battalion settled themselves at Marigny-en-Orxois. E, F, and G went to Lucy-le-Bocage, and H to Montgivrault. The Third Battalion threw off its packs and set up its kitchens in Coupru.

All of these villages had fared badly in the conflict; they were dirty, battered, and practically uninhabited, and there were no loud cheers when it was unofficially announced that these were to be our permanent rest stations — no cafés, no shops, no pretty mademoiselles, no fun. But there were opportunities to clean and bathe,

and the mortality rate among the cooties was enormous, and that helped.

As usual the rumor was wrong, and the regiment remained in this locality only from the 11th to the 14th of August. That day it was directed to move nearer the railhead of La Ferté-sous-Jouarre. The Second Battalion marched to Méry and bivouacked in a field west of the village, but the other units went to Ste. Aulde where billets were provided for all.

This was the most beautiful part of the lovely Marne valley. Méry at the bend of the river, and Ste. Aulde high up on the hillside, with a far view across the fertile and well cultivated valley to the hills covered with woods and vineyards. How clean and refreshing after the filth and disorder of the past three weeks.

There were no details or drill in this area. The men were resting, playing, forgetting — gradually shaping themselves for the next job in hand. Plunges into the cool and deep waters of the Marne, walks into the château-dotted countryside, and visits to the neighboring villages gave them an opportunity to work off their surplus energy. Here there was a chance to buy fresh fruit and vegetables, good wines, and other delicacies to relieve the monotony of the army ration.

It was a time of clear weather and brilliant moonlight. The nights, serenely calm and peaceful, were only occasionally enlivened by the sinister black-formed Gothas, like gigantic bats against the sheen of the moon, passing overhead on their way to Paris. The bass droning of their motors as they guided on the silver ribbon of the Marne would stir into action every anti-aircraft battery along the route, and the upper air would shake with the dull thud of flashing detonations. Once, during our stay,

the Germans viciously bombed La Ferté and killed a number of soldiers; and on another occasion they attempted to destroy a railway bridge down the valley from Ste. Aulde, but they entirely overlooked the billets of the 168th — a discourtesy that was not in the least resented.

A few days of this pleasant life, and then came inklings of a move and the rumor that the regiment was going to Italy. This, however, soon gave way to the semi-official announcement that the Division had been ordered to a rest area farther to the south, probably in the vicinity of Rolampont.

On the morning of the 16th the Machine Gun Company moved to the railhead and loaded on the train carrying the Headquarters of the 84th Brigade. That afternoon Regimental Headquarters and the Headquarters and Supply Companies left Ste. Aulde for a march of twelve kilometers up the river to Romény, where they bivouacked for the night. The next day they hiked sixteen kilometers farther to Crézancy, on the other side of Château-Thierry, and within two kilometers of Mézy, their designated point of entrainment.

This detachment boarded its train early on Sunday, the 18th, and by nine o'clock was on its way. The First Battalion marched to La Ferté and departed in *Hommes 40 — Chevaux 8* at noon, the Second following at eight in the evening, and the Third at four o'clock the next morning. The business of entraining was not so simple as it sounds, for first all the rolling stock had to be loaded on the dinky flat cars by hand. But the regiment was now sufficiently traveled to have developed a very efficient force of stevedores, and there was no hitch, each train leaving on the dot at the time scheduled.

It was an interesting trip for those who left in the daytime — all but the Second Battalion. Instead of going by way of Paris, as they had expected, the troops who had entrained at La Ferté were soon chugging past Ste. Aulde and back through the devastated region to Château-Thierry. Across the river the remains of the German pontoon bridges tugged at their moorings, and the railway embankment was burrowed where both sides had used it for defense and protection. In spite of its scars the valley was lovely, and it was a beautiful day. All along the route the people were out to cheer as the Americans passed through their villages; weeks before they had cheered us expectant, and now they were cheering us triumphant. After Epernay and Châlons the trains steadily drew away from the war zone and its ruins, and headed into a district rich in field and forest. In time Vitry-le-François and St. Dizier were put behind and we were passing through Rimaucourt, peering out into the darkness to catch a glimpse of the familiar outline with its wealth of memories. Rolampont!— Just off there a little way was Ormancey, Beauchemin, Mardor, Perrancey, St. Ciergues, and the other little towns that had sheltered us and many of our absent comrades long, long ago, it seemed.

It was one o'clock in the morning of the 19th of August when the first train halted at Breuvannes and the troops on it started their seven kilometer hike to Blevaincourt. At nine o'clock A, B, and C Companies there joined Regimental Headquarters and the Headquarters and Supply Companies, for this was their final destination. D Company was placed two kilometers away, in Rozières, and the Machine Gun Company at Robécourt. In the afternoon the Second Battalion, detraining at Damblain,

split — Battalion Headquarters and E and F Companies hiking to Germainvilliers, and G and H to Champigneulles. In the middle of the night the Third Battalion arrived at Breuvannes and marched out at once for Chaumont-la-Ville.

Blevaincourt was in the center of this circle of villages, none of which was more than three kilometers from it. Chaumont lay forty kilometers in a straight line to the west. Blevaincourt, Robécourt, and Rozières were just over the border in the Department of the Vosges, while the other three were in the Haute-Marne. Untouched by war, situated in a country of wooded hills and valleys patched with well-cultivated fields and populated by very simple, very hospitable French peasants, they were ideal places in which to renew vitality, to laugh at the horror of war, and to forget its brutalities. Why, back this far one could have all the light he wanted at night — there wasn't even any danger from airplanes. There were comfortable billets for all, many in airy, well-constructed barracks, with a mess hall for each company, and there was one café to every twenty houses, at least. There were eggs and chickens and ducks to be bought — for a price, after the men started in to bid against each other. It was satisfying just to sit and look off into the distance, a blended vista of beckoning roads, fair orchards, neat farms, browsing cattle, blue sky, red roofs, and delicate spires.

One full day was given over to resting and removing the kinks of travel. Another was devoted to policing the streets. The first task imposed was the removal of that outward evidence of French rural wealth, often met with before, the large and pleasantly steaming mound of manure which graced the roadside in front of each house.

It had long since become a tradition in the regiment that the peasant who owned the largest pile automatically became mayor. In spite of the protests of an otherwise tractable populace, this was all carted away to the fields, and the streets swept clean, so that it was possible to saunter down the main thoroughfare of an evening without need of recourse to one's gas mask.

After so many days of grace no one was very much surprised when a new drill schedule put in an appearance. Rest in the army doesn't mean very much anyhow. Some of the higher-ups had heard the faint rumblings of the rumor of another attack in which the Americans were to play a leading part. The outline for drill not only placed the greatest emphasis on the newly developed method for attacking machine guns, but provided for the working out and practice of a definite problem. Then some of those not so high up began to wonder if . . . . .

For a week the men rose regularly, had their setting-up exercises, close order drill, and school, and in the blazing sun successfully attacked imaginary machine gun nests, capturing and recapturing the high hills on the outskirts of the villages.

The Rainbow Division now had been in France well over ten months, and many had been the occasion to raise the illusory hope of leaves, but so far not a man had left the regiment for any purpose other than for repairs at the hospital, although the regulations generously provided a ten days' leave every four months. But regulations didn't mean anything either, except when one violated them and then they had meaning of most violent import.

The new Brigade Commander, General MacArthur, who then as always showed a lively interest in his troops'

welfare, took matters in his own hands, and on his own responsibility decided to grant forty-eight-hour passes to Paris, ten per cent of the officers and men to go at one time. This was not in lieu of the regular leave, but an additional privilege which in General MacArthur's estimation was justly deserved. The brigade rubbed its eyes in disbelief — it was too good to be true. Yet there the order was in plain English in black and white.

So it was an exuberant bunch, with morale registering fully one hundred (except for the few who, by a trip to the Café du Centre, had raised theirs to one hundred and five), that started out bright and early on the morning of August 22nd for the city that they had long since abandoned all hope of ever seeing. Some were already picturing themselves standing out in front of the station and remarking for the benefit of their comrades, "So this is Paris!" It was a delightful prospect.

The Langres train was jammed tight, and the introgression of some two hundred husky Americans somewhat complicated matters, but no one minded, and spirits rose steadily as they sped northward. One French traveler, impressed with the happiness so indubitably portrayed on every face asked, "Is the war, then, really over?" "Hell, no!" came the ready reply, "but the Forty-Second Division is getting leaves!"

There was an hour's wait at Langres for the Paris train, and while the men were grouped about, discussing the plans — what they were going to see and what they were going to do when they arrived — a swarm of M. P.'s descended upon them, demanding their passes and ordering them off the platform. The worst had happened. General MacArthur had exceeded his authority, it appeared, in granting passes beyond the limits of brigade

area, and orders had come from above to turn back the detachment.

The Paris train came and went, and two hundred irate men, thoroughly disgusted, with a high iron gate between them and the quai, saw it disappear into the distance. They had been cheated of a holiday to which they felt they had every right, and they blamed the M. P.'s for the whole affair. "To Hell with the M. P.'s", someone shouted. "To Hell with the M. P.'s", answered a hundred and ninety-nine lusty voices in unison. It looked as if there were going to be a riot. The few officers of the 168th were quietly enjoying their lunch in a nearby hotel — not exactly enjoying it perhaps, for they were too disappointed to see much good in anything. But at any rate they were out of the way.

Someone spied a string of empty coaches on a siding.

"I kin run an engine", cried a former railroad apprentice.

"I'm a fireman."

"Well, let's git one."

"There's three, down the track."

With that, the whole two hundred rushed the gate, battered it down, and started for the engines. What would have happened had they actually set out on an uncharted trip to the capital of France is problematical — it leaves much to the imagination. But they never got the train in motion. A bewildered M. P. officer rushed frantically after them, and after promising everything in and beyond his power if they would only give up their wild idea, he managed to herd them back to the station. It had been a glorious fracas, and it had stirred up the M. P. force to such a degree that the doughboys felt they had had partial recompense for their blighted hopes.



It was first arranged to have trucks sent over from Division Headquarters to take the men back to their stations, but it was later discovered that they could return more easily by rail. The authorities at Langres provided them with a good supper, and when the five o'clock train drew in, four extra coaches were added for the soldiers.

Brigade Headquarters was required to recall all the passes it had issued, and the next day the announcement was made from the Division that "leaves of absence will, for the present, be granted only for very exceptional reasons". It is needless to add that the urge to visit Paris for pleasure was not one of them. Thus ended the only chance for leave that the regiment ever had during the war — that is, for all but the wily few, who, when they first scented trouble in the morning, managed to remain unnoticed in the crowd of civilians, made the trip, and had a royal time after all.

At this time enough replacements were received to bring the regiment up to approximate battle strength. The first detachment consisted of 320 splendid men from the National Guard of Texas and Oklahoma, who, having seen months of service in the States were well-trained, well-disciplined, and fully equipped. If, as General Menoher had reminded us in a recent order, "hard battles and long campaigns" lay before us, it was just men of this type that were needed to take the place of those who had fallen.

So much could not be said of the 647 men who came to us in two groups soon after. They were for the most part drafted men from the East, far below the mental and physical standard of the original cadre. Many of them were unable to read, write, or speak English; and, more than that, most of them had never fired a rifle. They had

never heard of a skirmish line, and couldn't have told the difference between a grenade and a platoon. This is the report that was turned in from the Second Battalion: "Investigation discloses the fact that not more than half of them have had over a month's training of any sort, and that few of them have had any instruction whatsoever in gas protection, or in the use of rifle, auto-rifle, and grenades".

The commander of Company H reported that out of one group of forty-three assigned him one man had had but one week of training; four had had two weeks; twenty, three weeks; six, four weeks; and the rest anywhere between one and three months.

It was absolutely appalling to the officers who had come to know the requirements of the modern battle field that men with so little experience should be sent to a combat organization. It was criminal in the first place ever to permit them to leave the States in that condition. It was unfair to the replacements and unfair to the regiment which had a proud record to maintain. That it proved disastrous in this case will be shown later.

The reports as to their unfitness went from the regiment up to the brigade, and from the brigade to the division, and supposedly on up to the very top, but the replacements — cannon fodder, if there ever was any — remained with us.

Among them were many good men with the potentialities of first-class soldiers, but a careful father would never have permitted a son to go duck hunting with so slight a knowledge of firearms. There was only one thing to do — to make the best of it and try to get them in condition before we were thrown into the line again. No recruits ever received more intensive training. The old

men and officers of the regiment, realizing what it meant, worked over them with feverish haste, instructing them in the very elements of squad drill, so at least they could be managed on the field; taught them how to adjust their gas masks and how to load their rifles. It was out of the question to give them target practice, for there was neither range nor time; and it was thought safest, for the present, to omit altogether the subject of grenades. Then, to cap the climax, measles and mumps broke out among the newcomers, and a temporary isolation necessarily retarded their training.

Up to this time there had been no opportunity to pay fitting respect to the memory of our comrades who had fallen on the plains of Champagne and in the wheat fields of the Ourcq; so on Sunday, August 25th, Chaplain Hatch arranged for services to be held at each battalion station. The day was ushered in with a memorial mass in the Catholic Church at Blevaincourt, with Father Rotgé, the regimental interpreter, as celebrant. Then, accompanied by the Band, Colonel Bennett, Lieutenant Colonel Tinley, and the Chaplain visited the battalions in turn. Each of these and the battalion commander made appropriate talks, paying tribute to the men of the regiment who had given their lives for their country. Many of the French civilians gathered around in wonderment at the solemn proceedings; although they could not understand the words spoken, they soon learned of the significance, and when the Americans bowed their heads none were more reverent than they.

At the conclusion, Colonel Bennett called his officers to him. Many of the old familiar faces were missing; some of them dead, some of them in the hospital recovering from their wounds. But new officers had come to take

their place, and these the Colonel wished to welcome to the regiment and to tell them something of its traditions.

There had been rumors that Major Worthington, who had served with the regiment for twenty-nine years, was to leave. On the 26th of August this was confirmed by an order which directed him to report as commander of the divisional military police. Captain Ross, the Regimental Operations Officer, was again assigned to command the battalion, which under him was to write its most glorious chapter.

General MacArthur, making regular inspections of the troops in his brigade, came to watch the men of the 168th practice their platoon maneuvers against machine gun nests. He liked the whole-hearted way in which they went at their problem, and said so. During one of the pauses which the broiling sun made necessary he took occasion to inquire how the men were enjoying the rest, and he was very frankly told that it was not their idea of rest and that the curtailment of the promised leaves had created tremendous dissatisfaction. The Brigade Commander nodded his head in agreement with all that had been said, and then remarked in an offhand way: "I don't believe that we are going to get either leaves or rest. They say that they need the 42nd to win this fight."

Had the General let something slip? "To win this fight!" Wow! That was bringing it close. But the men had already begun to suspect that our "rest" would not last much longer, and it was known that all this maneuvering was being done with a definite end in view. Moreover, it was noised about that the hospitals in the vicinity of Toul were being prepared to receive a large number of wounded Americans, and that was the surest indication of the imminence of an attack.

It had been a hard, fatiguing day, the 28th, toiling in the sun morning and afternoon, and the soldiers were enjoying the quiet hour just before sunset, sitting idly around the peasant doors or in the cafés sipping wine, thinking perhaps of the comfortable bunks that awaited their tired bodies. The night, however, was to be spent on the road, for sudden orders came from Headquarters to move at nine o'clock. It was hard to tear ourselves from such pleasant surroundings, and the villagers were sorry to see us go. They, too, had heard of an attack, and they knew of the inevitable percentage that would not return. As the troops lined up in the streets, the entire populace was out to wish us Godspeed.

The battalion commanders blew their whistles, and the columns moved out. Through Robécourt, Sauville, and St. Ouen the winding road led us. Everywhere were peasants out to greet us, even as late as midnight, and many of them had placed candles in their windows to light our way. The French civilians had a strange way of learning more about soldiers' destination than the soldiers themselves. "You are going to Toul, are you not?" they called out in the tongue that many had begun to understand. "*Bonne Chance!*"

Billeting parties met the regiment just beyond the village of Saulxures-les-Bulgnéville, seventeen kilometers from the starting point, and led it to the place of bivouac. The village was far too small to accommodate even one battalion, and a large plowed field had been reserved for the troops, kitchens, and wagon train. In the darkness the companies set up their long lines of shelter tents, and as the men needed no urging to sleep, the camp was soon as quiet as a graveyard.

The people of Saulxures had never before seen

American soldiers, and they came out to look the regiment over before half of the men were awake. The children, particularly, were interested in all that went on. "*Du pain blanc!*" they exclaimed amazed, as the cooks piled up snowy slices of bread for the morning's meal. Some, in their tender youth, could not remember the time when they had seen white bread, and to them it was the last word in luxury.

It was announced that the regiment would march again at nightfall; and with this prospect in view the men took advantage of the opportunity to rest, for aside from the few details incidental to the sanitation of the camp and feeding the troops there was no work to be done. The new men were most in need of rest, for they had never had a real hike before and they carried in their packs, strictly regulation, "a sample of everything in the ordnance and quartermaster departments", as one seasoned campaigner observed. But they were willing to heed the advice of those who had been at the game a bit longer, and when we next moved they had reduced their packs to reasonable proportions.

The march the night of the 29-30th of August carried the regiment twenty kilometers farther, through Bulgnéville, Auzainvilliers, and La Neuville, to Gironcourt, which provided billets for Regimental Headquarters, the First Battalion, and the Headquarters, Supply, and Machine Gun Companies; and to Morelmaison, which was the destination of the Second and Third Battalions. The two latter organizations were again forced to bivouac out in the open, for there were insufficient billets for all in the village.

The entire division was now assembled in the Châtenois area, in which we were to spend several days before

resuming the march. The 168th was favored in the two villages to which it was assigned; the people were warm-hearted and friendly, and there were enough cafés to take care of all the men. Moreover, the orchards were heavy with the ripened *mirabelles*, luscious plums that the men could have for the asking, and with which every one in the regiment connects this region.

The day of our arrival was given over to rest and general repairs, and as the following day, the 1st of September, was Sunday, the men had forty-eight hours in which to prepare themselves for the strenuous days to follow. A troupe of Y. M. C. A. performers appeared on Sunday evening and put on a first-rate show for the regiment in a field at the crossing of the Gironcourt-Morelmaison road. This was the first entertainment offered by the Y, with the exception of Elsie Janis's performance, since the 168th left the Lorraine front, and it was to be the last it was to see in France, for from this time on the regiment was to spend the rest of its time, until the Armistice, either in the line or directly behind it.

Monday, September 2nd, was fully recognized by the regiment as Labor Day, and little attention was paid to the eight-hour law. After a morning spent in company and platoon drill, the troops were rehearsed until after dark on attack formations. Up and down the hills they charged, attacking imagined enemy positions with earnestness. It was more than just simulating battle conditions; to every man the crest of the hill was a machine gun nest infested with Boches; to capture it he must advance cautiously and with due consideration to the possibilities of detection.

No wonder that one of the replacements remarked as he threw himself down on his straw bed that night: "If

warfare is like that — and you call this easy — then send me back to the glorious coal mines where I can rest.”

The night marches, the exercises and maneuvers, and the contact with men who had been under fire were having their effect on the recruits. At night they heard stories of how men act when facing live machine guns and real shelling. They had been told the value of their entrenching tools, where to dig a fox-hole so as to gain the most protection, and the hundred and one things which the doughboy best learns for himself — if he lasts long enough. But the supreme experience was still in store for them.

That day Colonel Bennett made the round of his battalions, and it proved the last inspection he ever made of his regiment. He had been in ill health for some time, fighting off an attack of the flu, and on the 3rd of September Captain Bunch ordered him to the hospital, and took him to Vittel himself. It was a sad farewell for the Colonel. He had been a member of the regiment since the 11th of July, 1889, and his heart and thoughts had never been very far from it. On his shoulders had rested all the responsibility of reorganizing his command before its muster into Federal service and of the subsequent preparation for active service in the field. He had guided its destinies in Lorraine, in the Champagne, and on the Ourcq, and now on the eve of another engagement he was forced to leave. With him went the good wishes of his command.

Upon his departure he relinquished command to Lieutenant Colonel Tinley, a soldier of equally long service, who was remarkably well qualified by reason of experience and thorough knowledge of things military to accept the responsibility thrust upon him. There was no



question but that he would have the loyal support of every man under him, and that with him as leader the regiment would go on to greater glory.

That morning Major Brewer staged a show for the benefit of all the field officers of the Division and a number of junior officers of the 167th Infantry. General MacArthur was so impressed with the smoothness of the execution of the maneuver that he then decided to use the Third Battalion as the assault battalion of the regiment in the coming attack.

The next morning the work was continued, but as orders had come for the regiment to move immediately after nightfall it was given over for the afternoon. The First Battalion was now commanded by an officer of the rank to which the duties entitled him, for on this day Captain Ross received his majority.

Battigny was the next stopping place of the 168th, and it required seven hours to cover the distance of twenty-two kilometers. It was a tedious hike, most of it up-hill, and it began raining just as the troops arrived at the bivouac. The First Battalion got under shelter, but the rest were wet through.

Night marching had its advantages; it was safer (except in moonlight) and cool, but after a day's work in the field it was difficult to keep awake. In fact many went to sleep while actually marching, depending on some sort of sixth sense to keep them on the road. During the short halt at the end of every hour when the men fell out by the roadside, most of them were sound asleep by the time they touched the ground and automatically got to their feet at the command "Fall in". They would have been much happier if they had been permitted to smoke, but that was too dangerous this near the front, where enemy planes

were on the lookout. Already the horizon ahead was bright with flashes playing up and down the line like streaks of heat lightning, but ever so much more significant and disturbing.

It was considered nothing short of a disgrace to fall out on these nocturnal jaunts, and only those who were physically incapable of keeping up with the column were allowed to drop back. Often men carried an extra pack to enable a footsore buddy to stick with the outfit, and there were few officers who at one time or another did not in this way help to maintain their company record. Behind each battalion marched a detail to pick up all stragglers and herd them back in the line; in case they evaded those three groups, a regimental detail in charge of a hard-boiled sergeant brought up the rear to scoop them in, and no one is known ever to have got by it. If a man were absolutely all in, he was permitted to ride in the ambulance; but if he only thought he was, there were various and sundry means of inducing him to continue afoot.

At nine o'clock on the night of the 5th the regiment was again on the road headed for the hamlets of Crézilles and Bagneux, twenty kilometers nearer the front. The roads were muddy and it was hard going, but scarcely a man fell out. The Supply Company got stuck on a bad hill and held up the troops for half an hour, so it was in the early hours of morning when they arrived. Again there were not billets enough for all and most of the men pitched their tents in the orchard on the village edge.

There was nothing new about these typical behind-the-line villages. They were drab, frankly dirty, and scantily populated with old men, women, children, and an occasional soldier who had been disabled in the earlier years

of the war. These people cultivated their small holdings faithfully all day long and left their homes open to the soldiers who chanced to pass.

Here the regiment remained for two days, the Second and Third Battalions at Crézilles and the other units at Bagneux. The 6th of September was rainy and dreary, and the only bright spot in an otherwise totally lost day was the arrival of eagerly devoured mail.

On the 7th of September General Pershing came to Bulligny for the purpose of decorating a number of men of the Division who had been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. In an impressive ceremony he pinned the coveted medal on Major Ross, Captain Christopher, Lieutenant Doocy, Sergeants Earle W. Wilson, James B. Lepley, George R. Boustead, Claude V. Hart, and Private Nick Costianes. There were others who had won the decoration, but they were either dead or in the hospital recovering from wounds. Many others, whose feats of daring and courage fully qualified them for the award, were not honored at this time further than by the written commendations which they received from the Division commander.

On this same day Lieutenants Christopher, Cotter, Lainson, and Younkin received the order appointing them captains — a reward of their splendid service and demonstrated ability. Lieutenant Lainson had commanded L Company in every engagement since May, while we were still in Lorraine. Lieutenant Cotter had commanded Company K at various intervals during the absence of Captain Hupp, and it was he who had led it across the Ourcq. Lieutenant Christopher, long a member of Company M, had commanded Company G since the relief from the Château-Thierry operation, but now that

Lieutenant Younkin, who had commanded it from early March until the 26th of July when he was wounded, returned from the hospital, Christopher was re-assigned to command his old outfit. This necessitated the transfer to A Company of Captain Briggs, who had been promoted two weeks before. Captain Casey, upon his release from the hospital, had succeeded Major Ross as Operations Officer, leaving Lieutenant Bradley in command of Company F. With the loss of so many old officers and the addition of new, the last six weeks had seen a great change in personnel.

The next move, on the night of the 7th, took the regiment to a wood three kilometers south of Toul. It was a short march—a matter of only eight or ten kilometers—but one long to be remembered, especially by the Third Battalion. When the troops left the main road they switched to a country path scarcely wide enough for them to march four abreast. It had started to rain and the night was so intensely black that it was like walking blindfolded. The guides of the Third Battalion mistook the trail and led the men up a slippery hill in quite the wrong direction. The wagon train was following close behind when the error was discovered, and before the aberrant column could be set right it had to plod all the way to the top of the hill and then back, for the wagons could not turn on the road and the troops could not pass them. As they could not see where they were going the men, who were roundly cursing the person responsible for the mix-up, grasped hands and hopefully followed a leader in whom they reposed a strange confidence. The rain, whipped by gusts of wind, was coming down in sheets now and the water was rushing down the hill in torrents. Guided by the frequent spurts

of jagged lightning, after stumbling into all the bushes and ditches within stumbling distance, the battalion finally reached its muddy bivouac in the valley. The I Company kitchen, while attempting to cross a narrow stone bridge, aimed badly and toppled over into the creek, but neither driver nor animals were injured. Some of the men pitched their tents and some did not; they were soaked to the skin anyhow, and there wasn't much use in going to that trouble when one couldn't get any wetter if he tried. Many just wrapped up in a blanket and propped themselves up against a convenient tree to await the coming of day.

Early in the morning the clouds rolled away and the sun came out full force to the aid of a shivering regiment. Most of the men were content to rest this day, though some few energetic souls slipped away to Toul to see the city. All were required to keep under cover — the orders were explicit — for there were occasional enemy planes hovering overhead and it was vitally important that they should not detect the concentration of troops near the front.

Maps were issued to the higher officers here, and for the first time it was learned definitely where the 168th was to attack. Encouraging reports of the hundreds of airplanes and tanks, of the mass of artillery, and of the thousands of soldiers to be thrown against the enemy in this operation continued to drift into camp all day. Those whose curiosity had led them to Toul saw there representatives of more American divisions than had ever before been brought together. In fact, the whole back area was teeming with soldiers, and the one thought that occupied every mind was the coming battle.

At seven o'clock on the evening of the 8th the regiment

marched out, with the Forêt de la Reine, twenty-one kilometers away, as its destination. The route lay through Toul, Bruley, Lagney, Ménil-la-Tour, and Sanzey. The roads were frightfully congested — it seemed that the entire American army was using this one artery to the front and was trying to cram all its transportation on it at the same time. Guns by the score, hundreds of trucks, and countless horse-drawn vehicles were moving forward in an unbroken stream. Time and again the regiment was held up by the traffic — there was scarcely a kilometer in which the column was not forced to halt for periods of five to twenty minutes. This, and the muddy, slippery roads, made the march excessively tiring.

Stalled trucks were slumped over into the ditches along the way, particularly at the road turns. It had been a difficult, almost hopeless, task to keep to the greasy roads without lights and constantly giving way to permit other vehicles and troops to pass. Men were working over them, sweating, and cursing the elements, the mud, the Germans, and anything else that came into their minds.

Thank Heaven, it was such a dismal night that the Boche planes were keeping to their hangars; had they ventured out a rich harvest was awaiting them on these jammed highways. The farther the column went, the worse the roads became, and when it turned off the main highway at Sanzey it struck mud knee-deep. Morning was then not far off, and it was necessary to get the troops under cover before daylight.

The Band was leading. Several times it had taken the wrong path, and had to turn back. The men were about dead — for some time there had been no sound but heavy breathing and the squush, squush of feet working up and

down in the sucking mud — and they had reached the point where they were ready to lie down where they were. It was then that the order came to quicken the pace. That was piling it on a bit thick! From up near the head of the column someone burst out with the remark, loud enough for the whole company to hear: "Oh, Hell, what's the use of hurrying — we're late anyhow." Ordinarily this might not strike one as the most excruciatingly amusing of witticisms, but at the moment the absolute absurdity of it caught them all, and set them to laughing so, that before the effect had entirely worn off they found themselves in their camp in an almost cheerful frame of mind. Such is the reaction to small things when troops are strained to the limit.

Fortunately, the rain held off until after the regiment was under the cover of its tents, and then it came down in buckets. All would have liked to spend the forenoon in bed, but long before they had planned to rise after the night of fatigue the field officers and company commanders were called to go forward to make reconnaissance of the positions the 168th was to take over.

Tired as they were, they had to hike more than twenty kilometers to the front and back, and about all they saw was a tangled mass of barbed wire and a belt of desolate country torn by four years of shelling. Americans of the 89th Division were then in the trenches, holding a quiet sector that in a few days was to be transformed into a nightmare of fury. When these officers returned, buoyed up with the hope of a hot meal, they found neither kitchens nor troops in the spot they had left — only a guide to direct them to a new bivouac four kilometers deeper in the forest.

That evening, while in the midst of supper, the regi-

ment had been ordered to move as soon as it could get its equipment together, and it was soon ploughing through the glutinous mud toward the Etang Romé. So frightful were the roads — mud, traffic, and darkness — that it took five hours to cover the four kilometers, under ordinary conditions an hour's march.

The heavily wooded Forêt de la Reine, measuring roughly eight kilometers in length and six in width, was dotted by a number of sizable ponds, the largest of which, the Etang Romé, marked the western limit of the 168th's area. Marshy in the best of weather, this forest had been transformed by the constant downpour into a dripping swamp; and the few unimproved roads cutting through its leafy fastness were little better than bogs, yet they were called upon to support a tremendous traffic. Here, under the protection of the trees, the entire Rainbow Division was encamped, awaiting the day set for the attack.

With the front but ten kilometers away, the necessity for concealment was even greater than it had been south of Toul. The men were not permitted to smoke after nightfall, and the kitchen fires had to be extinguished for fear of attracting Boche planes. It was a depressing existence, sitting around with nothing to do but listen to the endless drip of the rain, with no way of getting thoroughly dry — a poor way of conditioning troops for the rigors of battle.



## XXXII

### THE ST. MIHIEL ATTACK

THE St. Mihiel salient, formed in September, 1914, projecting about twenty-two kilometers into French territory and covering an area of approximately two hundred square miles, was the narrowest, most angular, and most persistent of all the wedges on the Western Front. It jutted off from the general line of the front near the village of Les Eparges, seventeen kilometers southeast of Verdun, the western face running almost due south for twenty kilometers to St. Mihiel. Les Eparges is on the reverse slopes of the Hauts de Meuse, and this face bridged the high hills between the plain of the Woëvre and the valley of the Meuse, crossed the river to the small bridgehead which the Germans had established around the suburb and hill of Chauvencourt opposite St. Mihiel when they first captured the city. This bridgehead, while scarcely more than two square kilometers in area, was large enough to effectively cut the Verdun-Toul railway, a most important line of communication to the French. Crossing the Meuse just above St. Mihiel, the line running east again cut through the heights of the Meuse, and dropped to the plain of the Woëvre at Apremont. From there it ran in a straight line east to a point on the Moselle just north of Pont-à-Mousson, about forty kilometers from St. Mihiel.

It was important from a military standpoint because it interrupted the French communications from east to west on the main railway from Paris to Nancy; because it

covered the strategic center of Metz and the vitally important Briey iron basin; and because it remained a constant threat in an attack against Verdun.

Thousands of lives had been sacrificed by the French in an effort to wipe out the "Hernia", as they called it. They had attempted to reduce it in an attack commencing in February, 1915, and lasting through April of that year. After a tremendous loss of life, all they had gained was the village of Les Eparges. Attacks delivered on the southern face the following summer were likewise unsuccessful. One was made in the vicinity of Apremont, and there was another important thrust, at the Bois le Prêtre on the right flank. In months of bitter fighting the French had made some slight gains in the latter region but were forced to relinquish them in a powerful German counter-attack. From that time on no major operations were attempted in the salient, and it settled down to become a consistently "quiet" sector.

The southern face had been the early training ground for several American divisions — the 1st, 26th, 82nd, and 89th. It was at Seicheprey in April that an overwhelming force of Germans had swooped down upon the National Guardsmen from New England and hit them so cruelly.

Back as far as September, 1917, the American Staff had planned the reduction of the St. Mihiel salient as America's first exclusive operation, and now General Pershing was himself to assume the actual command of the action. He had determined to drive through the two base points of the right angle, and, by closing in behind the head of the salient, to reduce it in its entirety with its contents of men and material.

Thus conceived, the undertaking demanded a thorough coördination and rapid execution. A main attack on the

south face was to strike northward on a fifteen mile front west of the Moselle, and a similar but less powerful attack was to force the way eastward on the western face. The two were to meet at a point near the center of the base of the triangle. The line stretching across the top of the salient from Pont-à-Mousson to Fresnes-en-Woëvre, roughly describing the top of the sector, was the objective.

On the south the attack was to cross the Woëvre plain, moving northward on Vigneulles and St. Benoit. From the west the advance starting at and south of Combres had to traverse the eastern fringe of the Côtes de Meuse, penetrate several miles of wooded territory, and reach Vigneulles from the northwest. This town lay ten miles northeast of St. Mihiel, and the chord passing through it and connecting the two faces measured some twelve miles. Speed in attaining the point of junction formed the first requirement to success. Thereby, only, could any great number of the enemy be cut off from retreat.

The 42nd Division was now in the Fourth Army Corps — in fast company, for the veteran First Division of the Regular Army was to be its neighbor on the left and the gallant 89th, the pick of the National Army, was to flank it on the right. In the rear, as corps reserve, was the Third Division, which had won its name by barring the Germans on the Marne.

While in the Forêt de la Reine the attack order, a marvel of detail, was received. The Rainbow was to make its assault on the southern face of the salient from Seicheprey to a point just west of Flirey, and it was scheduled to play an important rôle in the drama. The order stated that "The 42nd Division will attack in the center [of the 4th Corps] and will deliver the main blow

in the direction of the heights overlooking the Madine River, exerting its greatest efforts east of Maizerais and Essey". The mission of the 89th Division was clearly indicated: "This division will support the advance of the 42nd Division on the left, to include the capture of Essey, by occupying the heights north of Euvezin." Field Orders No. 36, Headquarters of the First Division, read: "The 42nd Division will attack toward the heights overlooking the Madine River within its sector. The 1st Division will assist this blow by promptly taking Richecourt and Lahayville, taking or turning the Quart de Reserve, and capturing the heights south of the Madine River". So it was clear that the 42nd was to be the head of the hammer, with the rest of the corps helping to swing it. Not that they themselves did not have important parts to play individually, but that the objectives of the Rainbow were of prime importance to the success of the general attack. Should either fail of its mission, the whole operation might fail. But for the first phase of the assault the 42nd was to advance without regard to the progress of the neighboring divisions.

The objective of this first phase of the first day's attack was a line just short of the Rupt de Mad, a small tributary of the Moselle running northeast from the heights of the Meuse, and forming with its gorge a difficult barrier to a northward advance. This line was to be reached early in the morning. The final objective for the first day was a line through Thiaucourt and the heights beyond the Rupt de Mad to Nonsard, and it was to be reached by evening. The first phase of the second day carried the line to Vigneulles, and was to be attained as soon as possible. Beyond that lay the army objective, a line closing the head of the salient. The line of exploitation

would take the outpost zone as far ahead of this line as it could be forced without undue effort and sacrifice, for ahead of the final objective lay the strongly prepared Michel position, a part of the Hindenburg line.

The positions opposite the Rainbow were strong by nature, and the defenses elaborate. The first German trench system consisted of two lines, with various connections, on an average of about two hundred yards apart, with wire in front of both of them. A third line about half a mile beyond the second was similarly protected by wire, and a mile back of that still another trench with yet more wire. In fact, when the doughboys came to view it, it looked as if the whole countryside had been sown with wire. In the four years of their occupation the Germans had strengthened the salient by a mass of artificial works — concrete trenches, deep and comfortable dugouts, and well-protected machine gun positions. Their points of observation, particularly that on Mont Sec, an isolated butte rising 451 feet above the valley bottom just northeast of Apremont, dominated the entire Allied line and all its approaches. They could detect the slightest movement by daytime, and they also knew just where to direct their interdiction fire to best menace circulation by night.

Holding these defenses across from the front to be taken over by the 42nd was one of the few good German divisions in the salient — in fact the only first class division in the sector — the Tenth. One of its regiments, the 6th Grenadiers, which lay directly in the path of the 168th, had tried to cross the Marne at Mézy in July, but had been held in check by the Third Division. West of this regiment were the 47th and 398th Regiments of the Tenth Division, in the order named, while to the east, in

the sector of the 89th Division, was the German 77th Reserve Division, with the 257th, 419th, and 352nd Regiments in line from west to east.

The front from which the 168th was to attack was on the right flank of the Division, from the western edge of the Bois de Jury to the sector limit. The position was on a hillside sloping down into a wide valley with a heavily wooded and broken country ahead of it. Directly to the front stretched the dense and highly organized Bois de la Sonnard, which gave promise of a hard tussle.

The Third Battalion was designated as the assaulting unit of the regiment, and the Second as support. The First Battalion was to follow to the left in the fourth line behind the Third Battalion of the 167th and was to act as brigade reserve.

The order, a voluminous document consisting of fifty-one pages of closely typewritten matter, indicated in detail the mission of every unit. There were instructions for the synchronization of watches; on signals to and from the airplanes, and from the tanks to the infantry; for the care of wounded; for the organization of the conquered ground; for the procedure in the event the enemy withdrew before the attack; plans for communication and supply; and methods of dealing with counter-attacks, should any develop. In fact, every situation and contingency were provided for. There was a description of the enemy lines compiled from information from airplane photographs, patrols, and prisoners. In this great mass of excellently prepared information, with maps to illustrate and photographs to aid in the visualization, there was hardly a question that was not reasonably well answered. The plans for the coördination of the different arms of the service and the

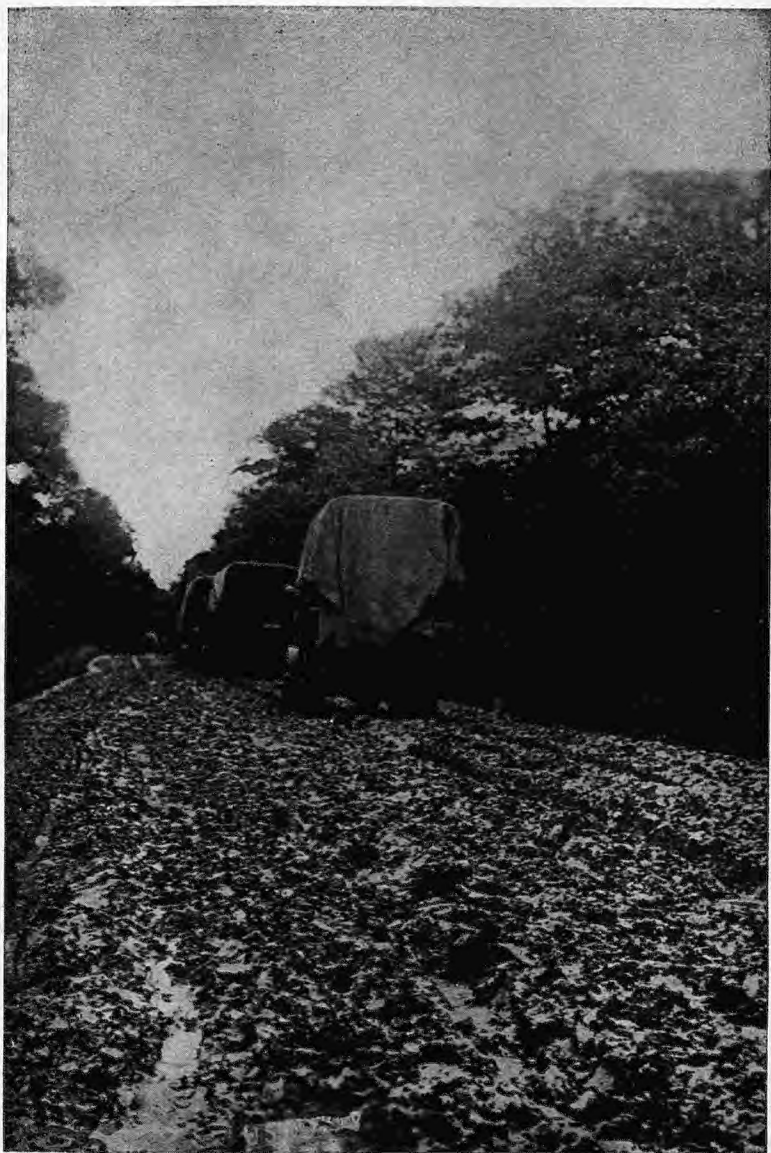
thoroughness of every provision were most encouraging.

The engineers were directed to peg out the jumping-off line and the routes of approach, both of which were to be marked by tape or wire on the night before the attack. It was evidently anticipated that there would be trouble in crossing the Rupt de Mad and the Madine River, for the brigade commanders were to confer with the division engineer to provide the necessary measures to effect their crossing.

Another important point was covered by the following paragraph: "All plans will be based on the fact that great difficulty may be expected in passing the hostile wire. Dependence for breaches cannot be placed entirely upon the artillery and tanks. Each brigade will be provided with 75 Bangalore torpedoes. Two heavy wire cutters will be issued to each squad of front line battalions."

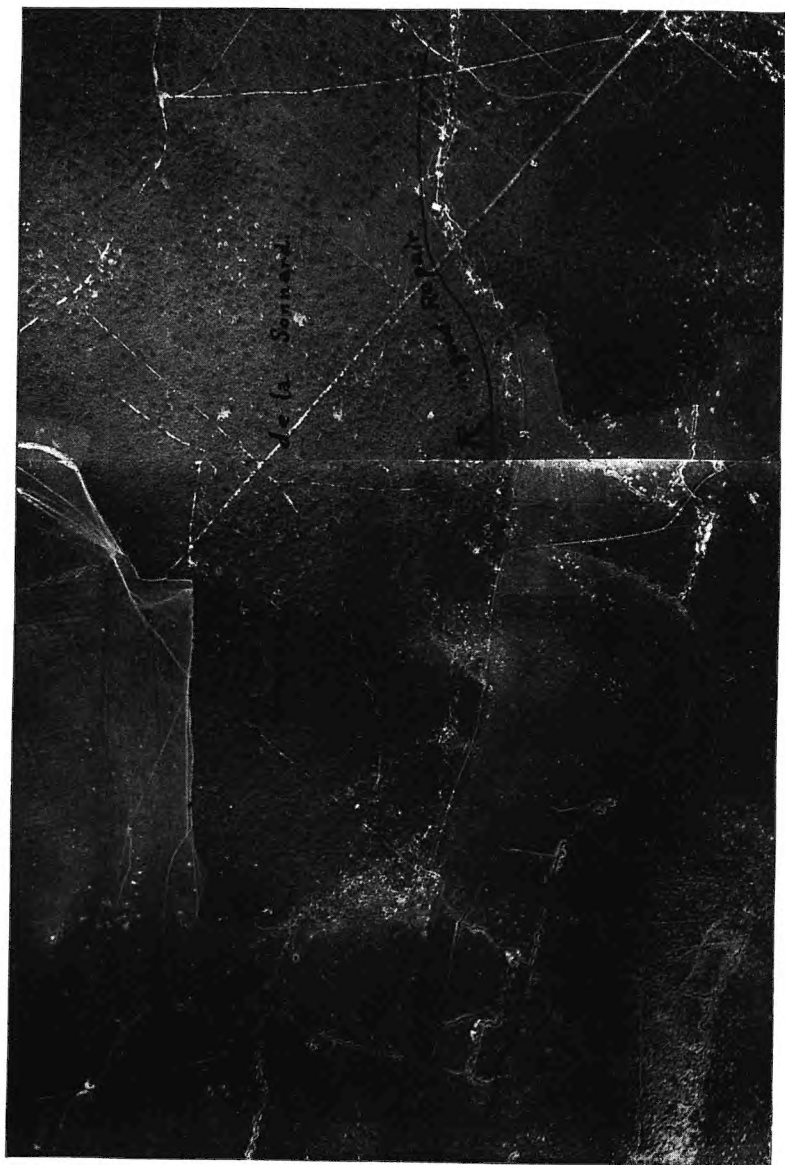
The artillery time-table, indicating just how long the fire would remain on each position, was carefully detailed. The rate of march of the attacking troops was set at one hundred meters in four minutes up to, and including, the hostile intermediate positions, and was thereafter to be determined by the local situation.

Assigned to the 42nd Division were the First Battalion of the 51st Pioneer Infantry (less two companies) as labor troops; fifteen batteries of 75's (one regiment of French of nine batteries, and one American regiment of six); six batteries of 155 C. S.; the Third Trench Mortar Battery (six-inch Stokes, motorized); the 327th American Renault Battalion of Tanks (forty-five), and two groups (eighteen) of French Schneider Tanks; two platoons of Company A, First Gas Regiment, with eight 4-inch Stokes mortars to hurl thermite bombs into the enemy front line — all this in addition to the regular auxiliary units of the Division.



ROAD LEADING TO BIVOUAC OF THE 168TH IN  
THE FORET DE LA REINE SEPTEMBER 11, 1918





AIRPLANE PHOTO OF GERMAN POSITIONS THROUGH WHICH THE  
168TH INFANTRY ATTACKED ON THE 12TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1918

The organizations assigned to operate specifically with the 84th Brigade included Battery B of the 151st Field Artillery, which was to act as accompanying artillery and which was to follow along with the infantry after the capture of the enemy's first position to snipe at targets point-blank—an exceedingly dangerous mission; the Second Battalion of the 117th Engineers, minus F Company; the 327th Battalion of Tanks; one platoon of the Gas and Flame troops with four of their 4-inch mortars; and finally a detachment of one officer and fifteen men of the 117th Train Headquarters and Military Police to round up stragglers and to take charge of prisoners.

The artillery assigned to support this brigade included our old friends of the 151st Field Artillery; three battalions of 75's from the French 228th Field Artillery; one battalion of the Eighteenth Field Artillery (155's); and the Third Trench Mortar Battery. This time the doughboys were going to have real support.

As the surprise effect was essential, all troop movement between three and twenty-one o'clock was forbidden north of Toul, and the greatest precautions were to be taken to avoid enemy aerial observation.

Immediately upon the receipt of the order the officers began studying the maps and memorizing the time-tables and signals. The exact time of the attack was not stated, but, as customary, was veiled under the broad and elusive characterization of *H* hour and *D* day.

Intelligence reports told of the enemy being alerted every night in anticipation of an attack. There was a report that he was bringing in reserves, and another that he was evacuating the sector. You could take your choice. "If he isn't getting out now, he'd better before we start after him", remarked someone whose confidence had been pushed up to the top by a perusal of the order.

The alertness of the enemy in putting his fire on the roads and woods where he imagined troops to be working indicated to the Americans that he was nervously awaiting developments. If the element of surprise, worth more than thousands of tons of shells sent into his lines, had been lost our side, there was the probability of having to pay dearly for our victory. Had he in some mysterious way learned of our intention to break through on this front? All France knew it; so why not the Germans who had their spies everywhere? Perhaps, from his splendid observation post high up on Mont Sec he had witnessed the activity in and behind the lines. As a matter of fact, the enemy, as was later discovered, was fully aware of our plans and was then in the process of evacuation. But he felt reasonably secure against attack until the end of the rainy season which rendered all movement so difficult. Unfortunately for him, the Americans were working on schedule and were not to be deterred by weather or anything else; as it turned out the attack came long before he was prepared to meet it.

During the period spent in the Forêt de la Reine, Colonel Tinley, whose headquarters had been established in the Tuilerie Farm, a kilometer west of Sanzey, was working incessantly to see that everything was in readiness and that every disposition was made, so that the ways of the regiment should be smooth when it launched off into attack. This was a doubly important affair for him, for it was the first battle in which he alone would be responsible for the entire organization. He had every right to expect the utmost coöperation of his troops, and they in turn had good reason to believe that they would be protected by an intelligent and considerate regimental direction. The Colonel had been called to endless confer-

ences, yet he found time to give to his men, visiting down to the platoons. It was a constantly changing family in those days, but he contrived to keep acquainted with it, having something personal to say to each officer — a bit of advice here and there, a word of encouragement to those about to go under fire for the first time, and expressions of confidence to the old men.

On the 10th, during a let-up in the rain while the soldiers were sitting out in the open cleaning their rifles and polishing up their bayonets, a long column of seventy-five snorting whippet tanks went lumbering up the road, defying the mud, challenging the unseen enemy with their machine guns and one-pounders poked menacingly from the low turrets. The leaden skies, with their promise of continuing showers, kept the Boche planes at home, and in the back areas movements could be made in comparative safety. If the procession had been staged with the express intention of raising the morale of the troops, it could not have been better planned.

“I’d rather see those steel babies roll past than have a week’s leave”, enthusiastically remarked a sergeant who had almost got to Paris.

The whole regiment was soon lined up along the boggy road, counting them, estimating their power, discussing their probable effect on the enemy, and peering up the winding trail for the end of the parade. These engines, and the numerous batteries of heavy guns — big naval pieces with cavern-like maws — hidden in the surrounding woods, were visible proof of the support the attackers were to have.

That night the Signal Platoon, together with the detachment of the 117th Field Signal Battalion assigned to

it, set out for the front to reconnoiter the ground and to prepare its lines. With Captain Nead and Lieutenant Hutchins in the lead, it left the Etang Romé about nine o'clock with two wagons hauling equipment. They should have reached their destination in the Bois de Jury by midnight, but because of the traffic jam and the mud, it was two o'clock when the men commenced to unload the wagons at the entrance to the wood. Just then the Boche began shelling, and the first shot, a roaring 150, crashed right in front of the wagons. It came with a suddenness that threw everything into confusion. The men ran to cover and the frenzied horses neighed and reared in terror, and finally the leading team bolted. It was then that Captain Nead left his saddle horse and rushed to the leaders of the second wagon and prevented them from stampeding with the first. In the meantime shells were striking all around him. But it was the first one that did the damage, wounding Privates Fay H. Houlton, Frank W. Wilken, and Claude O. Richardson of the 168th, and Private Roy Gibson of the 117th Field Signal Battalion. Private Wilken was the most seriously injured, and after a long fight he died on November 11th as the rest of the Allied world was celebrating the cessation of hostilities. Captain Nead's own horse was killed, as were two of the draught animals, one of them struck while the Captain was holding it.

When the flurry was over, the men went on with their work, while a detail under Corporal Jansma went on a long search for the missing wagon. They found the horses placidly nibbling grass several kilometers away and brought them back.

It was a bad start for the Signal Platoon, but the loss of these men did not retard the completion of their

mission, for all that had been scheduled for the night was finished before daylight. The plans did not allow for the deferment of any work — it was a program that required the smallest units of the regiment to function exactly and precisely.

The Third Battalion, too, had been ordered to proceed to the front that night, to relieve troops of the 89th Division in that part of the line from which they were to attack. Late in the afternoon Major Brewer's men prepared for the move, striking their tents and rolling their packs. But at the last moment, as they were ready to march, word came to direct them to remain where they were for the night.

On the 11th, a dreary day of rain and depression, it was announced that the great attack was set for dawn of the following morning. That meant that the regiment must be in its assigned positions before one o'clock, when the Allied bombardment was to be loosed. In the meantime the schedule of advance and the artillery time-table had been revised, so the old must be forgotten and the new committed to memory.

The orders had stated that all officers taking part in the attack should be equipped exactly as the men. This was to lessen the casualties from snipers, who sought always to disorganize the assaulting troops by concentrating on the officers and picking them off first. The men were to carry just their reserve rations, ammunition, and one blanket apiece; packs and all other equipment were to be left behind under guard in the woods. In the afternoon the ammunition was distributed — 250 rounds of 30 calibre for each man, an ungodly load for the auto-rifles, and a few grenades apiece for the bombers and riflemen.

The Machine Gun Company was now split into three

platoons, one to each battalion, and the 37mm and Stokes Platoons were attached to the Third Battalion, as they were to be disposed in its rear to push forward with it during the attack. It had been discovered that musicians were difficult to replace, so the Band was no longer to act as litter-bearers, but was to remain in the Forêt de la Reine with the Supply Company. The administrative and personnel departments of Regimental Headquarters were to keep to the station at the Tuilerie Farm.

Lieutenant Doocy, the Third Battalion Intelligence Officer, moved out first with a liaison group to mark the road. They had the benefit of the last fading light of day to help them over soggy fields and on through Mandresaux-4-Tours, where the last civilians were frantically rushing to save their household goods and chattels.

At seven o'clock A and B Companies next took the road. Captain Briggs and Captain Kelley were to take over the trenches from the 89th Division men to permit the latter to shift over to the right to their own sector, which had been contracted considerably for the attack. These two companies were to relieve all but the outpost positions, so that in the event of any enemy raid before one o'clock, the relief would not be discovered. When the Third Battalion arrived in position, A and B were to be regrouped under prearranged cover in the Bois de Jury to take their place as support companies of their battalion when it passed through the front line.

Soon the Second Battalion was on the way to its position in support along the Beaumont-Bernécourt road, about three kilometers in rear of the line of departure. Shortly after, C and D Companies started forward on their five-kilometer hike to a position about two hundred meters east of Hamonville, which Major Ross had reconnoitered in the morning.

The Third Battalion left the Forêt de la Reine at nine o'clock in the midst of a heavy downpour. The road was hub-deep in mud, and although it was less than ten kilometers to the front it seemed like thirty. It was the natural thing for these troops, marching silently to battle, to meditate. They were to be the aggressors in an operation comparable to the July attack of the Boche in the Champagne. Would it be like that? None of those who had lived through that terrible bombardment had forgotten what had happened to the enemy when he tried to break through to Châlons. Would they, too, see the trenches blasted to nothingness about them? Would the Germans check their attack before they got over the top?

Lifting mud-clogged feet forward in the boggy trough, dripping with rain and perspiration, they finally made out through the mist the jagged outline of battered Mandres. Then the column halted. It was impossible to make the least headway through that frightful traffic jam. Mandres was the small end of the funnel through which thousands of vehicles and soldiers were simultaneously trying to pass. Long lines of infantry, men of the 42nd and 3rd Divisions; machine gun carts, artillery caissons, powerful lorries, vibrant engines impatiently sputtering; back-firing motorcycles; automobiles grating their clutches; high-bodied French forage wagons, gesticulating *poilus* atop; great farm wagons, oxen drawn; tiny donkey carts; mounted horsemen trotting up and down the line trying to disentangle the web — a bewildering jumble.

Eventually the Third Battalion, already behind schedule, freed itself from the maze and again moved toward the front. The enemy was now shelling the road, and word was passed along that a man had been caught in



the church tower of Mandres flashing a signal to the German lines. Treacherous, water-filled shell holes lined the way, and from time to time, when the column gave way to permit the passage of lorries coming from the other direction, men went floundering in up to their waists. The rain was now coming down in torrents. Here were all the physical effects to presage a tragedy — blackness of night, driving rain, lightning flashes, roll of thunder.

The Boche was shelling the road directly ahead with 150's, and already the acrid smoke of explosion was choking the leading squads, so the column was halted and the men scattered out into the fields where they waited for a few minutes, shells bursting near them, until the bombardment ceased. At the cross-road a flash of lightning showed a dark sickening pool, and off in the ditch a man was moaning. The dark bulk of trees now loomed up before them, the Bois de Jury. They were not far from the German line and the trenches from which they were to jump off. The guides, in the darkness, had erred; and after they had got into the sharp-angled, winding trenches, some of the units found that they had been led astray. The intense blackness of the night had not been reckoned on, and the markings placed by the engineers were practically invisible and therefore useless. It was nearly time for our barrage, and it was vital that the assaulting troops be in position before it started, for if the Boche should retaliate on our line, which was to be expected, they might never get in place. Joining hands, the column swirled back and forth through the blindness of the night, slipping and stumbling over the slimy duckboards, cracking their helmets on the low crosspieces.

With a breath-taking rush the bombardment suddenly

opened. The field pieces near the trenches cracked savagely and the heavy guns, belching forth their terror-striking missiles, rumbled and growled to the rear. The sky was emblazoned with quick, projecting tongues of light, and the air above quivered with the swish and scream of flying shells. The whole earth was vibrating. While the artillery hammered and pounded, the men went tearing across the narrow trench bridges, floundering and cursing. Finally they got to their proper locations, and in spite of the terrific roar many of them slumped down in the mud where they were and slept. They needed all the rest they could get.

Captain Lainson reported L Company in position in the old French trenches in front of the main line of the American defensive system, and Captain Christopher was all ready on his left. K and I Companies were lined up behind them. Regimental Headquarters was established back in the Bois de Jury, and with Colonel Tinley were Captain Casey, Captain Bunch, and Lieutenant Bentz.

The two companies in the first line were to advance in two waves, a half of each platoon in each wave. In line from left to right were the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Platoons of M Company; the First, Fourth, Second, and Third Platoons of L. The left element of M Company was to maintain liaison with Company C of the Alabama regiment, and the right of L Company with Company K, 356th Infantry, 89th Division. Company I was supporting Captain Christopher, and the Fourth Platoon, under Lieutenant Sefton, was assigned to immediately follow M Company as moppers-up. K Company was backing Captain Lainson, and Lieutenant Tushek with the First Platoon was to mop-up for that

company. As there were but two lanes cut in our wire for each company, the men would have to march through in single file.

With the assaulting companies were twenty men from the 117th Engineers, and directly behind them was the 37mm Platoon, officered by Lieutenant Wells. The platoon of the Machine Gun Company attached to the battalion was in rear of Companies I and K.

Major Stanley placed F Company, commanded by Lieutenant Bradley, with its leading elements abreast the support companies of the Third Battalion, its mission being to maintain liaison with the 89th Division. Then he brought up Lieutenant Seeley's platoon of H Company, and Lieutenant Todd's platoon of G, to follow at two hundred yards as moppers-up for the Third Battalion as a whole. The rest of these two companies formed the front line of their battalion, G on the right, H on the left, and E was in support at five hundred yards.

The barrage continued to roar. The 2971 guns, many of them heavy, in the service of the First Army were churning up the Boche lines, his rear areas, and communications. The regiment had been prepared for, and fully expected, a severe retaliatory fire on its trenches, but the enemy confined his feeble efforts to counter-battery work until his guns were smothered into inaction by the overwhelming storm from the American side. So the bombardment was a very much one-sided affair; and while the volume of sound was tremendous, for immensity it could not compare with the artillery duel of the Champagne battle — even though a million shells were hurled across to the Boche in the period from 1 to 5 A. M.

The strain of waiting through those four hours while

the combined artillery of the divisions tore up the enemy positions and shook the earth was tremendous. Some few, however, slept straight through to the last moment. A natural excitement held the rest in its grasp, and the atmosphere was surcharged with tension.

But the tedious minutes tick off inexorably, and when at length the hour hand approaches five the sleeping are shaken to attention and the units formed up and checked. For a moment the artillery seems to hesitate, and then comes down with a frightful roar, like the opening of the sluices of a Titan dam, concentrated on the Boche first positions. The Bois de la Sonnard is a raging furnace as the hurricane of explosive sweeps through it, felling trees, crushing in dugouts, battering trenches into shapelessness. Through the rolling smoke shoot darts of magenta flame. As yet no answering fire from the German artillery.

“Do you think we’ll break through?”, nervously questions a replacement.

“Sure as Hell will, Buddy”, replies a veteran sergeant comfortingly. “You’re going to see some Heinies do a quick step before long.”

With forced calm, the officers wait, watch in hand. One minute more. The men are braced for the order. The leaping guns beat their drum fire, and the ears ring with the might of the sound. Five o’clock. Above the tumult shrill the whistles, and simultaneously a spontaneous beam flickers unevenly along the front. The Third Battalion clambers out over the top and starts its slow, deadly march to the German works — smoking!

At the first sight of the khaki wave, the Boche line blazes with flares and signals of every hue. Brilliant and dazzling, they call from the shadows to the comrades in

the rear: "Do not forsake us. Back us up with everything you have. The Yanks are coming."

The crushing bombardment had not driven the gallant lookouts from their posts, and they had fulfilled their mission.

Then begins the terrible rat-a-tat-tat of the machine guns. No wonder the new men are panic-stricken. One of our own thermite shells bursts nearby, spraying its flaming contents over the hill-side and heightening the dim morning haze to the brightness of midday. "My God, what was that?", cries a man under fire for the first time. More bombs follow the first, and then a few enemy shells begin to drop in the midst of the advancing lines. The officers and non-coms are trying desperately to keep the new men in formation. Like sheep, they are terrified and bewildered, and commands are meaningless to them. German flares, held aloft by parachutes, float over the field and silhouette the threading lines, their bayonets at the high port. They have finally worked their way through the lanes in our wire. Day is breaking, and in the half-light a magnificent picture unrolls itself as they swarm down the hill. The broad stretch of the plain is dotted with thousands of soldiers, like busy brown ants crawling over burnt sugar. Far to the left Mont Sec is boiling and foaming like an angry volcano. The Boche lines are practically obscured by the clouds of sulphurous smoke that rise high in saffron folds above it. One is awed by the immensity of it all, but gives it no more than a passing glance, for the swell of the artillery from the rear and the vicious cadence of the German machine guns quickly recall one to the work in hand.

Now they are out in the open, in the spongy, broken waste of No Man's Land, marching slowly. Where

are the tanks that are to cut the way through the enemy wire? Hopelessly mired, far behind, and the infantry must go on without them. American machine guns and Chauchats are rattling away at the Boche line, but his fire is undiminished, and to his Maxims he now adds the blasts of heavy minenwerfer which crash into the advancing line. It must be that the American barrage is missing the first line.

Our troops are now in the wire, cutting paths under a fusillade of lead and steel. But it is slow business, and soon the barrage will lift entirely from the position. Officers are urging their men to move quickly to get in with the bayonet. On they press, tearing and scratching — cut, cut, rush and jump — hurdling low wire, crouching down in shell holes and up again, falling and stumbling over the hummocky ground, trying to clear the wilderness of wire where they are helpless targets.

Over to the left the diminished line of M Company is checked, but they have broken through the first belt of wire. There is the enemy. You can see him and almost feel the scorching flash of his machine guns as the bullets snap past. An automatic rifleman is knocked out. Another comes up; and Lieutenant Currie, seizing the gun, fires a clip at the enemy post and silences it. As he hands it back and prepares to lead his men on, a sniper's bullet tears through his head and he plunges over dead. Captain Christopher, too, is struck, and streaming with blood is forced to leave the field. Lieutenant Wiener next falls a victim to the enemy fire.

Wallace and Bonham of L Company are close to the enemy, but he is holding them off with his sputtering guns and booming grenades. Lieutenant Thompson has his men through the wire and is storming the line when

he receives his third wound in action, a severe fracture of the thigh. Lieutenant Wheeler with the Third Platoon hurdles the first trench, and then stumbles forward, struck in the stomach. "Go on", he tells his sergeant, "don't stop for me, I'm done for, and not worth bothering with." But they carry him back to the dressing station where he dies. It was his first time under fire, but in the few minutes he was permitted to live he had shown himself to be a dashing leader.

Major Brewer, wounded in the first few strides by a piece of shrapnel, is turned over by the force of a bullet striking his gas mask. His breath is knocked out of him, and just as his adjutant, Lieutenant Tucker, is about to send back word that the battalion commander is dead he regains his breath. But another burst of fire sends a stream of bullets through his clothes, and one of them breaks his arm. However, he remains to direct his men.

The enemy is showering the battalion group. Lieutenant Doocy is hit in the hand, and as he rolls over to give some directions to Sergeant Stephenson, he is shot again, this time through the head. Lieutenant Wells, the commander of the 37mm Platoon, has not advanced far when he is struck in the abdomen by a slug from a high explosive shell. He, too, urges his men forward, but the once famous football player dies before he can be removed from the field.

Now the right of the line has broken. Bonham is in the woods, and Wallace is advancing to meet his death. When a shell breaks close to him and a fatal fragment rips through him, he tells a runner to report to the battalion commander that his line is moving up on the extreme right wing of the advance, supported by elements of Company K. It is his last message on the field, and

Lieutenant Bonham is now the sole officer with the company.

About this time Lieutenant Gibbons is wounded in the shoulder and put out of the fight, leaving M Company without any officers at all. But some of the non-coms are left to carry on, and they urge their men forward. The lines are now so strung out that it is impossible to know what is happening on the flanks.

Major Brewer, forward on a line with his support companies, had ordered I and K Companies to support the line and to carry the attack through the woods on the right while the left waited for the tanks to come to their rescue. When the first line was broken and he saw the stiff resistance of the enemy overcome, as his wounded arm was bleeding profusely he turned the command of his battalion over to Captain Lainson and started for the rear. Wallraf, a fearless runner, who was preceding him, was killed by a machine gun bullet in the stomach, and Private Gibson of L Company, who was standing next to the Captain, was hit in the shoulder.

As I Company rushed up to the line, Lieutenant McCann received a serious bullet wound in the chest. K Company was suffering from snipers and machine gunners. Sergeant McHugh, commanding the Second Platoon, was shot through the heart; and before long Lieutenant Doty, who was experiencing his first battle, was instantly killed by a shell explosion as he led the Fourth Platoon forward.

Fate had chosen indiscriminately. There lay Currie, the dauntless giant, the battle scar of the Champagne scarcely healed, and by his side a replacement so new to the outfit that his name is forgotten; Wallace, surrounded by inanimate figures from his company; Groat, the



faithful runner, having run his last race; Anderson, the corporal; McManus, the sergeant; DeWolf, the private — all the same rank now.

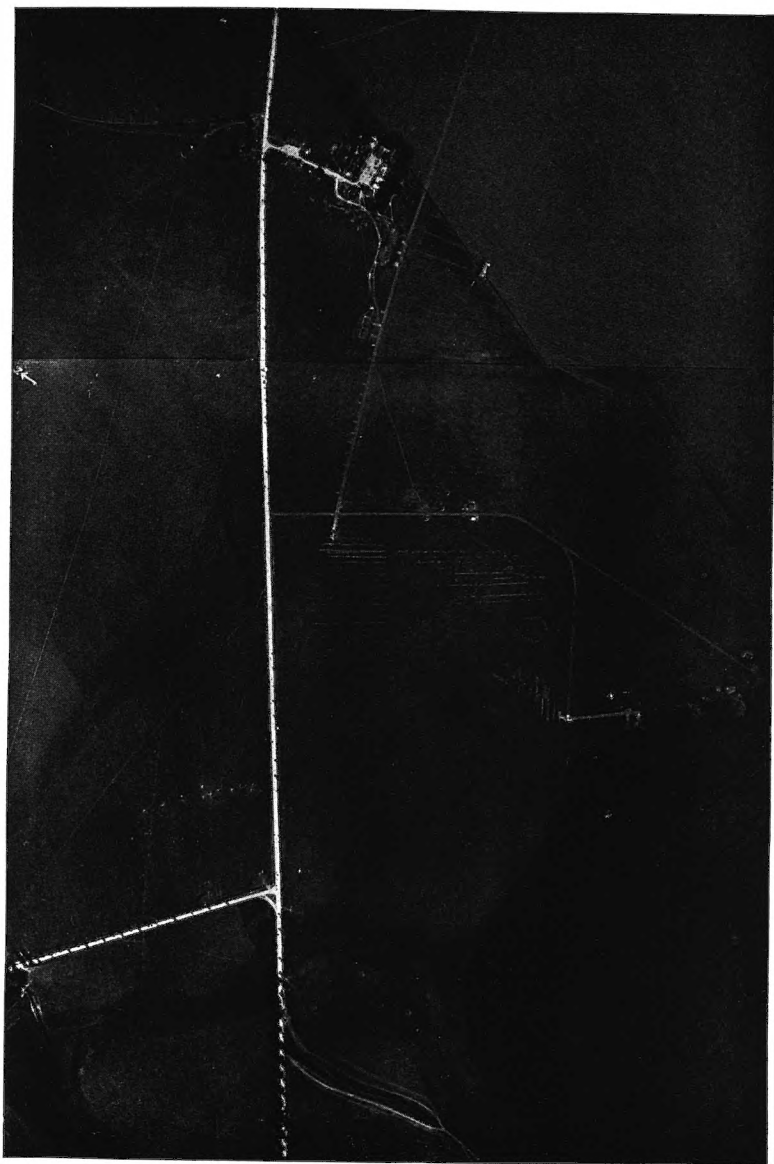
The Third Platoon of K Company under Lieutenant Taber had come forward on Bonham's right to fill in the widening gap between the 168th and the 356th Infantry. The attackers had stormed the second line after a hand-to-hand battle with the enemy in the concrete trenches. They were behind them now, and grey-clad figures were huddled on the firing steps where Yankees' bayonets had pinned them.

Robbed of most of their leaders, the men scrambled in small groups through the woods, dense and matted with underbrush and wire. The enemy third line, well in the interior, with several intervening detached lines, all protected by wire, was yet to be overcome.

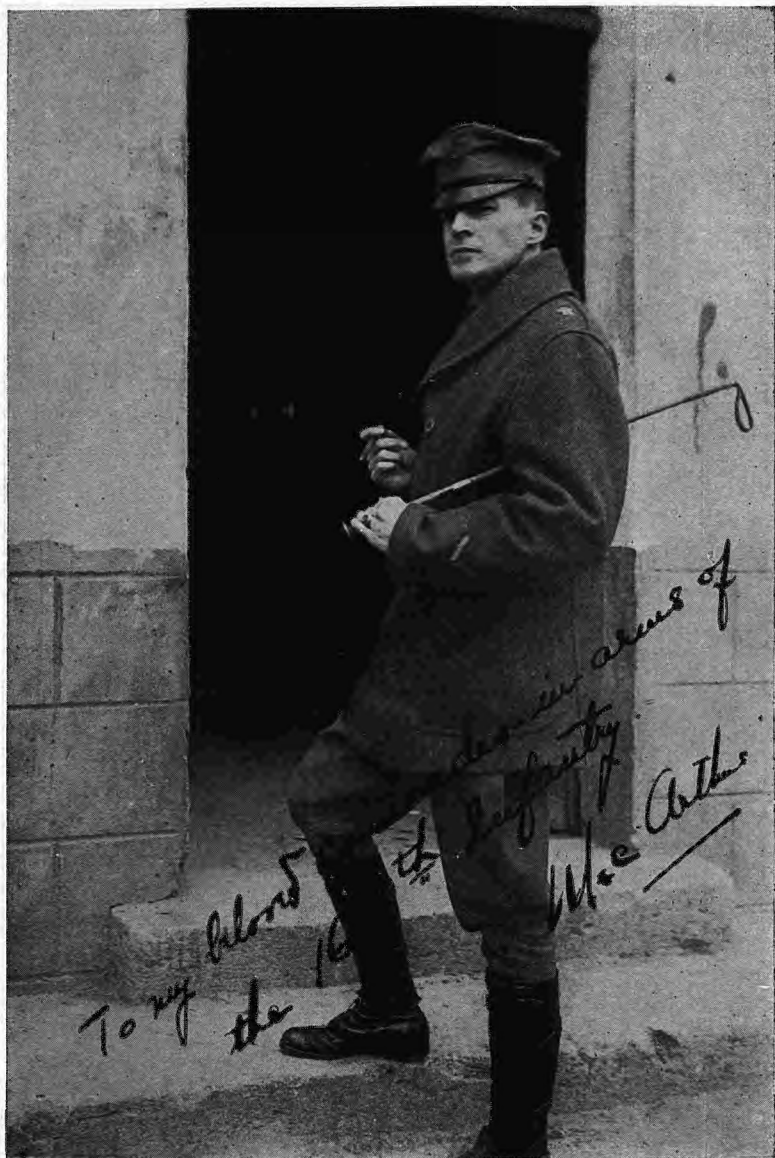
The heavy rains had ceased before morning, and there were hundreds of airplanes above, flying low, directing the artillery and protecting the infantry. The command of the air had been assured the Americans by the concentration on this front of nearly 1500 planes, the greatest number ever assembled for one action in the whole war. This was the only time in the experience of the 168th that the Allies maintained unquestionable superiority in the air, and it was comforting.

The First Battalion of the 167th appeared to be meeting with little resistance and was pushing forward. But the troops on the right had evidently struck some serious obstacle, for they were not yet up on line with the 168th, nor had they been since the beginning of the attack.

It was costing in men, this push forward, but victory was now assured. It was no longer the hopeless task it seemed when the soldiers were floundering in the uncut



AIRPLANE PHOTO OF THE MARIMBOIS SUB-  
SECTOR. MARIMBOIS FARM AT THE TOP



GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, COMMANDER OF THE 84TH INFANTRY BRIGADE

wire and were being laid out before they could get within striking distance of the enemy. Now that they were at his very throat, the enemy was giving way and surrendering, singly and in groups.

The message went back at half past six, "He is kamerading." Now it was only a hurried hunt through the woods, collecting Boches as the line advanced. They were completely demoralized and gave themselves up without a fight. A few shots down the steps of a dugout usually brought forth frightened cries of "Kamerad" and appeals for mercy, followed by the appearance of varying numbers of soldiers of the Kaiser, hands held high, and trembling.

Sergeant Floyd Shields, with a group of eight men who had started out with Lieutenant Gibbons, surrounded twenty of the enemy when they came around through a trench and captured them. Private Terry M. Shafer of M Company entered a dugout which he thought had been cleared, and seeing some dimly outlined figures inside he asked, "Anybody got a cigarette?" "*Kamerad*" was the answer, and to his astonishment five unsought-for prisoners followed him out through the door.

Corporal Ferguson and Private Cleon Jones of K Company, following an empty trench, turned a corner to see a German with a grenade in his hand on the step of a dugout. He quickly disappeared into the shelter, and the two Americans, deciding to wait until the occupants came out so that they could get them one by one, withdrew to an angle of the trench. Nothing happened for a minute, although they could hear sounds of movement underground. They were just about to throw a grenade down the entrance when a German who had come out of a

rear entrance threw a bomb which hit the top of the trench directly above them. The explosion killed Jones instantly, and Ferguson was slightly wounded in several places in addition to being pretty well shaken up. Then to his utter amazement, when they so clearly had the upper hand, twelve Germans, one of whom was an officer, emerged from the dugout with their hands high in the air. By this time some members of the 356th Infantry had come up, and after giving the wounded American first aid took charge of the prisoners.

Although about three hundred prisoners of the Sixth Grenadiers and 47th Infantry of the Tenth Division, and of the 257th Regiment of the 77th Reserve Division are credited to the 168th in this attack, fully twice that number were turned over to troops of the 89th Division who had followed in behind the 168th in the chicanes made in the wire by the Iowa troops. Our men were too few to take care of the Germans who surrendered to them, so they just ordered them to go to the rear by themselves, not forgetting to keep their hands up. Just then no one cared what organization got credit for their capture, as long as they were out of the way.

Private William J. Greulach of the Headquarters Company had a most unexpected family reunion back where the prisoners were being assembled. In a group of a dozen or more, he noticed one man wearing an engraved belt buckle, which he annexed as a souvenir. Greulach, who spoke a little German, noticed that the name on it was the same as his own, and upon investigation found out that the prisoner was a first cousin whom he had never seen.

The wire in the Bois de la Sonnard, strung from tree to tree, over trenches and in them, and belted back and

forth, made fast traveling impossible. The Americans lost their sense of direction, and only vaguely guided by the far-off rolling barrage had the greatest difficulty in orienting themselves. There was so much metal in the woods that the small compasses would not register with any degree of accuracy.

There were numerous nests concealed in the umbrageous depths of the woods which were still holding out, but the forward groups, now well scattered and acting independently, systematically surrounded them. Once they appreciated their peril, the Boches made no attempt to hold their ground, but fled precipitately, if they could; otherwise they yielded to capture. Snipers at a safe distance were taking pot-shots at the Americans from behind trees, and a desultory shelling from German batteries was falling over the area they must cover. A chance 77 fell among a group of prisoners just rounded up by K Company and killed a number of them.

Single-handed, Sergeant Owen C. Hawkins of Company M attacked a machine gun post with his automatic pistol. He wounded the first two who attempted to escape, and then with the aid of Sergeant Boustead and a man from Company I captured seventeen men and three guns.

It certainly was not like the fighting on the Ourcq — the morale of the Germans seemed to have sunk to almost nothing, and once the main system was penetrated they offered little resistance. It was remarked that after the line broke and the first man kameraded the battle turned into a souvenir hunt.

Lieutenant Sefton, following closely in the wake of M Company, had come up on the line when it became scattered, and with his moppers-up helped push through the woods. Lieutenant Tushek had lost the greater part of

his platoon during the advance, but his runner, Private Kurtz, was with him and saved the officer's life by picking off a sniper just as he was about to fire on him, and then accepted the surrender of the five companions of the dead Boche.

A little deeper in the woods they came across the main telephone station in a dugout and captured the operator who had been on duty there for three years. They then moved on to the edge of the woods. There a man raised from a pit and waved a handkerchief tied to a stick. Tushek called to him to come forward, and a dozen more followed him out. Three guns in the nest were in perfect order, but at the bottom, where a shell had struck, lay a German in a pool of blood.

Long lines of prisoners were trailing back from the right, where L and K Companies were working in conjunction. The platoons of Lieutenants Bonham and Taber, augmented by stray members of other organizations, had cleared the woods, having driven through more than a kilometer and a half, and after reorganizing their forces continued their advance into the open rolling country toward the first objective.

Lieutenant Haley had held a portion of his company together and was coming through. With Lieutenant Lucas leading, and Lieutenant Piggott guiding the Third Platoon forward, the front of I Company, which had picked up many men from disorganized units of M Company, was being rapidly advanced.

Soon Lucas was out of the woods. Just beyond were two mules hitched to a cart, one of whose wheels was hooked to a tree, all ready for the load that the Germans did not have time to send out.

“Over the hills I could see a woman and two men

fleeing. Close to a nearby dugout I found a slipper that the woman lost in the flight", related the officer. "We could have brought them down, but I suppose it was because we were so taken back at seeing a woman in such a place that we allowed the men to get away."

The advancing line, with little connection between units, continued forward. The individuals knew the objective, and as they were meeting with no resistance, except the feeble fire of some field guns which the Germans had brought into play from a distance, they did not worry about their lack of support or their open flanks. The small advanced detachment of Company K reached the Rupt de Mad about a half kilometer east of Essey, and was there halted by the American barrage ranging on a line slightly north.

The L Company group had swerved over to the right and, crossing the Rupt near Euvezin, cut through the edge of the village, routing some tardy machine gunners. In the hollow to the right of the road they took possession of four field pieces whose gunners had fled at the sight of them. The regiment was not credited with this prize, for Euvezin was really in the sector of the 89th Division. When it came up, some time later, the men of that organization probably did not know that Americans had passed there before them.

Lieutenant Lucas, too, reached Euvezin with a few men. Hearing a commotion in a supposedly abandoned dugout, Corporal Prien of I Company, who spoke German with the facility of a native, stepped to the entrance and informed the occupants that he was investing the town with a company and that he was ready to grenade all dugouts. Thereupon twenty Boches filed out with hands overhead, and Prien, holding his rifle with fixed bayonet before them, told them not to mind his little joke.



“I know you fellows like a little camouflage”, he added.

Lucas and Bonham now joined forces, and disregarding the barrage, which was not heavy on that part of the line, pressed on to the Madine Lager, about a kilometer and a half due east of Pannes. There they found large quantities of stores, and in a dugout twenty-three prisoners, who meekly surrendered upon discovery. In this shelter a table was already set for a meal, and there was a plentiful supply of beer on hand. It was evident that the troops back this far thought themselves safe long enough to finish their repast, at least, before continuing the retreat. Doubtless it was with no keen relish that they saw the Americans, after forcing their captives to sample the food and drink to make sure that it was safe, sit down to eat it themselves.

In a few minutes a wagon loaded with fish, bread, cabbage, and beer drove up. The driver was astonished to suddenly find himself a prisoner, and kept shaking his head as, accompanied by a guard, he bumped along to the rear with all his food.

Bonham now outposted his position as well as he could with the few men at his disposal, and reported by runner to Captain Lainson, who by this time was attempting to reorganize the battalion near the base of the high bluffs southeast of Essey.

It was shortly after six o'clock when the forward line of the Second Battalion reached the line of departure, and as the men of the Third Battalion were still engaged in their desperate fight before the Boche first position, Major Stanley halted his troops and had them take to cover while he sent word of his position to Major Brewer. The latter, badly wounded, soon came back with the information that his support companies had been thrown

in the line and that Captain Lainson was in command of the battalion. By that time the break-through was complete, and the heavy fighting had ceased.

Major Stanley then ordered his men forward, and as they filed down the slope toward the Sonnard Wood, they met groups of Third Battalion men returning with wounded and prisoners. Near the German wire at the edge of the wood General MacArthur met the Second Battalion commander and directed him to reorganize the Third, if he could, as he did not want the Second put in the line that day.

Pushing through the wood, the support battalion picked up many men of the attacking unit, who, having lost their leaders, had become separated from their companies. The three independent groups from I, K, and L Companies had pushed on out of sight, while some few members of that battalion had reached the Farm la Maîtresse, southeast of Essey. Major Stanley, seeing no troops ahead of him, quickly deployed his own when he came out into the open, and with Company G leading, advanced northward. There were no Germans between him and the river, and his only opposition was a light fire from long distance guns which caused a few casualties, among them Lieutenant Pearsall of G Company.

The line turned to the left to avoid the hill south of the Rupt de Mad, and moving northwest attained a line just this side of Essey about ten o'clock. Here it halted, as our artillery was not to lift from the line defining the first phase until eleven o'clock.

The duties of F Company had been twofold: to maintain liaison with the 356th Infantry, and to meet and overcome any obstacle in its path. Its progress had been retarded and it had fallen some distance behind the Third Battalion's line of advance, but as it moved forward it

scooped in seventy-nine prisoners. It was while they were advancing that Sergeant Harold Brainard was wounded. He was struck in the chest and shoulder with shrapnel, and in the first moment of excitement he involuntarily called for help. Then realizing what he had done, he cried, "Go on!" It was not of himself that he was thinking now, but of the success of the operation.

Much to the surprise of the men of this company, when they came out of the woods they saw General MacArthur, a familiar figure in his unique barrack cap, stalking forward with his adjutant and French liaison officer. It was to become the habit of the Brigade Commander to be well in the front when his troops were engaged, and while he was taking many unnecessary chances his presence aroused a tremendous confidence on the part of his men.

Companies C and D, with the attached platoon from the Machine Gun Company, starting out at five o'clock, had considerable distance to cover before they even reached the jump-off line. When at seven o'clock they rejoined A and B Companies in the Bois de Jury, the battalion was reorganized, and moved forward in open order in the sector of the 167th Infantry as brigade reserve. By eight o'clock they were in German territory, with the sole problem of avoiding stray shells that came their way. About that time there was a shower mixed with filtering sunlight, and a glorious Rainbow formed directly over the sector — the happy omen of good luck. It seemed that they were passing endless lines of prisoners, and our artillery was following them right into the valley. They could look back and see it coming, four and six teams to the gun, straining and tugging through the mud. For these men the morning's advance was more in the nature of an interesting adventure than a battle.

Lieutenant Colonel Tinley was closely following the advancing troops with his staff. He knew that the day's work of the regiment was practically accomplished, and he saw indications that that of the rest of the Division had been as effective. When he arrived west of the Maîtresse Farm, where the Third Battalion was gradually being brought together, he directed Captain Lainson to prepare to support Major Stanley in the push to the final objective.

It was a sadly diminished force that the Captain was reorganizing. The first half hour of actual fighting had been the costliest in the experience of the battalion, and the check disclosed many absentees. Of the 24 officers, including those attached to the staff of Major Brewer, who had started over the top five hours before, 7 had been killed and 6 had been seriously wounded. Four sergeants, 9 corporals, and 29 privates had been killed; 17 sergeants, 23 corporals, and 106 privates wounded, making a total of 201 casualties, most of them having been incurred in the first thirty minutes.

For an assaulting battalion, and compared to the Château-Thierry fight, the losses were extremely light, but the casualties among the officers and non-coms were abnormal. This can be attributed to the fact that they were forced to make themselves conspicuous in getting the new men into formation and keeping them there. It was for those displaying authority that the Boche snipers were watching. In this operation not a single case of gassing was reported, but many of the wounds were of a serious nature.

At eleven o'clock Major Stanley gave the order to renew the advance. With Companies G and H deployed

on the line, and E in support, the Second Battalion moved forward without difficulty or notable loss. It was just a matter of marching. The 356th Infantry did not reach the line of the first phase until noon, and the 355th Infantry on its right, not until three o'clock in the afternoon, as a result of which the entire line of the 178th Brigade was considerably delayed. Consequently the 168th went forward with that flank exposed, but with a heavy combat patrol under Lieutenant Nelson of G Company protecting it.

A light enemy shelling, with negligible results, was all that met the line as it proceeded toward the final objective for the day. In a German camp just southeast of the village of Pannes, three non-resisting prisoners were taken, and in the storehouses located there quantities of supplies were found. In fact, when Captain Yates reached this point with Company E, he was able to outfit all his men with dry socks and sweaters originally destined for Boche wearers.

At the Lager Batterstedt, in a gully about a kilometer northeast of Pannes, the Second Battalion captured a battery of 105's, four prisoners, and much ammunition and material.

Three o'clock found it at the objective before a line of German wire a little more than a kilometer south and west of the town of Beney. The position was outposted by G and E Companies, and the battalion prepared to bivouac for the night. In a short while liaison was established with Alabama on the left. The third line of the enemy defenses had been passed, and it was known that the Boche could not make a stand before he fell back upon his next prepared position, the Michel position, a part of the Hindenburg line. The outlook for the

morrow, if the elements on the right came forward, was encouraging.

In his report to Colonel Tinley, Major Stanley stated that his battalion (exclusive of F Company) had captured during the day 20 prisoners, 12 machine guns, and four 105mm cannon. He concluded with the statement that the spirits of his men were high, but they were tired and awfully hungry. There was no water in the vicinity, and he was optimistically sending back guides to bring up water carts and kitchens. It was some time before the supply columns could break through the congestion on the hastily repaired roads, and that night the men had to go to sleep without water or hot food.

The Third Battalion, I and K Companies in the line and L and M supporting, followed the Second without incident. Lieutenant Sefton had been transferred from I to command the officerless M Company. Captain Lainson crossed the Madine River and took up position for the night about five hundred yards south of Major Stanley.

The First Battalion, which had gone through the Third Battalion at the eleven o'clock advance, had received orders from Colonel Tinley to halt near Essey to permit the Third to pass them. With two companies in the village and the other two strung out in a camp along the hillside, Major Ross was ready for the night.

When they first arrived one of the men of the battalion, investigating dugouts for a good place to snatch a few hours' sleep, came upon a German hidden in a corner, shaking with terror. So the First Battalion did not finish the day without making a capture, in spite of the fact that it was never in the front line.

Most of the dugouts occupied by the Americans were

comfortably fitted with cots, chairs, and tables; and not least of all, they found in some of them meals already prepared, as if placed there by some slave of magic. Further policing uncovered a plentiful supply of wine and quantities of boots and socks. It was the best place they had come upon in weeks.

Colonel Tinley established his headquarters south of Essey on the Flirey road in a hut that once housed German officers; and the Headquarters Company, minus detachments, took up position in the vicinity.

The front had been advanced so rapidly during the morning that the linemen of the Signal Platoon had been unable to keep up with it. At noon, although they were working at top speed, their farthest station was at least four kilometers from the line. At that time, another group of the Headquarters Company, the Pioneers, was already at work digging graves and burying the dead.

Excepting the Third Battalion, the losses of the regiment were inconsequential for the day: 10 for G Company; 3 for H; 2 for B; and 1 each for D, E, F, and the Machine Gun Company.

Soon after dark the First Battalion, which was nicely settled for the night, was routed out and ordered forward to occupy the support positions held by the Third. Guiding on the north star, Major Ross moved up two kilometers, and at eleven o'clock started to dig in. An hour later Captain Lainson's men, fairly comfortable in the sheltered trenches, fell back to the north bank of the Madine and made a new bivouac. The Second Battalion remained where it was. About nine o'clock the 356th Infantry had come abreast Major Stanley's line, and some time during the night F Company rejoined the battalion.

Ahead of us great fires, stretching over the entire front, were brightening the skies. The Boche was burning his munitions and supplies — the most certain admission of defeat. The St. Mihiel salient was fast disappearing. While the successes on the southern face were being exploited, the operation on the western side was being brilliantly carried out by a mixed force of French and Americans. Attacking in broken country, this corps encountered serious resistance in the neighborhood of St. Remy and Combres, and was able to establish itself there only toward nightfall. To the southwest there yet remained to be traversed the extensive Forêt de la Montagne, through which lay the way to Vigneulles. In the face of diminishing resistance, the advance was rapidly forced until the juncture with troops of the First Division was effected.

However, the magnificence of the day's achievement did not give the men the blankets they needed to protect them from the cold and piercing wind which came up during the night nor the coffee they craved after their great exertion. They tried to sleep, but sleep would not come. Instead, they shivered and sloshed up and down the muddy hillsides, trying to warm themselves. They could not build fires, of course, nor could they smoke, for over them hummed bombers, headed in all probability for Toul and Nancy, who would have been easily content to drop their cargoes there. It was at the best a miserable night.

In the early hours of the chill morning Major Stanley was directed by the Colonel to renew the advance at six o'clock. If for any reason the 89th Division failed to move, he was to proceed with his flank exposed. The right limit of the regimental front was extended to include Beney, if that village could be easily taken.



The object of this attack was to apply only such force as would develop beyond doubt the precise locality of the strongly prepared position to which it was known the Boche would retire. At that moment the assault would cease and the consolidation of our positions commence.

With these instructions in mind the Major formed up his men at a quarter of six, E Company on the right and F on the left in the front line, and G and H in support. Fifteen minutes later, preceded by the scouts at a thousand yards, the battalion stepped out to the accompaniment of the field guns which had been brought well forward. The First Battalion was following five hundred yards to the rear, and the Third a like distance behind that.

Heavy black billows of smoke were rising on the plain from the still burning ammunition dumps and storehouses, and there was every expectation of an easy and rapid advance. But the Second Battalion was only five minutes on the way when our artillery, which was supposed to sweep ahead of it, began to fire short. Before they had time to alter their course or send back warning, a shell crashed into the first wave of Company E and killed four men. This was as demoralizing as distressing, but as soon as the range was corrected the march was resumed.

Farther on Lieutenant Nelson turned with his platoon from G Company to mop-up Beney, but when he reached the village he found it already occupied by troops of the 356th Infantry, so he immediately rejoined the battalion.

Lieutenant Pigeon and his scouts, who had been feeling the way for the battalion, met with no opposition until they emerged from the lower half of the Bois de Beney. Quite unexpectedly they were assailed by a fire directed

on them from the railway embankment just north of the woods. It was evident that this patrol, later determined at twenty-two men, was going to put up a spirited fight to delay the Americans, who were already close on the heels of the retreating columns. But the scouts lost no time in forcing the decision. With his men deployed in a semi-circle, Pigeon soon had fire pouring in on the Germans from three directions — fire that was having a deadly effect, for in a few minutes a dozen of them left their position and raced madly to the rear, and when the Iowans reached the railway they found ten dead. In the *dépôt de matériel* adjoining the little station quantities of coal, building material, and some ammunition were uncovered. After this skirmish Pigeon sent back the message, "Way is clear", and went on.

The battalion had been traveling in a line of combat troops while in the open, but when it struck the woods it followed along the trails in single file. As he was entering the Bois de Dampvitoux, Major Stanley was simultaneously informed by a runner from the scouts and by Lieutenant Kuhlmann, French Liaison Officer with Brigade Headquarters, that a large column of enemy troops was marching northeast on the St. Benoit-Dampvitoux road, near the Louiseville Farm. Anxious to make a good bag of prisoners, he took personal command of a force composed of a platoon each from E and G Companies and hurried along the standard gauge track through the woods. The rest of the battalion was ordered to push forward rapidly to be on hand in case reënforcement was necessary.

The party of pursuit, accompanied by Lieutenant Kuhlmann, advanced two-thirds of the way through the woods of Dampvitoux and then turned to the northwest

on the trail leading out to the open toward the road above the Louiseville Farm. Unfortunately the main column had passed, but twenty-five unsuspecting Germans at the end of the procession suddenly woke up to the fact that they were about to be cut off by a superior force. At that moment Captain Younkin, with the rest of G Company, appeared on the scene and opened fire on the astonished group from a point about half a kilometer northeast of the farm. With one accord the Boches left the road, ran across the dry bed of the lake southeast of Haumont, and took refuge in the far woods. From this position they popped away at their would-be captors, and soon they were aided by machine guns which commenced firing on the Americans from Marimbois Farm. This assault from the flank sent the Iowans to the ground, but by pushing forward in short bounds, the right was finally carried around the enemy, and the last rush netted eighteen prisoners. An officer had been killed, and the rest had escaped north to Haumont where they found safety behind their machine gun lines. The maneuver had been quickly and cleverly executed.

In the meantime, Lieutenant Pigeon had been leading his men forward along the western fringe of the woods, and when he neared the Louiseville Farm he detached a group under Sergeant Martin to see if it were still occupied. The Germans themselves volunteered the information in the form of a fusillade on the attacking party.

Company H, commanded by Lieutenant Jones, was now approaching, and with that force ready to support, the scouts rushed the farm buildings and quickly overcame the enemy resistance, making prisoners of the few men left to defend them. The farm, a large collection of

buildings on a three-sided square, had been used by the Germans as a motor repair station, and in addition to the large amount of material captured were two five-ton trucks which the Major remarked would come in most handy for transporting the headquarters baggage.

The Second Battalion was reformed along the St. Benoit-Dampvitoux road. It was now about eleven o'clock, and although they had already passed the army objective General MacArthur sent word to the battalion commander to move forward and take up position along the railroad south of Haumont. But while patrols were ahead reconnoitering, the order was rescinded and the battalion directed to prepare its present position for defense. The line then ran from the Etang d'Afrique up to the highway and thence northeast to the cross-roads about five hundred yards southeast of the Farm de Champ-Fontaine. E Company was on the right with outposts at the farm, and F held the left of the line with its outposts in the far edge of the woods five hundred yards southwest of Champ-Fontaine. Liaison was soon effected with the Second Battalion of Alabama; but as the 356th Infantry was nowhere in sight, G and H Companies, which were nominally in support, established a line of outposts extending from the cross-roads along the northern edge of the Bois de Charey as far as the double track railroad. Major Stanley himself took up quarters in a hut on the edge of these same woods. More lumber and building material was taken here and at the farm, and three wagons found along the road were impressed into our service.

When Lieutenant Todd of G Company returned with his patrol from the reconnaissance of the position originally assigned the battalion, he reported that the Boches

were returning to Haumont, and before long, fire was directed on our lines from that point.

The First and Third Battalions were awaiting the final disposition of the Second Battalion before taking up their positions. The First had been halted slightly in advance of the Louiseville Farm when the Second was stopped by the enemy machine gun fire. Soon the Boche was shelling the farm and the fields where they were lying, and after a while Major Ross withdrew slightly and ordered his men to dig in. A company was placed at each corner of the farm, D and C about two hundred feet ahead of it, the former with its left on the road and the right of the latter extending over toward the Bois de Dampvitoux; and A and B in the rear. The Major established his P. C. in the farm itself.

The Third Battalion, which had advanced northeast along the standard gauge railway well in to the Bois de Dampvitoux, was now ordered to move back and line up in the northern portion of the Bois de Beney. Nearby, in a hut at the Boche camp at the crossing of the road and the railway, Colonel Tinley set up his post of command.

The 84th Brigade was considerably in advance of its flanking units, having overstepped the Army objective for the purpose of bettering its tactical position. This line passed through the Bois de Dampvitoux and to the north of St. Benoit, almost two kilometers behind our line of outposts.

Friday, the 13th, had been a lucky day for the 168th, for in its successful thrust forward it had suffered only slight casualties — not more than a score all told.

There was no longer any St. Mihiel salient. Early in the morning troops of the 26th and 1st Divisions had met at Vigneulles, completely closing the line on the base of

the former projection. At noon the Germans were standing at bay on their prepared Michel position, wondering what was going to happen to them next. Doubtless the impetus of the American attack would have carried them past this line and on to Metz, but there were other plans for the employment of this newly developed force.

The entire movement had been executed with smoothness and rapidity. In virtually the space of thirty hours, more than two hundred square miles of territory had been restored to France, over 14,000 prisoners taken, and 466 cannon, hundreds of machine guns and trench mortars, thousands of small arms, great quantities of ordnance, telegraph and railway engineering material, clothing, equipment, and ammunition captured. In addition, the blotting out of the salient had shortened the line twenty-two kilometers, had restored communication between Verdun and Toul, and had established a base for future operations threatening Metz, reversing the situation which before had threatened Toul.

This great feat was accomplished at a remarkably small cost, less than seven thousand casualties for the entire First Army, and the prearranged schedule was maintained throughout. The Americans had demonstrated to their Allies that they had created a powerful, well-organized fighting machine. This sweeping victory, however, was partly due to the fact that the enemy was in the act of withdrawing his heavy artillery and some of his field pieces in preparation for the general evacuation of the salient when the storm broke. They had planned to hand us an empty victory such as the English received when the Germans withdrew on the Somme. It is true, too, that the force opposed to the First Army was greatly

inferior in numbers, but on the other hand it had the advantage of the most completely and highly organized position on the Western Front.

The Boches, of course, had their alibi. The official communiqué of the 12th contained this interesting information:

“In expectation of this attack, the evacuation of the salient, which is exposed on both sides, had been planned for years, and was begun some days ago. Therefore we did not fight the battle to a decision, and carried out the movements which we had planned. The enemy was unable to check them.”

They forgot to mention that they fell short in their calculation by several days; and the capture of the greater part of the sector artillery and thousands of prisoners somewhat weakens the claim that we did not check their movements.

As a matter of fact, the infantry had been ordered, according to a captured order of the Tenth Division, in case of an attack before the completion of the evacuation, to make a stand on the principal line of resistance passing south of the village of Mont Sec, immediately north of Richecourt and Lahayville and the southern edge of the Bois de la Sonnard. This line, the order stated, “must be held at all costs, and must remain in our possession at the end of the combat.”

The enemy did, however, grudgingly make some concessions. Relative to the American divisions employed, the report from German G. H. Q. had this to say: “Among those counted, three, the 1st, 2nd, and 42nd were first class attacking troops; two, the 4th and 26th, were good fighting troops who had already done good work in other important affairs; three, the 5th, 89th, and 90th had been in line on other sections of the front before.”

The part played by the Rainbow Division is summed up in its intelligence report:

The 42nd Division advanced 14 kilometres in 28 hours. After reaching its objective, it at once pushed forward its advanced elements 5 kilometres farther, or 19 kilometres beyond the original starting point.

The Division took more than 1000 prisoners from the 10th, 77th Reserve, 5th Landwehr, 8th Landwehr, 31st, 40th, 192nd, 227th, and 35th Austro-Hungarian Divisions, from the 14th Sturm Battalion, and from 15 miscellaneous artillery and sector troops, down even to agricultural companies.

The Division took from the enemy seven villages and 42 square kilometres of territory. It captured large dumps and stores of food, clothing, hospital supplies, ammunition, engineering and railroad material, lumber, coal, iron, and gasoline, and in addition, many enemy papers and documents of military value.

Included in the captured material are: 6 cannon, 77 calibre; one cannon 88mm; 6 105mm; 7 150mm; 2 210; 6 heavy minenwerfer; 100 heavy machine guns; 100 light machine guns; 2 anti-tank guns; 2 gasoline narrow gauge locomotives; 12 large narrow gauge railway trucks; 31 small narrow gauge trucks; 20 wagons; 10 caissons.



### XXXIII

#### THE ST. BENOIT SECTOR

Now that the front was stabilized, the sole problem confronting Major Stanley was the organization of his defensive line so as to defeat any ambitious attempt on the part of the enemy to reclaim lost territory, and to prevent him from making identifications.

As already noted, the Second Battalion was in liaison with the Second Battalion of Alabama, the two lines of outposts joining at the brook just east of the Farm de Champ-Fontaine; but it was some time before the 356th Infantry could be located. Toward evening Lieutenant Nelson of G Company, who had been sent out to find it, reported that it was back of the Army objective, the front line battalion being somewhat to the rear of the line held by our support battalion, and the support battalion about a kilometer to the rear of that.

Major Winn had been forward and placed his machine guns in the support positions to reënforce the Second Battalion, and Major Stanley now put all of G Company and one platoon of H on the northeastern edge of the Bois de Charey as additional protection on that flank. The remainder of H Company was left in support about five hundred yards from the front line.

The only tools available were the light entrenching tools the troops carried with them, and nothing in the way of a real defensive position could be immediately constructed. Instead, the men dug a line of individual fox-holes, which afforded partial protection from enemy

shells. But before this was completed our own artillery, that of the 42nd and 89th Divisions, began to shell the Bois de Charey. Major Stanley immediately reported the matter, at the same time stating that our artillery had caused us far more damage during the day than the Boche and that if it did not stop he would have to withdraw. But an hour or so later the firing was renewed, this time killing a member of E Company, making a total of five killed and eight wounded in that company — every one from American guns.

For some unknown reason, about nine o'clock C Company of the 165th Infantry was sent over to take up position in front of the F Company outposts, so the 168th outpost was withdrawn.

The First Battalion was comfortably and securely located in fox-holes for the night, and the Third was in positions concealed in the woods. After the cessation of the American fire the night was uneventful. The outposts dodged a few enemy shells, and some few struck in the woods, but the first twenty-four hours of occupation were comparatively quiet as far as the Boches were concerned.

No food had yet been brought up and the men were hungry, having exhausted the two days' emergency rations. The roads over the old trench system were so jammed that the ration carts could not get through. And the soldiers were quite as badly off as the Ancient Mariner — although there was plenty of water on hand, none of it was fit to drink.

These September days were warm enough when the sun shone, but the nights were pretty cold; while some of the men had salvaged extra German blankets, the majority were exceedingly uncomfortable. Lieutenant Bonham of L Company, knowing of no good reason why his men

should not have the packs that had been left in the Forêt de la Reine, dispatched Private Thomas B. Stack to bring them up.

“We were coming over the road with a wagon and mules secured from the Supply Company”, relates Stack, “when a chaplain approaches and asks if there is anything that he can do for me.

“‘Yes, Sir’, I told him, ‘By taking to cover while I say something to these heathen mules which you would not care to hear.’ He seemed to appreciate my position and retired.

“I then drove up the road and was stopped by an M. P. who told me that nothing but food, ammunition, and artillery could be advanced to the front. This put me up a tree, for I knew the boys were sleeping in the mud and cold and wet and needed the blankets in the worst way. I suddenly remembered some empty cartridge boxes I had passed a short way back.

“‘Well, I guess I will go back and take up the ammunition first’, I told him.”

In a few minutes Stack had applied a veneer of empty cartridge cases around his packs, and thus camouflaged joined in the long line of vehicles fighting through the mud.

“I went bumping past the M. P. and heard him curse because ‘those damned guns’ used up so much ammunition. I chuckled to myself, and before morning L Company had its packs.”

Similar strategy had to be resorted to in order to get the ration carts past the Cerberus of the roads. They had been ordered to follow the infantry as soon as practicable, but when Lieutenant Murphy, the officer in charge, attempted to move forward on the evening of the 12th he

ran into the worst traffic jam in the history of the war. One-way roads, hastily conditioned by the engineers, were completely blocked — two and three trucks in the ditch at the same place — and the two-way roads were even worse. The trails were hopeless. Every one was on the road at once, trying to go forward, with the result that no one moved. That night the regimental trains had been able to get no farther than Beaumont, which was still a kilometer behind the original front.

By this time there was an embargo on everything passing by road over the former No Man's Land but ammunition and ambulances. Finally, in the course of time, the whole train moved up through Flirey and out into No Man's Land. Here a one-way bridge was called upon to pass so much traffic that in ten hours they moved less than one hundred yards. Artillery was going forward but food for the infantry was not, and the prospects for getting it through were poor.

It was at this juncture that someone had a brilliant idea — who, no one knows, but whenever the subject was mentioned certain ones grinned guiltily but never openly committed themselves. In a short time up dashed a motorcycle courier to the hard-boiled M. P. with a neatly typewritten order, supposedly signed by Hunter Liggett, commander of the First Army, ordering the supply train of the 168th Infantry forward and giving it right of way. In the face of this unassailable authority the M. P. could not deny them, and the trains were waved over No Man's Land and back on good roads once more, taking their place in the procession of favored vehicles. Slowly but surely they moved through Pannes and on to Beney with the precious freight.

The last kilometer of the road, however, was under

enemy observation and dawn was breaking; when the column drove into the village the Boche guns opened fire, sweeping up and down the main street. There was a scattering of wagons in every direction and men went flying to shelter, but not before Corporal Freutel and Private Henry T. Perry of the Headquarters Company and Wagoner Fred S. Oswald of the Supply Company were wounded. The latter, who was driving the regimental headquarters wagon, lost an arm; and the shell that struck Perry also so badly wounded the horse he was leading that it had to be shot.

When things calmed down a bit the rations were unloaded, and issues of hard-tack, bully beef, and bread were started on their way to the ravenous doughboys.

The combat train, which had been given priority, had by this time arrived at Louiseville Farm; so in spite of the difficulties of the road, the troops were now supplied with food and ammunition. That night they got from the kitchens their first cooked meal in three days.

The Supply Company remained in Beney until evening, when it moved to the woods a kilometer west where it found a comparatively secluded spot. It was never shelled in this position, but the rations and ammunition had to go forward and often nothing but speed got the carts out of tight situations.

The Band spent one night in Beney and then moved back to Pannes where it remained until the relief of the regiment; but the Stokes Platoon waited there two days until its guns came up. One house near them had been a German sales commissary, and from that place they secured the greater part of their supplies during their stay. The Boches carried a good variety of everything — wheat-flour, cornstarch, sauerkraut, sugar, chocolate,

and American brands of condensed milk. In the cellar were stores of potatoes and other garden products, an abundance of beer, and some wine and whiskey — the last two of questionable quality.

With this wealth of material at their disposal the cooks of the outfit got busy and made some pies, and they might have achieved a chocolate cake had their culinary aspirations not met with sudden check. Out in front of the building was a pump and trough where details came to get drinking water for the regiment, and while the cake, mixed with tender care, was in the oven baking, a group of a dozen or more were standing in line outside waiting to fill their cans. Inside was a group of equal size, mouths watering and hopes rising as ambrosial fumes escaped the oven. But sad to relate, a German aviator had spied the less favored congregation, and a signal to his artillery brought a salvo of 77's whirring down on Beney. One of the shells hit the house, broke all the remaining windows, smashed some of the furniture, and put to rout the expectant gourmets. But saddest of all, at the cessation of hostilities when the cooks looked at their cake they found the crust split open and the contents soddenly settled in the bottom of the pan — the shock had been too great.

The Signal Platoon was located here, too, and had established the regimental exchange, with lines running forward as usual to the battalions, back to the division, and to the artillery. But as Beney was really out of our sector, they eventually moved the exchange to a dugout near Colonel Tinley's P. C. in the woods. In addition, three visual and three T. P. S. stations were put in operation, and the radio under the splendid supervision of Sergeant Cronk continued to render excellent service.

On the morning of the 14th of September, Lieutenant Billings, in command of the New York company acting as divisional outpost, notified Major Stanley that he had been ordered to withdraw, and our own outposts were reestablished.

The battalion commander was very much concerned about the lack of tools with which to improve his position. He had requested three hundred spades and picks and eighty axes, but he saw none of this material for some days. The First Battalion was employing its time bettering the position around the Louiseville Farm with the crude implements at its disposal.

For two days the weather had been fair and clear, and there was a great increase in the aerial activity of the enemy. On the second day of the drive five American planes had been brought down within the divisional sector, and on the afternoon of the 14th four more were destroyed in full view of the 168th. At times there were as many as forty Allied planes in the air at once, but the Germans waited for more favorable opportunities to pounce down on lone observers when our chasse planes were out of sight. One of our aviators had a thrilling fight with two of the enemy high up in the air, the three of them circling and looping and darting at each other like big wasps; the American was finally bested and he came plunging nose downward for a mile, landing with a terrible thud not five hundred feet from the P. C. of Major Ross. So great was the momentum that the plane, with the pilot inside and its wings crumpled, was buried deep in the soft ground. Another was put out of commission at a still greater height, but instead of diving straight down it turned gracefully over and over like a falling autumn leaf and slowly fluttered to its destruction.

A third was set afire, and the doughboys witnessed the tragic spectacle of the doomed pilot jumping from his flaming machine. But not all the misfortune was on our side; the Boches, too, had many air casualties; but for the most part their men were more experienced and skillful though not so daring as the average American flier.

A full dozen observation balloons were lined up against the sky behind the infantry lines. Much artillery had been brought forward, and these unwieldy "sausages" were searching for targets and regulating the fire of our guns.

The fair weather, too, brought out the beauty of the country, which was as yet unmarred by heavy shelling. The impervious clay soil of the Woëvre, the wide plain stretching from the Côtes de Meuse east to the Moselle, holds the water on the surface to form numberless bogs and marshes, at the same time supporting a most luxuriant vegetation. Viewed from a height it is a charming landscape of rich green forests, fertile fields, and silvery ponds. To our left rose the high barrier of the Meuse Heights, with Hattonchâtel picturesquely perched on top, plainly visible to the men in their fox-holes. Fortunate for us that the Boches weren't holding them. To our left and rear lay the neat little hamlet of St. Benoit, overshadowed by the château, a stately, well-proportioned manor that had seen many generations come and go. Ahead, the plain dotted with woodland patches and villages linked together by tree-lined highways rolled straight, almost without inequality, to the horizon. The Étang de Lachaussée, a sizable lake of irregular outline, perhaps four kilometers long, formed the western boundary of the brigade sector and constituted the only water front in France.



In the morning of the 14th, about ten o'clock, small groups of men were seen moving toward the rear through a field northeast of Dommartin; and other groups, aggregating about a battalion, were observed coming along the unimproved road north of the village. The movement clearly indicated a relief, and as a patrol near Champ-Fontaine Farm had been driven off by machine gun fire from Haumont later in the day the Americans felt it necessary to find out what was happening.

About half past three an order came to First Battalion Headquarters to send forward one company in conjunction with a detachment from Alabama. They were to press on until they met with serious resistance, the object being to determine whether or not the enemy were holding in strength.

In the absence of Major Ross, who at the moment was back at Regimental Headquarters, Captain Haynes chose the three platoons of Company C commanded by Lieutenants Silver, Wurster, and Fox, and Lieutenant Wilbert L. Smith's platoon of D, the whole in charge of Lieutenant Ferguson of C, to represent the 168th. As Lieutenant Smith had never before been under fire, Lieutenant Howard G. Smith, now of A Company, volunteered to accompany him.

After a half hour's artillery preparation the patrol, headed by the platoon from D Company, set out. It did not get very far, for when the line neared Haumont they were blocked by a terrific burst of machine gun fire, and at the same moment a Boche barrage was clapped down on them. They had met their serious resistance, and the Boche was holding Haumont in force. It was also evident that he was reinforced by considerable and exceedingly alert artillery. The mission accomplished, the party

made its way back to cover. Lieutenant Wilbert L. Smith celebrated his first tilt with the enemy with a bullet in his thigh, and Corporals Donald E. Wilkins and Arthur B. Parry and Private Phil H. Monohan of his platoon were also wounded. Company C lost two men killed, Privates Alfred R. Wolcott and Francisco Lemos; and three wounded, Sergeant Frank J. Matus, Corporal Clyde M. Hopper, and Private Paul L. Cordes.

Just as the patrol was going over, General MacArthur and his staff rode up on horseback to the Louiseville Farm and on out to the field in front, which, although some distance from the line, was under the observation of the enemy. After some inquiry as to the disposition of the troops, he said to the battalion commander: "Well, Ross, I don't believe you are going to give me any show today", and then rode away.

But he had scarcely cleared the Farm when the Boches opened up on it with 105's and struck the main building twice. Six men who were getting water at a spring nearby were wounded. From then on until evening this position was shelled intermittently — but without much damage to the personnel.

The enemy had also been trying for the Château de St. Benoit, in which General MacArthur had established the Headquarters of the 84th Brigade; but so far he had missed it, although some of the outbuildings had been destroyed.

That afternoon General Pershing, accompanied by Secretary of War Baker, drove into Pannes; and the first person he spied was "Kokomo" Jones, cook of K Company. Stopping his car, the Commander-in-Chief called him over.

"How old are you?", he asked.

“Thirty-seven, Sir”, replied the veteran of the Spanish War, whose younger son, aged twenty-five, was also a member of his company.

The General was not easily deceived, and fixing a stern eye on the cook he repeated with emphasis:

“How old are you?”

“Fifty-eight, Sir.” Whereupon the General’s eyes twinkled and he informed Jones that he was the oldest enlisted man in the A. E. F.— which added another record to the 168th’s list. In order to get overseas, “Kokomo” had ruthlessly lopped off a score of years from his age.

He was at that moment helping to bring forward the kitchens of the Third Battalion; and the enemy evidently sighted them, for that night his planes hummed over the woods where they were concealed and machine-gunned and bombed the area in vain—not a man hit nor a kitchen destroyed.

Since the 6th of August, when Chaplain Robb went to the hospital, Chaplain Hatch had been functioning alone, and on this front he and his details had many narrow escapes while burying the dead. There was an element of risk and adventure in so small a matter as recovering the lost bodies.

“One night”, he relates, “word was brought us that the body of one of our men was lying in No Man’s Land across the bridge toward the village of Haumont. About ten o’clock I started forward with Corporal Hartzell and another corporal and four men of the 51st Pioneers who had been attached to us a few days previous. It was a bright moonlight night. The men were carrying rifles and a stretcher. We passed Captain Younkin and his company along the road, and then turned to the road leading to Haumont. The moon was so bright that we

took the right side in the shadow where our men were on outpost. Finally, with a whispered word, we went on about 20 yards farther to the bridge which spanned a small stream six or seven feet wide. We would have shown up too clearly on the bridge, so we crossed over on a plank placed in the shadow to the right. There was a great deal of Boche wire about, and careful as we were, it rang out at every step, loud as a signal bell, it seemed to us. Toward Haumont we could see a fire burning. We had no idea how near the German outposts were, or whether we needed a covering party. But we had to get the body back before the enemy discovered it. We eventually found it and loaded it on the stretcher, and started back slowly. Singly we went across the plank, our hobnails slipping, and as we neared the center, it bent under the water with our weight. The two corporals carrying the body passed over noiselessly. But I in the rear nearly slipped into the brook and made some racket trying to regain my balance. This greatly agitated one of the pioneers, who had been in France less than a month, and as we got farther back he lost his head altogether, and loudly announced to the world that he'd not go a step farther, he wouldn't, and he'd 'never again go out into No Man's Land for no bodies, no matter how many are out there'. He was quickly silenced, and with no further event save suddenly meeting Lieutenants Wallace and Pigeon with some scouts going out on patrol, we rejoined the burial squad in the woods near Major Stanley's P. C. and resumed our work."

Chaplain Hatch was glad to welcome Chaplain Robb back to the regiment on the 14th, for there was enough to occupy a squad of chaplains. And they were both cheered by the arrival three days later of Chaplain

Strickland, a Roman Catholic priest, who soon became a popular and valuable member of the regiment.

On the morning of the 15th a dog was seen running through the lines of E Company, and Captain Yates immediately ordered the men to bring him down. A few shots caught him, and in a pouch attached to his collar a message in code was found. The faithful servant, new to the sector, had probably become confused and wandered into the American lines by mistake. About the same time a carrier pigeon was shot by a man from the First Battalion as it lit on the barn at Louiseville Farm and another message was recovered. But neither communication contained information of vital import.

Late that afternoon the 356th Infantry finally moved forward and connected up with the Second Battalion. A liaison post consisting of a squad from each organization was established on the railroad near the edge of the Bois de Charey. In the advance the 89th Division captured a 77 which had been causing our regiment a great deal of annoyance with a flanking fire, its emplacements being in reality to the rear of our front line battalion.

During the day the sector of the 168th had been subjected to a spasmodic fire from enemy batteries, but little harm was done until a stray shell exploded in the H Company area back in the forest and killed Sergeant Woods of that company.

For three days now we had done little to disturb the Boche infantry, and it was high time that it was being stirred up. Besides our staff was curious to know what troops were opposing us and what was their state of morale. The Marimbois Farm, a strongly held outpost of the enemy about a kilometer to the northeast of our line, was a tempting spot, and the 168th was delegated to

investigate it. For this purpose Major Stanley selected the Second Battalion scouts and the platoon of E Company commanded by Lieutenant Reid. The party was divided into two groups, the one on the right under Lieutenant Herbert F. Wallace, and the other under Lieutenant Pigeon, the scout leader.

At ten minutes of eight on the evening of the 16th our artillery was concentrated on this strong point, and on the hour our raiding party went over the top. But when they got to within a hundred yards of the German lines they ran into a severe fire from the enemy machine guns, which was backed up by a neatly placed retaliatory barrage. In spite of this vigorous opposition, our officers rushed their men forward on both flanks and closed in on the Farm. It was a hot fight while it lasted. The Iowans fell upon the Germans with grenades and bayonets, and there were many hand-to-hand encounters. One man, Private Mariano Escamillo, was suddenly beset by three of the enemy and was in a very tight place when Lieutenant Pigeon and Private Rudolph W. Mueller came to his aid. Pigeon shot one of them, and then seeing Corporal Walter Betsworth struggling with two more, he left the evenly matched pair to rescue the other. But as he ran, the man he had just shot and supposedly killed raised to his knees and was on the point of firing at him from the rear when Mueller seeing him aim his gun completed the work the officer had started.

Private Emilio Arevala, thoroughly worked up to the proper offensive spirit, went chasing after a terrified Boche and finally stuck him with his bayonet after a hot pursuit which led him three times around a sort of out-building.

In all, it was estimated that thirty of the enemy had

been killed, when with five live prisoners, the party returned to our lines just an hour later. And we had but two casualties! It was a dashing sortie, well-planned and well-conducted and particularly successful in that our intelligence officers obtained much valuable information from the captives.

These five men, Sergeant Ernst Baumgarten, Ninth Company, 36th Landwehr Regiment, and Private Theodor Moll, 65th Landwehr Regiment of the same division; Gefreiter Max Belger, Fourth Company, 47th Infantry Regiment, Tenth Division; Private Adolph Zimmerman, 110th Landwehr Regiment, and Private Adolph Hermann, 111th Landwehr Regiment, both of the Eighth Landwehr Division, had been attending a light machine gun school in the rear and were a part of a company of a hundred men rushed to the front on the evening of the 13th to meet our attack. From them it was learned that the Fifth Landwehr Division, which was holding the front, had all three of its infantry regiments in the line, and that it was so disorganized from the battle that it had not yet found time to make any plans for counteraction. From east to west the troops facing us were the 36th, 25th, and 65th Landwehr Regiments.

Simultaneously with our attack a party from the Alabamas entered Haumont, most of the garrison having fled at their approach. But by a prompt and alert encircling movement a machine gun post of eight men was surrounded and captured, the officer in command being killed. The village had been held by a company of the 14th Sturm Battalion which had been instructed to hold its ground except in the face of a very heavy attack. They showed infinite wisdom in their flight, for had they remained to dispute the result with Americans their losses would have been greatly multiplied.

The twelve prisoners when interrogated at Division Headquarters were unanimous in attesting to the excellent fighting qualities of the American troops with whom they had come in contact. They regarded them as fresh and vigorous fighters of great stamina and initiative, quite the equal of the best German soldiers of 1914. They realized that while we had our best men yet to draw from, theirs had long since fallen. No longer were people in Germany minimizing the value of the American as an individual fighter, nor were they scoffing at the American Army as a fighting unit. They had given up all hope of victory and saw in the presence of the great numbers of Americans in France the downfall of their country. How rapid and complete had been the reversal of their attitude since the 15th of July!

The raid irritated the Germans into a lively artillery reaction, and all through the night they showered our line with explosive, but the men were for the most part sheltered in their individual fox-holes, which, particularly in the woods, were hard to find, and so the greater part of their ammunition was wasted on unoccupied areas.

On the 17th plans for the reorganization of the sector were received. We had not been directly facing the enemy main line of defense, and our front was to be changed to parallel this line. The new system was to be similar to our old front in Lorraine, and the forward area was to be thinned out, with a corresponding increase of strength in depth. The front of the brigade was designated as the St. Benoit sector; that of the 167th, the Haumont sub-sector; and that of the 168th, the Marimbois sub-sector.

As the 168th had created the sector, it was permitted to grace this part of the military map of France with some



first-rate Iowa names — names foreign to the land, but not to the battle field. The C. R. Iowa was composed in the first position of the P. A. Stanley, controlling G. C.'s 7 and 8 on the left, and on the right, the P. A. Ross, dominating G. C.'s 9 and 10. The support positions were divided into the P. A. Bennett on the left, and the P. A. Tinley on the right. The left flank of the front line, as designated by the brigade order, rested on the Haumont road just north of the Champ-Fontaine Farm, and the right just beyond the railroad on the northeastern edge of the Bois de Charey.

That night the Second Battalion moved to the new position and immediately began to consolidate it. Company G was placed in the right half of the sector, Lieutenant Nelson at G. C. 10, Lieutenant Todd at G. C. 9, and Captain Younkin with the two remaining platoons at the P. A. Ross. Company H occupied the left half, with G. C.'s 7 and 8 in command of Lieutenant Frank P. Cox and Lieutenant Robert S. Harris, and Lieutenant Jones with the support was at P. A. Stanley. Captain Yates with E Company took over P. A. Tinley, and Lieutenant Bradley with F, P. A. Bennett. Battalion Headquarters remained in the northwest corner of the woods. The Machine Gun Company and the Stokes and 37mm Platoons were disposed along the line so as to best support the infantry.

In the readjustment of the sector the First Battalion moved a short distance to the right and rear in the woods, and Major Ross established his P. C. near Regimental Headquarters. He, with his adjutant, Lieutenant Wood, and several of his company officers had been sleeping in comparative comfort in beds in the Louiseville Farm, but that group of buildings had become a dangerous spot.

On the 16th the Boche bombarded it with large calibre shells, knocking several holes in the thick stone walls and wounding Lieutenant Lawson of the medical staff. The evening they moved out a shell struck just above the bed which Captain Haynes had been occupying, but at that time he was safe in a snug underground shelter in the woods.

The Third Battalion had relinquished its position to the First and had withdrawn about a kilometer to that part of the Bois de Beney south of the St. Benoit-Beney highway.

Handicapped by the lack of tools in the past, Major Stanley was now enabled by the acquisition of a sufficient quantity of picks and shovels to get down to work in earnest. That first night a large working party, in spite of a continual shell fire, dug trenches as outlined in the specifications.

Upon this work large forces from the First and Third Battalions were engaged. The support position was thoroughly organized, and the Third Battalion, in addition to preparing its own line, was required to furnish wiring and carrying parties for the forward position. By diligent application the large details from each of these organizations, working under the intelligent supervision of the 117th Engineers, gradually constructed a secure defensive system. But it was not until the regiment was ready to leave this front that the wiring was complete and the position adequately protected against attack.

It was here that the regiment received the first mail in three weeks, and that the Red Cross, the Y, and the K. C. sent up presents of chocolate, cigarettes, and newspapers. Those fortunate enough to be in Pannes were delighted

to renew acquaintance with their good friend of Lorraine, Mrs. Knowles, who with several other Y women spent her days frying doughnuts, making chocolate, and dispensing good cheer in general. These self-sacrificing women went back every night to Boucq to avoid the shelling, but they did not always get out in time, and once or twice the Boche dropped some big ones in the village in the middle of the day while they were at work. In addition to these workers was a group of Salvation Army lassies who set up shop in the same village and who became immensely popular with the long lines of doughboys to whom they passed out food and drink free of charge. This and the Lorraine front were the only places that the welfare organizations were ever able to function while the 168th was in line. The conditions in the Champagne, at Château-Thierry, and in the Argonne precluded their operation. They were times when the men were lucky to even get their rations.

During the two weeks in the St. Benoit sector the weather was variable. Some days were wonderfully clear and warm, but for the most part it rained and the woods were damp and muddy. When it was fair, Boche planes came over to attack our observation balloons and to engage in combat with our chasse planes; and over the long shadows of the moonlit nights the ominous hum of bombing planes warned everyone to hug the earth in silence — and prayer.

During the night of September 18-19 the enemy put down a heavy barrage. Our activity had the Germans worrying. Again, just before daybreak of the 20th a violent bombardment was unlatched on the position occupied by the Second Battalion. Fortunately, it fell slightly to the rear of the line of G. C.'s. After fifteen

minutes of this, a large number of Boches were seen scurrying toward our lines. It was then that our barrage rockets went swishing through the air, and our artillery responded instantly, tearing up the field about the advancing Germans. The Stokes mortars and the two guns of the 37mm Platoon came into action and distributed their fire liberally. It was soon determined that the raid was being directed on G. C.'s 7 and 8, with the greater concentration on the latter, still commanded by Lieutenant Harris.

Our machine guns, rifles, and Chauchats were now singing merrily. Sergeant Welterlen of the First Platoon of H Company, calm and collected in the face of the attack, was directing the fire of his men. Corporal Stanley was out in front encouraging his section. They were ready for the enemy. Private Childs, seizing a Chauchat from a new man too badly frightened to operate it, created particular havoc among the Germans to his front.

Although no wire defense had yet been constructed on this part of the line, the Boches failed to reach our trench. The first blow sent them reeling, and now that the fire was increasing in volume and accuracy they turned and ran, but managed to take back with them their dead and wounded. Lieutenant Cox and one man from the Stokes Platoon, both slightly wounded, were our sole casualties, and the Lieutenant did not even leave his platoon.

Soon everything was quiet again, and Sergeant Welterlen went out about fifty feet into the open where he had spotted a jettisoned German light machine gun. As he started back with it, a Heinie jumped out of a nearby shell hole and surrendered himself. The Sergeant brought his prisoner and gun back with him, and then set

out again with Corporal Nichols and Private Childs. This time they went out a little farther, and two more Germans popped up from another crater, both scared almost to the point of speechlessness.

Gefreiter Gerhardt Rörig, Gefreiter Reinhardt Armbruster, and Private Otto Ruck, all of the 65th Landwehr Regiment, were willing informants as to the activities of their command. When no volunteers were forthcoming, a hundred men, fifty from each of two companies, were selected for the raid. They attacked in command of two officers and eight non-coms, with one heavy and eight light machine guns, with orders to seize the cross-roads of the Dampvitoux-St. Benoit highway leading to Haumont, and to take enough prisoners to insure identification of the Americans occupying the sector. They were to be relieved after twenty-four hours, but the cross-roads were to be held permanently.

We had by this time become so accustomed to receiving information from the enemy, instead of giving it to him, in his raids that it was taken as a matter of course. These three stated that an order from General Fuchs, commanding Army Detachment C, had recently been read to the troops. In it he had thanked them for the excellent manner in which they had withdrawn from the St. Mihiel salient, leaving so few prisoners behind. The German soldiers chuckled over this order, they said, but it made good reading for the people back home.

The Second Battalion had efficiently performed the task assigned it. It had resisted the thrusts of the enemy, and had secured a thorough knowledge of the troops opposing it. So, on the cold, wet, and rainy evening of the 20th Major Ross took over the front line, and the Second Battalion withdrew to the support position. The

Third Battalion did not move. Companies A and B, commanded by Captains Briggs and Kelley, occupied the four G. C.'s in the front, A on the left, B on the right.

This battalion was to be made uncomfortable during its entire tour. In this period the Boche brought up an increasing number of batteries, including heavier calibres than he had been using, and he fired unceasingly on our forward areas. Those in support and reserve in the woods were exposed to a promiscuous shelling—one here and one there—all close enough to be dangerous, so that it became a nerve-wracking business. It would have been a relief to have had it in a concentrated dose and had it over with.

However, the troops in the front lines were in a much more precarious position. The enemy was jumpy, forever expecting the Americans to come over, and his shelling hindered them in the work of improving the position and robbed them of rest. But in spite of the very great difficulty and dangers, the work was pressed and the trench line and wire entanglements carried further on toward completion.

The raid of the 16th was but a preliminary to an attack on a more elaborate scale. On the 21st it was settled that Marimbois Farm should again be stormed. The enemy had had a breathing space, and it was to be expected that he was better prepared for an attack and would offer greater resistance than before. As confirmation of his artillery reënforcement, the afternoon and night of the 21st were marked by the heaviest general fire throughout the divisional sector that had been recorded since our occupation.

This second operation against Marimbois Farm was to be under the general supervision of Lieutenant Wallace,

who by frequent reconnaissance had become thoroughly familiar with the terrain. The actual work, however, was to be done by Lieutenants Spaulding of D, Todd of G, and Lucas of I, who were to command the three detachments of fifty men each, chosen from the three battalions.

These three officers, on their part, made careful reconnaissances of the ground over which the raid was to be conducted. For a thousand yards it rolled away flat as a table, with little dead space in between. On the level field our men would offer a perfect target, and in the attack they must beat the Boche to his guns. If we succeeded, it would be a picnic; if not, a slaughter.

Lieutenant Todd, on the left flank, was given the mission of mopping up the dugouts at the northern edge of the Farm; Lieutenant Lucas was to take the center and clean up the main group of farm buildings; and Lieutenant Spaulding's group on the right, composed entirely of D Company men, was to ransack a line of pill boxes at the southern corner. Lieutenant Wallace, remaining in the rear with a support group of thirty men, was to keep the regimental commander informed of the progress by phone.

Shortly before four o'clock on the morning of the 22nd the attacking party formed up and noiselessly worked forward two hundred yards beyond our lines, half-way to the enemy position. The check revealed the unauthorized presence of Cook Giles of I Company, who was out in search of excitement. He felt that his work was entirely too tame, and had often before volunteered for patrol duty, but was always refused on the ground that he was needed at the kitchen. He plead earnestly with his captain to be permitted to go on this raid. Receiving a

decisive "No" for an answer, he took matters in his own hands and in the darkness joined the column anyhow. Now that he was actually out in No Man's Land, Lieutenant Lucas did not have the heart to send him back.

It was a beautiful night, clear and crisp, and every star in the heavens was shining brightly. Over in the direction of Metz the raiders could see flashes of bursting anti-aircraft shells, trying to protect the military works of the city from the Allied bombers. Search-lights, like the giant fingers of the aurora borealis, were streaking the sky. Soon came the droning of powerful motors borne swiftly on the sharp wind as the air raiders winged homeward. In the dim first light of breaking day the bulky shadow of the Farm took form on the sky line. The men shivered with cold during the few minutes they anxiously waited for our barrage to open.

At the stroke of four the twelve heavy and twenty-four light guns taking part in the bombardment dropped their torrent of steel and explosive on the ten buildings of the Farm, which before the drive had been a Boche aviation center. Bursting out in the silence of the night, the volume of fire seemed tremendous to the raiders and they feared that there would be nothing left to capture. Two 75's had been moved up into our very front line, and they were firing point-blank into the Farm, battering down walls and unroofing buildings. In the first five minutes, before the smoke obscured the flat, our men could see that our artillery had the exact range and they knew that none of the enemy would dare stay above ground during so violent a bombardment. Thirty machine guns had joined in the fire, rattling and sputtering away at the Boche line.

But the enemy artillery was not silent. His batteries were responding to the first signals sent up by the out-



posts, and as had been anticipated he began to shell our front line and to rake the field in front. Twice the men in their pancaked positions were forced to move rapidly forward to escape destruction. German shells were falling everywhere now. Our barrage, which had been thundering for twenty-seven minutes, had but three minutes more to go.

Then came the simple command, "All together, let's go", and over the field they tore, fast as their legs would carry them. They reached the Boche wire, old, rusty, broken down. They trampled it under foot, fell in it, and scrambled through. Our barrage had lifted. Now or never! With a wild cry, they raced for his guns, each group toward its own objective. In a fraction of a minute the cluster of buildings was surrounded and penetrated by exultant Americans hurling grenades down dugout mouths, firing at the few who had already emerged and were offering resistance.

Lieutenant Lucas rounded a corner near the center of the Farm in time to see Corporal Prien kill a Boche who had sprung on Private Martin and was about to get the best of him. In a desperate struggle Private Smith overpowered his man and took him prisoner; then Sergeant Stephens appeared with his prize; and Cook Giles not only got himself a live Boche but took with him a far more desirable souvenir, a Luger automatic.

Spaulding's men were working fast and furious. Sergeant Bills of D Company had gathered in three prisoners in a few moments, and Private Hoskins had one to his credit.

Lieutenant Todd and the Second Battalion detachment had cleaned up the dugouts assigned them, and in the brisk encounter had done away with all the Boches who

put up a fight. In this group Private Vernon W. Saylor was killed, and Sergeant Arthur W. Menge, Corporals Charles E. Hopkins, Carl W. Smithers, Carl M. Gustafson, and Private Alfred L. George, all of Company G, were wounded. The right group had but two casualties, men from Company D slightly wounded; and one man from the Third Battalion, Private Ernest G. Johnson of K, a stretcher-bearer, was killed.

The eastern horizon was growing bright, and now the signal for the return shot up in the sky. Sergeant Kosek of D Company had made good use of his time, as his seven prisoners attested. But when he lined them up to come back it seemed that they were unwilling to leave, and as there was no time for argument he had to shoot four of them down before the others changed their minds. Some months later this incident was the cause for an investigation, based on the story of one of the prisoners, but the Sergeant was completely exonerated of any guilt. It was an unpleasant job to kill the men, but he had no alternative.

In the dull morning light the watchful men in the line saw the raiders hurrying back, some staggering with the burden of the dead and wounded, for none were left behind; others with German machine guns and other trophies on their shoulders; and before them marched nine Germans, hands held high. Following the signal of a caterpillar rocket the enemy let fall a barrage of heavy minen on the Farm, and then tried to cut off the raiding party. But the withdrawal was rapid and they all escaped.

It was the happiest bunch of men ever seen on the battle line that returned from that very successful raid to receive the personal compliments of the regimental and

battalion commanders. They had lost two killed and seven wounded, but they had counted fourteen German dead left on the field, and had brought back nine alive. How many of the enemy were killed underground and how many wounded will never be known. In addition to the machine guns captured intact four others had been destroyed. B Company, although taking no part in the operation, suffered as heavily as any, for two of its men had been killed and two wounded by the counter-barrage on our lines.

Private Hoskins personally conducted his prisoner to the First Battalion P. C., presenting him to the commander with great formality. "Major, Sir", he announced, "I've got a Heinie for you." And then to his captive, "Here, you ——— ——— ———, salute a real soldier!" He then proceeded to Regimental Headquarters two kilometers away. The Boche, still keeping his hands overhead, was given permission to lower them, but he was suspicious of Yankee tricks and thought it safer to have them aloft. In fact, every time he was spoken to he stretched them up a bit higher.

The men captured in this raid were from the 25th Landwehr Regiment, thus confirming the continued presence in the line opposite us of the Fifth Landwehr Division. While the 168th was engaged at Marimbois Farm, Alabama was sweeping through Haumont, capturing sixteen prisoners from the Sixth Jaeger Regiment of the 195th Division. This organization had relieved the 14th Sturm Battalion on the front from north of La Chaussée to Dampvitoux on the night of the 20-21st. So our information as to the enemy's order of battle was complete and up-to-date.

Many other items of interest were acquired from these

two groups of prisoners. Perhaps the blood-curdling yells of the Americans as they rushed in to attack gave the Boche strange ideas. In a letter captured on one of these men appeared this bit of intelligence:

“As you have probably heard from my parents, we are in the line. Americans are in front of us. Indians of the Sioux tribe were identified in one of the last attacks. After the war Karl May can write another book about his experiences with the Redskins. We are expecting the Americans to come over every day.”

In retaliation for his losses the Boche directed a long and heavy harassing fire from 4 until 8 A. M. in the Bois de Dampvitoux, sending over hundreds of shells of all calibres — 77's, 105's, and 150's — to every corner of the woods, which in places were beginning to show the effects of the many bombardments brought down upon it. In a few weeks more it would be a graveyard of blackened stumps like scores of others.

Early the next morning, the 23rd, the 89th Division made a raid on the right. Their return signal resembled our own call for barrage, and as soon as the artillery observers noted it our guns responded with a violent curtain of fire in front of the lines of the 168th. They thought if a barrage was needed they might as well make it a good one, and they gave us everything they had, and in large quantities. The Germans were puzzled, it was evident; but fearing that it might be the preliminary to another attack by our regiment, they added one of their own and swept up and down and all over the American front line. This considerable racket likewise led Headquarters, which got no direct word from the front, to believe that trouble was brewing, and the Second and Third Battalions were alerted for emergency. It was

quite the most severe punishment our line had experienced. In A Company, Private Dempsey R. Haynes was killed and Private Lyle G. Rickard and Private Don J. Killen were mortally wounded; in B, Privates Charles H. Barnes and Lloyd L. Lewis were killed; and Lieutenant McCall of A Company and thirty others of the First Battalion were wounded during this and other bombardments that continued practically all day.

Because of the great activity of the Boche, all the work on the new defensive system was being done at night. From his posts of observation in the church steeples of Haumont to the left front and Dampvitoux to the right, both of which rose high from the level prairie, the Boche could note every movement in our line, and Major Ross had not found it worth while to send out working parties during the day. But the General had steadfastly withheld permission to knock them down. On the night of the 23rd our details wired the left of the sector, stringing five hundred meters of entanglement in an hour and a half, and work was being pushed on trench construction while the pioneers and engineers were busy on the forward battalion P. C.'s.

As soon as the enemy observed from these posts of advantage the new works in the American line he tried to destroy them with his artillery, and it was then that permission was granted our gunners to try their skill. They made short work of the steeple at Dampvitoux, toppling it over with a direct hit; and the machine gunners and observers in the one at Haumont were likewise blown out. From that time on these two points gave us little to worry about.

But the shelling never paused, and during the same day the Germans bombarded the Château de St. Benoit with

large calibre and incendiary shells, ending by setting it on fire. All night it blazed fiercely, and the next morning charred walls studded with gaping windows were all that was left of the lovely country seat that had served a German corps commander as headquarters during four long years of the war.

That evening we were informed of the great American attack between the Argonne Forest and the Meuse River set for the following morning, the 26th. It was to be accompanied by a general bombardment to lead the enemy to think that he was being attacked all along the front. Infantry patrols, too, were to make a feint and further mask the main attack. In anticipation of a reprisal fire on our lines the forward companies were withdrawn, the kitchens sent back several kilometers, and the rest of the regiment ordered to dig down deep.

Commencing at half past eleven and continuing with unabated fury until half past five in the morning, the American guns gave the enemy sufficient cause for concern. The rumble and roar of the artillery far up the line and the flashing lights and reddened sky told of the intensity and power of the bombardment.

It had been well foreseen that the enemy would reply on our front line; he tore it to pieces, throwing upon it a multitude of 150's and 210's which he had recently brought up to support his lighter guns. He shelled the woods, raking them in the search for reserves, and he covered the roads leading to the front. However, there was not a single casualty in the regiment until six o'clock, a half hour after the cessation of the bombardment, when the First Battalion returned to its positions. This time the Boche shelled our front with high explosive and gas, inflicting fatal wounds on Privates Gerald A. Bowen and

Ira L. Satterfield of A Company, and less seriously injuring a dozen of their comrades. Many, badly burned by mustard gas, were also forced to the hospital.

When Corporal Jens R. Wind of Company A returned to his post, a German with hands raised in token of surrender stood up before him. He had been a member of a patrol operating in No Man's Land when the American barrage caught them and cut them up badly. By mistake he had wandered into our lines, and being completely unnerved he was content to wait there for daylight and capture.

Again during the entire day the enemy shelled the line and woods. He sent so much gas over on the A Company sector that it was finally obliged to withdraw. While a group of men from this company were lined up for mess in the woods, a shell fell directly in their midst, wounding sixteen of them. It was remarkable that they were not all killed. One of the injured men, Private White, in his desire to remain with the company, did not report his wound but returned to the line. However, it later gave him so much trouble that he had to go to the hospital anyway.

Up to the very last the Second and Third Battalions were occupied with the work on their positions. The latter had recovered from the blow of the 12th, and was again ready to take its place in the front line. On the 18th Captain Yates of E Company was placed in command, and Captain Lainson returned to L Company. Lieutenant Sefton, who had the task of reorganizing M Company, was detached from I Company and assigned to command M, taking the place of Captain Christopher.

Rumors of relief had been flying back and forth for some time, when, on the 28th, it was officially announced

that the regiment was to be withdrawn from the line. The Second and Third Battalions left late that afternoon for the Bois de Pannes, a woodland between the village of Heudicourt and Nonsard, about ten kilometers away. The First Battalion was held until its relief by the Second Battalion of the 165th Infantry, which was completed shortly before two in the morning, and then it joined the rest of the regiment in the woods.

Here the various headquarters were housed in rustic buildings left by the Boche, who had used the wood for a rest camp, very much like Ker Arvor. It was a pacific spot, quiet and out of shell range, and the men had their first opportunity in three weeks to rest, clean up, and bathe. In all that period many of them had never had their clothes off, and they were crawling with cooties and German fleas. Man in his natural state was very much in evidence the next morning when the sun came out bright and warm; with the aid of steaming bacon tins and improvised showers they were ridding themselves of the month's accumulation of dirt; and underclothes, shirts, and inviting seams were assiduously studied for the elusive pediculus.

From the 12th of September until the 28th, the 168th lost 7 officers and 81 enlisted men killed, and 12 officers and 294 men wounded, a total of 394 casualties for the period. Of these, slightly more than half were in the Third Battalion, although A Company with its heavy losses from shelling and gas in the line had the greatest individual casualties of any one company; and E Company, which had suffered from our own artillery, was third in the number of dead. There was not an organization in the regiment which had not had some losses, although as a unit it had been very lucky. To offset



At a cross-road someone read aloud the road direction, *Vers Verdun*. We weren't in for any picnic this time.

There had been hopes for billets at Deuxnouds, but when the regiment arrived it was filled to capacity with other troops, and again the 168th bivouacked on a hillside. That night there was a heavy frost, and there were few who did not awake the next morning with kinks in the back and joints. The kitchens arrived by truck in time for a belated breakfast, and the warm food and coffee went far towards making up for a comfortless night.

The Supply Company, with the field and combat trains, left Apremont about the same time as the infantry and marched until half past twelve, when they halted for the night at Pierrefitte. It continued the march after spending the day there, and rejoined the regiment at Deuxnouds at midnight of the 3rd.

There was little to do in this station but wait for orders and discount the rumors that were coming in by the hundreds. One heard terrible stories of the punishment the Americans in this sector were receiving; that the Germans had flanked one whole corps and were about to annihilate it. But nothing was so bad as the regiment was actually to experience two weeks later. In this village the Second Battalion changed commanders, Captain Haynes of Company D succeeding Major Stanley, who was now acting Lieutenant Colonel.

On the 4th, a dreary day but good for hiking, the regiment moved to Brabant-en-Argonne, twenty-two kilometers nearer the front. This village, too, was full of troops of other divisions, and the 168th drew for the night's bivouac a hillside orchard.

The next day the route led through Récicourt, over roads swarming with pioneers toiling to make them

passable for artillery and supplies. Transportation and obstructions caused frequent halts, and the men grew weary with the very slowness of the pace. Three times the column was held up for an hour by traffic jams, and half the time it was just waiting for an opportunity to move. Finally, what had once been the town of Avocourt was put behind, and then the roads grew even rougher and muddier. Such desolate and hopeless country as they were passing through — every village in ruins, a succession of tragic silhouettes against a leaden sky. It all seemed past reclaiming.

It was after dusk when at length the regiment, having covered but nineteen kilometers, reached its destination in the Bois de Montfaucon, about three kilometers south of the village of that name. This spot was a battle ground not yet old. But twenty kilometers northwest of Verdun, it had been fought over many times before the Americans had come to France, and only nine days had passed since the 79th Division had carried it by attack on the opening day of the Meuse-Argonne battle. Shell holes fifteen to twenty feet across covered the ground so thickly that no wagon could find a way ten feet from the road, and the men could not discover a level spot on which to pitch their tents. The trees were all splintered and dead, so the view was unobstructed in all directions. Far off to the right rose the pitted cone of *Le Mort Homme* — Dead Man's Hill.

Scattered about in this shell-torn graveyard of timber, the regiment remained five days waiting for the order that would send it up into its last big fight. A few stray German shells from east of the Meuse, and occasionally a big one from the north, fell in the camp, but the danger was so slight and the drainage of fox-holes so difficult

that the men elected to remain in their shelter tents. Had it not been for the knowledge that we would soon be at the front, life would have been dull. Once in a while a Y. M. C. A. wagon reached the camp, but its stock was reduced to a litter of paper before many men found out what was in it. The days were spent in keeping as clean and dry as possible, and in eating as frequently and heartily as the ration would allow.

On Sunday, the 6th, church services were held in the shell holes, and the Band gave a concert afterward. Unfortunately it played *Homeward Bound* as its first selection, and everybody started cheering, thinking the war must be over. There had been rumors that Germany, Austria, and Turkey were asking for an armistice, but there was nothing more concrete on which to base a celebration.

Happenings in the air furnished occasional diversion; the regiment was on a line with the American observation balloons, and German planes made spectacular attempts, frequently successful, to bring them down. Every now and then there were glimpses of groups of from fifteen to twenty bombing planes winging back in the early morning from over the line. On the afternoon of the 9th an American plane circled above our camp, leaving curves of light smoke behind it, and one of these curves, catching the rays of the setting sun, produced a rainbow. That removed any lingering doubt — the Division would soon be in action.

## XXXV

### INTO THE ARGONNE

A RELUCTANT summer had now completely surrendered to the chill nights and piercing winds of mid-autumn. Already the first frosts had fringed the foliage with scarlet and yellow, and the dismaying outlook of a hard winter campaign was looming before the 168th. Just then no one knew that the great battle into which it was about to be thrown was to be the last of the war.

This battle which had been raging from the Argonne to the Meuse for the past two weeks was to engage before its finale more American troops than had ever before taken part in a single operation. Twenty-two divisions, aided by four French divisions, were to struggle forty-eight days against the forty-six German divisions flung against them in a desperate but unavailing effort to save the Mezières-Sedan railroad and to stave off defeat.

The part played by a single regiment in an operation of such magnitude, involving more than three-quarters of a million men on our side alone, must necessarily be small. But if the 168th played a small part, it was at least a distinct one. The battle was well along on its first phase when the Rainbow Division was called to the line. The German defense had stiffened after the first surprise of the assault, and the fighting had resolved itself into a slow and gruelling advance under the most adverse conditions, and against almost insuperable obstacles. Of all the sectors on the Western Front, this was to the enemy the most important and the most vital; to hold it

he fought with the savagery of a wild beast at bay. The 42nd Division stood out conspicuously in the continuance of the conflict, and the 84th Brigade most actively represented the Division as it broke through the Kriemhilde Stellung at its apex on the Côte de Châtillon, said to be the strongest point between the Meuse River and the Argonne Forest.

On the 9th of October there appeared in the German Army Summary of Intelligence the following:

“The engagement of the 42nd Division is to be expected soon. It is in splendid fighting condition, and is counted among the best of the American divisions.”

This report was well founded, for two days later the Rainbow Division, now a unit in the recently organized Fifth Corps commanded by Major General Charles P. Summerall, a former commander of our own divisional artillery, took over the front of the exhausted First Division.

Shortly after dusk on the evening of the 10th of October the 168th, bidding adieu to the shell holes of the Bois de Montfaucon, formed up and set out into the night. It was in many ways the worst march that the regiment ever made. To begin with it was dark, cloudy, and cold, and a long delay before getting into motion left the men chilled to the bone and on edge. Reaching the main highway, the column marched north, skirting the village of Montfaucon, and turned west over a road already jammed with traffic. French troops were moving forward by the same route, and a continuous stream of trucks coming and going forced them over to the side of the road, and kept splashing them with mud.

A few shells were now falling south of them, but none came dangerously close until the line approached the

cross-roads at Eclisfontaine. It was well after midnight, and the First Battalion, which was leading, had halted, blocked by a section of motorized heavy guns. Suddenly from the black void, while the men were standing in formation, there came a sharp tearing of air, a deafening burst, as three shells exploded simultaneously over the column, showering A and B Companies with shrapnel, beating men down like ripe grain before a hail storm. There was a terrible moment of confusion. Men started to run, and stopped, bewildered. Cries of the wounded and sobs of the dying added to the horror. But long training and discipline saved the situation; coolness on the part of the officers and non-coms, and a cautionary word here and there, immediately brought the command to its senses and averted a panic.

Private Charles E. Southwick, a member of B Company, graphically describes his sensations:

When I was hit, I had my helmet on, but the shrapnel seemed to come right up under it. I heard no sound of the approaching shells — just a sudden flash of fire and a terrific concussion directly in front of me, which caught me full in the face, neck, and chest. I was bent slightly forward by the weight of my pack, and the explosion caught me under the chin and lifted me high in the air. It seemed that I whirled upward for several seconds, and I remember dreading the fall. Then the ringing in my ears ceased, and I was unconscious for a time. When I came to, I was lying in the road, wounded, and I crawled under a truck for protection.

The intense darkness of the night made relief slow and difficult, but the wounded were carried out of the way of trucks and marching men, and soon the medical officers and their assistants were at work beside the road. The column reformed and marched quietly out of danger, leaving behind fifty-four men, six of them killed or

mortally wounded. Company A lost twenty-one wounded; and B, twenty-seven wounded and six killed, a greater number than it had lost in the entire St. Mihiel engagement. The unseeing eyes of the German artillery, which for several nights had been directing a harassing fire on this road, had at last found a rich target.

Disheartened by the tragedy, the column again disappeared into the darkness, checking up its losses as it went along, although it was not generally known until morning just who had been taken and who had been spared. There were none of the good-natured jibes and joshing that ordinarily lighten a hard march; instead, all were strangely silent. Without command, the column proceeded, turning automatically to the right or left, as if sensing the direction. Up a steep hill in the Bois de Baulny, near the ruins of Exmorieux Farm, the regiment halted. The roads were so frightful that in ten hours it had covered less than fifteen kilometers. The men scattered out through the brush, pitched their shelter tents, and crawled in just before daybreak for a few hours of such sleep as the roaring battery of eight-inch howitzers in the valley below them would permit.

With daylight came the first glimpse of the camp that was to become a familiar spot to the 168th — the curving valley, the rock-strewn hills, and the row of German huts and leaky barracks that lined the southern slope. This stop, however, was but an introduction, for by the time the early autumn dusk had veiled the bivouac, and the belching howitzers were shaking the air, the First Battalion was winding westward down the valley in a long open file. As they neared the front the men marched at intervals of five paces as a protection against anticipated shell-fire, so that the battalion stretched out along the road for several kilometers.

The regiment was on its way to relieve the 26th Infantry of the First Division. This organization had been in the line since the 1st of October, and in the bitterest sort of fighting it had pushed its front from the vicinity of Exermont to a position a half kilometer beyond the Sommerance-Romagne road.

At Exermont the column headed north over trails made heavy and treacherous by rain, plunging down steep hillsides and up precipitous inclines in seemingly endless repetition. It was a still night, wet, dismal, and thick with mist—the sort of atmosphere to hold indefinitely the gas vapors with which the Boche filled the pockets. As far as possible, the line kept to the higher ground, but deep cuts in the vicinity of d'Ariétal Farm could not be avoided, and it was necessary to resort to gas masks. In one of these cuts, part of the procession went astray, and before the difficulty was straightened out a number of men were slightly gassed. Lieutenant Ferguson of Company C, who took off his mask to shout for the missing men, was so seriously affected that he had to be sent to the hospital the following day.

Guides from the 26th Infantry met Major Ross north of the Farm. They were new to the sector, having themselves taken it over but twenty-four hours previous, and they were not always sure of their positions. This uncertainty, combined with the darkness, miserable roads, and the extension of the column, made a most trying process of the relief. Columns from other units, crossing each other in the blackness of the night, added to the confusion. In one instance two entire platoons followed the wrong line because a single man lost sight of his file leader, and the mistake was not uncovered until the detachment was completely separated from the First



Battalion. Farther back, a company in Captain Haynes' battalion was similarly split and was not reunited until morning.

It was nearly midnight when C and D Companies filed into their positions in the northern edge of the Bois de Romagne, about halfway between Sommerance and Romagne. The German front line was from seventy to one hundred meters from ours, out in the open. Somewhere on our right were troops of the 181st Brigade; but during the night they withdrew three hundred meters to permit their artillery to shell a hill in front of them, so that flank was for some time entirely open.

Because the relieving battalion of the 168th had almost as many men as the entire 26th Infantry, A and B Companies, instead of going into the front line, were assigned a position on the eastern slope of Hill 263. The Second Battalion, following, crowded in with the Second Battalion of the 167th on the steep southern slope of the same hill; and the Third, which was the support battalion, remained back in the valley east of Exermont, near la Neuville-le-Comte Farm, where Colonel Tinley had established his headquarters. Major Stanley, assigned to command of the troops on the line, took over the P. C. of Colonel Erickson of the 26th Infantry, in a little hut on the forest edge east of d'Ariétal Farm.

The terrain was as forbidding as any the 168th had ever seen. Thick woods, tangled underbrush, scarred trees, gaping shell holes, deep ravines, and lofty ridges united to make a country already desolate and difficult still more forbidding. There was more than mere hearsay, too, to substantiate the reports that the enemy was offering the stiffest resistance; dead bodies, some of them in a bad state of decomposition, littered the woods



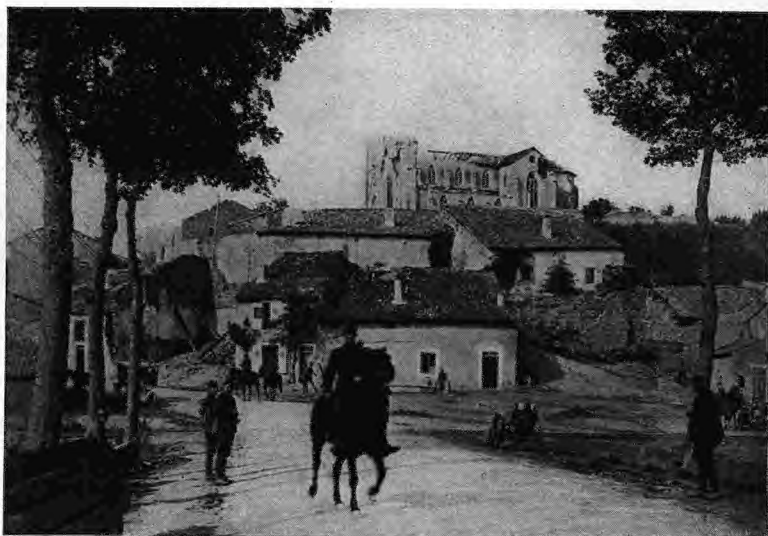
MEN OF E COMPANY WAITING TO GO OVER THE TOP ON THE EVENING OF SEPTEMBER 16, 1918



FIRST AID TREATMENT FOR WOUNDED OFFICER. PRISONERS WAITING TO CARRY HIM BACK TO DRESSING STATION. NEAR PANNES



THE CHATEAU DE NESLES CAPTURED BY THE 168TH



PANNES AFTER ITS CAPTURE BY THE  
168TH ON THE 18TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1918

and slopes, and it fell to the lot of Chaplains Robb, Hatch, and Strickland to bury over a hundred from the First Division alone, which their own diminished force had been unable to care for before their relief. There was no doubt about it—the regiment was in for a desperate struggle.

Ahead of it lay the Kriemhilde Stellung, that famous series of defensive lines, selected so as to derive every advantage from the reënforced crests over which it ran, with broad bands of wire protecting the deep and well-conditioned trenches behind. It was on this line that the Germans hoped to check indefinitely the onrush of the Americans, and it was without question the most elaborate defensive system on the Western Front.

The enemy main line ran southeast from Landres-et-St. Georges, around the southern slope of the Côte de Châtillon, through the Bois de Romagne, cutting the Sommerance-Romagne road at the summit of Hill 288 from which came a direct enfilading fire on our position. Opposing us at this time were the German 41st Division and elements of another unit.

There was no sleep and little rest for the men in the forward position that night. Newness to the sector and ignorance as to the intentions of the enemy kept them constantly on the alert. Unfortunately, early in the morning, between three and four o'clock, a battery of friendly artillery fired short into our lines, causing more perturbation than actual damage, for there were no casualties; but it had a demoralizing effect on the troops. At 8:30 this bombardment by our own guns was repeated.

As soon as it was light enough for the runners to find their way through the semi-wilderness, liaison was established with Major Norris's battalion of the 167th on the

left, and with the 127th Infantry of the 32nd Division, which had just relieved elements of the 181st Brigade, on the right.

Throughout the day the sector was covered by a continuous fire from machine guns, minenwerfer, and artillery which poured down from the commanding positions of the enemy. A number of Boches were seen at la Musarde Farm, but for the most part they kept out of sight, waiting in not altogether unjustifiable confidence for the Americans to beat against the stone wall of their defense.

The following morning, the 13th of October, Major Ross was ordered to shift his battalion a kilometer to the right, to take over a part of the front then held by the 127th Infantry. An attack had been planned for the 14th, and it was in this sector that the 168th was to make its jump-off.

The order gave the road running east and west across Hill 288 as the line of departure, but as the 127th Infantry had been in occupation only a few hours and was covering the front loosely with patrols instead of with a fixed force, there was considerable doubt as to just where the American line was at the moment. Moreover, the continuing fire from that direction gave us every reason to believe that the designated American front line was actually in the hands of the enemy. Major Ross, before moving his troops, sent out a patrol to definitely determine the matter, and the reconnaissance not only proved that what had been the American line was considerably to the rear of the one reported, but that the line from which we were supposed to attack was actually the German line of defense.

This patrol was composed of fifteen of the First

Battalion Scouts under Lieutenant Turner, and four men of Company D under Lieutenant Spaulding who went along to look over the position his company was to occupy. Preceded by an advance group under Sergeant Fleming of C Company, the party worked forward, paralleling the road toward Hill 288. As it neared the fork about five hundred yards west of the summit, Fleming sent back word that he had spotted two Boches two hundred yards farther up to the right, sitting by the roadside smoking.

This was well within the sector defined by the attack order; in fact, a point some distance beyond that had been fixed as the left of D Company's position, and fearing they had made a mistake the two officers stopped at the junction of the road to correct their bearings on the map. While they were discussing the matter with three of the D Company sergeants, Fleming joined them and offered to lead a party up the road to see if there were any more Germans in the vicinity, and to capture the two that had been seen, if they were still there.

As every one of the scouts volunteered to go with him, the Sergeant chose Privates Dye of D Company, Hensch of A, Scrivnor of B, Scheerer and Kinyon of C, and O'Hair of D. Fleming was to lead, with the first three a short distance behind him and the others to follow at fifty yards. They started out cautiously so as not to attract the attention of any of the Boches who might be on the lookout, but they had not covered half the distance when a machine gun from the crest of the hill, at the point where the Kriemhilde trench crossed the road, opened up on them. Before they had time to realize what had happened, Dye and Scrivnor were lying dead on the ground. Those in the rear were scattered by the sweep-

ing fire, and while that was keeping them low a party of Germans who had been lying in ambush beside the road got in between Fleming and Hench and their support. These two continued to return the fire of the enemy until Hench fell, gravely wounded. Fleming managed somehow to drag him to a shell hole, and held off the enemy until his ammunition was exhausted. By that time he thought Hench dead, and believed if he played possum he might elude the Boches and get back to our lines. But just then a number of them — he did not know how many — pounced on him from the rear, and swinging on him with a rifle butt, knocked him unconscious. Then they got hold of Hench, and dragged them both off into the bushes. Hench had been mortally wounded and died on the 18th, but Fleming recovered and was released soon after the signing of the Armistice. He was closely questioned by a German intelligence officer, and after four days of quizzing without result that officer slapped him on the back and said: "You're a damned good soldier." From then until his release, Fleming could not complain of the treatment received at German hands.

So it was in gaining the information that the enemy was in full possession of Hill 288 that the First Battalion lost its first prisoners. Acting on this dearly bought intelligence, Major Ross chose a position to the south of the Hill for the line of his battalion.

Hill 288, steep, and skilfully organized, with its perfectly concealed machine gun positions and its clear field of fire, had proved the knottiest problem in the fighting of the past few days. It had successfully resisted the combined efforts of the 181st Brigade of the 91st Division and the 1st and 32nd Divisions on its flanks in a well-planned and bravely fought attack on the 10th of October.

Nor had the Americans, in spite of the insistence of the Staff, since been able to wrest it from the tenacious enemy. It was not a cheerful or encouraging prospect for the First Battalion which had been ordered to reduce it.

Under a lively bombardment of gas and high explosive shells, A and B Companies fled down from Hill 263 and took up their position in reserve in the woods about a kilometer to the right. At dusk C and D moved over, establishing a new front approximately a thousand yards wide, some eight hundred yards south of Hill 288 and immediately west of Hill 286, another dominating crest still held by the enemy. The Machine Gun Company was assigned a post in the support line where it mounted its guns so as to sweep the crown of the hills to the right and front. Liaison between the 168th and the First Battalion of the 127th was secured by Lieutenant Breslin's platoon of A Company, and the battalion P. C. was soon in communication by wire with Regimental Headquarters, for the Signal Platoon had lost no time in stringing and connecting up its lines.

From the first our troops were harassed by a plunging machine gun fire from 288 and 286, and there was little protection from the zinging spray of bullets that swept down into our sector. The field artillery of both sides engaged in a continuing repartee that gave one not a moment's rest; and later on, when a cold penetrating rain had ushered in a dreary night, a battery of French eight-inch rifles, emplaced behind the 32nd Division to our right rear, commenced to drop shells in our area.

The battalion's entire supply of flares was expended in an effort to signal to the artillery the error in range, and message after message went back — all without effect,



for throughout the night, and until half past eight in the morning, the heavy shells came roaring into our lines. Fortunately, and strangely, the casualties, which were confined to Company D, were few; but as usual in such circumstances the demoralizing effect on the men was tremendous.

## XXXVI

### THE CONQUEST OF HILL 288

Soon after Major Ross had reported his battalion and the Machine Gun Company in position he was notified, over the telephone, of the early hour set for the coming attack and of the great responsibility that rested on his shoulders; for General MacArthur, in a message to Colonel Tinley, had said, "Ross is the absolute key to the whole situation."

The assault, which was scheduled for five o'clock on the morning of October 14th, was to carry Hill 288, Hill 242 a kilometer ahead of it, and the strong point centered about the Tuilerie Farm at the base of the Côte de Châtillon, all within an hour and a half — rapid even for an unopposed advance in such a broken and heavily wooded country — so that the rest of the Division, which was waiting for our regiment to come up on a line with it, could move forward.

In preparation for this operation a hundred wire cutters were brought up to aid the First Battalion in breaking through the tangled defenses, and large dumps of grenades and small arms ammunition were established in the support position.

The Second Battalion, which, during the 12th and 13th of October, had withdrawn from Hill 262 to Hill 269 across the valley, and in so doing had incurred casualties from a shower of gas shells directed by a spying enemy plane, was to support Major Ross; and Captain Haynes was ordered to furnish one company to follow A and B

Companies at a hundred yards to mop-up the conquered territory. Late in the day E and F Companies moved to Hill 255, about a thousand yards east of their former position on 269.

All was now in readiness; but about eight o'clock the First Battalion commander learned from the 127th Infantry on his right, in conjunction with whom he was to advance, that they had no orders for the attack and that they were making no preparations to move. The uncertainty was further increased by the untraceable rumor that the attack had been called off because the Germans had submitted to Wilson's terms. However, no official word came to substantiate this, and it was sorrowfully relegated to the limbo of all good rumors.

October 14th dawned dark, misty, and forbidding. It had rained all night, and the men, still wearing summer underclothing, with but one blanket apiece and no overcoats, rose stiffly from their beds in the mud to face one of the most memorable days in the history of the regiment. The heavy artillery continued to blast out great craters just in front of our line, and the enemy, sensing danger, redoubled his already heavy machine gun fire. The First Battalion was only waiting for the 32nd Division to come abreast before jumping off, although at the time the friendly artillery was putting up as effective a barrier as the Boche machine guns.

Company D, especially, was suffering from the direct fire of two Maxims which were located on a side hill across the valley. Calling Sergeant Bernard Nelson to him, Lieutenant Spaulding said, "There's a couple of Boche machine guns out there — think we'll have to get them."

"Think we will, Lieutenant. How many men shall I take?"

Hardly waiting for an answer, Nelson chose two squads, and under the cover of the morning mist they worked their way through the brush, snipping the wire as they advanced stealthily and Indian-like up the steep slope, and got behind the trench protecting the German guns. One unsuspecting Heinie was sitting on the edge of the trench with his back to the Americans, placidly smoking and looking off into our position, which was still obscured. At a given signal Nelson's men rushed the enemy trench with a wild yell, and when they left it, triumphant, the twelve Boches who had manned it were on their way to Valhalla, or wherever dead Germans go; the guns were destroyed, and not a single American was missing. A half hour later, a dirt-and-sweat-streaked sergeant reported to Spaulding. "We got the guns, Lieutenant", he briefly announced, and then unconcernedly walked off to his platoon.

The chief remaining difficulty was the flanking fire from Hill 286, which was strongly entrenched and from which commanding position the enemy could sweep with machine guns the entire valley across which the 168th must advance in its assault on 288. Already the attack had long been delayed to allow the 32nd to capture this threatening crest so that our problem would be reduced to a straight frontal thrust; but at 7:30 o'clock up came an order for Major Ross to ignore the flanking units, to proceed to the storming of 288, and to take it, no matter what the cost, as the remainder of the Division could not advance until this vital stronghold was in our hands. The companies in the line were notified, and the men threw aside their blanket rolls in preparation for the advance.

For fifteen minutes the Stokes Mortar Platoon of the Headquarters Company shelled our objective from Hill

263, but there was no other artillery preparation. At eight o'clock the First Battalion left the slight shelter of their fox-holes, and bared their bodies to the hail of steel that fell upon them as soon as they appeared. Companies C (now in command of Lieutenant Witherell of B, who had been transferred during the night to take the place of Lieutenants Ferguson and Silver, who had been gassed) and D were in the front line; A and B, with the Second Platoon of the Machine Gun Company, under Sergeant John Doyle, followed in close support.

While a part of the line had the advantage of cover from the heavy timber, the enemy on the heights of 288 saw our advance and directed a destructive fire of shrapnel and high explosive into the valley. Machine guns seemed to be everywhere, spitting a vicious stream that forced our men low; but by crawling on their stomachs and taking advantage of every bit of cover they gradually pushed forward. Back on Hill 263 General MacArthur and his staff watched the thrilling spectacle of the 168th's brave and desperate struggle. The General had so impressed upon Colonel Tinley the necessity for the capture of the hill that the latter authorized Major Stanley to throw in the entire regiment if he felt it necessary.

For four hours the conflict raged, but with the result never once in doubt. At times the line wavered and trembled, showing by frequent gaps where the Boche had found his mark; often it halted, hesitated for a moment to brace itself, always to hurl itself forward anew. Command passed from officers to sergeants, from sergeants to corporals, and even to privates, but there was no break. Of the hundreds of instances of individual heroism in that brave advance, few will ever be known —

many a tale of self-sacrifice died with its author, and as many remain locked in the modest memory of living heroes.

Following a momentary repulse in which D Company's line was forced back slightly, Sergeant Cray, mortally wounded from a score of bullets, was left lying not more than a stone's throw from the Boche trench. The fact was hardly made known before a khaki form was streaking up that crimson slope. Apparently oblivious of the crashing shells that spattered him with mud, and to the crackling stream that swept about him like sheets of heavy rain before a gale, Corporal Davis, stumbling over the cratered ground, reached his comrade only to find him dead. At that moment a sharp cry escaped him, and his hand clutched a gaping hole torn by a German bullet. There was no hope now of saving the sergeant, and little for himself if he remained longer in that perilous position. Regretfully Davis left him, and painfully dragged himself back to temporary shelter.

At one period during the fighting Captain Bunch, who was reconnoitering a site for an advanced aid station, went out in advance of the front line, and seeing an officer lying helpless in the open, rushed to his aid, picked him up in his big powerful arms, and carried him back through a terrific fire to a shell hole where he dressed his wounds.

The citation of Sergeant Wilkinson of A Company, too, indicates how the Iowans fought that day, and how sublimely they won immortality:

“While leading his platoon up the steep and strongly fortified slopes of Hill 288, under terrific machine gun fire, with great dash and courage, he charged and captured three machine gun nests which had caused his

platoon severe losses. On two occasions he reorganized his platoon under heavy fire, and while unfalteringly pressing his advantage in personally charging and putting out of action a fourth machine gun emplacement, he received the wound that caused his instant death."

At 11:15 Major Ross, in a message to Major Stanley, said: "I think I shall have the hill in a short while." He did not then know that a half hour previous Lieutenant Fox's platoon of C Company had secured a toe hold on the very crest, and had there dug in, but it expressed, perhaps unconsciously, his faith in his men.

Although the left of C Company was safely anchored, the right was suffering from the fire of guns emplaced in the Kriemhilde trench, and could not, without complete annihilation, attempt to move forward. It was then that a small group from the company headquarters, which had threaded its way unseen through the wire and brush almost to the top, discovered the Boche guns. This party had good cover, and the sudden burst of fire from their Springfields took the Germans completely by surprise and won for us the position. The right of C now came up on the new line, and D Company, which had lost heavily while in the wire, filled out the line on the left.

So by noon Hill 288, the keystone of the Kriemhilde Stellung, was completely in our hands, but machine guns on Hill 286 on the right flank, and now behind us, continued to harass our line. Protected on their left by our capture of 288, the 32nd Division at four o'clock, having circled this hill by a flanking maneuver from the right, cut it off and captured the surviving Germans. Lieutenant Breslin, still in command of the liaison patrol, found the 127th Infantry advancing on our right, connected up the two lines, and reported to Major Ross that

286 was in possession of our brother National Guardsmen from Wisconsin.

Now the way was cleared for a further advance. While the battalion was being reorganized, Lieutenant Bly of A Company took several of his headquarters men out at the right to see what the enemy had down on the other side of the hill. The front line was then enjoying the protection of a steep reverse slope, but the summit was being continually swept with machine gun fire from that part of the Kriemhilde Stellung which ran diagonally from the right of our line around the western base of the Côte de Châtillon. Ahead was the thickly wooded height of Hill 242, separated from us by successive lines of heavy wire, covered by intrenched machine gun emplacements. And beyond that lay Châtillon — grim, ominous — dominating the entire position.

So far the enemy had yielded no prisoners. The only Boches remaining in our hands were those who had been shot down at their posts; the rest of the garrison had hastily retired over the brow of the hill when it became apparent that they could no longer hold it.

Bly's patrol disappeared over the road at the crest into the thicket, and noiselessly working its way through the brush got down behind the German trench. At a sudden signal the patrol stopped short. The leader was pointing to a group of about twenty-five Boches, and after hasty directions with Bly in the lead they rushed the trench. In the hand-to-hand encounter that followed, nine of the enemy were killed and the remaining sixteen, finding themselves in a trap, wisely gave themselves up and returned to our lines as prisoners. On the way back the patrol came across a recently abandoned minenwerfer, which Bly promptly swung around in the direction of



Tuilerie Farm where groups of the enemy could be plainly seen. Sergeant Glover and Corporal Wilson operated the piece as long as the ammunition — about seventy-five rounds — held out, and judging from the way the Boches scampered for safety, and kept thereafter to cover, the fire must have been effective. Further booty of this party included two Maxims, which they brought back with them.

The prisoners turned out to be from different units which had become mingled in the disorganization following the attack, but most of them were members of the Ninth Grenadiers of the Third Guard Division, rated as one of the very best in the German army, and which the American Staff credited with offering the stiffest resistance of the entire Meuse-Argonne offensive. These men disclosed the fact that they had been rushed into the line the preceding night to hold the position at all costs. By an unhappy chance a salvo of enemy shells fell near battalion headquarters, then on the reverse slope of 288, while the prisoners were being examined, and several of them, as well as a number of our own men, were wounded.

The next attack, designed to capture the Boche trench system at the base of the forward slope of 288, commenced about four in the afternoon, A and B Companies passing through C and D to form the first wave.

The enemy was well prepared for such an attempt, and secure behind his wire defenses, which ran from tree to tree like the matted undergrowth of a jungle, he poured such a murderous fire into our slackened line that it could not get close enough to rush the trenches.

During this advance Corporal Edwards' squad of the Machine Gun Company, which was on the right flank of A Company, selected a position for their gun in the German

trench running diagonally down the hill, and set it up on the parados with intention of ranging on Hill 242 and Tuilerie Farm. They had no idea that our attack had been checked, and thought the Boches in the trench below them were prisoners — that is, until one of them ambled off in the wrong direction. Just then a German machine gun from the protection of a bank peppered them with bullets.

With unanimity of purpose the Americans dived for the trench — and not any too soon, for one of them lost his heel while still in the air. They had no intention, however, of admitting defeat. Sergeant Oliphant and Corporal Edwards gathered up an armful of grenades, and slipping over the edge, crawled within range of the Boches and bombed them into a corner of the trench. Here the lower road fork blocked it, and the enemy were trapped, but another hostile gun had the ground covered and prevented the two from reaching their potential captives. When there wasn't anything else left, Edwards grabbed a German flare pistol, crawled out, and shot a flare into the cowering group. Later, when the battalion line was withdrawn to the crest of 288, the machine gunners had to retire, but they kept this particular pocket covered with fire during the night, and the next morning it yielded seven prisoners to A Company.

On the left, B Company met with less resistance, and ignorant of the check to the right fought its way into the open just beyond the northern edge of the woods where it was finally halted by an impenetrable belt of wire and an equally impassable machine gun barrage. The fire caught a dozen of our men and mortally wounded Lieutenant Pouch, who was leading his platoon forward. They remained in this salient of their own until evening;

and then when it was discovered that the right had not advanced and that they were completely isolated, Lieutenant Whittemore, who must have been a master in woodcraft, extricated the company from its perilous position, leading his men through the tangle and the darkness to a gully from which they were able to make their way back to the battalion in the morning.

Just after dark Brigade Headquarters issued orders for an audacious assault on the Côte de Châtillon. At midnight the First Battalion of the 168th, in conjunction with the Third Battalion of the 167th, was to storm the hill and capture it at the point of the bayonet. What would have happened to our men floundering through the maze of brush and wire in the darkness is a matter only for conjecture, but at any rate the Brigade Commander was later convinced of the utter futility of such an attempt and the order was withdrawn.

Our activities were, therefore, confined to organizing our positions with a view to continuing the attack on the morrow. Stokes mortars and 37mm guns were brought up on the line, and a detachment of engineers, with as many wire cutters as they could lay hands on, came up to help us in the final break-through.

The First Battalion that night held its line on the summit of Hill 288, with H Company, under Captain Nelson, protecting the right flank and connecting with the 32nd Division, which had come abreast late in the afternoon. Alabama, on the left, had been able during the day to occupy but a very small strip of the Côte de Châtillon that lay outside the wire somewhat to the rear of the position gained by B Company previous to its retirement. The rest of the Second Battalion was brought up to what had been the line of departure in the First Battalion's

## THINK IT OVER!

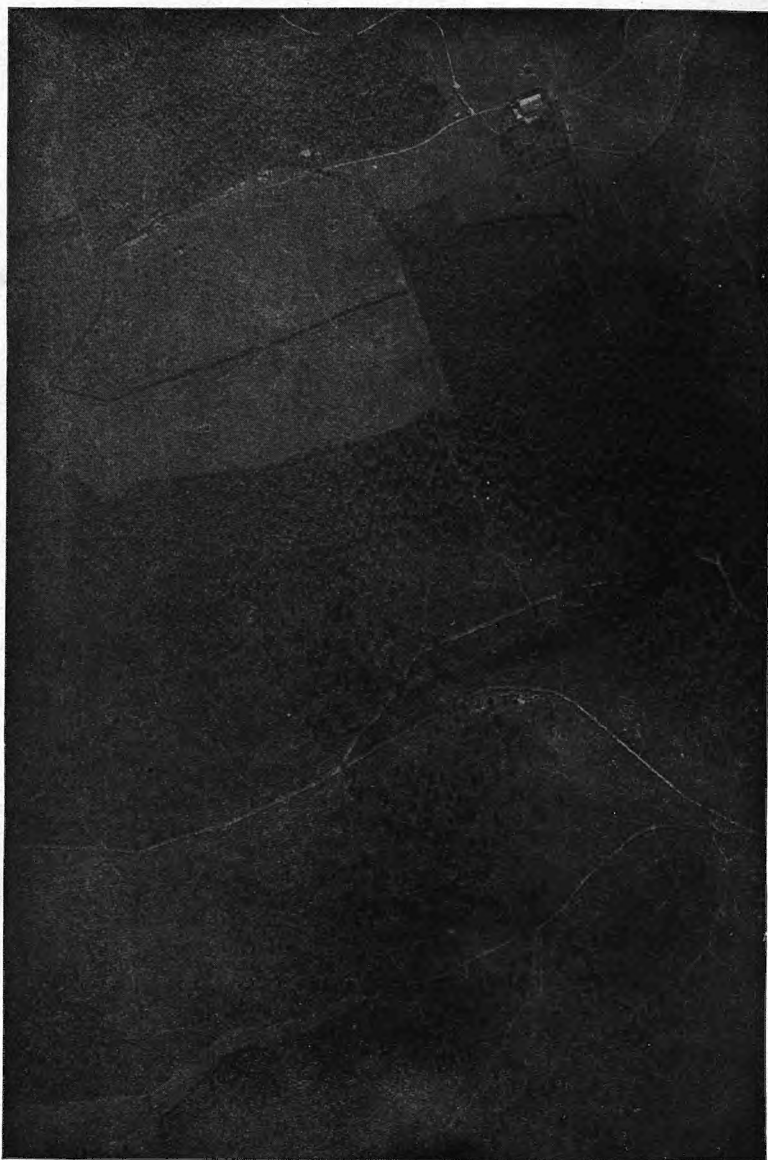
You have had music to march to, flags waving to cheer you on and words of praise and you have left behind you all that is dear to you and come to France to fight the Germans. Until the English wanted you for cannon food you never knew that the Germans were your enemies, but no sooner did England realize that she couldn't beat the Germans even with the help of nearly all the rest of the savage and civilized world than she persuaded you that the Germans were "Huns" and your deadly foes.

Now you have had time to think a little bit and some of you have begun to wish that you had never given ear to the flattery of the English press agents; to wish that you had thought about the matter a little more carefully. Were you right? Are you sure that you want to die fighting for the English Empire? If you have made a mistake, what is the best thing to do? Turn about, regain the right road, before it is too late to turn back.

The soil of France is already soaked with good American blood. Why should you, too, have to shed your blood? **Are there not American graves enough already?**

They tell you that the Germans murder their prisoners. This is not true. All American prisoners in German hands are treated humanely and fair. You know the reason why they tell you such lies. They would rather you died than that the war should end. Every day that the war lasts, Morgan and Charley Schwab and McAdoo are getting richer and if the war lasts long enough they will all be billionaires. But what will you have provided for you, even if you get home alive? Taxes and more taxes and a higher cost of living. That will be your reward.

The only way you can stop the war and stop the destruction of your own country is to stop fighting.



POSITIONS CAPTURED BY THE 168TH INFANTRY IN THE MEUSE-ARGONNE OPERATION. TO RIGHT, BELOW CENTER, MAIN ROAD CURVING OVER HILL 288. TOP, LEFT, WOODED SLOPE OF CHATILLON; TO THE RIGHT, TUILERIE FARM

initial assault, and the Third moved forward to Hill 269.

This first day's fighting had cost Major Ross over a hundred casualties, and as many more were evacuated to the rear, sick from exposure to the cold and rain. The percentage of officer casualties was high, for in addition to the previous gassing of Lieutenants Silver and Ferguson, and the death of Lieutenant Pouch, Lieutenant Barrett of A and Lieutenants Savage and DeBanke of D were wounded, and Lieutenants Fox of C and Spaulding of D were gassed. During a bombardment of the reserve position Lieutenant Vaughn of E was mortally wounded. Corporal Francis H. Webster was one of the several members of the Machine Gun Company who gave their lives in the assault of Hill 288. Through his cartoons published in the *Des Moines Capital* he was equally well known at home and in the regiment for his masterly interpretation of the war and army life.

The roads were in such condition that it was impossible to bring up any sort of ambulance, and the wounded had to be carried by hand for miles. This put an extra strain on the Sanitary Detachment, which, working under fire, was already sorely taxed, and the thirty-five men detailed from Company F to assist Lieutenant Van Meter in the evacuation of the wounded only slightly relieved the congestion at the dressing station.

That night, as every night thereafter, the Boche filled with gas the valley which the regiment had to use for its main artery of supply. The kitchens were over four kilometers behind the front line, and when ration carts could be used at all they never could come more than half-way. Some meals had to be carried in the heavy marmites of the field kitchen the entire distance, the hilly route, ankle-deep in mud, being subjected to frequent

shelling. The Supply Company in a ravine near Exermont had the most difficult experience of its existence, but in spite of the roads, the gas, and the constant punishment from enemy artillery, somehow or other rations, ammunition, and supplies were delivered.

The drizzle of the afternoon had changed into a steady downpour by evening, and the fox-holes which the men had dug for protection soon filled with water. From over the ridge of 288 came the crackle of machine gun fire and the slamming of artillery as a lullaby for the shivering sleepers huddled up close to the steep bank, and two kilometers ahead lay — Châtillon.

## XXXVII

### THE STRUGGLE FOR CHATILLON

EARLY on the morning of the 15th of October, following an all-night artillery preparation, the First Battalion returned to the attack. As a preliminary, Major Ross directed Lieutenant Bly to swing his company around the right flank and clear the forward slope of 288 and the east and west slopes of 242, which movement, if successful, would permit the rest of the battalion to advance to the base of Châtillon. On the heels of a short bombardment of the German trenches by the Stokes Platoon, the battalion, with A Company in the lead, went over the top of the ridge and down the wooded slope.

A Company's maneuver was only partially successful, but it yielded nearly a hundred prisoners and secured a foothold from which to carry out the original plan later in the afternoon. Lieutenant Breslin, with the First Platoon, penetrated into the enemy's territory for over a kilometer, reached Tuilerie Farm, discovered two machine gun nests in the woods nearby, and promptly attacked them. In a furious scrimmage they destroyed one of the guns, and leaving such of the enemy as resisted dead behind them returned with one gun and four prisoners. But it was not without cost, for but twelve men of the platoon were left to carry on the fight.

Lieutenant Howard G. Smith, hit in the shoulder early in the engagement, refused to leave his platoon, although he was in great pain. In a brilliant charge he led his men against a nest of four guns, and with Sergeant Trotter,



Corporals Wilson and Jacobson, and several other of his men, captured thirty-six Boches in a trench. Only when he began to weaken from loss of blood would he think of going to the rear. Then he volunteered to guide some sixty prisoners back over a shell-swept area, and came trudging over the hill with the long line of unkempt, frightened Germans trailing behind him. His blouse had been torn off, his shirt was streaming with blood that exaggerated the pallor of his face, and it was evident that he was about all in, but he still declined to go to the dressing station until he had officially turned over his prisoners.

"Where do you want 'em, Major?," he called out as soon as he found Major Ross.

"Why, you've been wounded", Ross replied as his surprised glance fell on the gory, dishevelled figure. "How do you feel?"

"Like the devil, Sir", and with a grin he started back to the dressing station. But before he got to the rear, he was again wounded in the same shoulder by a shell fragment and left with injuries so severe as to end his line service.

As soon as the battalion commander's back was turned, the souvenir hunters fell upon the bewildered prisoners like a swarm of locusts on a green field, and left them as clean. Valuable information was gained from them as to their machine gun and artillery positions and as to their order of battle. Opposing us from right to left, we learned, were the Lehr Regiment of the Third Guard Division, the 148th Regiment of the 41st Division, and the 152nd Regiment of the 41st. Some of the prisoners stated that they had been told that Germany had accepted Wilson's peace terms, and that the war would end on the

14th. One remarked that our attack had come as a "painful surprise".

In the meantime A Company had been forced back within the edge of the Bois de Romagne by the heavy direct fire from machine guns on the ridge of Hill 242 and from Châtillon. The other three companies took what shelter was available in the vicinity of the abandoned trench, which was strewn with clothing, equipment, machine guns, helmets, and rifles, just as the Boches had dropped them when taken prisoner.

For an hour and a half the entire battalion supported an unnerving bombardment of high explosive and gas, and jarring bombs from minenwerfer, whose visible course through the air was breathlessly followed and whose every detonation caused either a shudder or a sigh of relief. The losses during that shelling were high, and men saw sturdy legs, that perhaps had carried them to victory in school or college contests, shattered and useless; or sickened to find strong right arms, whose rippling muscles had been sources of secret pride, hanging by a thread. A gas shell exploded so close to Lieutenant Whittemore of B Company that he was not only overcome by the fumes but wounded in the leg by a fragment as well. A stretcher-bearer of C Company, Private Bell, left his shelter to go to the aid of a cruelly wounded comrade, and before he could drag him to safety both were killed by high explosive. Many others were blown to atoms by direct hits on the fox-holes where they were crouching.

By noon, however, there was a temporary abatement of enemy fire, and our forces were reformed with B, C, A, and H Companies in the line and D Company in support. H Company's mission was to circle Hill 242 from the

right and effect the capture of Tuilerie Farm, while the other three companies attacked at the left of the hill.

To silence the machine guns our artillery fiercely shelled Hill 242 for three quarters of an hour, and at three o'clock in the afternoon the assault companies, now woefully reduced in numbers, went over in the rain for their fourth attack in two days. On the left Company B encountered heavy wire obstructions, and again large shells from friendly batteries were falling short in the midst of the advancing troops. The enemy, too, was dropping gas in the woods.

Finally the battalion emerged from cover and started up the short stretch of open meadow that formed the last ridge south of Châtillon. Just over the ridge was a hedge, and beyond that the ground dipped and rose again to the border of the woods at the base of the hill. These woods practically covered Châtillon's southern slope and extended to the right to within a hundred yards of Tuilerie Farm.

There was an ominous hush as the open files of men moved up the meadowed rise in combat groups. This sudden apparition from the woods may have taken the enemy by surprise, or he may have been waiting for the opportune moment to deal with the situation. At any rate, he let the leading files gain the ridge unmolested. Then his fire opened with a blast and roar that could not have been more startling if it had been launched automatically by the touch of an electric button. Machine gun bullets from Châtillon scorched over the ridge with their message of death, and 88's from short range came pounding down upon the field without warning sound of their approach.

The unexpectedness and violence of this fire naturally

shook the line, but it recovered instantly, and the front wave sprang smoothly and mechanically into skirmish formation, while the support groups rushed forward to the protection of shell holes. The thin hedge of trees and brush screened a line of well-intrenched machine guns, and between them and our men there was nothing but open ground. But B and C wanted that hedge and started for it on the run. At the glint of rapidly approaching bayonets the morale of the Boche defenders broke completely, and before they fired twenty shots they had deserted their guns and were scuttling for the woods. Some of them reached it, and some of them died in the open with American bullets in their bodies. Our men had been quick and their aim true.

Company H succeeded in breaking through around the right of Hill 242 and gained the edge of the woods at the clearing before the Tuilerie Farm, its objective. In defiance of a slaughterous fire, the platoons of Lieutenants Harris and Gillespie, undismayed, dashed across the open ground and seized all but the barn — a long, low, stone fortress bristling with machine guns, which for the time defied capture. This collection of half-ruined buildings was now such a contested spot that as soon as they lost it, the Boches let loose on it full blast with their artillery; and in the evening our men were blown out of position and forced to withdraw a hundred yards to the border of the Bois de Romagne.

From the time that the companies on the left established themselves on the line of the hedge there was an unceasing exchange of rifle and machine gun fire with the Germans who were thickly posted in concealed positions in the edge of the Châtillon woods opposite. Our line had to be consolidated under heavy fire, and Boche snipers

were on the lookout for any one who dared to show himself above the hedge.

The man power of the First Battalion had by this time become so reduced that it was necessary to put the entire command in the line in order to cover the front. Major Ross had to ask for another company from the Second Battalion to form the local support, so Captain Haynes sent him F Company. Captain Nelson, on the right was directed to gain liaison with the 32nd Division, but that organization had not yet come up, and as H Company's front could not safely be further extended, Lieutenant Godley with a patrol from F Company was dispatched to locate the left flank of the 127th Infantry. It was nearly morning before he found it and could report that liaison was definitely established on the right. Lieutenant Moore, now in command of D Company, had got in touch with Alabama which, with the rest of the Division, had been unable to make any material advance during the day.

The relentless heavens continued to drench the unprotected men on the line. They had neither blankets nor shelter, and they lay shaking in their flooded fox-holes, longing for daylight to come, no matter what it might bring. Casualties, exposure, and the strain of four successive attacks had reduced the First Battalion to a small band of exhausted men to whom the danger of death was as nothing compared to the torture of living. There were men who actually regarded with envy their comrades who were comfortably dead. The real courage of a soldier is not in facing fire, but in facing the constant fatigue, discomfort, and misery of the battle field; and any one who knows what the 168th went through during the terrible days of this campaign must marvel at the

fortitude and sheer grit that carried it on to final victory.

The fighting that day was on practically empty stomachs, and it was not until the night was well advanced that the mess detail from the Third Battalion brought up a meal already cold to the reverse slope of the ridge. In small groups the weary men slipped over the hill to eat. The coffee looked as if it had been dished from the Missouri, and the slum equally unattractive, but nectar and ambrosia never pleased the palates of the gods more.

On this slope, about a hundred yards in rear of the line, Major Ross and Lieutenants Wood, Neale, and Turner had established Battalion Headquarters. The Major, thinking he could spend the night in comparative comfort, scooped out a good-sized shell hole and rigged a tarpaulin over it. But in a little while the front of the shelter was nothing but a mud hole; by midnight it had caved in, and shortly afterward the rest of it fell in on him, burying him up to his arm pits. Lieutenant Wood dug him out, and then the two of them, soaked to the skin, stayed up for the rest of the night walking around to keep from freezing.

During the dark hours the enemy betrayed his anxiety by keeping the front alight with flares, one of which unfortunately struck Private James G. Gallagher of A Company in the abdomen and burned him to death before it could be extinguished. The Boches had every reason, too, to be on the alert, and Lieutenant Bly, the irrepressible, was largely responsible for keeping them stirred up. On a scouting expedition he came across a supply of German ammunition which he sent back to another minenwerfer that he had discovered near the Tuilerie Farm, and then treated the Heinies on the heights of Châtillon to some of their own music.

In order to clear our wounded of the afternoon and night, whole platoons of the reserve companies were pressed into service as stretcher-bearers, and others carried ammunition. No part of the regimental sector was immune from the enemy fire. The remainder of the Second Battalion, on Hill 205, suffered severely from a bombardment of high explosive and gas, G Company alone having fifty casualties, including two officers. Food and carrying details had losses on every trip. One shell caught a party from M Company near Hill 288, killing Privates Higgins and Hebert and so stunning Private Lunsford that he wandered about lost for three days.

Back at Army Headquarters where the reports from the front were consolidated, it had become apparent that the Côte de Châtillon was the key position to the success of the American advance. The Commander-in-Chief let it be known that its capture was imperative. Up through the mud of that black, rainy night came Major General Summerall, commander of the Fifth Army Corps, to the P. C. of the 84th Brigade at Neuve Forge Farm. It was evident from his manner that affairs were at a crisis. After a few general questions, he sat down and ate hurriedly of the midnight lunch that had been laid out on the table. His actions and speech unmasked suppressed excitement and strain. It was not until he had reached the curtained doorway and was backing out that he said what he had come to say. Then he turned to General MacArthur and said abruptly:

“You will give us the Côte de Châtillon tomorrow or turn in a report of five thousand casualties.”— Military necessity requires few words.

“I shall take it, Sir, or report ‘No Brigade’.”

Thus it was settled that the 168th should again draw in the lottery of death.

## XXXVIII

### CHATILLON IS OURS

WHEN the officers of the First Battalion and of F and H Companies, wet, cold, and haggard, reported to Major Ross at dawn on the 16th of October to learn that the Côte de Châtillon was to be taken that day, their appreciation of the difficulties confronting them was as keen as their determination to do all that was humanly possible to carry out the order. They knew that their men were at the breaking point, that they were exhausted from long exposure, lack of sleep and proper nourishment; they realized that half of the officers and many of the best men had been killed or wounded. Their minds as well as their bodies were numb from the experience of the last two days; they went about their preparations as if working out a dream in which there was no such thing as life and death — a dream in which one sets about methodically to achieve the impossible.

Hopeful thoughts had been straying, naturally, toward relief. But Army Headquarters had taken time to issue a memorandum on the subject. "Discussion among officers and men concerning relief of divisions in the line will be prohibited. . . . Superior commanders are constantly watching over the welfare of divisions and have constantly in mind the proper time for relief." This assurance of the S. O. S.'s deep and tender solicitude for our distant welfare was impiously and suspiciously received and discounted.

Sergeant Denny tells how the men of B Company reacted to the news of the attack:



We thought that the hedge was our final objective. We were expecting confidently to be relieved. So it was something of a blow to us when Captain Kelley called the sergeants to his P. C. and told us that we must take the hill opposite that day. He was cool and reassuring, but his anxiety for his men was evident.

"We will attack at eleven o'clock this morning," he told us. "There will be a barrage. I know it's tough that we've got to hit it again, but the brigade has been ordered to take the hill, even if it is wiped out in doing it.

"Now, men it's serious. We're going to have losses. We've only 85 left. We must keep casualties as low as possible. We'll advance one man from each squad at a time. I think that way we can hold losses to the minimum.

"Go back to your men and get them busy at something. Get them to polishing up their rifles, so they know that they'll shoot. Get them to digging to warm up and to take their minds off things. Get their morale as high as you can; we'll need it."

So we told each other, "It won't be very bad," and we knew it would be terrible.

It was terrible. After I had got back to the hospital the next day I still heard the crack-crack-crack of the machine guns we faced all day, and could not sleep.

It was indeed like a bad dream in which an obstacle suddenly arises to block the path, and when that is surmounted still another plants itself in the way, and so on in endless succession—when we had completed the heartbreaking task of conquering one hill, there was always another one in front of it. Many felt that it must be only a bad dream, and anticipated the sudden start that would return them to consciousness and reality.

Adjusting our front for this last effort, the line was reorganized and shifted slightly to the right, with B, C, H, and F Companies in line from left to right. Company

D was placed in reserve on the left flank and A Company on the right, and E and G were moved up behind Hill 242 to be thrown in when the situation demanded. It was not fear that made the men tremble as they dragged themselves out of their inundated shelters that morning; their bodies were shaking with cold, and their hands, crinkly from continued soaking, could scarcely grasp their rifles. They wondered if they were equal to the task set before them — if they could make the grade.

For half an hour our light artillery held a barrage on the Boche lines, four guns of the Machine Gun Company on Hill 288 joining in for the last fifteen minutes, while two of our own Stokes mortars from positions on the line shelled known enemy machine gun nests.

Promptly at half past ten the attacking waves started forward, and as promptly a tornado of bullets assailed them from the woods of Châtillon, raking the open swale that sloped from Musarde Farm up to Tuilerie Farm. B Company made a valiant attempt to cross this ground, but every man who advanced beyond the hedge was dropped in his tracks before he had gone fifty feet. At the very beginning Captain Kelley was knocked unconscious by a shell, and B Company was left without an officer.

Our first gain was made on the right, where the opposition was less violent, and the progress developed successively toward the left. F Company, commanded by Captain Bradley, had two platoons in the advancing wave under Lieutenants Godley and Cammeyer. They gallantly charged the lower eastern slope of Châtillon, and were apparently about to reach their objective when they were suddenly threatened by a heavily-manned machine gun nest on the left.

H Company had all four platoons in the line when it started on the run for the Farm. A frightful outburst of fire wounded many and killed a number, including Lieutenant Gillespie; but the rest dashed on and soon had the place in their hands. Stopping long enough to secure the five or six machine gunners who survived, the company passed around the buildings and headed up the hill. At this moment they discovered, just beyond the Farm and to the right, a circular intrenchment accommodating four heavy machine guns manned by twenty or more of the enemy. As these guns were being swung around to catch F Company with annihilating enfilade, Captain Nelson and his men drove the Germans to cover with rifle fire and rushed the position, killing or capturing the entire force. Another strong machine gun position up the hill beyond the Farm was abandoned when the Boches realized that there was no stopping the Americans, and as H Company rushed on a streak of *feldgrau*, stimulated by our fire, double-timed over the top of the hill.

C Company, on the left of H, had about fifty yards of wood and brush to clear before reaching the open. They were met as they reached the rim of the woods by a scorching fire from which there was an involuntary recoil, as one would attempt to escape a draught-forced flame at a suddenly opened furnace door. Enemy machine guns lining the opposite woods swept the naked swale with a merciless completeness. The first men out were riddled with bullets and fell sprawling in irregular heaps. At the moment when the company headquarters came up on the line of the First Platoon, which was on the right, there seemed to be a break in the fire. The particular gun which had been covering that part of the sector had

evidently been put out of action. Taking in at a glance this fortuitous situation, Lieutenant Witherell and Lieutenant Miller started their men across, and tearing as fast as the boggy ground and their equipment would allow, yelling at the top of their lungs like wild Comanches, now caught in the cross fire they attracted, the twenty-five men and two officers remaining with the company attained the woods at the base of the hill. Eight men lost their lives in making the attempt and a score were wounded.

At this point Châtillon woods narrowed down to a blunt peninsula, beyond which a stretch of open ground rose to the top of the hill. Still panting from their exertion, the remnant of C Company broke through this fringe of wood and ran almost into a group of the enemy operating two machine guns against Tuilerie Farm and the lines of H and F. Lieutenant Witherell emptied a pistol clip at them point-blank, hoping to induce them to surrender, but he just missed being clipped on the head with a Boche rifle, and wisely judging discretion the better part of valor dropped back into the woods to prepare to rush the position from the left. But before there was time for this, Corporal Joseph Pruette, bristling with German grenades that he had picked up en route, crawled up on the right and, taking careful aim, hurled a bomb neatly into the trench, driving the crew underground. He then vaulted to the top of the dugout, guarding the entrance; and when the other C men rushed out from the woods, he was jumping up and down, his grinning face streaked with mud and perspiration, brandishing a grenade in either hand, and shouting, "I've got 'em—I've got 'em."

He had 'em all right. From the depths piteous cries

of "*Kamerad*" preceded the furtive appearance of white faces at the two entrances, imploring mercy.

"Come out. Come out", yelled Pruette.

He thought he had captured a few prisoners; but as the line of panicky men came filing out with their hands up — and kept coming — it occurred to the Americans that there might be such a thing as capturing too many prisoners — a sort of embarrassment of riches. Sixty-eight men and four officers stood before them in hypnotic bewilderment. One of the officers, slightly more self-possessed than the others, noted Pruette's corporal's chevrons, and remarked in broken English that he would surrender his arms to an officer.

"To Hell with that noise", Pruette told him, and suggestively waving a grenade, "Give me those guns, or up you go in smoke."

That unequivocal order seemed to relieve the officer of all uncertainty — at any rate he acceded to the corporal's demands gracefully and with alacrity.

The prisoners were all members of the Third Battalion of the 13th Regiment, 13th Division, a Westphalian organization rated by the German staff as a first-class division. They had been rushed to the front the night before to help the 41st Division stem the American advance and to save the Côte de Châtillon. They had been driven to shelter by our combined infantry and artillery fire, and were trapped before all of them could get out to man their trenches.

The Sanitary Detachment of the German company was sent to help care for the American wounded at Tuilerie Farm, where Lieutenant Van Meter had already established a dressing station; others were sent back under guard as stretcher-bearers, and the remainder were led

to the rear with a small detail under Lieutenant Miller, who was taking with him a request for reënforcements to aid in flanking Châtillon woods so that the line could proceed to the assault of the hill.

There were now only about fifteen men of C Company left with Witherell, as part of the company was still held up with B by the machine gun fire on the left. The woods had to be cleared from the right flank where the breach had been made, and delay might result in disaster. On the right F Company had gained the protection of the top of the ridge, and H was advancing to the woods above the Farm, but the entire slope was still under fire from the right flank and from the summit of Châtillon on the left. In addition, the enemy was prodigally employing his minenwerfer.

Not daring to wait for the arrival of reënforcements, Lieutenant Witherell sent Sergeant Merl E. Clark with five men into the Châtillon woods to determine the strength of the machine gun positions that were smothering our left, and if possible to put them out of action. One man skirted the edge to prevent our own men from firing on the patrol, and the others spread out through the woods in a semicircle. Cautiously, but swiftly, they pushed forward, found the line of guns unsupported in the rear, and without taking the trouble to discover their number, fell upon the Germans from the flank and rear. The crew of the first gun, totally ignorant of our break-through, viewed the oncoming assailants with stupefaction, and were lost before they could steel themselves to meet the blow. Not one escaped. The next gun yielded two prisoners, and the rest of the line, realizing that it was flanked, gave way in disorder and fled pell-mell up the hill. This cleared the left of our line, and B

Company and the remainder of C now advanced into the woods.

The 167th had encountered impassable wire defenses, and had not been able to reach the southwestern slope of the hill, and B alone was too weak in numbers to cross the steep open space which encircled the wooded and strongly defended summit. Word was sent back to Colonel Tinley, who was watching the progress of the attack from Hill 263, that the elements on our left were not yet up, and he in turn informed the Brigade Commander of the necessity of flank support.

The evening before when Colonel Tinley and Lieutenant Colonel Bare, who was commanding the 167th in the absence of Colonel Screws, went back to Neuve Forge Farm to receive the orders for the attack, the commander of the 168th, who had seen Alabama battling in vain against the wire in the attack that day, had suggested to General MacArthur that the 167th follow in behind the 168th after they had made a breach, for once inside the enemy defenses they could turn off to the left and fulfil their mission. But General MacArthur vetoed the suggestion, as he did not want to mix up the regiments. As it happened, however, the situation later forced him to do exactly this.

Colonel Tinley had kept in close touch with the battling troops, and was holding the Third Battalion in readiness to be thrown into the fight to carry it to a successful issue if at any time our First and Second Battalions should be definitely stopped.

Company F, under the protection of the German trenches, and out of range of the machine guns on the summit of Châtillon, had warded off an alarming counter-attack with rifle and auto-rifle fire and was holding its

position. C Company, reforming its lines, forged ahead under a particularly severe shelling and machine gun fire to the top of the ridge at the left of H Company.

The situation as it then existed exposed our advanced line to a devastating shower from the crown of the Côte on the left and from a group of machine guns intrenched just behind it. There was no protection whatsoever for H Company, and Captain Nelson was one of the first to fall. He managed to drag himself to a newly-made shell hole, and attempted to dissuade the litter-bearers who came after him to remain under cover and not to expose themselves.

"I'm done for, boys", he called to them. "You can't help me. Don't risk it." And it was there in the open at the head of his troops that the well-loved commander and courageous soldier died.

After this, as their casualties were mounting, H Company withdrew to the Farm under command of Lieutenant Seeley, who had a close call himself, two bullets having pierced his helmet. C Company, suffering from the same fire and with both flanks unprotected, was forced to retire down the slope to the edge of the woods below. German planes hovering overhead unopposed searched out the American positions and bombed them. Then when things looked the darkest the report came back from the outposts that the Boches were advancing in counter-attack.

The last officer of H Company had been sent to the hospital, and the company was down to about twenty-five men. Lieutenants Bly, Breslin, and Mannering had been put out of action, leaving A Company without officers. Captain Kelley was suffering from the effects of the shell explosion, but sick and exhausted he insisted on



returning to his command. C Company had one officer and fifty men; and D, with two officers, was likewise reduced to the strength of a single platoon. All were keeping up on their nerve; in some cases men dropped from sheer exhaustion and had to be carried to the rear.

Two puffing litter-bearers were plodding to the rear with a painfully wounded man from A Company, a life-long friend of one of them. In a sheltered spot they set down the suffering man for a moment while they caught their breath. Ready to continue the agonizing journey, they spoke a word of encouragement, but there was no answer. The blanketed form on the litter was rigid, a comforting cigarette drooping from powerless lips, eyes closed, waxen.

“My God, he’s gone”, cried his buddy brokenly.

They lifted him none the less tenderly and started back. A few steps, and they caught a low, rasping sound. The heart-sick comrade bent low, and then with a tearful grin nodded to his helper. Steadily increasing in volume, in even cadence, a raucous strain was escaping their supposedly lifeless burden. He was placidly snoring! It was merely a case where utter fatigue had taken precedence over pain. That was the physical state of those unconquerable men who with numbed fingers seized their rifles and prepared to meet the counter-attack with all they had left — courage.

At half past three, when word of the threatened assault reached battalion headquarters, Captain Haynes rushed to the line to make a personal investigation and to effect the necessary dispositions. He saw at once that immediate reënforcement was imperative, and returned at top speed to report to Major Ross, but not before Lieutenant Wallace, his accompanying battalion intelli-

gence officer, had been wounded, and he himself struck in the heel by a machine gun bullet.

He was then directed to throw Companies E and G into the line, and to hold it at all costs. Captain Younkin was immediately ordered to advance G Company to the right and filter his men out on the line to support F Company, whose extreme right was then about four hundred yards northeast of the Farm along the narrow gauge railway, and at the same time to extend and protect the open flank.

Likewise, Lieutenant Doolittle was ordered to filter E Company out through the open space between the Farm and Châtillon woods to bolster up the left of the line. Before he could accomplish this, two companies of the 167th Infantry, having moved five hundred yards to the right, got inside the enemy's wire in the 168th's sector, and picking up a part of B Company on the way, stormed the summit of Châtillon. As E Company advanced, C, augmented by half of B under Sergeant Flin, started forward and retook the open ridge at the right of the crest and connected up with Alabama on the left.

This last attack saved the situation at a critical moment, for when E reached the woods above the Farm advance groups of the enemy had already penetrated its edges and were moving up the opposite slope within fifty yards of their goal in their second attempt to retake the hill. Spirited rifle fire from E, inflicting heavy casualties, frustrated the attempt.

Just as the infantry opened fire from the top of the hill, the Fifth Field Artillery came to our assistance with a well-placed barrage. The artillery liaison officer at battalion headquarters heard Captain Haynes describe the situation to Major Ross. "Let me fix it", he said, and telephoned the map positions to his battery. In a

few minutes, ranged with remarkable accuracy, the barrage came thundering over, pounding down on the northern slopes of Châtillon. This was the finishing touch, and the German attack broke in confusion.

During this movement, while directing a platoon of E Company into position, Captain Bradley of F was wounded by a machine gun bullet that pierced his chest and passed through the lung, tearing an ugly hole in his back. He insisted that he could get to the rear by himself, but after one or two steps fell unconscious and was carried back.

The stubbornness of the enemy resistance — and it must be said to his credit that in spite of the fact that he realized he was fighting a losing game he fought bravely, desperately — was explained when it was learned that he had thrown in a regiment from one of his best divisions at two o'clock on the morning of the 16th to hold Châtillon to the end. However, when the Second Battalion of the 13th Regiment was ordered to make that last counter-attack, all but one of the companies refused to advance. They had by this time given up all hope of successful aggression against our troops.

The hill had been taken by the dash and gameness of the Americans, but luck had been with us. There were three distinct crises in which a delay of ten minutes would have given the enemy the advantage: first, when H Company silenced the machine guns that threatened the advance of F; second, when C Company captured the position at the right of Châtillon woods which imperiled both H and F; and third, when our afternoon attack gained the summit of the hill a few minutes ahead of the German counter-attack. Had any one of these breaks favored the enemy, our losses would have been doubled and our capture of the Côte de Châtillon, at least on that day, made highly improbable.

Enfilade fire from both machine guns and artillery made the position difficult, but Châtillon had been permanently taken. The line at the top of the ridge was immediately consolidated and outposts established. When the Third Battalion took over the front that night, all that remained of the First Battalion on the Châtillon Ridge were seventy men of B and C Companies under Lieutenant Witherell, and small units of A and B which had been attached to the Second Battalion companies.

After five successive attacks covering a period of three days — three days of misery, of unceasing rain, piercing cold, and glacial mud — the First Battalion had shrunk to a spent force of three hundred men and six officers. Casualties numbered about 440, seventy of them killed, and many had been forced to the rear on account of sickness and exhaustion. During the progress of the battle the Second Battalion had lost 33 killed and an even 200 wounded; the Machine Gun Company, 7 killed and 27 wounded; Headquarters Company, 5 killed and 15 wounded; and the Sanitary Detachment, 10 wounded, two of whom subsequently died.

In view of what the regiment accomplished in the face of hopeless odds, this casualty list is amazingly small — small, however, only in proportion, for in that bitter contest the 168th parted forever with many of its best, while others were left to go through life maimed and disfigured. There is little doubt that this operation was the most scientifically fought and most skillfully directed of all the actions of the regiment. The benefits of the lessons of the Ourcq and St. Mihiel had been reaped, and the efficient coöperation of the auxiliary arms had been of inestimable value in advancing the regiment to victory with a minimum of casualties. Many a man owes his life

to the brilliant, determined leadership of Major Ross and to the courage and initiative of Captain Haynes.

The scores of German dead scattered here and there in tumbled heaps over the ground surrendered inch by inch, and the 203 prisoners captured by the First Battalion and H Company, bespeak the aggressiveness of our attack and the fierceness of the enemy defense that crumbled only at the end. Four trench mortars, and nearly a hundred machine guns — not merely abandoned, but won at the point of the bayonet — remained in our hands. The last prisoner taken was an eighteen year old boy captured well within our lines late in the afternoon of the 16th. He said that the rest of his detachment had run before the advancing Americans, but that he had stuck to his post until surrounded, and had then hidden in the woods.

Impressed by the more spectacular performance of the line troops, one often fails to properly appreciate the courageous, self-sacrificing, and generally unrewarded, acts of the auxiliary troops, without whom it would be impossible to carry on; the machine gunners serving their pieces through bombardments, taking their punishment as a matter of course; members of the Sanitary Detachment too deeply occupied with the saving of others to think about the death-dealing missiles falling around them; linemen risking a thousand deaths to lay and repair their wires in the endeavor to maintain the vital communications; indefatigable runners coursing the perilous, and too often, fatal paths; uncomplaining carriers toiling under breaking loads; and stretcher-bearers, magnificent in their contempt of danger and devotion to duty — each of these played his part as bravely and as well as the riflemen who in the face of certain destruction did not hesitate or falter.

## XXXIX

### TOUR OF THE THIRD BATTALION

It was not a pleasant prospect for the Third Battalion, after three days in the reserve under a continuous bombardment of gas and explosive, as it floundered up through the glutinous mud and chilling rain to a front line that was hardly yet established and which was entirely lacking in both shelter and protection. But these men realized that they were bringing a well-earned, longed-for relief, and their philosophical attitude proved that this fact was sufficient to overshadow any reluctance they may have had about assuming their uninviting and dangerous duties.

I Company, in command of Lieutenant Haley, took over the left of the sector with all four platoons in the line, and K Company, under Captain Cotter, the right. Captain Briggs settled his men of M Company in the woods below the hill, where they stayed until the twentieth; and later in the night L Company, commanded by Captain Lainson, went in the line on the right in an essay to close the gap between the 168th and the 127th and remained there until the next day when that regiment came abreast. Captain Yates and his adjutant, Lieutenant Tucker, made their headquarters in the commodious concrete dugout from which C Company had extracted a company of German prisoners.

Relief was a word rich in meaning to the men of the First Battalion as they shuffled back wearily, listlessly, for a night of questionable comfort on the dripping

reverse slope of Hill 288; and to those of the Second, who were reassembled behind Hill 242. In five minutes they were all asleep — in the deep, heavy sleep of exhaustion.

It was dark and raining steadily when I Company reached the line to relieve E and C Companies. Just as the first detachment of E started for the rear, there arose an uncertainty as to whether one of the outposts out in the woods had been relieved. At that moment Corporal Arthur F. Brandt, having acquired the habit of volunteering for difficult and disagreeable duties, stepped out and offered to lead the relieving group to the post.

The enemy artillery was still busy hammering at our positions, and a hundred yards out a burst of shrapnel wounded four of the party, including Corporal Brandt. It was some minutes before he could be found. He was suffering agonies. One side of his face had been shot away, making it impossible for him to talk; he was seriously wounded in the hip; and shrapnel had peppered his body. He realized, however, that he was the only man who knew the way back to the company rendezvous, and after he had been laid on a stretcher, he indicated by signs that he wished to be placed at the head of the returning column. In spite of his fearful hurts, he took charge of the detachment, and by signs directed the return trip through the impenetrable blackness. At Hill 242 there were other wounded men waiting to be carried back to the dressing station, but no one knew the way. Again Corporal Brandt, by a supreme exercise of will power, assumed command and directed the slow, difficult journey back over Hill 288. Then he collapsed, his mission complete, and the next day he died.

The Third Battalion now settled down to the business of consolidating the new positions and preparing for the

continuance of the attack in case it was ordered forward. There was first the hopeless task of digging for protection in a soil of the consistency of thick soup. Each one of the series of individually dug fox-holes that formed the line presented a drainage problem which was finally solved by constructing a false bottom of branches, leaving a deep hole at one end from which the water could be baled with the helmet or mess kit.

During the six days it was in line, the battalion was subjected to a harassing fire from the German artillery, particularly severe in the early morning and just at dusk. It was a time when it took courage merely to stay in the front, and it was a doubly hard task without the stimulating effect of attack to relieve the strain or to take the mind off the incessant shelling. The water was bad, food cold and insufficient, clothing inadequate; and the continuing rains — the sun did not shine from the day the regiment first entered the line until it left — and wind seemed allied to wear down the already flagging resistance.

The history of these days was a tragic record of casualties. In such times men might be laughing grimly one minute and mourning the loss of a friend the next. Sickness, however, made the greatest inroads in numbers, as many as a hundred men going to the rear in a single day. Colonel Tinley in a report to Brigade said, "The morale is still up to the old Rainbow standard, and the men will go up against anything to which they are assigned, but they are so worn out, physically and mentally, from exposure, lack of nutrition, nervous strain, and depleted numbers, that they could not hold out against more than three hours of severe fighting".

In this period there were casualties, too, among the



troops in the support and reserve position. The fire of the enemy searched out every spot, determined, if they could not hold their positions, to make ours as uncomfortable as possible.

Two men in L Company credit a spider with saving their lives. Privates Thomas B. Stack and Donald Pollard found one spinning his web over the top of their fox-hole when they awoke the morning of the 17th. "That's a warning", said Pollard. "That spider wants this place, and it's time for us to get out." They set out to find another shelter, and soon after, a shell hit directly in the hole they had abandoned.

Sometimes there was a humorous touch to near-tragedies. A man from K Company returning from an outpost on the night of the 18th was thrown flat in the mud by the force of an explosion. When he staggered to his feet, stunned and bruised, his hand, straying involuntarily to his face, touched a gob of mud, which in the bewilderment of the moment he took to be the battered remains of his eye. "I'm shot into a hamburg", he yelled as he spurted for the dressing station. He was there found to be entirely uninjured; and upon his return to his company, Captain Cotter remarked, "Burch, you weren't shot into a hamburg, you were shot into a humbug."

Just outside the Tuilerie Farm there was a large dump of shells and trench mortar ammunition abandoned by the enemy, and in it was a shell with a delayed-action fuse that detonated the whole mass a day or so after the Third Battalion came into the line. The tremendous concussion shook the countryside, and the roar echoed and re-echoed in the hills like a succession of giant salvos. From the huge cloud of dust and débris that rose high

into the heavens, the men on the hill thought that the entire group of buildings had been destroyed and all the men in them blown to atoms. But fortunately no one was near enough at the time to be injured, although many were flattened by the explosion. Equally fortunate were Captain Haynes, Captain Briggs, Lieutenant Sefton, and a few others who were occupying the cellar of the farmhouse. The blast, which sounded to them as if the world had come to an end, burst open the door of the room where they were sitting and brought down the shelves on the wall with a clatter, but the walls and floor above them stood firm. More than once did our men have reason to appreciate the sturdy construction of the old French peasant buildings.

On the 17th of October Lieutenant Colonel Tinley was made a full colonel, much to the satisfaction of the entire command. On the same day the 32nd Division advanced its line on the right as far as the Banthéville road, thereby freeing the right of our line of a dangerous flanking machine gun fire.

The next day, by way of reprisal for a violent and continued bombardment from enemy howitzers, two Boche planes were downed in our sector—unaccountably, for the 168th had begun to believe the American air service non-existent. It had been most marked in the past week for its inconspicuousness, and the Divisional *Summary of Intelligence* for the day had frankly stated the unflattering truth: "The enemy maintains complete and unchallenged mastery of the air."

One of these enemy machines was driven to the ground and the other set afire in mid-air, the pilot jumping and taking his chances with a parachute. This was the first time the 168th had ever seen a parachute used from a

plane, and as the odds were so against the German most of the onlookers were secretly hoping that he would make a safe landing.

In the afternoon the Second Battalion withdrew to Hill 205, behind Major Ross, who elected to remain at Hill 288. Shortly before, Sergeant Price and Corporal Stone of G Company had taken out a detail of six men to recover the body of Captain Nelson, which lay in front of the line as then established. They had to expose themselves to a heavy fire, but they brought him in and carried him to the rear for a reverent burial by the men of his old company.

At dusk on the 20th, M and L Companies relieved K and I, M Company holding its end of the line with outposts at the crest of the ridge and the remainder of the company on the reverse slope. L had one platoon on outpost, and two others in the line.

In the course of the Third Battalion's tour Sergeant Langan of L Company led the battalion scouts on numerous patrols for the purpose of gaining information. One night, in conjunction with an Alabama patrol, he found an abandoned German field piece in a patch of woods on the northern slope of Châtillon, and on other occasions he penetrated as far as the outskirts of the village of Landres-et-St. Georges, located enemy positions at the edge of the Bois des Hazois on the opposite slope, and discovered a battery of 88's at La Dhuy Farm, two full kilometers beyond our lines. This information was transmitted to our artillery, and to the company of the 354th Infantry, 89th Division, which relieved L Company the night of the 21st. Lieutenant Henry Henderson, a former sergeant of L Company, who returned to it while the regiment was on the Rhine, happened to be one of the officers of the relieving company, and when the Ameri-

cans renewed their offensive on November 1st, he led the platoon that captured the battery, thereby winning a D. S. C.

The revivifying news of a relief reached the front lines the morning of the 21st. Evidently the higher command had decided that the 84th Brigade had had enough, and so in accordance with the provisions of Field Order No. 41, Headquarters 42nd Division, the front of the 168th was withdrawn at noon slightly to the east to permit Alabama to extend its line, and the rest of the sector was later turned over to the 354th Infantry. The support and reserve positions were taken over by elements of the 165th Infantry, and the entire regiment, fewer by 1150 men and 25 officers, returned to the valley camp near Exmorieux Farm.

## XL

### THE RECOVERY

EXMOREUX FARM was still within range of the enemy artillery, but compared with the terrible bombardments of the past ten days the danger was so slight that one was scarcely disturbed by the occasional shells that burst near it. Only one did any damage, and that, a long range 150 coming unexpectedly in the morning, wounded half a dozen men from the Second Battalion. Once an impudent aviator flew low over the camp to pepper the hillside with his machine gun and cripple one of our men. There were bombers, too, buzzing over angrily at night, but as all they did was buzz, they were not anxiously regarded.

Throughout the day there were scores of Boche machines in the air, but by a strange lack of coincidence no American plane was ever visible when a German airman put in appearance. Our line of observation balloons was supposedly under the protection of patrolling chasse planes, but one by one they came down, victims to Boche incendiary bullets. On the 24th of October four balloons were brought down in quick succession. The black-crossed planes seemed to be able to break through at will. There was a French-manned anti-aircraft gun in our midst, a 75 mounted on a motor truck, which valiantly attempted to drive the Boches off, and machine guns from the ground sputtered away at them — all in vain. So certain was the fate of the balloon, that as soon as one was seen to go up, it became a matter of wager as to how long it would remain in the air. On the 30th and 31st,

however, no balloons were brought down, for the simple reason that none were sent up. The Boche had destroyed every one in the sector.

It was in these surroundings that the regiment made the most of its opportunity for recuperation. Men and officers were exhausted, many of them sick. Even food failed to arouse the customary enthusiasm. It was not only the horrors they had witnessed and experienced that left them weak and apathetic; into the minds of these men was creeping a feeling that will threaten the morale of any fighting unit — the feeling that every effort to revive ambition is futile. They were going back into it all again in a few days anyhow — back, always back, to throw themselves under the Juggernaut of inevitable annihilation until the last man was wiped out. They had heard rumors of real relief and of real rest periods ever since they went into the trenches in February; they had been promised leaves that were never granted; and every time they had got far enough behind the line to breathe easily, they had been pulled back on short notice. To add to their depression, there were false rumors of other divisions enjoying leaves and rests. They could not realize, as they came to know later, the necessity for all of this. They could not know that by this supreme effort of the Allies the war was suddenly being won — won and ended. There was no open resentment or talk of quitting, for beneath the discouragement and despair there still burned the bright spark of loyalty. Each soldier knew that if he failed he was quitting on his fellow soldiers and his country. There was loyalty in the hope that somewhere high up in the line of military power there were men with a vision broader than his, who were using the masses of flesh and blood under their command

honestly and intelligently to accomplish a real purpose. But this time as the men lay wearily in their fox-holes on the hillside, listening to the artillery and wondering whether it would be two days or two weeks before they would be flung into the line again, they quite naturally felt that they were nothing but puppets in a ghastly farce, helplessly caught in the hand of some angry God who was sweeping them again and again into the consuming fire of battle.

Then, in a day or two, the Supply Company began to issue new clothing and extra blankets. It is remarkable how much brighter the world looks to a man in a new pair of breeches and a whole shirt, especially when the sun is shining for the first time in two weeks. A cart drifted in with a few longed-for sweets from the Y. M. C. A., and Chaplain Robb came breezing down the valley with a whole truck load of eats and smokes. There wasn't any transportation or any supplies according to report, but the Chaplain, himself pretty much of a magician, got both.

For several weeks there had been no opportunity for washing clothes, and the men had been wearing what underclothes they had, or none, or clothes salvaged from equipment abandoned by the Germans. Now vermin-infested clothing was discarded or boiled out in the syrup cans that appeared over individual fires all along the hillside, and one by one the companies journeyed four kilometers down the valley to an old German bath-house for a hot shower.

Then came a corps citation that was a source of particular pride to the men of the 167th and 168th Regiments:

HEADQUARTERS FIFTH ARMY CORPS  
AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES

France, 26 October 1918

From: Commanding General V Army Corps,  
To: Commanding General, 42nd Division U. S. A.  
Subject: Service of 42nd Division with V Army Corps.

1. Upon the termination of the service of the 42nd Division with the V Army Corps I desire to express my appreciation of the manner in which portions of the Division have performed the missions assigned to them. In particular I wish to commend the following units.

## THE 84TH INFANTRY BRIGADE:

This Brigade, under the command of Brigadier General Douglas MacArthur, has manifested the highest soldierly qualities and has rendered service of the greatest value during the present operations. With a dash, courage, and a fighting spirit worthy of the best traditions of the American Army, this Brigade carried by assault the strongly fortified Hill 288 on the Kriemhilde Stellung and unceasingly pressed its advance until it had captured the Tuilerie Ferme and the Côte de Châtillon, thus placing itself at least a kilometer beyond the enemy's strong line of resistance. During this advance the enemy fought with unusual determination with a first class division and in many cases resorted to hand-to-hand fighting when our troops approached his rear. The conduct of this Brigade has reflected honor upon the Division, the Army and the States from which the Regiments came.

## THE 67TH F. A. BRIGADE:

This Brigade has remained continually in action since the entrance of the Division into line, and by self-sacrificing devotion to duty and the high skill of its officers and men it has contributed greatly to the success of all operations.

CHARLES P. SUMMERALL,  
MAJOR GENERAL COMMANDING.



Gradually the regiment found itself again and began to take interest in life. Rest and food and dry clothes and cleanliness were just the tonic needed; and although the cold damp weather took its toll and sent someone from each company back to the hospital every day, the hardened troops that survived began to get back their old fighting spirit. By the 1st of November the regiment was on its feet once more, reduced in numbers, but ready to go on with what it had.

## XLI

### THE ADVANCE ON SEDAN

For the latter part of October Marshal Foch had planned a joint attack by the American First Army and Gouraud's Fourth Army, with the object of cutting the Mezières-Sedan railway, thereby severing the German main line of supply and compelling the enemy to retreat along the entire front. Originally this attack was set for the 28th, but as the French in the Champagne were not quite ready, it was postponed until the 1st of November.

As usual, a heavy artillery fire commenced in the evening of October 31st and continued all night. But at three o'clock in the morning all the guns in France seemed to unite in one tremendous whoop that shook everybody, even as far back as Exmorieux, from their sleep, and announced to the world that another great battle was being ushered in. A mighty unbroken rumble and roar of thousands of batteries that caused the earth to tremble as if in fear of its very existence — this was the final death knell of the Hohenzollerns.

When the Second Division attacked through the lines of the 83rd Brigade, the Rainbow Division was relieved, and passed from the command of the Fifth Corps to that of the First Corps. Our artillery and machine gun battalion had taken part in the preparatory fire, and the infantry was to follow up in support of the attacking divisions until the corps commander deemed it time to throw us in.

Preliminary orders had indicated that the regiment

would start forward on the 1st, but although it was all prepared to move, it did not receive the order to advance until the next day. With cheerless visions of mud, kilometers, and Hell, the 168th left its camp and headed north, a threatening sky overhead and a sloppy road under foot. Toward evening it halted at a much battered, hastily abandoned German camp somewhere between Fléville and Sommerance.

There was not enough cover for all and, as was to be expected, it was pouring down rain. The less fortunate ones crawled into their pup tents, consoling themselves with the observation that they were drier and more comfortable than those in the huts, which leaked anyhow — an observation as true as it was philosophical.

Here Major Stanley, Captains Casey and Yates, and Lieutenants Bonham, Doolittle, Haley, Sefton, Thrasher, Tucker, Witherell, and Wood were notified of their promotions, each to the next higher grade.

The following day's advance in the rain and mud took the column through Sommerance and on up to St. Georges. Our artillery had created frightful havoc, not only in the village, which was a stark ruin, but in the surrounding country, which had been so completely churned up by shells of large calibre that one private was led to remark: "Well, it might be valuable as a curiosity, but no one but goats and soldiers could ever live on it."

The trying hike ended just about a kilometer beyond Imécourt, a village left uninhabitable by the retreating Boche and further battered by our own artillery. The hillside chosen for the bivouac looked as if someone had taken special pains to strew large and unavoidable quantities of knife-edged stones over it, but the tents were pitched there just the same. Above, on the other side of

the road, were bodies, Germans and American marines, not long dead; below along the creek were some forty abandoned German field pieces, and around them much material that offered untold opportunities to the souvenir hunters. The American soldier would risk his life for a first-class souvenir, and it had become a common saying in France that the English were fighting for the freedom of the seas, the French for the lost provinces, and the Americans for souvenirs.

That afternoon a rumor — one that sent our hopes shooting sky-high — passed through camp and spread like lightning; the Kaiser had abdicated, an armistice had been signed, and the Rainbow, together with the 1st and 89th Divisions, was to guard a bridgehead on the Rhine, probably Coblenz. Long experience had made us wary and had taught us to take every rumor with a large grain of salt; but this one seemed so well authenticated — the report was actually posted on the bulletin board at 80th Division Headquarters in Imécourt — that for once nearly every one believed it. But before there was time to organize a celebration came the official denial that dashed our hopes to the ground. It was resolved then and there never again to be taken in by any rumor, no matter by whom supported. This was four days before a similar report caused a premature celebration in the United States, and eight days before the actual signing of the Armistice.

Early the next morning the 168th was on the march again. Solid streams of traffic, miles long, congested the roads, and the infantry had to take to the fields to avoid delaying guns, ammunition, and supplies going up to troops already in action. Avoiding the villages, the Iowans trudged up hill and down dale in mud to their

ankles, past batteries of wicked ten-inch guns just emplaced, but unable to fire a round because the enemy in his rapid retreat was already out of range; past Buzancy, and cross lots to Bar. St. Pierremont had been our destination, but as the Boches were shelling it, we halted on a hillside about a half kilometer north of Bar, near one of the regiments of the 80th Division.

While the camp was being prepared a large number of Allied planes, a hundred and fifty at the least, returning from a daylight bombing expedition, passed directly overhead. It was a relief to know that there were that many planes on this front, and it was hoped that the regiment would see more of them.

The kitchens, delayed by the miserable roads and the traffic jam, arrived only in time to get supper and extinguish their fires before dark.

It was a cold, starry night. The Boche was shelling the road a kilometer or more to the right, but the regiment seemed to be in a protected spot, and it settled down unconcernedly for a good night's sleep. Then came the distant hum of a plane flying southward. Someone was smoking surreptitiously. From a dozen quarters came the frantic call, "Put out that light!" The hum had developed into a loud roar, and the bomber was directly overhead. Fearfully hoping that the Boche had not spotted them, the men pulled their blankets closer about their necks and prayed that he pass them by. A moment of terrible suspense, then a breath-taking whish, and Crash! — a bomb struck the crowded road directly ahead. Then another. The cries of wounded men, the scream of a mule, and then Bzzzz, back again, circling round and round overhead as if hesitating where to drop his next one. Every man lay there clinging to the earth, certain

that it was for him. There is nothing so terrifying as to be out in the open under aerial bombardment. The feeling of absolute impotence and inability to strike back, the strain that in a few moments can eat up the stored vitality of a week — none of this can be translated into words. This was worse than the bombing on the Oureq and on the way to Courtisols — the bombs were larger, and the enemy more persistent. Another whish, another crash and blinding flash of light, as the concussion raised the nearer soldiers from the ground. Then, having disposed of his cargo, the Boche circled around, firing his machine gun at random, and departed.

But the buzz of his motor had hardly died out when another plane approached and repeated the performance. Gradually circling over Bar as if to size it up, he dropped one, and then flying low over the main street he let loose four or five in rapid succession.

No less than three separate visits were made to the vicinity of our camp that night, but not a single member of the 168th was hit. Many, however, got no sleep at all.

An attack order had reached Regimental Headquarters on the evening of the 4th of November. The next day would see the Rainbow in battle, passing through the 78th Division, and taking up the advance against the retreating foe.

Up before sunrise, the 168th had its breakfast, broke camp, and started off across the fields at seven o'clock. Noon found it on the line Verrières—St. Pierremont where it was supposed to relieve a regiment of the 78th Division, but there was no 78th Division in sight, nor did the regiment ever see it. The position of this organization has always been a mystery.

Forming into a line of combat groups, the Third

Battalion, followed by the Second in support and the First in reserve, moved forward. K and L Companies, commanded by Captains Cotter and Lainson, were leading, with I and M, under Lieutenant Lucas and Captain Briggs, in the second line. Our left was in liaison with Company A of the 167th with no immediate connection on the right, although some regiment of the 77th Division was presumably attacking along the same line.

The retreat of the Germans was developing into a frank rout, and as the rapid pace set by the infantry and the condition of the roads made it impossible for the artillery to keep up, the assaulting units were given extra reënforcement in machine guns. Part of the 168th Machine Gun Company and two companies of the 151st Machine Gun Battalion were assigned to the Third Battalion to make up for the lack of artillery support and to help overcome any resistance that might be met.

This was an entirely different country from the hideous, shell-torn waste that lay behind; smooth fields, heavily timbered hills, steep ravines, clear, rushing streams, and an occasional group of farm buildings nestled in their clearing. Were it not for the shell holes here and there in the turf, an intermittent boom off in the distance, and the roads and bridges so thoroughly mined that the immediate passage of traffic was out of the question, one might have thought himself far from the war zone.

So the regiment romped forward, unopposed, up hill and down, across muddy fields and orchards, splashing through tumbling brooks, pushing through the brush. Every now and then from the hilltops one caught sight of white flags fluttering from the steeples of flanking villages. As soon as the Boche cleared, the French

civilians raised these signals to indicate that the enemy was no longer in possession, and to save them from the horror of unnecessary bombardment.

As the line neared Grandes Armoises, it ran into a light artillery fire; and as it was well on toward evening, the Third Battalion halted for the night along the Grandes Armoises-Stonne road about a kilometer and a half northeast of the former village. Colonel Tinley and his staff and the Headquarters Company were quartered in the town itself. The Second Battalion bivouacked on a hillside a kilometer northwest of La Berlière, and the First Battalion on the slope of a high hill west of Oches.

The forward position had hardly been outposted when a storm of torrential character hit us, continuing with increasing violence throughout the night; and to add to the discomfort a cold wind blew up to chill the dripping soldiers to the bone. Then the Boche artillery began, but all of his shells fell harmlessly into the ravines, and the men, safely dug in on the rear slopes of the hills, escaped injury.

On the 6th the regiment breakfasted as it had supped the night before on hard-tack and corned Willie, for the kitchens had not been able to come up. At seven o'clock, under the cover of a dense fog, the pursuit was resumed. The mist was so impenetrable that it was next to impossible to maintain any sort of liaison, and when the forward troops struck the Bois de Raucourt there were men running in every direction, since they could not see ten feet ahead. After a time the fog lifted and the troops were reassembled. But now we had come under the fire of determined groups of machine gunners. The terrain was ideal for rear guard action, the enemy utilizing the ridges to the best advantage, falling back, when pressed,



from hill to hill, covering his retreat with a screen of bullets.

But in spite of this opposition, the day's advance was little more than a walking match. What little artillery fire developed was mostly to our flanks. Near Raucourt, which we passed on the left, the line was temporarily held up by a concentrated fire, but this was soon swept aside, and the line moved irresistibly forward. Now we got a glimpse of the Boches retreating over the crest of the hill. It was impossible not to let out a cheer of triumph. On and on the regiment pushed, giving little heed to the enemy bullets, gradually gaining on them until they no longer took time to fire, but picked up their guns and took to their heels.

A small group from K Company which had gone ahead about a kilometer reached a farmhouse just after the Germans had passed through. Here the woman in charge, after recovering from her amazement at seeing Americans and calling excitedly to the rest of the family, insisted that her guests sit down long enough to have a cup of coffee. Apologetically she explained that it wasn't very good, being made of roasted barley, but it was all they had had since the first year of the war. However, *M'sieu* could have real sugar so generously furnished — in small quantities, to be sure — by the Relief Commission. The other members of the household, a century old *grandpère* and *grand'mère*, a sad faced young girl, and three small children, one of them unmistakably German, gathered around to examine the strange uniform and helmet and rifle, to tell their story, and to bombard the Americans with questions. Two husbands and a brother unheard of since August, 1914, four years of untold hardships and oppression; and now a house

stripped of everything of value, a barn empty of grain, cattle, horses, and chickens — all taken by the Germans. But they were free and could look toward the future with hope.

Those holes in the field across the way, explained Grandpère, were made yesterday by an Allied airman who had spotted a German battery in the hedge. What a boom they made, but, *malheureusement*, all of the Boches escaped. "How many Americans in France?"—"Impossible!" "Was Paris in ruins?" "Would they stop this side of Berlin?" So many questions that if all had been answered their guests would still be talking. Shaking hands all around, they departed amid a chorus of "*Bonne Chance*" and made for the next ridge.

Here they consolidated forces with Sergeant Langan and his Third Battalion Scouts, and moved forward through field and timber to Le Lavoir Farm, which they found abandoned in a filthy condition by the Germans who had taken it over for permanent billets. They then followed very cautiously down the road toward Haraucourt in spite of the fact that a white flag had suddenly appeared from the church steeple. On the outskirts they met a group of excited people talking over the hasty withdrawal of the Boche, but mistaking the Americans for more Germans they became silent and drew back as the group approached. The smiles that greeted their stony glances puzzled them, and when the officer stepped forward and said, "*Nous sommes américains*", they nearly fell over backward with astonishment. It was amusing to note the instant change of expression, and then embarrassing as in their joy they attempted to embrace the doughboys.

One old man kept talking about "*des mitrailleuses*"

and pointing to a house across the street; and so, fearing a trap, the scouts carefully surrounded it and entered to find ten new unused German machine guns, a large quantity of ammunition and other material in one of the rooms. One machine gun was annexed for protection in the case of need, although it is not certain that any of them knew how to operate it. About this time a commotion was heard farther up the street, and investigation proved it to be one of the machine gun companies that had somehow got far ahead of the infantry.

One by one, French flags began to appear from the windows and roofs of the houses throughout the town. Where the villagers had concealed their forbidden emblems for four years, no one knows, but they had been carefully guarded for this very occasion.

When the main body of the regiment came swinging down into Haraucourt in squad columns an hour later, all restraint was thrown to the winds. Such a reception as they met! As the head of the column appeared over the brow of the hill a mighty cheer arose from the entire populace gathered to greet their deliverers from four years of bondage. The shouts of "*Vive l'Amérique!*", "*Vive la France!*", "*Vivent nos Alliés!*" drowned the music of the hastily improvised orchestra of four pieces — a violin, a flute, and two cornets — on which an old man and three young boys were manfully attempting the *Marseillaise*. Had they known *The Star Spangled Banner*, they would have played that, too, but an hour previous they had not even known that it was Americans who were coming to liberate them. Tears were mingled with cheers, and overcome by emotion the women hugged and kissed the soldiers and each other. One grizzled old man, a veteran of the Franco-Prussian War, with tears

of joy streaming down his fine old face shook hands with everyone who passed by. It is a memory to cherish, that reception.

Women rushed back into their houses to return laden with meat, bread — everything eatable they had — and forced it into the hands of the hungry Iowans, who, aside from a few raw turnips dug out of the fields, had had nothing since early morning. A hurriedly painted banner, "*Honneur A Nos Saveurs*", still wet, appears from the *épicerie*; everybody cheers. Across the street, defiling in heavy black letters the walls of the *mairie*, stands written the unanswered prayer, "*Gott Strafe England*". Someone throws a clod of mud at it, and there are more cheers.

Unable to delay long, the regiment moved forward to the edge of the town and took up position for the night. Outposts were established on the hills beyond and on the road just beyond la Forge, but the majority of the troops, for the first time since August, had comfortable billets under cover. The Boches had promised the civilians not to fire on Haraucourt for twenty-four hours, and true to their promise they spared the town that night, although they heavily shelled the road leading to Angecourt.

At eleven o'clock Lieutenant Lucas was ordered to rouse his company and move over to Beau Ménil Farm, about a kilometer and a half to the northwest of Haraucourt, to gain liaison with Alabama, with whom in the course of the day's progress we had lost contact. Their forward companies were found in a deep ravine northeast of Bulson along the road leading north.

About one o'clock in the morning a battalion of the 16th Infantry, First Division, unexpectedly marched past the Beau Ménil Farm and up the road until it was halted by the I Company outpost. The sentry told the officer at

the head of the column that it was the outpost position and that there were no Americans ahead of them.

"Hell", replied that officer. "*This* is the 1st Division, Regular Army — Forward, March." So forward they marched, blithely, up to the village of Pont Maugis where they decided to spend the night. It was unquestionably unfortunate that a battalion or so of Germans had chosen the same village for the same purpose, and when these men of the 16th Infantry went up the main street in search of billets they found them, very much to their surprise and subsequent chagrin, already occupied. The Germans immediately gave battle, the results of which, as we were to learn later in the morning, were decidedly disastrous for our compatriots of the Regular Army.

This was all occasioned by a memorandum issued on the 6th by Lieutenant General Liggett, commander of the American First Army:

Memo to the C. O. of the 1st Corps, and of the 5th Corps:

General Pershing desires that the honor of entering Sedan should fall to the American First Army. He has every confidence that the troops of the 1st Corps, assisted on their right by the 5th Corps, will enable him to realize this desire.

In transmitting the foregoing message, your attention is invited to the favorable opportunity now existing for pressing our advantage through the night. Boundaries will not be considered binding.

When this memorandum was issued, the First Division was the right element of the First Corps, and its commander took literally the statement that boundaries would not be considered binding, for during the night most of his organization had crossed over in the rear of the 77th Division sector and was pushing up on the left into that of the Rainbow, eager to beat us to the goal. In

this one case better results could have been obtained if the battalion commander had displayed less impulsiveness and more discretion.

At half past six on the morning of the 7th of November the 168th returned to the chase, the Third Battalion still in the lead, this time with I and M Companies in the front line and K and L in the second. Little difficulty was encountered until they reached the top of the hill west of Aillicourt and Remilly and started down the steep forward slopes to the road leading northeast to the river. Here a fire of such violence, both machine gun and artillery, caught the forward companies that the whole battalion was finally withdrawn by Major Yates to the road near the crest of the hill and ordered to consolidate the position.

Below them on the right lay the Meuse and its flooded flats; and to the north, in plain sight, rose the steeples of Sedan itself!

Directly in front of M Company, in a hollow between it and Pont Maugis, were parts of two companies of the 16th Infantry unable to move one way or the other on account of the severity of the machine gun fire. But when the Third Battalion appeared it drew upon itself the greater part of this fire, so that these two companies were able to gradually withdraw. All day long, First Division men, many of them wounded, dribbled back through our lines, and it was from them we learned of their nocturnal skirmish with the enemy in Pont Maugis.

I Company was dug in on the left of the ridge, and three platoons of M Company occupied a line of Boche trenches to the right, the other being dug in in the rear. K and L had retired to the reverse slope to escape the effect of the shells which continued to rain on our posi-

tion from German batteries across the Meuse as long as we remained on this front. Regimental Headquarters was established at Beau M n il Farm, which was shared with the Second Battalion, and Major Ross remained at Le Lavoir Farm, west of Haraucourt. The rear echelon, in command of Lieutenant Colonel Stanley, had spent the night of the 5th at Oches, the 6th at Stonne, and was now at Raucourt.

In spite of the obstacles of the terrain, the 168th had advanced nineteen kilometers since noon of the 5th, and while it had not actually captured Sedan, with the other regiments of the Rainbow and elements of the First Division, it had effected its practical capture by seizing the hills dominating it. Patrols of the New York and Ohio regiments penetrated to the suburbs directly opposite, but the honor of entering the city was reserved for the French 40th Division, which came up on our left from the direction of the Champagne and which permitted Company D of the 166th Infantry to march in with it as a mark of courtesy.

It had been difficult to make identifications of the troops opposing us in this action, for they were keeping a safe distance ahead of us, and there were no hand-to-hand encounters. But it was known, nevertheless, that the enemy units on the front of the Rainbow for the five days from the 6th to the 10th of November were, from east to west, elements of the 203rd Division, the 14th Reserve Division, and elements of the 202nd, with stragglers from other organizations intermingled with them.

Soon after the line had been established on the hill, a patrol was sent to Thelonne, down in the valley to our left, to see whether or not Alabama had yet come up. The Germans had evacuated the village during the night

and were now shelling it. At the time there were no Americans there, although one of the columns of the First Division had occupied it until half past seven in the morning before advancing on Noyers. The scouts under Lindsey B. Smith of L Company picked up four Boches found hiding in the village and brought them back to our line.

Another patrol under Sergeant Hoke of M Company attempted to enter Pont Maugis that afternoon, but the Germans were still there in force and turned their minenwerfer on the advancing Americans. The same patrol finally succeeded in getting in the next morning. A detachment from the Alabama regiment had just come up, but had not yet entered. A group on the outskirts was recovering some of the First Division dead. In the village our patrol found more dead, and in a cellar eight wounded men of the 16th Infantry who told them that the Germans had withdrawn during the night without bothering to take them along, as they had no transportation for them. In the doorway of the church stood a 77 pointed at our lines, surrounded by a pile of empty shell casings.

Throughout the day of the 7th the troops on the hill were kept on the jump; they were shelled continually, and were also receiving much machine gun fire. With the aid of glasses they could see the gunners of a Boche battery across the Meuse load their pieces, and could even see them pull the lanyard; but they were powerless to stop them, for they were out of rifle range and our artillery was still far in the rear. At another time a Boche train was observed taking on troops and steaming away unharmed.

Not content with shelling and machine gunning us, the



enemy kept sending over a weird sort of projectile that came hurtling through the air and buried itself in the hillside with a plop. At first it was thought they were bombs with delayed action fuses, but they proved to be small bombs thrown from *Granatenwerfer*; and it was evident that the operator was unfamiliar with his weapon, for none of them had any fuses attached. Without the detonating charge they were harmless, unless one were actually struck. For fully half a day the hilltop was showered with this wasted ammunition.

M Company had an outpost on the extreme right which was under direct observation of the enemy. They attempted to work reliefs on this post, but the moment any one stuck his head up a shower of shells resulted; so rather than endanger the lives of those who would be forced to cross the exposed area, the six men on duty elected to stay there until the relief of the battalion.

Meanwhile the men of K and L Companies behind the hill were not idle. Two towns to the right rear, Remilly and Angecourt, looked promising. They must be policed. It made no difference that the Boche was busily engaged shelling their white beflagged areas. There were rumors of abandoned storehouses, and our men were hungry. Several self-appointed details had tremendous success, and returned with arm loads of Boche war bread, Red Cross supplies, and other useful articles salvaged from a storehouse in Angecourt. Others found quantities of meat abandoned by the enemy when Allied aviators bombed them from the place. The enemy now made desperate efforts to destroy this particular building, and owing to the increasing danger no more details were permitted to go over.

When the grand rush started, the Supply Company

followed as best it could; and it wasn't because the men of that organization did not try, that the troops in the line sometimes went hungry. The road to the front from Stonne, where the Supply Company was finally located, was obviously impassable. A huge mine had been set off where it led down a steep hill. But a trail was uncovered, and by the industry and ingenuity of Captain Johnson and Chaplain Robb the kitchens and carts were slid down over an almost sheer precipice, and were dragged by double teams through fields and across swollen streams until another road was reached. Late on the evening of the 7th two ration carts under the guidance of 1st Sergeant Cruise of K Company, braving the shells, drove all the way up to the position of the Third Battalion. This is probably as close to the front as mules and ration carts had ever been.

The casualties of the regiment during this engagement were so light — two wounded on the 6th and six on the 7th — that the Medical Detachment had little to do but care for the few cases of flu which broke out. On the 7th Sergeant Langan, the intrepid leader of the Third Battalion Scouts, was struck by a shell fragment. On the 9th his commission as second lieutenant arrived at Regimental Headquarters, but he never knew it, for he was then in a hospital at Vichy, where, due to his wound and previous exposure, he contracted pneumonia and died.

Colonel Tinley, on the 8th, was ordered to have a reconnaissance made of the 77th Division position to the right, preparatory to a side-slip of our regiment. At Angecourt he met Colonel Sheldon of the 307th Infantry and the brigade commander, who requested him not to encroach on their sector. The outfit was a bit sensitive from twittings about their alleged capture of Haraucourt on the 6th, and they wanted to hold on to all they had.

But there was no necessity for a side-slip, for that evening the Third Battalion was relieved by Alabama and moved back to Haraucourt for the night. The First Battalion, too, was to move here from Le Lavoir Farm, but the troops of the 77th Division, still claiming that it was in their sector, refused to get out; so to avoid unnecessary crowding Major Ross kept his men on the hillside near the Farm. Colonel Tinley, and Captain Haynes with the Second Battalion, remained for the night at Beau M enil Farm.

On the 9th the regiment, with the exception of the Second Battalion, hiked to Le Vivier, about ten kilometers, with the suspicion that it was headed for another front and another engagement. The Second Battalion was billeted at les Huttes d'Ogny Farm in the woods two kilometers east.

The next day they moved on to the hamlet of Sy, while the rest of the regiment went eight kilometers farther to Verri eres. This had been the location of a large German field bakery, and in their hurry to leave, the Boches had abandoned several tons of undamaged flour. What the civilians hadn't carted off, the doughboys proceeded to salvage, for it made the most excellent pancakes.

As it was Sunday, Chaplain Robb held a service in the village church, and it was packed to the doors. The Boche had used it for barracks and had left it in such filthy condition that the Chaplain put a force in to clean it out before he would use it. Following the service, some of the negro pioneers billeted in the town gave a splendid concert for the "white folks".

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 11th the entire regiment set out for Briquenay. Nearly three hours later — two hours and fifty minutes, to be exact — while

the column had fallen out for a ten minute rest at the side of the muddy road, a staff captain riding past in a limousine leaned out and called excitedly, "The Boches have signed an armistice. The war ends at eleven." Did he think we were a lot of greenhorns? An armistice, with the guns briskly booming up front, while above two airplanes were maneuvering for position and rattling away at each other! That was a good one. Ha ha!

At eleven o'clock the regiment was put on its feet by the command "Fall In", and started on the way again. "I reckon as how Big Bertha kinda called that captain a liar", sang out a lad near the head of the column as a distant boom came back on the breeze. A bit later someone else remarked that it *was* getting mighty quiet up front. There wasn't a sound. Nothing but the steady tramp, tramp of heavily shod feet. Could it be?— No, it couldn't. War had become such an inalienable part of our daily lives that it would go on for ever as long as we lived — but that sudden silence! On the column trudged, each one trying to keep himself from believing what he wanted so badly to believe; trying to avoid the disappointment that was sure to come if he allowed his hopes to rise.

All the way to Briquenay the word was passed on by ambulance drivers, M. P.'s, and soldiers of other divisions. But common sense had won out; most of the men had brushed it aside as an idle rumor, and the rest were too tired to care.

Soon after our arrival, however, the report was officially confirmed. From the steps of the shell-torn church Chaplain Robb announced that the war was over. It really was beyond comprehension, this glorious news — too much to grasp all at once. No more whizz-bangs,

no more bombs, no more mangled, bleeding bodies, no more exposure to terrifying shell fire in the rain and cold and mud! It would be difficult to adjust the mind to the new state of things.

Now the Band, silent for weeks, and out of practice — for at the front where silence was something more than golden, there wasn't much opportunity for practice — got out its instruments and blared forth *Over There*. "We won't come back till it's over, over there" didn't seem like an empty boast any longer. The long fight had been won, and now we would see our homes once more. Never had *The Star Spangled Banner* sounded so thrilling, never was it more loudly cheered.

## XLII

### THE MARCH TO THE RHINE

It was a strange experience to prepare for bed that first night in Briquenay with all lights aglow. Many feared that they would yet wake up to find they had been dreaming again. The sensations of a lifetime had been crowded into the past nine months, and it was to be expected that the abrupt transition from conditions of war to those of peace would be accompanied by a decided reaction, but there was no change in the men, outwardly at least — only an inward feeling of great relief and thankfulness.

Rumors were trying to keep up with events. There was a revolution in Germany, the Kaiser had fled to Holland (this much was true), and the Crown Prince had committed suicide. Then came confirmation of the report that the Rainbow Division had passed into the newly-formed Third Army and was to proceed at once to Germany. Captain Johnson, the supply officer, was notified that the regiment was to be completely outfitted and that it was to receive immediate replacement in men and animals. By working far into the night the company commanders were able to present their requisitions for full equipment for 250 men per company in the time specified.

The morning of the 12th of November was devoted chiefly to the salvaging of war material in the vicinity of the village and in the village itself, for the roads and fields were strewn with equipment and ordnance left

behind by the routed enemy. A few dead Boches were found in the woods nearby, and the carcasses of many of their horses had to be disposed of, fortunately not by details from the 168th but by parties regularly delegated for that purpose.

On the 13th, before the supplies requisitioned had reached the regiment, it started out on the first lap of the long, long trail to the Rhine. The previous evening a large detachment of 34th Division men, on their way to join the 77th Division, had encamped just outside of Briquenay. It consisted for the most part of non-commissioned officers from the old First and Second Iowa. Many of them had relatives and all of them friends in the 168th, so when the column set out into a cold, steady drizzle it was augmented by a goodly number of first-class non-coms who had not taken so much trouble as to bid their detachment commander good-bye. And, as such things can be arranged by the shuffling of records, they remained as a permanent part of the organization.

The mean hike of some twelve kilometers over muddy and difficult roads led the regiment east through Thénorgues, Sivry-les-Buzancy, Bayonville-et-Chénery to Landreville. The route followed a line recently fought over, and ruins of the battle marked the way. The First Battalion was allotted what billets could be found in the battered village, and the rest of the regiment assigned to a wind-swept hillside south of town. Regimental Headquarters took refuge in a badly dilapidated château which had almost sunk from shell fire, but which was whole enough to shelter in addition a mobile hospital. Luckily for the men in the open, they were allowed to build fires — if they could find fuel — and it was comforting to see the hills so bright.

Here in their bivouac the men had their first Victory celebration. Somewhere a number of enterprising foragers unearthed a dump of pyrotechnics, and a violent but harmless bombardment ensued. Red rockets, green rockets, Véry lights, six and ten-star rockets, caterpillar signals, and white flares illuminated the sky. No one stopped them, or wanted to, for such play helped them, momentarily at least, to forget the bitter cold that had now fallen upon them.

The next day a short march of three kilometers brought the regiment to Landres-et-St. Georges, within a stone's throw, almost, of the Côte de Châtillon. The town, or what few wrecks of dwellings remained to mark its former existence, was the last word in desolation, so the troops were again set out on a cheerless hillside with only their pup tents to protect them against the wintry blast.

They suffered particularly that first night before the blankets left in the woods near Exermont, prior to the last advance, had arrived. Although accustomed to outdoor life and its discomforts, even these hardened veterans were beginning to succumb to the rigors of the winter which had so suddenly announced its presence. Men who had served faithfully all through the terrific fighting had to be torn from the organization just when the hour of triumph had come. For exposure was sending numbers of weakened soldiers to the hospital every day. Those who remained were clad in old and tattered uniforms, their shoes were virtually a thing of memory, and the ration at this stage was nothing to boast of. In fact they lacked everything but a heavy load of useless ammunition and an inexhaustible store of willingness and determination to accept whatever came their way.

In order to keep from freezing they had to move



around, and many took advantage of the halt to tramp across the valley to view the trenches they had wrested from the enemy, and to study the position from the German side. Now it seemed more of a miracle than ever that we had succeeded in driving the Boches out.

Over seven hundred replacements, good men, joined the regiment at Landres-et-St. Georges. And about forty horses and mules were received from other divisions that were to remain in France. Naturally the animals were the discards of those outfits, and they were worn out — most of them, in fact, altogether useless — so when the regiment again took to the road there was still a distressing shortage in stock.

The elevation of General Menoher to Corps Commander had placed General MacArthur in command (permanent, it was hoped) of the Division, and General Caldwell, the new Brigade Commander, chose Major Casey as his adjutant. Captain Wood, who had been adjutant of the First Battalion, and more recently commanding officer of A Company, succeeded to the post of Operations Officer. These assignments, however, were short-lived, for on the 22nd of the month Major General Flagler relieved General MacArthur of the divisional command, Major Casey returned to the regiment to command the Second Battalion, Captain Haynes became Director of Operations, and Captain Wood again relieved Lieutenant Neale of the command of A Company. At first General MacArthur was detailed to the 83rd Brigade, but upon his own solicitation was transferred to his first love, the 84th.

Early on the morning of the 16th of November the regiment formed up for its move beyond the Meuse. Because of a delay in the units which were to precede it, it was kept standing in the road for nearly an hour in a

stinging wind that later made marching a misery, for the thermometer registered far below freezing all day. However, after a 22-kilometer hike, it drew into Murvaux, having passed through Bantheville, Aincreville, Doulecon, Dun-sur-Meuse, and Milly-devant-Dun. Just as the column passed over the pontoon bridge erected by American engineers to replace the German-mined stone structure spanning the Meuse at Dun, it was met by four men of the 166th Infantry who had been captured six weeks before. These were the first repatriated prisoners to pass through our lines, but a short distance farther on we were greeted by a contingent of French, Russian, and Italian prisoners, unkempt, half-starved, haggard, but happy. Some of them had been walking for three days without a bite to eat.

Murvaux, which was to hold the regiment for five days, was a forlorn little village partly destroyed by shell fire and wholly filled with troops of a shivering pioneer regiment. But by scientific crowding cover was found for most of the men. The splintered church furnished shelter for two companies, and another occupied a former German hospital at the very edge of the battle-scarred zone (this had marked the high tide of the fighting).

The time spent here was put to good advantage in cleaning up and revivifying the discipline of the regiment by close application to drill. For after ten months of almost continuous combat or movement it had become somewhat rusty in the art of peace-time soldiering. Some clothes were issued, but far from enough to replace the worn-out garments, and shoes were still lacking.

The Third Army, of which the Rainbow Division was now a part, was composed of the Third (2nd, 32nd, and 42nd Divisions) and Fourth (1st, 3rd, and 4th Divisions)

Army Corps, reënforced on the 22nd of November by the Seventh Corps (5th, 89th, and 90th Divisions). The units were later regrouped, and eventually the Rainbow was assigned to the Fourth Corps in company with the 3rd and 4th Divisions.

On November 17th at 5:30 A. M. the advance guards of this army crossed the line defined by the Armistice. The march was so effected that a rapid deployment was possible in case of any alarm or untoward event, and it was arranged to leave between the advance guards and the rear of the retreating Germans a minimum distance of ten kilometers. As the Rainbow was acting as the support of its corps, it did not move forward until the 20th.

It was not with regret that the 168th departed from Murvaux on the dawn of a murky day. Although it had but twenty kilometers to make and the way was fairly good, the congestion of traffic was so great that it was kept on the road all day. After Brandeville and Louppy the ravages of war were put behind and we entered once more the region of good billets — where houses still stood as they were built. The bivouacking days of the regiment were at an end. It was twilight when it drew into Iré-le-Sec, which a few hours previous had welcomed President Poincaré, who was paying a hurried visit to the newly liberated districts. The town was decked out in its best, and flags hung from every window. As a climax to the day's excitement they now had to welcome American troops who had had a large part in making the President's visit possible.

The following day, the 21st of November, the 168th moved out of France into Belgium. It was a fine, clear day and the roads were good, so the march of twenty

kilometers seemed little more than a jaunt. At one o'clock in the afternoon the head of the column crossed the little bridge at Velosnes, France, and in another minute found itself in Torgny, Belgium. But it had not quitted France for good, for the road played hide-and-seek with the border, turning into the latter country again at Ecouviez, before threading back permanently into the land of King Albert.

Two hours later the troops were established in the frontier towns of Lamortean and Harnoncourt, almost within sight of the important fortress of Montmédy which it had skirted in the morning. The Second Battalion, which with the Third occupied the first village, was housed in a camp that had formerly held French and British prisoners. High fences of barbed wire still surrounded the barracks, the interiors of which, until the Americans arrived, were filthy. The rest of the regiment spent the night in comfortable billets. Here for the first time since entering the occupied territory the regiment saw cattle, sheep, chickens, geese, and ducks. The Germans in withdrawing, it seemed, had treated the Belgians with greater consideration, or rather, less severity, than they showed the French. Iré-le-Sec they had stripped of live stock, food, copper, linen, and everything else of value. But this night many of the Americans dined on fowl, and eggs, another almost forgotten luxury, washed down by fresh milk; and they slept between linen sheets.

The 22nd was a day of triumphal progress, one that well repaid the 168th for others of less pleasant memory. One tumultuous demonstration after the other greeted it at St. Mard, Chenois, Latour, Vire, Signeulx, Beranzezy, and Musson. Cheering people lined practically every

foot of the 25-kilometer march, and there was no mistaking their feelings. Mothers held up their little ones to see the khaki-clad conquerors, and to swell the cries of welcome. Hastily constructed, but artistically designed, arches of evergreens, entwined with Allied colors and messages of welcome, had been erected in every hamlet, and the streets were ablaze with flags. Here and there floated the regulation emblem, hidden, God knows where, four years for this very day of deliverance, but they were far outnumbered by the home-made banners. Because of their simplicity of design, French and Belgian flags were easily extemporized, but those of Britain and America presented a greater problem. However, with no pattern to work from, only memory, the women folk had done well. Some of the American flags, it is true, had four stripes, and some twenty; and the stars varied from one to fifty. But the fingers that had sewn together the rough materials had been directed by grateful hearts, and to us they were as beautiful as the impulse that created them.

With the Band gaily playing and our own regimental colors flying in the breeze of a perfect winter's day, the column proceeded through the banks of wildly cheering people. It was so genuine, so spontaneous, this welcome, that it sent thrills of pride and emotion through the marchers. At Beranzey, where they halted for the noon rest, they saw moss-covered mounds which, before Belgium had been trampled under foot by the Kultur machine, had been comfortable homes. Now they seemed to belong to an ancient past.

At Musson a fife and bugle corps met the regiment and played it through the village while little children scattered the way with flowers and the town-folk crowded each side of the road, eager to shake hands with the

Americans. Here our progress was halted while the mayor made a speech in French before presenting Colonel Tinley with the Belgian flag that he continued to carry throughout the rest of the march. After their music had finished the *Brabançonne* and everybody had cheered themselves hoarse the march was resumed.

It was at Rachecourt, however, that this wonderful reception rose to its highest point. Long before the column reached the town, the town reached the column. Far down the road came a parade. At its head was the mayor, and behind him every one of his able-bodied fellow citizens. Singing and cheering, they advanced until they met the Americans, and then turning, led them to the village, which had been set in order to receive the first Yankee soldiers ever to enter its gates. The procession disbanded before the house which was to be the Colonel's billet for the night, and here the celebration commenced. There was singing and dancing until supper-time, and then it commenced all over again and lasted until call to quarters brought the men in. In their billets that night they heard, first-hand, tales of horror, simply told, of the martyrdom that followed in the wake of the Germans in their first mad rush in 1914. And it was impressed upon the Americans who were hearing these stories from the mouths of those who had seen their own kin murdered in cold blood that it would take more than one generation for the deep and intense feeling of hatred against the German to die out in this portion of the Belgian province of Luxembourg.

Since leaving Briquenay the regiment had traversed more than a hundred kilometers, and still no shoes had been issued. The hard, metalled roads, while excellent for the transportation, had reduced the footwear of the

infantry to paper-like thinness, when there remained anything at all between the feet and the ground. The enthusiasm of the Belgians and the excitement and stimulation of it all had helped to shorten the march and to bolster up morale and banish fatigue. But there were those for whom every step was misery. All had hoped for a few days' rest in this hospitable community, but before the evening was well advanced orders for the next day's march were received.

Twenty-four hours of jubilation did not seem to lessen the energy or fulness of heart of the good people of Rachecourt, for when the 168th again set out at half past nine on the morning of the 23rd they were all on hand to escort it to the next village. Nearly every man in the leading company had a girl on his arm, and the rest of the populace managed to crowd in between it and the Band, which was playing a stirring march. Near Habergy, Colonel Tinley was presented with another Belgian flag, and here, under a barrage of flowers, they bid us good-bye.

For the rest of the march, the day was a continuation of the celebration, an ovation all along the line, and the crowds were even more demonstrative. Farther back the people had had more time to prepare for us, and now in addition to the ubiquitous arches of triumph there appeared on every hand great painted banners inscribed *Hommage aux Américains, Hommage à Wilson, Honneur à Nos Libérateurs*. They had shown in every way their gratitude and appreciation for the part played by America and its leaders in their liberation. Their path strewn with flowers, the men marched in high spirits through Habergy, Udange, and Wolkrange to Arlon, where they heard the last cheer. For after the regiment

left the plateau and struck the narrow little pine-enclosed valley leading to the village of Eischen, just over the border in the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, there came a change in language, and with it a far different attitude on the part of the villagers. There were only sullen looks from the few in the streets, and furtive glances from behind curtained windows — a frigid reception, indeed, after the warmth of Belgium — like suddenly being jerked from July into December.

The unfriendliness of the people at Eischen was at first attributed to pro-German inclinations, but this was disproved in the first few hours. The retreating Boches had filled them with lurid tales of American brutality, telling them that we were just a little worse than savage and would in all probability make a second Belgium of their country. But they reacted quickly to the good conduct of our men, who weren't the least bit savage. As soon as they learned the truth they opened their hearts as well as their homes to the friendly invaders.

Many of the sons of Luxemburg had fought in the French army and popular sympathy was strongly with the Allies, but it was not safe to give it open expression. For forty years these people had lived under the threatening shadow of a steadily increasing military power, and since August, 1914, they had felt its full force. For four years they had been practical prisoners in their own land; their news had been digested for them; their frontiers closed; and their movement limited, even forbidden, while the Germans used their country as an avenue of supply and communication with their armies in France. This was particularly galling to a people so jealous of their rights, so passionately nationalistic, as the Luxemburgers. They were fiercely determined to



preserve the independence that had been guaranteed them by their stronger neighbors, but then Belgium had once lived under such guarantees, and they had long held the fear that Germany would eventually absorb her. It was no wonder that they were suspicious of foreigners.

This Grand Duchy is a comic opera sort of country, with its 999 square miles, its population of 250,000, and its picturesque "army" of six generals and two hundred men, all bravely caparisoned like the chorus in the finale. Their artillery consisted of one small field piece whose accuracy, it was reported, had never been determined because it was impossible to fire it anywhere within the limits of the Grand Duchy without the shell landing in a foreign country. But this miniature Switzerland, with its shadowy valleys and romantic castles, has much to unfold to the traveler — a land that one would like to visit at leisure.

The 168th Infantry spent nine days within its borders, seven of them at Eischen, and it was an excellent place to celebrate Thanksgiving — a real Thanksgiving this time, for the war was truly over and the prospects of seeing home once more were no longer based merely on hope. The neighborhood was combed and scoured for delicacies — fowl, eggs, and sweets — and every company had something extra on its menu to distinguish the occasion from ordinary days.

Although this extended halt was made primarily to rest the troops and enable them to get in condition for the long pull ahead of them, there was little rest. The new divisional commander had not been with us through the terrible days of fighting, so recently ended. He therefore failed to properly appreciate the physical condition of his command. He saw in them only a bunch of unkempt

men ever ready to take immediate advantage of anything that looked like escape from work. It must be confessed that troops have been smarter in appearance than they, for they had been taken out of the line after a hard campaign and shoved, tired and dirty, into a hard march. Since then they had had no opportunity to bathe or to really clean their clothes. To overcome all the deficiencies, a rigorous schedule was put into effect. Close order drill, parades, reviews, and inspections became the order of the day.

The review and inspection of the regiment by the Division Commander on the last day of the month was, to say the least, thorough. No one could find fault with the appearance of the regiment that marched on the field that morning. Hours had been spent mending, sponging, pressing dirty, ragged uniforms; shoes (or what was left of them) had been induced to take a polish; and equipment was bright and shiny, so that "no bird from the S. O. S." could criticize. Platoon lines were straight, in spite of the fact that the field was sloppy and muddy, and heads turned in unison at the command "Eyes right". But unexpected pitfalls were encountered in the rigid inspection following. In climbing the hill to the reviewing ground the regiment had crossed over the border into Belgium. Few had noted it. But woe to the soldier that answered to the inspecting officer that he was then in Luxemburg; woe to him who failed to recite correctly and glibly the names of his divisional, corps, and army commanders! Such information was considered essential now, but back among the hills where so many lads laid down their lives it had not been necessary; the sole object then was to wrest them from the enemy. Now the men were to be disciplined to the limit as a reward of their accomplishments on the field of battle.

Nor were the enlisted men alone subjected to the exactions of the fire-eating chiefs of the S. O. S. The order requiring the adoption of the strictest garrison regulations stated that if the officers proved themselves unfit to enforce them "there are scores of good officers anxious and willing to take their places". These modern Barkises had had earlier opportunities to express their longing to serve with combat troops, but something had held them back.

No one questioned the necessity for tightening up on the lax ways into which the Division, so accustomed to the conditions of the battle field, had fallen. It was the tone of the order and the antagonistic attitude adopted by our superiors that was resented, and that stirred up mutinous comment.

However, between moments of hard work the men had one opportunity to enjoy themselves. Passes were granted each day to a certain percentage of the company strength to visit the city of Luxemburg, the interesting capital of the little state, which combined the quaintness of a medieval city and the up-to-dateness of an American community. A detail from each company was permitted to go daily four kilometers to the sizable town of Arlon "to purchase supplies". The details were not limited, nor were the supplies restricted to any specified items. Added to this good fortune, the men received their September pay on the 25th of November. But two days later permission to go to Luxemburg was revoked, and a hundred men who had looked forward to a holiday with an opportunity to really buy something were disappointed.

It was at Eischen that the 168th took its last prisoner of war. This had been for the twelve years preceding the

war the home of one Reichard Fertz, and here he had married. Unfortunately he had been born in Germany and had failed to take out naturalization papers in the country of his adoption, so when hostilities commenced he was unwillingly conscripted in the German service. Four years later his regiment, a part of the great defeated army that was falling back to the Rhine, passed through Eischen, and Fertz took French leave, donned civilian clothing, and resumed his interrupted work in the fields. Three days after the arrival of the Americans a German-speaking sentry, whose orders included the prompt arrest of all Boche soldiers, overheard him telling of his war experiences, and in no time at all Fertz found himself at Regimental Headquarters explaining his presence in Eischen. Eventually he went back to France, a prisoner of war. Thus Fertz closed the books opened months before in Village Nègre by the Alsatian, Léon Willard, who had given himself up to Lieutenant Ferguson. Between the two names there would be a long and interesting list had the record of the captures been kept. Shortly after this incident orders were received to make no further arrests of German soldiers, as all the troops from the territory west of the Rhine were being demobilized.

It was here, too, that Major Brewer, wounded while leading his battalion forward at St. Mihiel, rejoined the regiment. Although still unable to use his right arm and hand, he had begged release from the hospital, and without definite knowledge as to the location of the outfit, except that it was headed for Germany, he set out to find it. Traveling part of the way by train, part by truck, and many kilometers by foot, he finally came across it in the valley of the Eisch. Major Yates was then in com-

mand of the Third Battalion, so Major Brewer was attached to the Colonel's staff at Regimental Headquarters.

At eight o'clock on the morning of December 1st the column took to the hilly, forest-bordered highway leading east. For twenty-six kilometers it hiked through peasant communities and surprisingly modern industrial towns — Steinfort, Capellen, Mamer, Strassen — skirting the northern edge of the city of Luxemburg to Eich, and thence directly north to Walferdange and Bereldange. At the former town, which housed all but the Second Battalion, the Y made its first appearance in months, and the hot chocolate which it liberally dispensed in the old schoolhouse near Regimental Headquarters went right to the spot after the hard march. The billets at this station were comfortable, and the people most hospitable.

The next morning the regiment again was measuring the road, this time following a route that ran up hills and down valleys, through deep, silent forests miles in length, past stretches of dun, fenceless fields. It seemed that the entire surface of Luxemburg was corrugated, for they were always climbing up or down and there were no relieving level spaces between hills. "How many towns have we to-day?", the men would ask in the morning, finding it easier to estimate the distance and adjust their minds and bodies to the task by keeping track of the villages rather than by counting the kilometers as they were put behind. Rammeldange, Niederanven, and Roodt lay in the line of march that day which ended at Biwer and Wecker, two connecting villages. Here at midnight, at the corps dump, Captain Johnson made a happy discovery — one hundred and fifty pairs of shoes. Shoe leather was being worn away under the steady

grind, grind of the stony roads just as surely as if it were being buffed against an emery wheel, and by this time fully eight hundred pairs of feet were on the ground and not a man but had holes in his shoes.

On the 3rd the fine weather that had accompanied us from France to Luxemburg deserted us, and the regiment plodded the grey, mountainous way for twenty-six kilometers through Manternach, Dickweiler, Rosport, and Godendorf to Edingen and Minden in a cold rain. Just after one o'clock in the afternoon the head of the column cleared the bridge over the Sauer River at Rosport and was in Germany — beyond the frontier that the Kaiser had long boasted would never be violated by an invading army. Immediately upon entering enemy territory advance guards were thrown out to protect the main body from treachery, for there was no real reason for believing that the Germans would live up to the terms agreed to in the Armistice. They had torn up other "scraps of paper".

There were no triumphal arches at the new stations, but no display of ill feeling either. The men marched in, took the billets allotted them, and settled down for the night with the usual calmness. They had learned to make themselves at home wherever they were and whatever their welcome. Belying the cleanliness for which Germany claimed a monopoly, both villages were exceedingly dirty and most of the billets filthy. However, the inhabitants, with few exceptions, seemed to do all they could to make the men comfortable. Major Ross at Minden, which lodged the First Battalion and E and F Companies, had some difficulty with the bürgermeister before he produced wood for the kitchens. The thought of putting himself out for the Americans was not agree-

able to the Prussian officer who was Captain Thrasher's (F Company) host. He considered the spare room he turned over to the company commander sufficient, and he balked at opening his barn to the men. However, it took but a slight show of determination to induce him to unlock it, whereupon a large supply of sweet-smelling hay was disclosed. To allow the soldiers to sleep on the hay, he contended, would spoil it; and so to avoid that misfortune it was requisitioned for our animals, and the barn taken over for sleeping quarters just the same. These two were the only untoward events of the evening.

Now that we were in hostile country, double sentry posts, visiting patrols, and buglers (to sound the alarm) were kept on constant duty. To the usual battalion guards were added company guards, and each day a platoon from each company was designated to be in readiness to rush into action immediately if occasion rose. Rifles were stacked in a central place under heavy guard.

Their second day in Germany took the members of the 168th twelve kilometers farther into the interior. It was fortunate that the march was no longer, for they had to climb up one punishing incline after the other. Just outside of Menningen the road wound serpentinely up a long hill of back-breaking steepness, and it was necessary to detail a company from each battalion to aid in moving the wagon trains over. The First Battalion and the Machine Gun Company found its billets in Welschbillig, and the Second Battalion and the Supply Company in Helenburg, where a state-operated orphanage, steam-heated and comfortable, awaited them. The Third Battalion and the Headquarters Company put up for the night in Eisenach in less pretentious lodgings.

Shortly after dark it commenced to rain, and the down-pour lasted until nine o'clock the next morning when the day's march began. It carried the regiment thirty kilometers through villages with strange sounding and often mirth-provoking names to ears accustomed to the softer French inflection. Over wretched roads, in a drizzle and a heavy fog that clung in an opaque blanket to the dull earth — a thoroughly dismal day — we marched up hill, down dale — more up than down — through Idesheim, Idenheim, Sölm, Hüttingen, to Dudeldorf, Ordorf, and Pickliessen. That was a stiff hike for men with raw feet, but they washed, bandaged, and taped them that night, as each night before, in preparation for the next day's march. They knew that if they gave up and went to the hospital they would in all probability be sent to some casual outfit and never see the regiment again. Whenever one was actually forced to leave, if his shoes happened to be in half decent state, they were given to someone who was using newspapers for soles. The condition of the men's feet aroused pity and wonder among the villagers. Many a *Frau* heated water for the soldiers in her home and they accepted the attention with gratitude. Much bitterness was washed away with the bloody mud from their feet that night.

Insufficient forage, lack of rest, and shortage in teams was telling on the stock. Each day some of the straining animals would give out and either had to be shot where they fell, or, if there were hope of saving them, evacuated to the veterinary hospital. The wastage in horse-flesh was so serious as to threaten a delay in the march. Rations, supplies, and kitchens had to keep up with the column. The poorly fed animals were being pushed to the limit to keep the troops going forward. The Missouri mule was dying for his country.



Another long and fatiguing hike awaited the regiment on the 6th. Its wanderings over twenty-six perpendicular kilometers in a heavy mist over a rough road, much of it through woodland, brought it to Manderscheid by way of Gindorf, Oberkail, and Eisenschmitt. This town, in times of peace a popular *Luftkurort* patronized chiefly by Britishers, had many good hotels which furnished the best billets we had yet had. A fair sized place with shops, bakeries, and confectionaries, all with things to sell, it made the men wish earnestly for more of their back pay.

So far, with the few exceptions already noted, the Germans had been so generally obliging and amiable that one began to suspect it all to be part of a well-directed propaganda to win for them the benefits of a lenient occupation. But no people with real spirit could so ingratiate themselves with invading troops. It would be hard to imagine Americans greeting German conquerors in their own homes with smiles and solicitations for their comfort. The proud French had not done it, nor had the courageous Belgians. They had not attempted to disguise their contempt, even if it cost them their homes and their liberty. These people had been heart and soul in the war until defeat made it expedient to pretend that they were not, and their sudden conversion was enough to arouse suspicion as to their sincerity. However, there were some motherly old women, like those who bathed the road-cut feet of our men, who did what they did because of the honest kindness of their hearts. Perhaps they were grateful to those who had ended the war that was taking their sons from them and gaining them nothing but empty promises, sad memories, and higher taxes. At any rate, it was difficult for the Americans to regard the individuals with hatred, even if one did suspect them of

shouting among the loudest when the *Lusitania* went down. The peasants were so ignorant and had been fed so long on misinformation that they really did not know what it was all about. But there were others who did, and when we had difficulties it was always with those in authority — the bürgermeisters and other officials, and sometimes members of the landed gentry.

Fraternizing with the inhabitants was forbidden, but the men were instructed to treat them with firmness and courtesy, always with regard for American standards with respect to non-combatants. Our army, following the same routes as the retreating Germans, treated the civilians with far greater consideration, according to their statements, than their own troops.

The unfortunate result was that they began to take advantage of our easy-going ways, to impose upon us, to wrangle about requisitions, to show their poorest rooms. Accustomed to the dominating, arrogant swagger of the German officer, courteous treatment on our part led to the formation of contempt for us. But when the recalcitrant officials were ordered around in a peremptory manner, when they were impressed with the fact that what we took from them we were entitled to, when they were actually commanded to open all rooms for inspection and to produce concealed supplies, then they obeyed meekly.

In the matter of supplies much was secured by requisition. Fuel, forage, and similar necessities were demanded of the bürgermeister upon entering a town. Foodstuffs, however, were never requisitioned. In fact, it was forbidden even to purchase anything to eat, as food had been advertised (also for purposes of propaganda) as very limited. But the divisional intelligence service, which made a very thorough investigation, had this to say of the situation in the report of the 6th of December:

The enemy territory traversed by this division is in excellent condition, with carefully cultivated fields and prosperous villages. Food is not only sufficient, but plentiful, and with the exception of a few desirable, but unnecessary, articles of diet there is not the faintest sign of scarcity. The villagers give no sign of malnutrition [the country was swarming with plump children and beefy women] and are willing to sell food, including butter and jam.

After passing through the devastated districts of France and Belgium, hearing first-hand stories of massacre, arson, robbery, rapine, and murder, and then seeing this thriving, untouched country, we knew that Germany would never be sufficiently punished for her crimes, since she would never be repaid in kind. Where the German soldier was returning to a home — to a house with a roof, and in it his wife and children — the French or Belgian soldier in innumerable instances could not even find where his house had stood, and his family — God knows where, or in what condition.

Some had been sanguine enough to expect a halt of a day or so in Manderscheid, but at eight o'clock on the morning of the 7th of December they marched out in the mud and the mist for the hills leading through Bleckhausen and Udorsdorf to Putzborn, Neunkirchen, and Steinborn, where clusters of achromatic houses, set in mud reeking with manure, waited to receive them. Here, instead of comfortable, sanitary Manderscheid, they were to spend an extra day.

During the rare intervals when the sun broke through the fog we got glimpses of lovely, pinnacled forest, but for the most part it was impossible to see across the road. Upon arrival at Putzborn, where the First Battalion and the Machine Gun Company were to stay, Major Ross

found troops of a pioneer regiment that had come in two hours earlier in occupation of all the billets, so he drew off to the side of the road temporarily to permit the rest of the regiment to pass through — the Third Battalion and the Headquarters Company to Neunkirchen, and the Second Battalion and the Supply Company to Steinborn. Unfortunately for the pioneers, Major Ross had the order assigning his battalion to Putzborn, and the other commander had none, so out into the damp, chill fields packed the pioneers, and into the billets they vacated marched the infantry. But the doughboys had themselves known too long the discomforts of winter bivouac, so they crowded up and soon after sent an invitation to the pioneers to share their shelter. The next day, to relieve the congestion, Major Ross moved on a short distance to Waldkönigen.

One of the biggest jobs of the march fell upon the billeting detail, which always preceded the regiment by several hours so that when it arrived its quarters would all be arranged for. In France, behind the lines, it had been comparatively easy to billet the troops, for the town majors had all the available quarters listed on paper, and it was the work of but a few minutes to assign them to the companies. It was a simple matter, too, in places like the Bois de Montfaucon or Landres-et-St. Georges. In such a spot the officer in charge of the detail marched up to the battalion commander and said (pointing to a beautiful shell-ploughed slope) "That hillside is yours". But for a first-class row take a place like Iré-le-Sec, where the people are more interested in seeing President Poincaré than the billeting party, and the mayor so filled with his own importance and top hat that he just won't talk business. Then it behooves the billeting officer to keep

out of sight after dark. Towns may have no lists of rooms, as in Luxemburg; the houses may not even be numbered, and things generally have to be done in a hurry. When troops come in tired from a hard march they are ready to find fault with anything, billets in particular; and each company commander is sure to feel that his company has been slighted in the way of accommodations. In truth, the path of the billeting officer on the march in a strange country is not one long, sweet road of bliss.

While at Putzborn Captain Haynes was visited by a committee from D Company, his former command. Some time previous he had received a donation of \$600 from the P. E. O. Society to be used as he saw fit to make the coming Christmas a happier one for the men in that company from Appanoose County. As he was no longer with them, he turned over the money to the eighteen or twenty men who remained of the original ninety that had set out from Appanoose County with him. This committee, representing those survivors, had come to return the money with the request that it be used to erect a memorial to their dead comrades who could not share in it. These same men, scarcely recovered from the strain of a long campaign, under-nourished, marching for days in worn-out shoes, many of them even without underclothes, and none of them with a cent to his name — for two months' pay was still owing them — in spite of the thousand and one uses to which they could have put the money to their own benefit and comfort, preferred that it should go to perpetuate the memory of their buddies. As the Captain looked at them standing there in the rain — cold, wet, and hungry — he could not suppress a bulge that would rise in his throat; for to him, as to every one

who knew of their condition, it was the most beautiful example of pure unselfishness. The memorial for which this cheerfully given fund formed a nucleus has since been erected at Centerville; but who can appreciate the measure of self-sacrifice that gave it being?

On the 9th of December the regiment moved again, the Machine Gun Company and the First Battalion to Zermullen and Henurbach; Regimental Headquarters, the Headquarters and Supply Companies and the Second Battalion to Kelberg; and the companies of the Third Battalion distributed among the three villages of Boxberg, Beinhausen, and Neichen.

In these stations the 168th remained until the 14th, with little to do but drill in the mud and watch the rain enlarge the puddles in the road, for it was miserable all the time — gloomy, foggy, and everlasting rain. The fog seemed symbolic of the state of the German mind at the sudden change in affairs. The fact that they had been soundly whipped had not, would not, penetrate. "Oh, yes, but our armies are undefeated", they chorused on every occasion.

However, the billets were good and the men as comfortable as it was possible to be where the soldier population outnumbered the civilian three to one. Here some cobblers were discovered, and as long as their leather held out they were kept busy repairing shoes. Company funds, given by people back home to provide pleasure for the men, were expended for the repair of government equipment.

Since our entry into Germany, in deference to the feeling of the conquered people, the Band had been silent, but on the 14th, since it was discovered that the Germans had no pride anyhow, it was returned to its place in the van. Encouraged by the strains of lively marches, the regiment that day plodded twenty-eight kilometers in a

continuous, dispiriting drizzle to Monreal, Weiler, and Luxem.

Into Monreal, under the shadow of the ruins of the castles of Monreal and Resch, monuments of the Thirty Years' War, there rolled about ten o'clock that night a convoy of trucks. Three of them pulled off to the side of the road and a captain sprang from the leading car and made his way to Regimental Headquarters where Captain Riley, the adjutant, was closing the day's work.

"Is this the Headquarters of the 168th Infantry?," he asked. And then without waiting for an answer, "I have some shoes for you".

There was just a little too much Irish in the adjutant to let the opportunity slip.

"Shoes?," he repeated inquiringly, his brow wrinkling. "Shoes? — Oh, yes, I remember now. We had some once."

Scarcely more than one day's full march awaited the men. They had struggled over 325 kilometers, hobbling, limping, bleeding, many of them, every step of the way. Like Ben Johnson's drowning man, who while struggling with the waves received aid from none but was encumbered with help upon reaching shore, they were to be loaded down with marching equipment on the eve of their deliverance.

The 15th of December was the first clear day the regiment had in Germany, and as the elements in Monreal lined up in its narrow, winding streets, they faced a gorgeous sunrise. Following out on the old Roman military road through country that just missed being mountainous, the column wound its way to the hills in the purple distance. At eleven o'clock it marched through the old gates of the ancient city of Mayen. There were crowds of well-dressed and apparently undisturbed

civilians on hand to see the soldiers of the new world pass through. They did everything but cheer, and one might have thought himself in a country of our Allies rather than in that of our enemy. A heroic statue of the Kaiser on the line of march had been diplomatically shrouded in gunny sacking, so as not to offend our sensibilities. On through Etringen and Bell to Gleys, where the Third Battalion and the Machine Gun Company dropped out for the night, the column moved. The First Battalion went a few kilometers farther to Wassenach, and the Second Battalion trudged on into Burgbrohl, its long hike ended. "There aren't any kilometres left in Europe", announced a weary doughboy as he threw off his pack and sat down to view his surroundings, "I've walked 'em all." Into Burgbrohl, thirty kilometers from the morning's starting point, went the Supply Company, and for one night only, the Headquarters Company. Regimental Headquarters acted as outpost for the night at Brohl, within sight of its future home.

On the 16th of December, as the First Battalion moved down the curving Brohl valley, a glorious rainbow crossed the eastern sky, its end dipping into the sparkling, swiftly flowing waters of the Rhine. The last march that placed the Rainbow Division on this most historic of German rivers was proudly heralded in the heavens for all the world to see. The 42nd Division had arrived!

Niederbreisig am Rhein was the destination of Regimental Headquarters, the Headquarters Company, and Companies B, C, and D of the First Battalion. Company A was stationed at Oberbreisig, a hamlet up the valley west of the river. Three companies of the Third Battalion took up quarters in Niederzissen, while I and the Machine Gun Companies occupied Oberzissen, a kilometer or so away.



## XLIII

### THE WATCH ON THE RHINE

THE 168th now settled down for an extended and not too strenuous period of "watchful waiting". It found itself in the heart of a country saturated in legend and tradition, with more than its share of natural beauty. The inviting roads and paths led one quickly into the Rhenish hills, forest-clad and abounding in game, with here and there an ancient manor or medieval ruin peeping from above the tree tops.

Niederbreisig is a prosperous modern town with comfortable, some even luxurious, billets. From here one gets a fine view up the river where the rocky banks come close together. In the distance mount the ruins of Burg Hammerstein, the walls of which offered a shelter to Henry IV when he was fleeing from his own son who was desirous of obtaining the paternal crown. A little below Brohl, two kilometers to the south, on a hill overgrown with bush, towers the Schloss Rheineck, the home of the former Imperial Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg. Across the river and to the right of Niederbreisig is the town of Hönningen, crowned by the battlemented castle Arenfels; and farther down the Rhine, opposite the station of the New York and Ohio regiments, loom the fabled Siebengebirge.

Following up the Brohltal, which takes its name from the splashing mountain stream that rises in the Eifel and tumbles down the valley into the Rhine, you come either by a smooth, hard-surfaced road that duplicates the



TYPICAL OF TRIUMPHAL ARCHES ERECTED IN HONOR OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS MARCHING THROUGH BELGIUM AND LUXEMBOURG



STREET IN DUELDORF, GERMANY, DECEMBER 5, 1918. CAPTAIN BUNCH OF THE SANITARY DETACHMENT AND LIEUTENANT CHAPMAN OF REGIMENTAL HEADQUARTERS AT THE LEFT



MEN OF THE 168TH AMUSING THEMSELVES AT THE NIEDERBREISIG LANDING. ACROSS THE RIVER THE SCHLOSS ARENFELS



THE WATCH ON THE RHINE. 168TH TROOPS PATROLLING THE WATER FRONT AT RHEINECK

meanderings of the stream, past an occasional shady inn, a *Badeanstalt* (the district abounds in fine mineral springs), an ancient country house or two; or by the tiny *Brohltalbahn*, a puffing, narrow gauge affair whose four daily trains follow an equally picturesque route to Burgbrohl, the station of the Second Battalion and the Supply Company. The main industry of this village is a large tile works and pottery, conspicuously labeled at the time to indicate that it was owned by neutral Luxemburgers and not by Germans. But whatever the nationality of its owners, it possessed bathing facilities that were more than appreciated by the Americans.

Five kilometers farther up the valley lies Niedertzissen, somewhat larger, brighter, and cleaner. Niedertzissen lacked public baths — in fact the only tub in the place was at the convent, where officers, after proper introduction and preparation, were allowed to bathe.

Oberzissen, like Oberbreisig, had little to offer in the way of attraction. There was much mud, many children, and primitive houses. A few kilometers away the ruins of an ancient *Raubritter* castle, the Burg Olbrück, sprout from a dominating hilltop. From the rim of its tower, which with several of the rooms had been restored by the Kaiser, one gets a magnificent view off into the blue haze of the Eifel Mountains, and in the other direction the ramparts of the Rhine. The base is cluttered with piles of masonry weathered by centuries, and the top of the mountain is honeycombed with underground passages and dungeons where unfortunate victims languished "when knights were bold". There is an inn in the village of Hain, at the foot of the mountain, that offers the sight-seer a book in which to write his impressions of the visit. Lieutenant Pugsley, whose impressions of the

war-torn areas of France were still fresh, inscribed therein: "Very nice ruins, but old. For more modern ruins, see northern France and Belgium".

There was much lovely country to roam and many interesting things to see if one cared about walking. The Benedictine Abbey of Laach, situated on the banks of the famous Laacher See, a water-filled, volcanic bowl bordered by waving forest, was within easy reach. Founded in 1093 by Count Palatine Henry, it was once one of the wealthiest and most celebrated abbeys of Germany, and its church, completed in 1156, is a noble example of Romanesque art.

After about a week's stay in Oberbreisig, the Machine Gun Company moved to Rheineck on the river, occupying the village and the *schloss* above it. To reach the latter there is a steep hill to climb, but one is rewarded at the summit with a superb view of the Rhine valley. The present structure, close to the ruins of the original castle, was built in 1812, but had been sufficiently modernized to provide a comfortable billet for its American guests. Cots were set up in its many apartments, even in the ballroom, which in its time, no doubt, had reflected the gold lace and trappings of the highest nobility of the country. While all the men of the regiment did not draw steam-heated castles, they at least enjoyed the supreme comfort of a bed—the first many had slept in since leaving their homes in the United States—and they were sheltered from the elements, for it often rained or snowed; and while there was no sub-zero weather, the wind could blow with bitter sharpness off the Rhine on a cold day, just as the moon could rise with exceptional beauty from behind the hills on the right bank on a clear night. There were snug cafés where they could while

away pleasant hours in the evening over glasses of beer, Rhein wine, or the potent *schmapps*, to which vin rouge and champagne had surrendered.

The relations with the civilians from the first were friendly — there is no denying it. They seemed to anticipate the wants of the soldiers and treated them with the utmost cordiality. Although the order forbidding fraternization with the Germans was still in force, there were evasions, and as the days lengthened into weeks clandestine fraternization was inevitable, and not too-obvious infractions were winked at. The people in this section declaimed at length how happy they were to have Americans, whom they did not *really* consider their enemies, with them, instead of English or French troops — or Belgians, for there were inklings of considerable disturbance at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the Belgians had partly relieved their long pent up feelings by smashing a few windows. The Spartacist uprising, which was causing concern in other parts of the country, did not affect the occupied territory, and again the Rhinelanders were glad to have the stabilizing effect of our presence to spare them the horrors of a civil war.

Now the regiment had to reconcile itself to the irksome, colorless round of garrison duty — close order drill, guard duty, school, range practice, inspections, parades — relieved by athletics, games, and maneuvers. Drill was commenced the day after arrival, and a regular training schedule, providing for five hours' work daily, was adopted a week later; but as time went by this was moderated. Tactical problems and maneuvers carried the regiment all over the surrounding countryside in the rain and cold and snow, but the troops had been doing the real thing too long to get excited over theoretical

captures, taking imaginary strong points from an imaginary enemy. But at that, time dragged heavy on the hands and soon the old song, "I want to go home", became the chant of the army "without occupation". It was not that they didn't realize that they were living the life of Reilly, and that they had never had a more comfortable existence in the army, but the war was over and the call of home was strong.

The Y. M. C. A. established recreation rooms in each of the villages, with enlisted men in charge; and soon the K. of C. opened quarters for the benefit of all. Chaplain Robb ran the canteen in Niederbreisig and superintended the entertainment of the regiment. With the aid of a German machine and German reels he was able to put on a movie show every afternoon and evening.

After a few weeks the 168th was fortunate enough to have two women, Miss Elizabeth Potts and Miss Christine Johnston, assigned it as Y workers. Their headquarters were in Niederbreisig, where they proceeded in spite of the handicaps to transform an old bowling alley into an attractive hall with a home-like atmosphere. They set up a victrola, organized dances, and served free every day doughnuts and approximately seventy-five gallons of hot chocolate. It is needless to say that the Y was jammed most of the time. Owing to the scarcity of American women, and the prohibition against the German *mädchen*, the dances held Tuesdays and Fridays were stag affairs, but the men seemed to have a first-rate time just the same. On these occasions the two women were nearly torn limb from limb by the men fighting for a chance to dance with them. Once in a great while it was possible to get hold of ten or twelve Y workers from other towns for a regular dance. Twice a week Miss Potts and Miss

Johnston journeyed up to Burgbrohl and Niederzissen to serve chocolate, make candy, and, before they could escape, to dance with the men. Indeed these two are entitled to service stripes for dancing alone, not to mention wound stripes for being hauled about over rough floors and tramped upon by innumerable pairs of hobnails. The service they performed was invaluable, and when they came home with the regiment, having been with it all through this period, they had been adopted as full-fledged members of the 168th Infantry.

In order to further relieve the monotony of the life all manner of contests — football games, races, field meets — were encouraged, and with so much time on their hands practically every organization in the A. E. F. and the Army of Occupation organized its own show troupe. As these itinerant players went about from division to division, we had an almost continuous season of vaudeville, minstrel, and musical shows, with exclusively male casts. None furnished better entertainment than the 168th troupe, and none was more excruciatingly funny than the “awkward squad” of F Company which won fame far beyond the limits of our own Division. These performances, staged at the Y halls, were tremendously popular with the men, and there never was even standing room left when the curtain rose.

Finally leaves were actually granted. Everyone was given an opportunity to visit the leave centers in France — on the Riviera, in Savoie, and in the Pyrenees. And many found their way back for a visit in Lorraine and other places where they had made friends during halts of the regiment. Then there were additional leaves to Coblenz and Neuenahr — the latter the regional leave center. This was a popular spa, the source of the famous



Apollinaris spring, with an excellent casino, good hotels, and plenty of entertainment. The events of a field meet with the Second Canadian Division were divided between Neuenahr and Bonn, where the Canadians were stationed. Then there were boat trips up the Rhine as far as Bingen and down to Cologne, with meals and music, provided for those on good behavior. Some, however, took it upon themselves to explore further into territory out of bounds, and were set down on the evening report as A. W. O. L., an offense to be atoned for by the withdrawal of privileges, a goodly fine of marks, or perhaps a few days' incarceration in the brig.

In between times the men tramped the country, polished up on German, and learned to furnish much of their own amusement. There was much deer in the vicinity, and while it was protected by military order, numerous succulent venison steaks mysteriously found their way to the various messes. In many of the companies sergeants' messes were formed, and the non-coms of higher grade took particular pains to see that they fared well. The officers found off-time relaxation at the clubs formed in each station, where nightly meetings and entertainment were provided. But perhaps the most unique, and at the same time élite, of the organizations to which the period gave birth was the P. I. R., that secret society whose dark mysteries and occult rites were so fearful that its very name could scarcely be mentioned in the light of day.

While the rest of the regiment was enjoying a comparative rest, the work of the Supply Company went on with never a let-up, for troops still had to be fed and the animals and wagons kept in condition. The Signal Platoon of the Headquarters Company had already

connected up its system of telephones and set up the radio station in Niedereisig, and with the other specialists of this company could now sit back and take life easy.

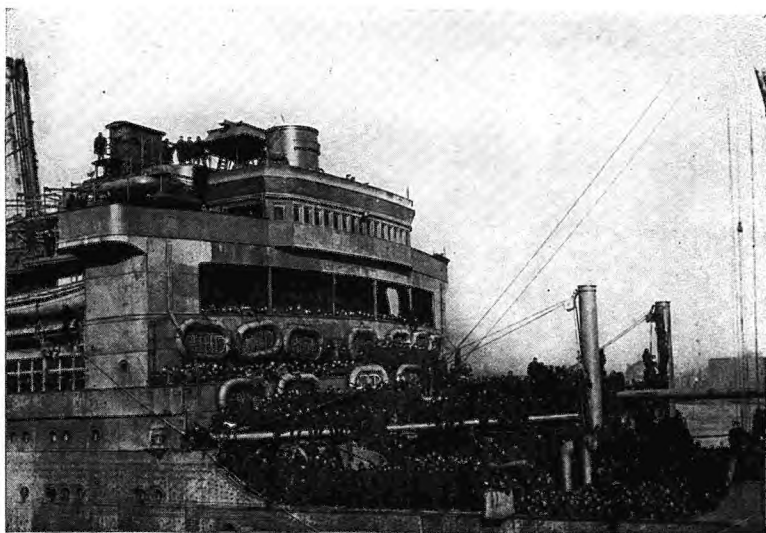
The Band was possibly the hardest worked unit at this time. It was called upon on every occasion to play — at formations, reveille and retreat, in concerts, and in parades and other ceremonies. Colonel Tinley called Sergeant Morgans to his quarters on the day that the latter became Band Leader and told him that he wanted him to produce the finest band in the Third Army. The results justified the opinion of the regiment that it was. At the time its personnel consisted of twenty-six members. Now additional musicians were requisitioned from the school at Gondrecourt until it was increased to fifty. Then a bugle corps of twenty-six was recruited from within the regiment, the pick of the company buglers being transferred to the Headquarters Company for this purpose, making a total of seventy-six in the band. Sergeant Bengé was sent to Paris by Colonel Tinley with enough money from the regimental fund to purchase clairons and drums for the bugle corps, so now we had both men and instruments for a first-rate organization. Before it made its first appearance, Sergeant Morgans and Sergeant Bengé worked their men night and day, driving and rehearsing them until they were ready to burst. Then one day in spick and span uniforms, in perfect alignment, with instruments shining and bugles flashing, the new Band marched down the main street of Niedereisig, playing the stirring regimental march so splendidly that it brought every one within hearing distance to his feet with a thrill of pride. For three weeks it served as the official band at Army Headquarters in Coblenz, giving daily concerts and every other day playing on the Rhine excursion boats.

There were many changes and additions to the personnel of the regiment during this period. Many of our wounded had been returned from hospitals in France, although it was not an easy matter to get them back—much red tape had to be unwound to save them from casual organizations. Captain Christopher, upon his return, relieved Lieutenant Fraser of command of Company D, and Captain Bradley took over H Company from Lieutenant Harris. When Captain Haley and Captain Lainson came back, Captains Tucker and Bonham surrendered command of I and L Companies, the former to be attached to Regimental Headquarters, to compile, with Captain Witherell and Lieutenant Ball, the regimental history; and the latter to become Regimental Intelligence Officer.

After a year and more in Europe, none of the line companies retained their original commanders. Aside from those above mentioned, they were headed as follows: Headquarters Company, Captain Nead; Supply Company, Captain Johnson; Machine Gun Company, Captain Swift; A, Captain Wood; B, Captain Witherell; C, Captain Sefton; E, Captain Doolittle; F, Captain Thrasher; G, Captain Younkin; K, Captain Cotter; M, Captain Briggs.

On the 23rd of December a number of men who had previously been awarded the D. S. C., but who had not been formally decorated, received the medals from the hands of the Divisional Commander, a heavy rain detracting from the dignity of the ceremony. Major Casey, Captains Bunch, Haynes, and Witherell, Lieutenants Williams, Breslin, and Pruette, and Sergeant Binkley of I Company were honored at this time.

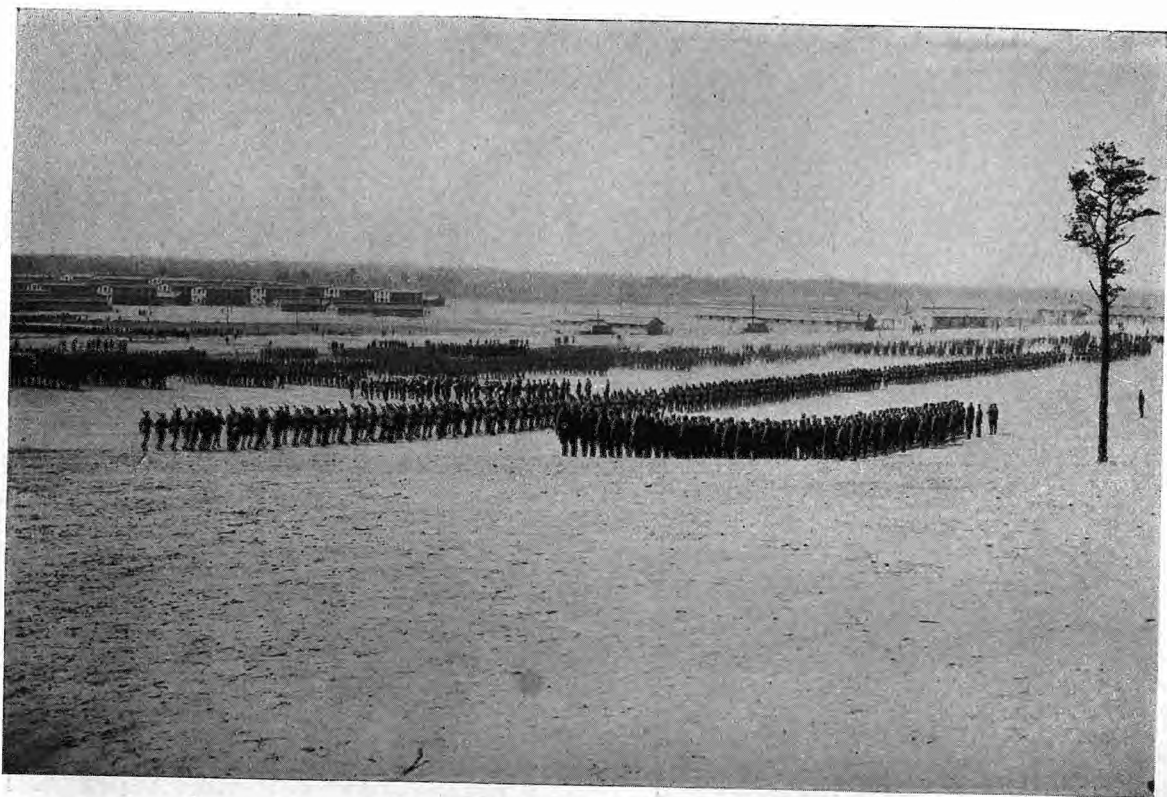
A few days later Lieutenant Bentz, who had been with



THE LEVIATHAN DOCKING AT HOBOKEN



THE BAND OF THE 168TH ON THE LEVIATHAN



THE LAST REVIEW AT CAMP UPTON

us since Rimaucourt, was ordered to rejoin his regiment in France. He had proved a valuable aid to the 168th, and as a result of his exploits above and beyond the call of duty had been recommended for a D. S. C. But like many other recommendations that had been made by the regiment, it never went through.

These fruitless efforts to gain recognition for the meritorious services of our men caused an immense amount of dissatisfaction within the organization. D. S. C.'s were being ladled out by the bushel to the Regular Army divisions, and only a few strays dribbled in to us. There is still preserved among the archives of the regiment the following endorsement on a list of recommendations for D. S. C. that had been returned disapproved by higher authority:

1st Ind.

Hq. 168th Infantry, American E. F., 26 March 1919. To C. O. Co. G. 168th Infantry.

1. Due to an unexpected shortage of bronze, copper, and pretty ribbon, caused by the exceptional demand to accommodate certain units of the American Army with decorations, the issue of medals to this organization has been reduced. In lieu of the D. S. C.'s herein recommended, the company commander is authorized to buy each of the men above mentioned a good five-cent cigar.

On Christmas Eve a party was given for the children of Niederbreisig in the town hall. The Christmas season is a time for forgetting national antipathies, and the youngsters of Niederbreisig had never borne arms against us. As at Rimaucourt a year before, there was an American tree, and dolls, toys, and candy; but somehow the fête lacked the happy spirit of the other occasion. The children were stolidly grateful, but less animated and enthusiastic than the *petits* of the Haute-Marne.

It snowed that night, and a heavy blanket covered the ground as the Band formed up before daylight to play their carols. One by one lights appeared at the windows, German and American, as the occupants gathered to listen to the strains of old familiar hymns floating out into the frosty air. There were programs of entertainment and real Christmas dinners at each of the stations of the regiment. Even without it the men would have been happy; for while the year just closing had opened in uncertainty, the new one approaching held the prospect of seeing home and family.

On the 21st of January Major Yates left the regiment to return to the States, and Major Brewer assumed command of his old organization from which he had been separated since the 12th of September. On the 7th of March the Third Battalion changed station with the First, which since our arrival in Germany had been enjoying the greater comforts and advantages of urban Niederbreisig. K Company took over the billets of A in Oberbreisig, while the other three remained in the larger town. Major Ross decided to have more room in Niederzissen, so he put only two companies in there, sending C Company to Oberzissen and D to Waldorf, a hamlet on the other side of the Bausenberg, the steep hill (in ages past an active volcano) that towers above Niederzissen on the north.

On the 9th of March an impromptu parade which aroused the excitement of the civilian population was staged in Niederbreisig. Led by the bugle corps and preceded by a large painted banner, a company of men in chance formation marched on Colonel Tinley's headquarters. The Germans thought it a Bolshevik uprising of some sort (banners meant mutiny or revolution to them) and ran along with the soldiers, fearfully yet

hopefully expecting a fracas. But the banner was most harmlessly inscribed, and the purpose of the paraders equally pacific. It proclaimed to the world at large, and to Niederbreisig in particular: "First over the top, and still going strong — Company M 168th Infantry". It was just a year since they initiated, with F Company, the first offensive of the regiment.

A week later Major Brewer was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel, Captain Haynes to Major, and Lieutenant Lucas to Captain. Sometime previous Captain Bunch, chief of the Medical Detachment, had also received his majority.

On the 16th of March, General Pershing inspected and reviewed the entire Division on a plain near the river between Kripp and Remagen. It was not a pleasant occasion, for it was a cold, sunless day, and besides the men hated ceremonies of any sort. For two solid hours the Division stood shivering in the icy wind that was blowing off the river, drawn up in mass formation awaiting the Commander-in-Chief. Following the lengthy inspection General Pershing decorated a number of men, including Colonel Brewer, and then with the decrees in the reviewing line behind him, the Division passed by in regimental columns. After a brief address the men returned to the trucks that had brought them as far as Sinzig and rode back to their stations.

To interrupt the otherwise indolent life, schools, not merely the regimental officers' and non-coms' schools, but corps and army schools were opened at Coblenz and Châtillon-sur-Seine, where unwilling students from combat divisions were instructed in things they already knew, because the higher authorities thought it good for them. Evidently the last detachment returning (in unheated box cars) from the long grind at Châtillon thought to



make up for their weeks of hard labor in one glorious celebration. It happened that their train was sidetracked for some time in the Nancy yards right next to a train load of champagne. Some adventurous volunteers decided to transfer part of the consignment (it proved to be of good vintage) to their own cars, and if there was not a general attempt to aid in juggling the heavy cases, there was whole-hearted coöperation in the consuming of the contents thereof. Not long after, an order arrived at Regimental Headquarters "for the assessment against the proper individuals, for the alleged loss of 2175 bottles of champagne". It cost the three 1st lieutenants, eleven 2nd lieutenants, and twenty non-coms of the 168th who shared in this party, sixty-five, fifty-seven, and fifteen francs each. Some of them felt that they had had their money's worth.

Early in March an officer and two non-coms from each company met at Colonel Tinley's quarters in Niederbreisig for the purpose of adopting a constitution and by-laws for the 168th Infantry Society; and a few days later, at another meeting held in Burgbrohl, the organization was perfected, with the Colonel chosen unanimously as its first President. This was followed, on the 28th of March, by the organization of the Rainbow Division Veterans at a convention in Neuenahr closely resembling, for enthusiasm and racket, an old time political convention. The old spirit that carried the Division through the war was to perpetuate it as a permanent organization. After much competition on the part of the various unit delegations, Alabama won out and Birmingham was chosen as the place for the first annual reunion. And Colonel Hough, the popular commander of the Ohio regiment, was elected to lead the association for the first year of its existence.

## XLIV

### HOMEWARD BOUND

EVER since the New Year there had been recurring rumors of the imminence of the departure of the regiment. First came the report that we would leave early in February. That hung on persistently until the time was passed and it was supplanted by another that set the last of March as the positive date; and then it was finally settled by those in the know that the 168th would not move an inch out of Germany until the treaty of peace was signed. At the rate the peace conference was then proceeding it might be for years and it might be forever. The men were daily growing more restive, but new rumors always brought new hope. Word that we were scheduled to sail from Rotterdam convinced many that we were on the point of leaving; but Antwerp was substituted for Rotterdam; and finally, after several weeks, it was announced that when we did sail we would sail from a French port, presumably Brest.

On the 17th of March the Rainbow Division left the Fourth Army Corps and entered the reserve of the Third Army as the first step toward embarkation. A week later all engineering and signal property, ammunition, stock, and rolling equipment, with the exception of kitchens, were turned in. The enlisted personnel was given a thorough physical examination and inoculated against typhoid fever. Already the long line of box cars that waited on the sidings farther down the river was being fitted up with bunks and stoves to make the long

trip from the Rhine to the Atlantic as comfortable as possible. Clerks were burning midnight oil preparing baggage and passenger lists. After so many false rumors and changes of plan, it was hard to realize that the time had actually come.

Spring has just got a real start and green tendrils were beginning to give promise of summer beauty when the first train loaded with troops of the 168th steamed out from Sinzig in the early morning of April 8th and headed up the river toward Coblenz. Soon after, the sections carrying the other units of the regiment were following the same route. It was a merry trip that lasted three days. The men were somewhat crowded, but what did they care — they were going home! Three times a day the trains halted to give them a chance to stretch their legs and to permit the mess details to make a flying trip to the kitchen cars, two of which were attached to each train. Bidding farewell to the Rhine at Coblenz, they ran over German tracks through Trèves and Luxemburg to Metz; then back into France at Conflans; past heroic Verdun, demolished St. Mihiel, Bar-le-Duc and Vitry-le-François of distant memory; through Sézanne, Versailles, Chartres, Le Mans, Laval, Rennes, and St. Briec, to Brest, where on the 11th they finally detrained and marched to Camp Pontanezen.

This embarkation center lay several kilometers out of Brest, between stone-fenced fields of rich Breton mud. Here the regiment was completely outfitted and given a final delousing. There was no opportunity for drill during the six days spent in the camp, but there were endless calls for details to work around it. The weather was most variable, a downpour about every other hour and a high wind most of the time; but between showers

the sky was startlingly clear and blue. The black storm clouds seemed to roll up from nowhere, and before one knew it, it would be raining again.

On the 13th Colonel Brewer, Captain Christopher, and Lieutenant Breslin were decorated with the cross of the Legion of Honor, and Sergeant James R. Clark of L Company, who that day was commissioned second lieutenant, and Sergeant Merl E. Clark of C Company received the Médaille Militaire, the highest award to enlisted men within the gift of the French Government. At the same time a letter was received from Premier Clemenceau expressing his personal gratitude for the services of the Rainbow Division and wishing it an affectionate farewell.

The next day, the 14th, Colonel Brewer was detached to assume charge of a boat load of nurses and casuals — the latter consisting chiefly of enlisted men and their war brides and many children. They had the misfortune to draw a German ship that had just been taken over by our government and which had not yet been conditioned for its first voyage in four and a half years, so they had a rather hectic trip.

It had been determined that the 168th should return on the *Leviathan*, which was then riding out in the harbor, but the continuing gales made it impossible to board her. On the 16th thirty more officers were detached to sail for Boston on the *Pretoria*, it having been discovered that there was insufficient room for all in the quarters assigned the regiment on the larger ship.

However, on the 17th the wind abated and the command hiked to Brest, loaded on lighters, and was ferried out to the *Leviathan*. In the eighteen months that elapsed since our experience on the *Grant*, the transport

service had acquired real efficiency in handling troops, and there was no fault to find either with the accommodations, the cuisine, or the regulations. Even if there had been, the men wouldn't have noticed it — they were so happy to be on the way home. Although all the troops had been loaded by the evening of the 17th, the sailing was held up by a delay in coaling. Then doughboy volunteers replaced the negro stevedores at that job and accomplished as much in six hours as the others had done in two days. At twenty minutes after five, preceded by the *Aquitania*, which had come in in the morning and anchored near us, the *Leviathan* pulled anchor and pointed her nose into the setting sun. France, which had greeted us in rain, was saying *au revoir* with a smiling sky. Gradually the coast line was swallowed up in the distance and the falling night, and the voyage home had really begun.

It was a great trip, the giant of the seas putting mile after mile behind her with scarcely an effort, it seemed, so steady was her movement in the calm waters. There was fair weather practically all the way across, and there was enough deck space, scientifically apportioned, for all to enjoy it, in spite of the fact that we were carrying 11,000 soldiers and between five and six hundred officers, which, with the navy personnel, brought the sailing list to well over 14,000 souls. With four bands aboard, there were concerts nearly every hour of the day, and in the evening there were moving pictures and other entertainment.

After leaving the Gulf Stream, it grew blustery and cold, and there were snow flurries on the 25th before breakfast. But land was not far away. At noon several destroyers met the ship and escorted it to Ambrose Light-

ship, off which we anchored until four o'clock. Then putting on steam, the *Leviathan* sailed in through the Narrows and proudly up New York Bay. What a cheer went up when the majestic outline of the city came into view and the graceful lines of Liberty stood out against the Jersey sky! A squadron of especially chartered ferry boats and tugs, decorated with flags and banners, whistles screeching in welcome, and jammed with cheering people from the different States represented by the units on board, puffed around the towering hulk of the transport like a brood of ducklings around a dignified mother bird. There was the Mayor's committee of welcome, a boat filled with Ohio cohorts, another from Indiana, one from Illinois, but most prominent of all to us was that one bearing the legend "Iowa Welcomes Her Boys Of The 168th".

The dock at Hoboken was crowded with several thousand more friends and relatives, many of whom had come long distances to get the first glimpse of their sons and husbands. But of all the organizations aboard, the 168th was the only one that did not disembark immediately; it was to be held on the *Leviathan* until the following morning.

There was wild happiness aboard the ship that evening, until word reached it that Major Bunch, who had seen more active service than any one in the regiment, had been killed in a motor accident a few hours before. He had obtained a pass to surprise his fiancée in a nearby town, and was on his way when the motor in which he was riding collided with another near Camp Merritt and he was crushed to death. It seemed too cruel, too unjust to be true, that Fate, which had spared him through all the dangers of battle, should snatch away his life now when

the war was over and he had so much to live for. This news took the edge off of our enthusiasm, for he was mourned by the entire regiment as an efficient officer, a courageous soldier, and a good friend.

Unloading at eight o'clock on the morning of the 26th, the 168th, after passing through a Y. M. C. A. line for breakfast, entrained for Camp Upton in the central part of Long Island, where the men were again deloused and by nightfall assigned to their quarters in barracks. There was an age-long wait in this Sahara-like waste. But the shortage in cars and the unprecedented jam of troops coming in and going out held them there for two weeks.

On the 3rd of May the regiment passed in final review before its commanding officer before being broken up into the various State detachments which its veterans represented. For only those living in Iowa were to go to Camp Dodge for discharge; and in the months of service it had received replacements from every State in the Union, with the exception of Nevada. Thirty-two hundred men and ninety-eight officers returned to this country with the 168th, but of that number only sixteen officers and less than thirteen hundred enlisted men had set out with it from Iowa in the fall of 1917 — even this represented a large proportion that had been wounded in battle — and the others had either been killed or too severely wounded to rejoin it.

After the review Colonel Tinley called his men to him for the *nunc dimittis*. The passing of the regiment as an organization was a tragedy to them all, held close by the tightened bands of comradeship and the wealth of memories they shared. There will, in this generation at least, be a distinction, perhaps unconscious, between those who have seen the war and those who have not, and

the feeling that creates that distinction strengthens the tie among those who have actually fought together.

“Down in our hearts there is a pang of regret that we are assembled for the last time”, the Colonel commenced, “and you who are not accompanying us back to Iowa, you will always have a kindly feeling toward the State you have represented so well. I only wish that we could take you all back with us to share the great welcome that awaits us there. The friendships that have sprung up among us will always bind us closely together. We have slept in the same shell hole, drunk from the same canteen, have suffered common dangers, discomforts, discouragements. Those of us who lie sleeping beneath the sod of France will be with us in the great homecoming to which we have looked forward for so many months. We must keep up the traditions for which they died. And now, on this our last gathering, I wish you Godspeed.”

In groups the detachments for the different sections of the country left camp, beginning with that very afternoon. On the 11th the Iowans entrained for the West. There is little to relate of that three days' journey, except a steadily mounting excitement as they sped toward the home State. As the three sections crossed the Mississippi and entered Iowa at Dubuque, Davenport, and Keokuk, they were vociferously greeted by the townspeople, and by committees of prominent citizens from all over the State. There were parades and speeches and flowers and food, and then they reëntered the trains for a progress of triumph unequalled in the history of Iowa. Every town and hamlet along the three parallel routes was crowded with cheering mobs. Even at the cross-roads small crowds of country people gathered to shout their welcome as the trains shot by. Cedar Rapids,

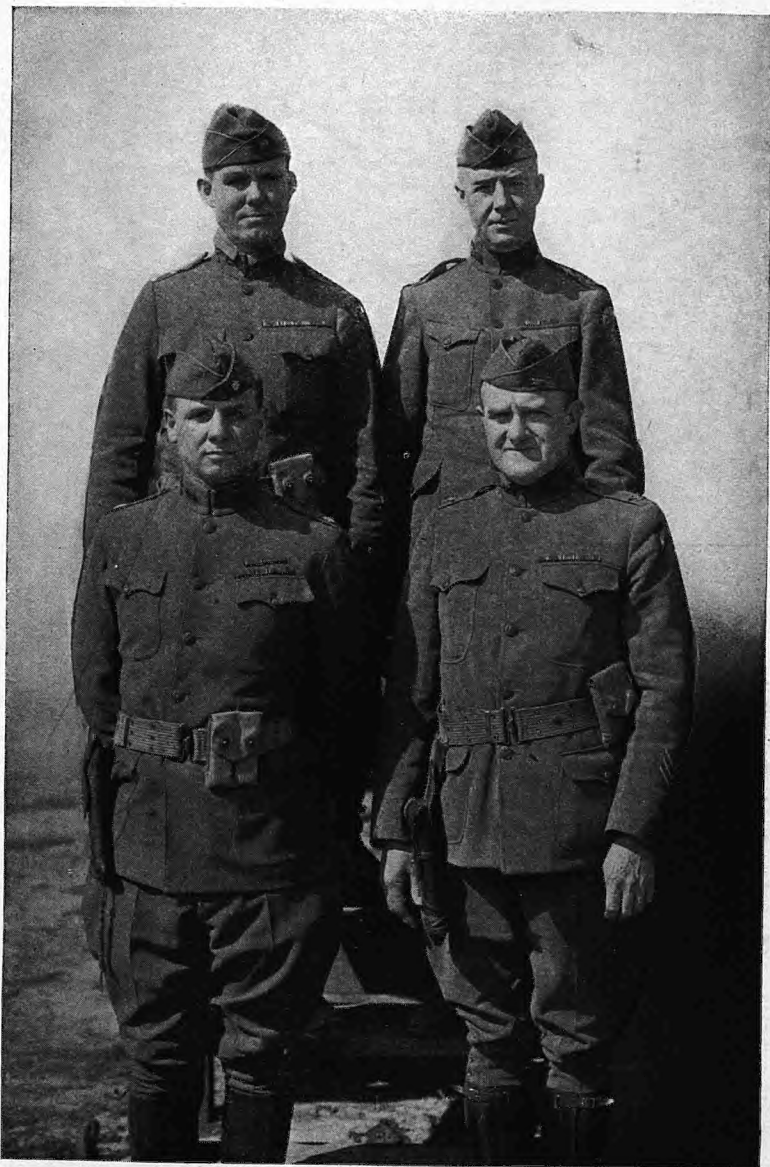


Marshalltown, Waterloo, Ottumwa, and Oskaloosa met them with enormous throngs and rousing receptions. Converging on Des Moines, the trains reached the Capital City during the night and early morning of the 14th of May. Despite the untimeliness of the arrival there were thousands on hand to greet them; but the men, still under military discipline, remained in the cars for the night. There was a big day ahead of them. There was to be a lunch at the Coliseum; then the parade followed by a banquet and dance; and at eleven o'clock they were to go to Camp Dodge where they would receive their discharges.

The crowds at the station increased with the brightening dawn. There was laughter and some tears as families were reunited after twenty-two months' separation, but every one was happy, inconceivably happy, to be home again.

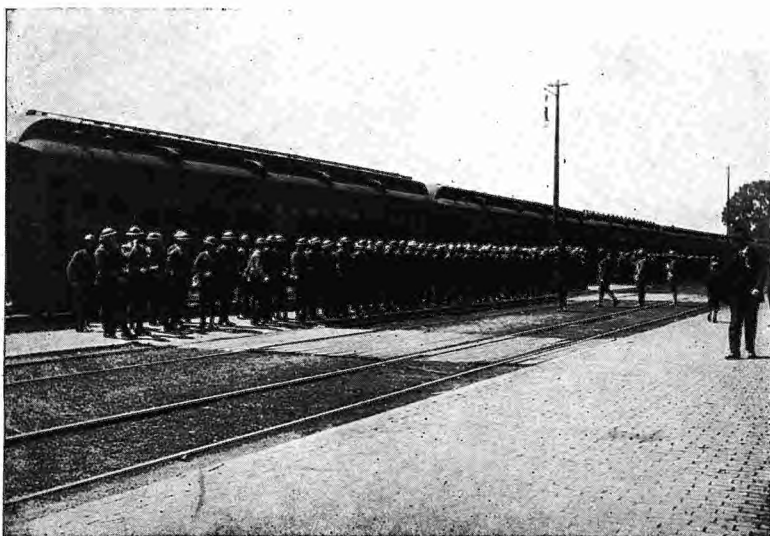
Des Moines had declared a holiday, and with it as many people from the rest of the State as could crowd into it. The streets through which the parade was to pass were gay with flags and bunting, and leading up the hill to the State House, where the reviewing stand was placed, a court of honor, culminating in an arch of triumph, had been erected. The sky was blue, the air was clear — it was a perfect day.

More than eighteen hundred members and former members of the regiment lined up for the parade behind Colonel Tinley and his mounted staff. First came the Band in full strength, then the veterans of the entire campaign, equipped with rifles, helmets, and gas masks; behind them marched more than three hundred discharged or convalescent comrades who had been previously invalided home; and at the end, in automobiles,



MAJOR ROSS  
LT. COL. BREWER

MAJOR HAYNES  
COLONEL TINLEY



SECTION OF TRAIN CARRYING THE 168TH  
BACK TO IOWA ARRIVES AT KEOKUK



THIRD BATTALION PARADING AT DAVENPORT



THE FINAL PARADE AT DES MOINES

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The Dough-boy's Bit

Francis Webster  
MACHINE GUN CO. 168 INFANTRY  
A.E.F. FRANCE 1918

DRAWN BY CORPORAL WEBSTER WHO WAS KILLED OCTOBER 14, 1918

crippled and disabled members of the regiment from the hospitals at Camp Dodge and Fort Des Moines.

The concluding gesture of their military life was performed with the utmost seriousness on the part of the men. The gay youths who had gone away with smiles on their faces had not come back; in their stead were men who looked neither to the right nor the left. There was no display of emotion by those who had experienced emotion in concentrated portions. The spirit that kept up the unnecessary discipline to the end was the spirit of the Rainbow Division.

Through a solid mass of humanity that thundered out its applause and strewed the rough paving with a carpet of flowers, the regiment marched; and many saw at the side of the men marching in the flesh the dead comrades who had trod the same path with them two years before. The cheers, the smiles, the flowers, the tears, were for all.

When the reviewing stand was reached, Colonel Tinley left the column and took his place beside the high dignitaries of the State. The Band, playing an inspiring march, passed by; then line after line of straight, lithe figures, and in their midst the regimental colors proudly borne with their newly-won bands. So, as the last platoon executed "Eyes right" as a final salute to its beloved commander, the 168th Infantry marched on into history.



## APPENDIX A

### AN ADDRESS TO THE 42ND DIVISION

*To The Officers and Men of The 42nd Division:*

A year has elapsed since the formation of your organization. It is, therefore, fitting to consider what you have accomplished as a combat division and what you should prepare to accomplish in the future.

Your first elements entered the trenches in Lorraine on February 21st. You served on that front for 110 days. You were the first American division to hold a divisional sector, and when you left the sector June 21st, you had served continuously as a division in the trenches for a longer time than any other American division. Although you entered the sector without experience in actual warfare, you so conducted yourselves as to win the respect and affection of the French veterans with whom you fought. Under gas and bombardment, in raids, in patrols, in the heat of hand to hand combat, and in the long dull hours of trench routine so trying to a soldier's spirit, you bore yourselves in a manner worthy of the traditions of our country.

You were withdrawn from Lorraine and moved immediately to the Champagne front, where, during the critical days from July 4th to July 18th, you had the honor of being the only American division to fight in General Gouraud's Army which so gloriously obeyed his order, "We will stand or die", and by its iron defense crushed the German assault and made possible the offensive of July 18th to the west of Reims.

From Champagne you were called to take part in exploiting the success north of the Marne. Fresh from the battle front before Châlons, you were thrown against the picked troops of Germany. For eight consecutive days you attacked skillfully



prepared positions. You captured great stores of arms and munitions. You forced the crossings of the Oureq. You took Hill 212, Sergy, Meurey Farm, and Seringes by assault. You drove the enemy, including an Imperial Guard Division, before you for a depth of 15 kilometres. When your infantry was relieved, it was in full pursuit of the retreating Germans, and your artillery continued to progress and support another American division in the advance to the Vesle.

For your services in Lorraine, your division was formally commended in General Orders by the French Army Corps under which you served. For your services in Champagne, your assembled officers received the personal thanks and commendation of General Gouraud himself. For your services on the Oureq, your division was officially complimented in a letter from the Commanding General, 1st Army Corps, of July 28th, 1918.

To your success all ranks and all services have contributed, and I desire to express to every man in the command my appreciation of his devoted and courageous effort.

However, our position places a burden of responsibility upon us which we must strive to bear steadily forward without faltering. To our comrades who have fallen we owe the sacred obligation of maintaining the reputation which they died to establish. The influence of our performance on our allies and on our enemies cannot be over-estimated, for we were one of the first divisions sent from our country to France to show the world that Americans can fight.

Hard battles and long campaigns lie before us. Only by ceaseless vigilance and tireless preparation can we fit ourselves for them. I urge you, therefore, to approach the future with confidence, but above all, with firm determination, that so far as it is in your power, you will spare no effort, whether in training or in combat to maintain the record of our division, and the honor of our country.

CHARLES T. MENOHER

Major General, U. S. Army

## APPENDIX B

### THE RECORD OF THE 168TH INFANTRY

HEADQUARTERS 42ND DIVISION  
AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES  
GERMANY

2 April 1919.

GENERAL ORDER

No. 21-D

As the Rainbow Division has reached the closing days of its military service, the Commanding General desires to recite in orders the salient features of the service of the 168th Infantry.

After an intensive training period, during which, due to severe climatic conditions, many hardships had to be endured, the 168th Infantry, as part of the 42d Division, was moved into the Lunéville Sector, and in conjunction with French units took over a portion of the line. After a short period there, spent in putting finishing touches on its training, it was moved, with the other elements of the Division, into the Baccarat Sector. Here it held the right half of the Neufmaisons Sub-sector during a period of approximately 100 days and helped the 42d Division hold the Baccarat Sector for a longer continuous period than any other American division held a sector. In this service it experienced two extremely severe enemy gas projector attacks. Many of its members were fatally gassed, but there was no time that its line was not held firmly against the futile attacks of the enemy to penetrate it. It also repulsed a strong enemy raid, inflicting heavy casualties without itself suffering any losses.

The 168th Infantry was withdrawn from this sector and as part of the Division was moved to the vicinity of Suippes and thrown in as part of General Gouraud's now famous army to stem the tide of the German offensive of July 15th. Here

the Regiment was placed with certain of its elements in the first line and others on the second position, and not a single individual of the enemy succeeded in penetrating the lines it held. On these positions the men underwent, without sufficient cover, what many veteran French officers described as the most intensive enemy artillery fire of the war. They withstood this ordeal with a calmness and spirit that called forth the admiration of the French with whom they were serving. The French Division Commander in command of the Sector of Suippes remarked with amazement on the steadiness and coolness displayed by the Regiment under its first heavy shell fire.

After the German offensive had been completely stopped the Regiment was withdrawn and immediately thrown into the French and American offensive towards the Ourcq and the Vesle. Here, by its aggressiveness it forged forward 15 kilometers, overcoming and beating down the formidable strong point Hill 212. The Regiment forced a crossing of the Ourcq, and with the 167th Infantry, the other regiment of its brigade, after the most severe kind of fighting, in which the village of Sergy changed hands eight times, it finally retained possession of that village, forcing the enemy to withdraw. The fight for Sergy is now one of the prominent points in the history of the American Expeditionary Forces. In the position along the Ourcq the 168th Infantry underwent, day and night, intense shell and machine gun fire, some of which came from the flanks and enfiladed its position. It however held its position and was always ready and eager to push forward when called upon.

Upon reaching the heights overlooking the Vesle the Regiment was relieved by elements of a fresh division and withdrawn to the Bourmont Area for a well earned rest. Hardly, however, had it become settled in this area before orders came directing that it proceed to take up its position for attack against the St. Mihiel Salient. This was done by hard night marches. In the St. Mihiel Operation the 168th Infantry forged ahead, reaching its objective many hours before the time limit prescribed and overcoming many German machine gun nests in

the thick woods through which it progressed in the early stages of the attack.

Upon reaching the final objective prescribed by the Army the 168th organized its sector and held it. During its period of occupation of this position it executed a most successful raid against Marimbois Farm, killing many of the enemy, destroying machine gun nests and returning with prisoners without itself suffering any casualties. This regiment continually harassed the enemy and kept him constantly uncertain and nervous.

The next scene of operation was in the Argonne. Here, in conjunction with the other regiment of its brigade, in savage fighting through thick woods, it took the Côte de Châtillon, which was the key of the famous Kriemhilde Stellung, and held it, thus permitting part of the attack of November 1st to be launched from this favorable point of departure. In overcoming resistance on the Côte de Châtillon the 168th conquered the strong point of Tuilerie Farm by extremely severe and aggressive fighting.

On November 1st, as part of the Division, this Regiment moved to push the attack towards Sedan. Here it forged ahead, and on November 9th, when the Division was relieved in the front line, the 168th Infantry had reached the heights overlooking the Meuse in the vicinity of Sedan.

When the armistice was signed the 168th Infantry, with the other elements of the 42nd Division, marched into Germany, where it remained as part of the American Army of Occupation on the Rhine until its departure for the United States.

It is with soldierly pride that the Division Commander thus briefly reviews the magnificent record of the 168th U. S. Infantry, the old 3d Iowa Infantry.

Iowa may well be proud of her representation in the Rainbow Division.

By command of MAJOR GENERAL FLAGLER:

OFFICIAL:  
JAMES E. THOMAS,  
Major, A. G., U. S. A.,  
Division Adjutant.

WM. N. HUGHES, JR.,  
Colonel, General Staff,  
Chief of Staff

## APPENDIX C

### DECORATIONS AWARDED MEN OF THE 168TH

#### DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL

MATHEW A. TINLEY, COLONEL

#### DISTINGUISHED SERVICE CROSS

BINKLEY, DAVID V., SGT., CO. I  
BLY, ROBERT, 1ST LT., CO. A  
BOUSTEAD, GEORGE R., SGT., CO. M  
BRANDT, ARTHUR F., CPL., CO. E  
BRESLIN, JAMES E., 1ST LT., CO. A  
BREWER, GUY S., LIEUT. COL.  
BUNCH, HENRY E., MAJOR  
BURKS, CHARLES R., PVT., CO. I  
CASEY, CHARLES J., MAJOR  
CHRISTOPHER, JOHN C., CAPT., CO. M  
CLARK, MERL E., SGT., CO. C  
COLLINS, EMMETT E., SGT., M. G. CO.  
COSTIANES, NICK, PVT., CO. M  
DAVIS, CLARENCE A., CPL., CO. D  
DOOCY, ELMER T., 1ST LT., CO. M  
GRAY, THOMAS J., CPL., CO. M  
HAMILTON, BYRON W., SGT., CO. M  
HART, CLAUDE V., SGT., CO. M  
HAYNES, GLENN C., MAJOR  
LEPLEY, JAMES B., SGT., CO. M  
MACKAY, DONALD S., 1ST LT., 1ST BN. HDQS.  
NELSON, BERNARD, SGT., CO. D  
NELSON, OSCAR B., CAPT., CO. H (with one bronze oak leaf)  
NOBLE, GEORGE B., 1ST LT., CO. L  
PEASE, LIBERTY, PVT., CO. E  
PRIDY, WELLBORN S., 2ND LT., CO. C  
PRUETTE, JOSEPH, 2ND LT., CO. C  
ROBB, WINFRED E., CHAPLAIN (CAPT.)  
ROSS, LLOYD D., MAJOR (with one bronze oak leaf)  
SMITH, HOWARD G., 1ST LT., CO. B

SPAUTZ, MATHEW S., SGT., Co. A  
 STEEDE, WALTER J., PVT., Co. E  
 VAN'T HOF, BERNARD, 1ST LT., Co. M  
 WALLACE, HERBERT F., 1ST LT., 2ND BN. HDQS.  
 WILKEN, ALT C., CPL., Co. M  
 WILKINSON, GEORGE A., SGT., Co. A  
 WILLIAMS, FRANK L., 1ST LT., SAN. DET.  
 WILSON, EARLE W., 2ND LT., Co. M  
 WINTRODE, JOHN H., 1ST SGT., Co. A  
 WITHERELL, WILLIAM R., CAPT., Co. B

## FRENCH MEDAILLE MILITAIRE

CLARK, MERL E., SGT., Co. C  
 CLARK, JAMES R., 2ND LT., Co. L

## FRENCH LEGION D'HONNEUR

ANDERSON, ELDON, PVT., Co. L (chevalier)  
 BRESLIN, JAMES E., 1ST LT., Co. A (chevalier)  
 BREWER, GUY S., LIEUT. COL. (chevalier)  
 CHRISTOPHER, JOHN C., CAPT., Co. M (chevalier)  
 TINLEY, MATHEW A., COLONEL (officier)

## FRENCH CROIX DE GUERRE

AIKINS, CHARLES W., CAPT., Co. A (silver star)  
 BAKER, BURTON M., PVT., M. G. Co. (bronze star)  
 BARNES, LYLE W., PVT., Co. M (bronze star)  
 BOUSTEAD, GEORGE R., SGT., Co. M (gilt star)  
 BRACELIN, DAN P., PVT., Co. B (bronze star)  
 BRAINARD, HAROLD, SGT., Co. F (bronze star)  
 BRESLIN, JAMES E., 1ST LT., Co. A (with palm)  
 BREESE, MOFFARD G., PVT., Co. D (silver star)  
 BREWER, GUY S., LIEUT. COL. (with palm)  
 BRIGGS, CHARLES O., CAPT., Co. M (bronze star)  
 BRUMMETT, FRED C., PVT., Co. F (bronze star)  
 CASEY, CHARLES J., MAJOR (silver star)  
 CHAPMAN, KIRT M., 1ST LT., Co. F (bronze star)  
 CHRISTOPHER, JOHN C., CAPT., Co. M (silver star and palm)  
 CLARK, MERL E., SGT., Co. C (with palm)  
 CLARK, JAMES R., 2ND LT., Co. L (with palm)  
 CORELL, FRED A., SGT., Co. H (bronze star)  
 COURT, BERT C., SGT., Co. F (bronze star)  
 COWELL, HAMER L., PVT., Co. F (bronze star)  
 CROAK, JEROME M., PVT., Co. F (bronze star)

CULP, LLOYD, PVT., Co. M (bronze star)  
CURRIE, JOHN M., 1ST LT., Co. M (bronze star)  
DAVIS, CLARENCE A., CPL., Co. D (gilt star)  
DAWSON, CLARENCE W., SGT., Co. B (bronze star)  
DERNEK, ALBIN, PVT., Co. D (bronze star)  
DUNN, MARVIN, CPL., Co. B (silver star)  
EDWARDS, PEARL, SGT., Co. D (bronze star)  
FINDLEY, RHEA H., MECH., Co. F (bronze star)  
FISHER, HAROLD T., 2ND LT., Co. F (silver star)  
FRASER, CHARLES A., 1ST LT., Co. D (bronze star)  
GERDON, CHARLES S., PVT., Co. D (bronze star)  
HART, CLAUDE V., SGT., Co. M (bronze star)  
HAXBY, JOHN W., JR., PVT., Co. F (bronze star)  
HAWKINS, OWEN C., 2ND LT., Co. M (bronze star)  
HAYNES, GLENN C., MAJOR (two gilt stars)  
HEIDEN, LAWRENCE E., PVT., Co. K (with palm)  
HEINTZ, FRED A., PVT., Co. B (bronze star)  
HICKS, MILTON E., SGT., Co. F (bronze star)  
HOKE, ARNOLD, SUP. SGT., Co. M (bronze star)  
HOWELL, SPENCER A., 1ST LT., Co. F (bronze star)  
KELLEY, WILLIAM A., CAPT., Co. B (bronze star)  
KOCH, WALTER J., CPL., Co. F (bronze star)  
LEPLEY, JAMES B., SGT., Co. M (gilt star)  
MEFFERD, CHARLES, PVT., Co. M (bronze star)  
MILLER, LEO J., CPL., Co. B (bronze star)  
MILLER, CHARLES A., SGT., Co. H (bronze star)  
MONAHAN, EDWARD H., PVT., Co. L (bronze star)  
MOORE, JOE A., PVT., Co. F (bronze star)  
MORGAN, HARRY V., PVT., Co. F (bronze star)  
NELSON, BERNARD, SGT., Co. D (gilt star)  
OSGOOD, FRANK J., PVT., Co. D (bronze star)  
OVERMAN, MANFORD, SGT., Co. F (bronze star)  
PAYETTE, ALFRED A., 1ST LT., Co. B (silver star)  
PEASE, LIBERTY, PVT., Co. E (gilt star)  
PETERSEN, HENRY A., 1ST LT. HDQS. Co. (silver star)  
ROBINSON, FRED J., COOK, Co. M (bronze star)  
ROSS, LLOYD D., MAJOR (silver star)  
SAMPSON, WALTER A., PVT., Co. F (bronze star)  
SELIX, RUSSELL L., PVT., Co. D (silver star)  
SIMONS, LEWIS A., CPL., Co. B (silver star)  
SHAEFFER, HAROLD, CPL., Co. M (bronze star)  
SMITH, EDWARD E., SGT., Co. F (bronze star)

SMITH, HOWARD G., 1ST LT., Co. B (silver star)  
SPAULDING, ROGER W., 1ST LT., Co. D (bronze star)  
STELLER, EDWARD, CAPT., Co. G (bronze star)  
STEVENS, CLIFFORD J., CPL., Co. F (bronze star)  
TINLEY, MATHEW A., COLONEL (gilt star)  
TODD, EDWIN C., PVT., Co. F (bronze star)  
TRAILOR, DELL, PVT., Co. F (bronze star)  
VAN'T HOF, BERNARD, 1ST LT., Co. M (bronze star)  
WELLS, FREMONT S., SGT., Co. F (bronze star)  
WILKEN, ALT C., CPL., Co. M (gilt star)  
WINTRODE, JOHN H., 1ST SGT., Co. A (gilt star)  
YORK, BERT L., PVT., Co. F (bronze star)

## BELGIAN ORDRE DE LA COURONNE

BONHAM, JAMES C., CAPT., Co. L (chevalier)  
NELSON, OSCAR B., CAPT., Co. H (chevalier)

## BELGIAN CROIX DE GUERRE

PRIEN, FERDINAND H., CPL., Co. I

## ITALIAN CROCE DI GUERRA

BINKLEY, DAVID V., SGT., Co. I





## ROSTER OF THE 168TH INFANTRY

Symbols used in this roster should be interpreted as follows: the *italics* indicate killed in action or died of wounds; the asterisk (\*) indicates wounded in action, more than one asterisk indicating wounded in more than one engagement, but no asterisk appears for a wound resulting in death; the dagger (†) indicates died of accident or disease; and the letter c indicates that the soldier was captured.

Abbreviations should be interpreted as follows: PVT., Private; CPL., Corporal; SGT., Sergeant; BN. SGT. MAJ., Battalion Sergeant Major; REGT. SGT. MAJ., Regimental Sergeant Major; MECH., Mechanic; MUS., Musician; COL. SGT., Color Sergeant; SUP. SGT., Supply Sergeant; WAG., Wagoner. The rank given in each case is that held by the individual at the time of his separation from the unit.

### REGIMENTAL HEADQUARTERS

#### *Colonels*

COLONEL ERNEST R. BENNETT                      COLONEL MATHEW A. TINLEY

#### *Lieutenant Colonels*

LT. COL. GUY S. BREWER                      LT. COL. CLAUDE M. STANLEY

#### *Majors*

MAJOR CHARLES J. CASEY                      MAJOR GEORGE R. HOWATT  
MAJOR GLENN C. HAYNES                      MAJOR LLOYD D. ROSS

#### *Captains*

CAPTAIN JAMES C. BONHAM                      CAPTAIN WILLIAM J. TUCKER  
CAPTAIN HOMER DAVIS                      CAPTAIN PAUL I. VAN ORDER  
CAPTAIN CHARLES J. RILEY

#### *First Lieutenants*

1ST LIEUT. JOHN W. BALL                      1ST LIEUT. ROY E. PARDEE  
1ST LIEUT. LÉON BENTZ (Ft.)                      1ST LIEUT. JOHN P. RAGSDALE  
1ST LIEUT. KIRT M. CHAPMAN                      1ST LIEUT. WILLIAM S. WILSON  
1ST LIEUT. GEORGES GERMAIN (Ft.)                      1ST LIEUT. WILLIAM H. WRIGHT

#### *Chaplains*

CHAPLAIN (CAPTAIN) WINFRED E. ROBB  
CHAPLAIN (1ST LIEUT.) ROSCOE C. HATCH  
CHAPLAIN (1ST LIEUT.) HENRY W. STRICKLAND

#### *Interpreters*

\*INTERPRETER AUGUSTE AUZAS                      INTERPRETER POTEAU  
INTERPRETER MONTMARTIN                      INTERPRETER ROTGÉ  
INTERPRETER OGIER

## SANITARY DETACHMENT

- \*† MAJOR HENRY E. BUNCH  
 MAJOR WILBUR S. CONKLING  
 CAPT. ELLSWORTH ARMSTRONG  
 CAPT. THOMAS A. BURCHAM  
 CAPT. WILLIAM P. CRAWFORD  
 CAPT. EDGAR R. EARWOOD  
 CAPT. WILLIAM B. HUDSON  
 CAPT. GLENN H. MCCREIGHT  
 CAPT. ADELBERT H. SUTTON  
 CAPT. JULIUS N. VAN METER  
 1ST LIEUT. WILLIAM S. ARMOUR  
 1ST LIEUT. HARRY N. BOYNE
- \*1ST LIEUT. IRA NELSON CROW  
 1ST LIEUT. GEORGE V. P. DAVIS  
 1ST LIEUT. CHARLES L. DRAIN  
 1ST LIEUT. JAMES E. DRILL  
 1ST LIEUT. EARL B. ERSKINE  
 1ST LIEUT. WILFRED B. FETTERMAN  
 1ST LIEUT. FOREST F. FOSTER  
 1ST LIEUT. DANIEL F. FREDERICKS  
 1ST LIEUT. HARRY P. GILLS
- \*1ST LIEUT. PHILIP P. GREEN  
 1ST LIEUT. WALTER H. HARNISCH  
 1ST LIEUT. ROBIN W. HARRIS  
 1ST LIEUT. CHARLES R. HUBER
- \*1ST LIEUT. EDWIN L. LAWSON  
 \*1ST LIEUT. CHARLES N. O. LEIR  
 1ST LIEUT. PAUL A. OPP  
 1ST LIEUT. ENOCH C. PRICE  
 1ST LIEUT. HORACE REID  
 1ST LIEUT. WILLIAM T. SATCHELL  
 1ST LIEUT. CARL G. SCHWAN  
 1ST LIEUT. LEE E. SHAFER  
 1ST LIEUT. HOWARD L. SMALLMAN  
 1ST LIEUT. GEORGE T. VAN ZANDT  
 1ST LIEUT. CLYDE WAYLAND  
 1ST LIEUT. WILLIAM E. WHITE
- \*\*1ST LIEUT. FRANK L. WILLIAMS  
 \*ASCHAN, CARL W., PVT.  
 \*\*BEVANS, JACK H., PVT.  
 \*\*BONGERS, LEO V., PVT.
- BOYLE, TERRENCE C., PVT.  
 BROWN, JOHN H., PVT.  
 BURKE, JOHN, SGT.  
 BYERS, CHARLIE H., PVT.  
 CHAPMAN, ALBERT D., PVT.  
 \*COLEMAN, CLYDE W., PVT.  
 COLVIN, FRANK F., PVT.  
 COMBS, GERALD E., PVT.  
 \*DAWSON, ORIE V., PVT.  
 DECKER, ALBERT C., PVT.  
 DUDLEY, ALBERT R., PVT.  
 \*DUNAGAN, THOMAS A., PVT.  
 \*DUNKLE, DAVID H., PVT.  
 DYE, LEO A., SGT. 1ST CL.  
 ERVIN, ELLIS W., PVT.  
 FINCH, WILLIAM M., PVT.  
 \*FOX, WILLIAM R., SGT.  
 \*\*GALLAGHER, THOMAS L., PVT.  
 GALLIGER, ROY L., PVT.  
 GARRETT, ORVILLE M., PVT.  
 \*GATCHELL, HAROLD E., PVT.  
 \*GROVES, HERBERT D., SGT.  
 \*GROVES, PAUL T., PVT.  
 GUTSHALL, FRED W., PVT.  
 \*HALTER, FREDERICK H., PVT.  
 \*HASKINS, HARVEY R., PVT.  
 \*HUFFAKER, IRVEN H., PVT.  
 JENNINGS, WILLIAM R., SGT.  
 KENNEY, CHARLES J., SGT.  
 KING, HARRY C., PVT.  
 LAWHORN, WILLIAM C., PVT.  
 LEUTENEGGER, WILLIAM F., PVT.  
 MCALLISTER, R. LESTER, PVT.  
 MCATEE, GLENN D., PVT.  
 MCCARTHY, JOHN V., PVT.  
 MCCOLL, CHARLES D., PVT.  
 MCCOMBIE, HARRY E., SGT.  
 McLAREN, ROBERT L., SGT.  
 MACKIN, CHARLES A., PVT.  
 MAGEE, ELMO, PVT.  
 MAGEE, HAROLD, PVT.

- \*MARTIN, JACKSON S., PVT.  
 \*METZGER, THEODORE M., SGT.  
 \*MORIN, ALVIN, PVT.  
 MYERS, RALPH, PVT.  
 NEILSON, ALBERT, PVT.  
 NICHOLS, CLAY B., PVT.  
 O'CONNELL, DAN J., PVT.  
 \*OVERTURFF, VANE B., SGT. 1ST CL.  
 \*PETERSON, GEORGE M., PVT.  
 RAMSEY, FRED W., PVT.  
 REILEY, OLIVER S., PVT.  
 REYNA, ALFONSO, PVT.  
 RHODES, EARL H., PVT.  
 RODIER, HAROLD B., PVT.  
 SCHLABB, CLARENCE H., PVT.  
 SHELTON, HERBERT P., PVT.  
 SHUFELT, HUBERT C., PVT.  
 \*SMITH, CLYDE N., PVT.  
 SMITH, ROBERT E., PVT.  
 †SPEARS, ELMER, PVT.  
 STEWART, LAWRENCE O., PVT.  
 STEWART, WILLIAM L., PVT.  
 †STROMEYER, MERLE, PVT.  
 \*STROTZ, ROY R., PVT.  
 \*TAYLOR, HARLEY W., PVT.  
 THAYER, HAROLD R., PVT.  
 \*TINKER, WINTHROP F., PVT.  
 †TRUAX, GEORGE E., PVT.  
 VAN DEN BERG, GERRIT H., PVT.  
 VAN EPPS, JAMES, SGT.  
 VORWICK, WILLIAM S., PVT.  
 WAGNER, HARRY A., PVT.  
 WALKER, E. CARLYLE, PVT.  
 WARNER, MERLE F., PVT.  
 †WILLCOX, ST. CLAIR, PVT.  
 WILLIAMS, SAMUEL C., PVT.  
 WILLIS, LONZIN E., PVT.  
 WILSON, CLIFFORD, PVT.  
 WILSON, JAMES ALLEN, PVT.  
 WILSON, JOHN L., PVT.  
 WILSON, MARSHALL T., PVT.  
 WOLF, RALPH S., PVT.  
 YENGER, FLOYD J., PVT.  
 YOUNG, GERALD C., PVT.

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 1ST LIEUT. RAYFORD E. BARLOW  
 1ST LIEUT. KIRT M. CHAPMAN  
 1ST LIEUT. ROY B. GAULT  
 \*1ST LIEUT. SPENCER A. HOWELL  
 1ST LIEUT. JOHN HUTCHINS  
 \*1ST LIEUT. HENRY A. PETERSEN  
 1ST LIEUT. HAROLD A. PRINCE  
 1ST LIEUT. JOHN P. RAGSDALE  
 1ST LIEUT. WILLIAM N. RICHARD  
 1ST LIEUT. JAMES E. THOMAS  
 \*1ST LIEUT. EDWARD D. WELLS  
 1ST LIEUT. WILLIAM S. WILSON  
 1ST LIEUT. WILLIAM H. WRIGHT  
 2ND LIEUT. PRYOR D. BATES  
 2ND LIEUT. HOWARD B. BRIGGS  
 2ND LIEUT. CHARLES A. FRASER  
 2ND LIEUT. RICHARD R. GRANT  
 2ND LIEUT. JULIUS L. LONDON  
 2ND LIEUT. AMORY S. MILLER  
 2ND LIEUT. WILLIAM MURPHY  
 \*2ND LIEUT. M. GORDON NEALE  
 2ND LIEUT. ROY E. PARDEE  
 2ND LIEUT. JAMES W. STIGGLEMAN  
 2ND LIEUT. MARION R. THOMAS  
 ABMA, HARRY, PVT.  
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 \*ALBERT, JAMES F., PVT.  
 ALBRIGHT, ELMER J., PVT.  
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 ALLEN, CLEO D., PVT.

- ALLEN, CLIFFORD C., PVT.  
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 ALTMAN, HARLAN C., PVT.  
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 \*ANDERSON, ELMORE D., PVT.  
 ANDERSON, RALPH O., CPL.  
 ANDERSON, ROYAL W., CPL.  
 ANDERSON, SIGURD O., PVT.  
 ANDERSON, WARREN W., SUP. SGT.  
 ANEWEER, JERRY D., CPL.  
 ANGLETON, EARL L., PVT.  
 APPUHN, ALBERT, PVT.  
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 ASHER, HAROLD J., PVT.  
 ATKINS, FLOYD L., CPL.  
 ATTEBERRY, THOMAS D., PVT.  
 ATWOOD, IVAN B., CPL.  
 AUSTIN, GARLAND, PVT.  
 AVERY, ELMER L., PVT.  
 AVEY, FAWN M., PVT.  
 BAILEY, HAROLD S., PVT.  
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 BARGER, HERBERT C., MUS.  
 BARKER, MERWYN E., PVT.  
 BARTELL, ALBERT R., SGT.  
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 BECK, LONNIE M., PVT.  
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 BENGEL, JOSEPH B., SGT. BUGLER  
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 BEVERIDGE, JAMES A., CPL.  
 BLAKE, VERNON M., CPL.  
 \*BLANK, OTIS P., CPL.  
 \*BOLAND, LAWRENCE E., PVT.  
 BOLSTAD, JOHANNES M., SGT.  
 \*BONNEVILLE, LORENZ N., PVT.  
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 BOTTS, HOWARD, MUS.  
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 \*BOYLE, MELVIN E., PVT.  
 BRADEN, FRED, PVT.  
 BRAMBLE, EDWARD, PVT.  
 BRAMHALL, CLONNIE G., PVT.  
 BRANIFF, PAUL T., PVT.  
 BREHM, CARL T., PVT.  
 BREWER, GRAHAM, PVT.  
 BRIGHT, ARTHUR J., PVT.  
 BRILLHARDT, CLIFFORD H., MUS.  
 BRISSEY, LEE R., MUS.  
 BROOKS, HARRY J., PVT.  
 \*BROOKS, LAWRENCE E., PVT.  
 BROWN, CARL C., MUS.  
 BROWN, HARRY H., CPL.  
 BROWN, HORACE A., CPL.  
 BROWN, JOHN A., PVT.  
 BROWN, JOHN W., PVT.  
 \*BROWNING, ARTIE J., PVT.  
 BROWNSON, JESSE S., PVT.  
 BUHRER, ARCHIE, PVT.  
 BURDICK, WILLIAM H., PVT.  
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 CAINE, THOMAS L., PVT.  
 CALDWELL, ALLEN H., PVT.  
 CAREY, JERRY D., PVT.  
 CARLIN, THOMAS A., 1ST SGT.  
 CASKEY, WILLIAM E., PVT.  
 CATARACK, JAMES H., PVT.  
 CHANDLER, M. W., PVT.  
 CHANEY, EDWIN L., CPL.  
 CHAPLIN, RICHARD, PVT.  
 CHERRY, JOSEPH E., 1ST SGT.  
 CHESTER, JAMES L., PVT.  
 CHRISTIANS, URBAN W., CPL.  
 CLAPPER, GEORGE W., CPL.

- CLARK, ERNEST E., PVT.  
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 COCKLE, LAWRENCE, PVT.  
 COKER, CHARLES E., PVT.  
 \*\*COLCHETHES, GEORGE, PVT.  
 COLLINS, GROVER, PVT.  
 COLLMAN, HARRY, SGT.  
 CONAWAY, *EARL T.*, CPL.  
 CONLISE, JAKE J., SGT.  
 CONWAY, JOHN J., PVT.  
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 CORRIGAN, DEE E., PVT.  
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 \*COX, JAMES, PVT.  
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 CRIPPEN, CHARLES N.  
 CRONK, SEYMOUR H., SGT.  
 CROOK, HARRY E., PVT.  
 CROOK, WILLIAM C., PVT.  
 CROSSER, MARION T., CPL.  
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 DANKWARDT, ARTHUR L., BUGLER  
 DAVIES, STANLEY G., PVT.  
 DAWSON, HERMAN C., PVT.  
 \*DEGRAFF, ANDREW, PVT.  
 DENNIS, CHARLES W., PVT.  
 DENNIS, ORVAL L., CPL.  
 DENTON, JOSEPH, CPL.  
 DETTMAR, FRED C., PVT.  
 DIXON, PAUL R., CPL.  
 DODDS, EDWIN C., CPL.  
 DOLAN, URGELLE J., CPL.  
 DOUGLAS, FRANK P., PVT.  
 \*DOUMA, HARRY D., PVT.  
 \*DOWD, PETER J., PVT.  
 DOWNING, JAMES H., SGT.  
 DRAKE, FRED E., PVT.  
 DRAPER, JAMES S., PVT.  
 DRILLING, EDWARD F., MUS.  
 DUBBIN, JULIUS C., PVT.  
 DUNCAN, MAX B., PVT.  
 DUTTON, CHAUNCEY B., PVT.  
 DVORAK, BENJAMIN P., PVT.  
 EADS, MERCER C., PVT.  
 EANS, JIM, PVT.  
 ECKEL, CLAUDE O., PVT.  
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 EDDY, REED B., PVT.  
 EDENS, CHARLES W., PVT.  
 \*EDWARDS, ALFRED L., PVT.  
 EDWARDS, ELIAS E., PVT.  
 EDWARDS, FRANK, PVT.  
 EGGSPUEHLER, FLORIAN R., SGT.  
 \*EIKE, LAWRENCE A., BAND CPL.  
 ELLIOTT, ANTON E., REGT. SGT. MAJ.  
 EMMONS, CLARENCE F., PVT.  
 ENGEL, WILLIAM, PVT.  
 ERICKSON, EDWARD, WAG.  
 ERICSON, HARRY J., SGT.  
 ERIE, BEN, PVT.  
 ERIE, LOUIS J., PVT.  
 ERWIN, BERLE E., PVT.  
 EVANS, CHARLES A., SGT.  
 EVANS, OSCAR N., PVT.  
*EVANS, THOMAS R.*, CPL.  
 EVERY, HOWARD, PVT.  
*EWIN, ALBERT V.*, CPL.  
 EWIN, CHARLES E., CPL.  
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 FAULCONER, GUY S., PVT.  
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 FETTEROLF, HOMER W., PVT.  
 \*FIELD, THOMAS A., CPL.  
 FIFE, ORVILLE G., PVT.  
 FLATEN, ARTHUR V., SGT.  
 FOCHT, JOE L., PVT.  
 FORDYCE, BASIL S., CPL.  
 FOSTER, JOE, PVT.  
 FOSTER, WILLIAM C., PVT.

- FOX, ROY, PVT.  
 FRANENFELDER, WALTER C., PVT.  
 FRENCH, FLOYD E., PVT.  
 \*FREUTEL, HERBERT W., CPL.  
 FREY, WAYNE B., PVT.  
 \*\*FUQUA, OWEN F., PVT.  
 GALLIGER, ROY L., PVT.  
 GARDNER, DEWEY G., PVT.  
 \*GARDNER, LEO W., SGT.  
 GAREY, CHARLES G., PVT.  
 GATTON, GEORGE W., PVT.  
 GEBBIE, WILBUR K., BAND CPL.  
 GELDMEISTER, HARRY, PVT.  
 GENTRY, EARL J., MUS.  
 GERBER, PHIL C., SGT.  
 GEYER, PAUL R., CPL.  
 GIBSON, NOLAN I., PVT.  
 GIBSON, ROY E., PVT.  
 GILBERT, ERNEST P., PVT.  
 GILBERT, FLOYD L., CPL.  
 GILLILAND, JOSEPH R., PVT.  
 GILMORE, REGINALD E., CPL.  
 GLESSMAN, HENRY E., MUS.  
 GODDARD, CHARLES V., PVT.  
 GOLDBERG, MICHAEL R., PVT.  
 GOODMAN, SAMUEL C., PVT.  
 \*GOODWIN, ROY M., CPL.  
 \*GRANERE, ANDREW C., PVT.  
 GRANQUIST, ERNEST A., MUS.  
 GRAVES, ARTHUR D., PVT.  
 GREASER, HARRY, PVT.  
 GREENWAY, EDWARD R., CPL.  
 GREGG, DENT B., SGT.  
 GREULACH, WILLIAM J., PVT.  
 GIBBON, CHARLES E., PVT.  
 GRIFFITH, EVERETT M., BAND CPL.  
 GRIGG, PERRY M., MUS.  
 GROAT, WILLIAM, PVT.  
 GROTEFELD, JOHN H., CPL.  
 GUSTAD, JULIUS, SGT.  
 HAAGENSEN, LELAND C., MUS.  
 \*HAFFLINGER, PETER P., PVT.  
 HALEY, ANDREW C., PVT.  
 HALL, CLARENCE E., PVT.  
 HALL, WILL E., JR., PVT.  
 \*HAMMER, CHARLES P., PVT.  
 HAMPTON, CARL W., PVT.  
 HANCOCK, FRANK P., PVT.  
 HANGER, EMORY C., PVT.  
 HANSEN, JENS A., COOK  
 HANSON, HENRY O., CPL.  
 HARDIE, WILL D., PVT.  
 HARDING, JOHN J., PVT.  
 HARDMAN, BERT W., PVT.  
 HARRISON, LESTER H., PVT.  
 HARRY, SID, PVT.  
 HARTLEY, LAWRENCE E., PVT.  
 HARTMAN, ALTON C., PVT.  
 HARTRUM, WALTER H., SADDLER  
 HARTWIG, RALPH H., MUS.  
 HARTY, CLYDE, SGT.  
 HARTZELL, CHESTER R., COL. SGT.  
 \*HARVEY, FLOYD, PVT.  
 HARVEY, RAY, SGT.  
 HARVEY, VIVIAN A., SGT.  
 HAXBY, JOHN W., JR., PVT.  
 HEINS, WILLIAM W., PVT.  
 \*HEMMERT, JOHN L., PVT.  
 HENNAGIR, CLARENCE D., PVT.  
 HERRON, ERNEST L., PVT.  
 HILL, ALVA D., CPL.  
 HILL, MERLIN I., PVT.  
 HINKLE, CLARENCE R., PVT.  
 \*HOAG, LEE E., PVT.  
 HOFF, JOHN, PVT.  
 HOFFMAN, MERLAND R., PVT.  
 HOFFMAN, REINHOLD L., PVT.  
 HOFFMAN, ROY A., BAND SGT.  
 HOKE, ELMER, PVT.  
 \*HOLDEN, HAROLD K., SGT.  
 HOLLAND, FRANK, PVT.  
 HOLLISTER, LOREN O., PVT.  
 HOLMES, HARRY E., CPL.  
 HOMER, HARRY C., MUS.

- HOPES, EDWARD J., PVT.  
 HOPES, OSCAR H., PVT.  
 HOPPER, SIDNEY E., CPL.  
 \*HORN, WILLIAM C., MECH.  
 HOSCHLER, ALBERT E., PVT.  
 \*\*HOULTON, FAY H., PVT.  
 HOUSEAL, HILTON, PVT.  
 HUDSON, JAMES G., PVT.  
 HUEY, PRESTON D., CPL.  
 HUGHES, HOWARD H., MESS SGT.  
 HUGHES, WILLIAM A., M. S. E.  
 \*HULL, GEORGE H., PVT.  
 HULL, WALTER E., PVT.  
 HUNTER, KENNETH P., MUS.  
 HUTCHCRAFT, RICHARD T., PVT.  
 HUXTABLE, WAYNE E., PVT.  
 HYDE, VINCENT H., CPL.  
 JANSMA, ANDREW, SGT.  
 \*JANSSEN, ULRICH, PVT.  
 \*JOCHUMSEN, TONY, PVT.  
 JOHANNSEN, FREDERICK P., SGT.  
 JOHNS, EDWARD A., PVT.  
 JOHNSON, CARL I., PVT.  
 \*\*JOHNSON, CLARENCE R., CPL.  
 JOHNSON, JOHN W., PVT.  
 JOHNSON, MERLE D., SGT.  
 JOHNSON, ORVILLE L., PVT.  
 JOHNSON, OSCAR F., PVT.  
 JOHNSON, RAY H., SGT.  
 JOHNSTON, ARNOLD J., PVT.  
 JOHNSTON, CLIFFORD J., CPL.  
 JONES, GLENN, PVT.  
 KANNAPEL, CLARENCE A., COOK  
 KAPS, JOHN W., PVT.  
 KARLOCK, STEPHEN F., PVT.  
 KATHMAN, RAY J., PVT.  
 KELLER, MELVIN G., PVT.  
 KELLY, FRED A., CPL.  
 KELLY, JAMES R., PVT.  
 KERR, WILFRED W., MUS.  
 KERSEY, CLARENCE E., PVT.  
 KILLION, CLARENCE R., PVT.  
 KING, EBER L., PVT.  
 \*KING, PATRICK E., SGT.  
 KING, WILLIAM J., PVT.  
 KINNEY, EARL, WAG.  
 KINSINGER, RALPH C., MUS.  
 KLEBER, LEO S., CPL.  
 KLINGENSMITH, REX C., PVT.  
 KNOWLES, RODGER C., SGT.  
 KOEBRICK, LOUIS E., PVT.  
 KOETHE, PRICE, PVT.  
 KOBITZKY, PHILIP N., SGT.  
 \*KRAMER, ARTHUR L., COOK  
 KRAMER, OLAF, PVT.  
 KRINGEL, CARL S., BN. SGT. MAJ.  
 KUHEN, FRANK, PVT.  
 KUHN, KENNETH, PVT.  
 KUYPER, HENRY E., MUS.  
 LAGO, LEON C., PVT.  
 LAINSON, CLARENCE, PVT.  
 LAMAN, JOE G., PVT.  
 LANCASTER, BEN, PVT.  
 LARROCA, JOSEPH J., PVT.  
 LARSON, THOMAS D., PVT.  
 LARSON, WILLIAM O., PVT.  
 LA SEUR, GERALD B., REGT. SGT. MAJ.  
 LA VINE, ERNEST M., PVT.  
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 LAWRENCE, HARRY, PVT.  
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 \*SMITHSON, CARL E., PVT.  
 SNELL, FLOYD A., PVT.  
 \*SPEAR, WILLIAM B., PVT.  
 STAVES, FRANK L., SGT.  
 \*STEFFA, JOHN P., PVT.  
 STIVERS, LEON, CPL.  
 \*STRAYER, ADRIAN L., PVT.  
 \*SUTHERLAND, CHESTER, PVT.  
 \*SZUCS, JANOS, PVT.  
 \*TAFLINGER, LAWRENCE, PVT.  
 TAGLES, CALISTRO C., PVT.  
 \*TAYLOR, CECIL G., PVT.  
 \*THOMPSON, JAMES G., PVT.  
 THOMPSON, LEVERE O., PVT.  
 \*THOMPSON, LYTLE, PVT.  
 \*TULK, LEONARD E., PVT.  
 TYRELL, WALTER J., PVT.  
 UNANGST, STERLING J., PVT.  
 VANICEK, LOWEY J., PVT.  
 VOSS, EDWARD J., PVT.  
 WALKER, EDWIN M., 1ST SGT.  
 \*WALKER, WALTER E., PVT.  
 †WALSH, EDWARD J., PVT.  
 \*WEARDA, EDWARD, PVT.  
 \*\*WEBSTER, FRANCIS H., CPL.  
 WELLING, WILLIAM M., PVT.  
 \*WELLS, ALBERT C., CPL.  
 \*WERTZ, HARVEY W., SUP. SGT.  
 WESTPHAL, HENRY, PVT.  
 WHALEN, DAVE, SGT.  
 WHALEY, CLYDE O., CPL.  
 \*\*WHITE, RALPH, PVT.  
 WINTERS, ROBERT I., PVT.  
 \*WITHERSPOON, EDMOND P., PVT.  
 WOOD, RALPH E., PVT.  
 WORKMAN, EDGAR E., PVT.  
 WRIGHT, HUME, 1ST SGT.  
 \*ZAVER, JOHN, JR., PVT.  
 ZAWOL, JOHN, PVT.

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 1ST LIEUT. WILLIAM T. MURPHY  
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 1ST LIEUT. THOMAS L. QUINN  
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 1ST LIEUT. JOHN M. STOVALL  
 1ST LIEUT. W. S. WILSON  
 2ND LIEUT. FRANK J. AGNEW  
 2ND LIEUT. DEAN CHIVINGTON  
 2ND LIEUT. WALTER DEBANKE  
 2ND LIEUT. GEORGE R. GRANT  
 2ND LIEUT. WILFORD JOHNSON  
 ANDERSON, CLARENCE A., CPL.  
 ANGUS, LUVERNE, WAG.  
 ARBUCKLE, LEON, PVT.  
 \*ARTHUR, CARL E., WAG.

BAGER, ERIC L., WAG.  
\*BAILEY, EVERETT R., WAG.  
\*BAILEY, LOREN E., WAG.  
BAKER, KENNETH V., SGT.  
BAKER, MARTIN, WAG.  
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BAUMER, JOSEPH, PVT.  
BEADLE, CECIL C., WAG.  
BEAMIS, JOHN, WAG.  
BEAN, EDWARD G., WAG.  
BENSON, OSCAR R., WAG.  
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BERLIN, FREDRICK A., WAG.  
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BIRD, HENRY R., WAG.  
BLAN, RAY W., WAG.  
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BOWMAN, ELMER, WAG.  
BOWSER, JESSE L., WAG.  
BROCKMAN, HERMAN C., WAG.  
BROWN, LUTHER V., PVT.  
BURCH, VALDA C., PVT.  
BURGER, JAMES R., WAG.  
BURKE, RAYMOND L., PVT.  
BURTON, HAROLD J., PVT.  
BUTCHER, WILLIAM H., WAG.  
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CARPENTER, LYLE B., WAG.  
\*CASSIDY, RAY, WAG.  
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CLARK, HOMER, WAG.  
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COLLMAN, HARRY, PVT.  
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CURRAN, WILLIAM F., WAG.  
DANIELS, RAY, PVT.  
DARLAND, CHARLES E., WAG.  
DAVIS, DALL E., PVT.  
DAWSON, LAWRENCE G., SUP. SGT.  
DEAN, PEARL E., COOK  
DENNY, RALPH H., WAG.  
DES FORGES, WALTER C., PVT.  
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DLUSKI, FRANK, WAG.  
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ERICKSON, EDWARD, WAG.  
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ETHINGTON, HOWARD E., SADDLER  
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GARDNER, ARTHUR J., PVT.  
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GILLETT, WILLIAM, WAG.  
GILLIGAN, CLARENCE J., WAG.  
GLADFELTER, ROY A., WAG.  
GLINES, JOHN A., PVT.  
GOBLE, LEWIS H., WAG.  
GOODMAN, SAMUEL C., PVT.  
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GRAVITT, GLEN O., WAG.



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 GRIFFEN, BYRON, WAG.  
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 HALEY, ANDREW C., PVT.  
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 HANSEN, CARL T., HORSESHOER  
 HANSEN, SELMER, WAG.  
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 HARTMAN, CLARENCE H., SGT.  
 HARTRUM, WALTER H., SADDLER  
 HASTINGS, RAY, PVT.  
 HATTEN, ARTHUR M., PVT.  
 HAUSER, RALPH H., WAG.  
 HAVARD, JOSEPH L., PVT.  
 HEALEY, EDWARD L., 1ST SGT.  
 HEDRICK, GIBSON, WAG.  
 HEERON, BERNARD A., WAG.  
 HELMER, CLAUDE, WAG.  
 HEMMER, FLORENZ M., PVT.  
 HEMMERT, JOHN L., PVT.  
 HENDRIX, LESTER C., PVT.  
 HEWITT, HOWARD E., COOK  
 HICKS, HARRY E., WAG.  
 HILL, EARL A., WAG.  
 HIXENBAUGH, JOSEPH A., PVT.  
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 HOLLINGSWORTH, GIBSON, STABLE SGT.  
 \*HOLMES, CLARK D., WAG.  
 \*HOOP, RAY V., COOK  
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 HOWELL, WESLEY C., WAG.  
 INNMANN, JOSEPH, WAG.  
 JACKSON, WILLIAM A., WAG.  
 JACOBSON, CARL T., WAG.  
 JAQUES, WESLEY C., WAG.  
 JENSEN, GUDMUN, PVT.  
 JENSEN, WILLIARD, WAG.  
 JOHANNSEN, LEO W., WAG.  
 \*JOHNSON, CLIFFORD, WAG.  
 JOHNSON, GEORGE, WAG.  
 JONES, LEE, WAG.  
 KANNOLT, HAROLD B., WAG.  
 KARIVIS, PETER, PVT.  
 \*KAUS, HENRY V., COOK  
 KEHM, LOUIS F., SGT.  
 KEHM, RONALD C., PVT.  
 KINGMAN, LEMONT R., COOK  
 KLAPPROTT, OSCAR L., PVT.  
 KLINKHAMMER, HERMAN J., WAG.  
 KOENIG, PETER F., SGT.  
 KOWALSKI, JOSEPH B., PVT.  
 KREIS, PETER, PVT.  
 KROMER, CLARENCE S., COOK  
 LAMAN, JOSEPH G., PVT.  
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 LARSON, EMANUEL, WAG.  
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 LITZ, CLIFFORD L., WAG.  
 LOUDEN, ALVIN L., PVT.  
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 LOWENSTINE, HERBERT, PVT.  
 LUCKENBAUGH, PAUL, PVT.  
 LUKAN, JOHN, JR., MECH.  
 MCCABE, JOHN T., CPL.  
 MCCAIN, ERNEST E., WAG.  
 McDONALD, LEROY, MESS SGT.  
 MCKENZIE, JAMES, PVT.  
 MABRY, GLENN, WAG. .  
 MADDEN, THOMAS J., PVT.  
 MAGNELLI, AMEDE, PVT.  
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 MANION, MARTIN M., WAG.  
 MARINO, GAUDENCIO, PVT.  
 MARRANZINI, ALEXANDER N., PVT.  
 MASEAR, CLAUDE J., WAG.  
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 MAYNE, CHESTER E., WAG.  
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 MILAUSKI, ANTHONY, PVT.  
 MILLER, GEORGE, WAG.  
 MILLER, HENRY, PVT.

MILLER, RAYMOND, WAG.  
 MILOBEY, NICHOLAS, PVT.  
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 MOORE, JESSE, WAG.  
 MOREHOUSE, IRA P., MECH.  
 \*MORELAND, EDWARD, PVT.  
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 MORGAN, CLARENCE, PVT.  
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 MULICA, DONALD R., WAG.  
 MURPHY, RICHARD F., WAG.  
 MUSGROVE, GROVER L., WAG.  
 MYERS, HERNIE, WAG.  
 NEWTON, BROWNIE R., COOK  
 NICHOLS, JAMES W., WAG.  
 NICKERSON, PAUL E., SGT.  
 NOLTON, BYRD J., WAG.  
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 OMUNDSON, OMER, WAG.  
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 PETIT, HOMER G., REGT. SUP. SGT.  
 PETRUELLI, MICHAEL, PVT.  
 PHILLIPS, JAMES W., PVT.  
 PONTOW, HARRY F., 1ST SGT.  
 PRESTON, RICHARD A., MECH.  
 PROUSE, EARL J., WAG.  
 PURVIS, HENRY, HORSESHOER  
 QUICK, WALTER, WAG.  
 QUIRK, CLARENCE W., WAG.  
 REGENFUSZ, FRANK, PVT.  
 REUTER, LAWRENCE J., WAG.  
 REYNOLDS, REUBEN H., WAG.  
 RIFEN, BEN E., WAG.  
 RISSE, JOHN E., REGT. SUP. SGT.  
 ROBERTS, LEO J., SGT.  
 ROWAN, MICHAEL J., WAG.  
 ROWLEY, KENNETH R., SGT. OF ORD.  
 RUBEL, ELBERT A., WAG.  
 RUHF, WILLIAM A., PVT.  
 RUSCH, PAUL E., WAG.  
 SCHWARTZ, IRA P., WAG.  
 SCOTT, BERTIE G., PVT.  
 SEVERSON, SANFORD A., WAG.  
 SHACKELFORD, OSCAR, PVT.  
 SHIELDS, HARRY, WAG.  
 SHINN, ARTHUR M., WAG.  
 SIGMUND, JOSEPH, MECH.  
 SINGLEY, CHARLES G., PVT.  
 \*SIVERLY, HARRY L., PVT.  
 SMITH, ROY T., CPL.  
 SMITH, SAM, WAG.  
 SONNICHSEN, SIBBERN, MECH.  
 SPARE, DONALD D., MESS SGT.  
 SPATES, FRED, WAG.  
 STAFFORD, ROY, WAG.  
 STALEY, SAMUEL S., MECH.  
 STEENHOEK, WILLIAM H., WAG.  
 STEVENSON, ROBERT, PVT.  
 STREETER, CLARENCE, WAG.  
 STURGEON, JOHN, PVT.  
 SWEENEY, TIMOTHY, PVT.  
 SWENSON, FRED S., REGT. SUP. SGT.  
 TAGESON, JOHN P., MECH.  
 THOMPSON, HENRY, HORSESHOER  
 TRUSTY, WARD V., WAG.  
 TURNER, JOE W., SGT.  
 USHER, FRED D., WAG.  
 \*VAN AUSDALL, MERWYN, WAG.  
 VANCE, JUSTON, PVT.  
 VAN DORPPE, JOHN, PVT.  
 VAUGHN, ED A., PVT.  
 WAINSCOTT, JESSE, PVT.  
 \*WALLACE, CLARENCE, PVT.  
 WALTERS, FRANCIS M., CPL.  
 WEATHERS, THOMAS, WAG.  
 WEIL, CHRIS, COOK

WELLS, PHILIP D., WAG.	WIMBERLEY, FRED G., HORSESHOER
WERNER, EDGAR C., WAG.	WOOD, WALTER L., PVT.
WHITEHEAD, ROBERT, PVT.	WORK, MARLOWE, PVT.
WICKEY, JOSEPH M., PVT.	WRIGHT, MAURICE M., PVT.
WILLIAMSON, VESTO D., PVT.	YADEN, TONY, WAG.
WILLINGHAM, GILBERT, WAG.	YURTH, MARTIN, WAG.
*WILT, JOHN E., HORSESHOER	

## FIRST BATTALION HEADQUARTERS

LIEUT. COL. MATHEW A. TINLEY	1ST LIEUT. LAURENCE I. NEALE
MAJOR LLOYD D. ROSS	1ST LIEUT. WILBERT L. SMITH
MAJOR EMORY C. WORTHINGTON	1ST LIEUT. CHARLES TILLOTSON
CAPTAIN CHARLES W. AIKINS	1ST LIEUT. RAYMOND TURNER
*1ST LIEUT. DONALD S. MACKAY	1ST LIEUT. THOMAS L. WOOD

## COMPANY A

*CAPT. CHARLES W. AIKINS	AIKINS, PETE, PVT.
CAPT. CHARLES O. BRIGGS	ALBERTY, EVERETT R., PVT.
CAPT. THOMAS L. WOOD	*ALDERSON, AUGUSTUS M., PVT.
1ST LIEUT. SAMUEL L. ALMBIN	ALTON, HENRY E., CPL.
***1ST LIEUT. ROBERT BLY	ANGIELLO, PASQUALE, PVT.
*1ST LIEUT. CLAUD A. BORLAND	ANDERSON, CHARLES H., PVT.
**1ST LIEUT. JAMES E. BRESLIN	ANIOL, MARION, PVT.
1ST LIEUT. CLARENCE R. GREEN	*ANIOL, THEODORE, PVT.
1ST LIEUT. EMORY S. IRWIN	ANTRAM, FRED, COOK
1ST LIEUT. REGINALD D. LEACH	**ARGENBRIGHT, CHARLES E., PVT.
*1ST LIEUT. AMORY A. MILLER	*ARNOT, CHARLES B., SGT.
1ST LIEUT. LAURANCE I. NEALE	AUSTIN, EDWARD, PVT.
1ST LIEUT. CHARLES J. RILEY	AUSTIN, WILLIAM S., PVT.
*1ST LIEUT. HOWARD G. SMITH	BAKEN, CLAUDE, PVT.
*2ND LIEUT. EDWARD J. BARRETT	BAKER, OSCAR A., PVT.
2ND LIEUT. HELMER GREGGERSON	BAKER, WILLIAM S., PVT.
**2ND LIEUT. HOWARD L. MCCALL	BALLARD, LLOYD R., SGT.
2ND. LIEUT. ARCHIE D. MCGEE	*BANKSON, DAVID M., PVT.
*2ND LIEUT. HERBERT W. MANNERING	BARKEY, HERMAN J., PVT.
2ND LIEUT. ROBERT E. MOHN	*BARLOW, ROYAL R., PVT.
2ND LIEUT. JOHN K. SAWYER	BARNETT, HERBERT F., PVT.
*2ND LIEUT. WILLIAM E. SEVERE	BEASLEY, WILLIAM, PVT.
2ND LIEUT. CARLISLE D. WURSTER	BEAVES, GEORGE I., CPL.
ACKELSON, EARL F., PVT.	BENGE, HAROLD W., PVT.
*ACKELSON, VERNON E., CPL.	**BENHAM, FRANK C., CPL.
*ADAMS, OREN O., PVT.	**BERRY, LYLE, PVT.
**ADAMS, THEODORE, PVT.	BEVERSDORF, CARL B., PVT.
	BITTING, FRED E., CPL.

- \*BOMAR, SHELBY C., PVT.  
 \*BOOTS, BERT I., MECH.  
 \*BOOTS, WILLIAM M., CPL.  
 BOTTS, HOWARD, PVT.  
 \*BOWEN, GERALD A., PVT.  
 \*\*BOWER, CHARLES F., CPL.  
 \*BOWER, KIMMIE S., PVT.  
 \*\*BOWMAN, JOHN, PVT.  
 BOYD, ELMER H., PVT.  
 \*BRASWELL, ROSKER R., PVT.  
 \*\*BREEDING, ROBERT A., SGT.  
 \*\*BRIDGES, JOHN L., PVT.  
 BROCK, RAYMOND O., SGT.  
 \*BROCKETT, LORAN E., PVT.  
 \*BROOKINS, EDWARD L., PVT.  
 BROOKS, JOHN W., PVT.  
 \*BROWN, AUBREY S., MECH.  
 BROWN, MARION, PVT.  
 BROWN, OVID C., SGT.  
 \*BRYANT, PARRISH L., PVT.  
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 BUGHER, LESTER L., CPL.  
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 \*BURKE, JAMES J., PVT.  
 \*BUSH, EDWARD, PVT.  
 \*BYRD, HOWARD, PVT.  
 \*CAHILL, RICHARD S., PVT.  
 CAIN, WILLIE B., COOK  
 \*CAISON, JOHN H., PVT.  
 CAMERON, JOHN H., PVT.  
 CASE, WILLIAM J., CPL.  
 \*CASPARY, JOSEPH, PVT.  
 \*\*CAULDER, JOHN, PVT.  
 \*CHAMBLISS, ALBERT, PVT.  
 \*CHAPMAN, ANDREW J., PVT.  
 \*CHEEVER, ROY E., PVT.  
 CHRISTENSEN, HENRY W., OPL.  
 \*CLIFFORD, WILLIAM J., PVT.  
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 \*COLLINS, RICHARD, PVT.  
 \*CONNIT, ARTHUR, PVT.  
 CONNOLLY, JAMES F., PVT.  
 \*CONNOLLY, JOSEPH P., PVT.  
 CONSTANTINO, ALEXANDER, PVT.  
 COOK, ED, PVT.  
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 \*CRAWFORD, LYNN L., OPL.  
 CREASEY, EVERETT O., PVT.  
 \*\*CREGER, ARTHUR D., SGT.  
 \*CREGER, FONDA W., PVT.  
 CROFT, BRUCE O., PVT.  
 \*CROSSLEY, ALVIN, PVT.  
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 \*CULVER, JACKSON, PVT.  
 CUZICK, WILLIAM E., PVT.  
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 \*DAMERON, WILLIAM A., PVT.  
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 \*DANIELSON, OSBORNE, PVT.  
 DANIELS, LOUIS, PVT.  
 \*DARLING, WILLIAM P., PVT.  
 DAVIS, ARTHUR J., PVT.  
 \*\*DAVIS, DALL E., PVT.  
 DAVIS, EVERETT O., COOK  
 \*DAVIS, FOSS, SGT.  
 DAVIS, FRED N., BUGLER  
 \*DAVIS, JAMES R., PVT.  
 \*DAVIS, THOMAS A., PVT.  
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 DELANEY, LESTER L., CPL.  
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 DICE, HERBERT J., PVT.  
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 \*DICKERSON, WILBUR A., PVT.  
 \*DI LUCCA, LOUIS, PVT.  
 \*DI RESTA, SAVERIO, PVT.

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 \*DOMINICO, JOHN, PVT.  
 DONIHUE, LESTER A., PVT.  
 \*DORRELL, WALLACE L., CPL.  
 DOW, MORRIS E., PVT.  
 \*DOWNS, AMBARY B., SGT.  
 \*DOWNS, DAVID M., SGT.  
 DOWNS, JOSEPH, COOK  
 \*DOWNS, ROY G., CPL.  
 DRACOS, CHARLES, PVT.  
 \*DUNLAP, LEE A., PVT.  
 \*DUNLEAVY, FRANKLIN, PVT.  
 \*DURBIN, EDWARD, PVT.  
 \*DUSENBERY, HOMER C., CPL.  
 \*DUSENBERY, LEON W., CPL.  
 \*EAVES, CHARLES S., PVT.  
 \*EDGERTON, ROBERT J., PVT.  
 EDWARDS, OLIVER G., CPL.  
 EDWARDS, THOMAS, PVT.  
 \*\*ELLIOTT, JOSEPH C., PVT.  
 \*ELMORE, JERRY P., PVT.  
 \*EPPERSON, NELSON, CPL.  
 ERWIN, BERLE E., PVT.  
 \*\*ESCHER, JOSEPH M., PVT.  
 \*EVANS, JAMES F., PVT.  
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 FEE, CLYDE E., PVT.  
 FERRARO, ANGELO, PVT.  
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 FITZPATRICK, PETER F., PVT.  
 \*FLESHER, WARREN S., SGT.  
 \*\*FLETCHER, ROLLAND, SGT.  
 \*FLYNN, PHILLIP A., PVT.  
 FORD, EDWARD, PVT.  
 FORD, EUGENE, PVT.  
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 \*FOSTER, ELMER, PVT.  
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 \*FRY, ROLLAND J., SGT.  
 \*FRYE, BERNARD C., PVT.  
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 \*GAMBLE, RUPERT W., CPL.  
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 GARDNER, ERNEST J., SGT.  
 GATES, ELBERT S., PVT.  
 \*GEORGE, JAMES E., PVT.  
 \*GEORGE, WILLIAM D., PVT.  
 GETTYS, LLOYD W., PVT.  
 \*GHIGGERI, GUIDO, PVT.  
 \*GIBSON, GLENN, CPL.  
 GILLEN, CARL E., SGT.  
 \*GLOVER, FLOYD F., SGT.  
 †GLOVER, HAROLD C., COOK  
 GOFF, WALTER, PVT.  
 \*\*GORDON, WILLARD A., CPL.  
 GORE, ELBERT S., PVT.  
 \*GRAVER, AMBROSE, CPL.  
 \*GRAY, JOHN E., PVT.  
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 GRIPP, ALVA C., CPL.  
 GRUBE, CHARLES C., SGT.  
 \*GUADYNSKI, STANLEY, PVT.  
 GUDELL, BERNARD A., PVT.  
 \*HAERTLE, RAYMOND J., PVT.  
 \*HALL, ALBERT E., PVT.  
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 HALLOCK, JOHN C., PVT.  
 \*\*HAM, JOSEPH F., SGT.  
 \*\*HAMM, WILLIAM H., CPL.  
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 HANN, EVERETT E., PVT.  
 HARBIN, PERRY S., PVT.  
 HARLAN, DANIEL W., PVT.  
 †HARPER, WILLARD H., PVT.  
 HARRINGTON, OSCAR D., PVT.  
 \*HARRIS, DANIEL J., BUGLER  
 \*HART, ALVA P., PVT.  
 HASKINS, HARVEY R., PVT.  
 HAXTON, LESLIE, PVT.  
 \*\*HAYES, COURTNEY, PVT.

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c\*HENCH, ALVIN, PVT.  
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\*HEPPEN, PETER J., PVT.  
\*\*HERBERT, JOSEPH, CPL.  
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\*HIBBARD, WALTER, PVT.  
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\*HILLS, ROBERT C., CPL.  
\*HINNANT, ARCHIE L., PVT.  
HITT, CARSON M., PVT.  
HJELM, ALBERT, PVT.  
\*HOOP, RAY V., PVT.  
HOPP, HENRY E., CPL.  
\*HORNING, FLOYD, PVT.  
HOWARD, JOHN F., PVT.  
HUBBARD, DEWEY S., PVT.  
\*HUBBERT, CLAUDE L., PVT.  
HUDSON, CHARLES, PVT.  
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HUGHES, ARCHIE H., PVT.  
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IRVIN, FRED, PVT.  
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JACKSON, JOE, PVT.  
\*JACKSON, JOSEPH R., PVT.  
\*JACOBSON, OTTO H., CPL.  
\*JAMES, LLOYD S., PVT.  
JANNEY, HARRY S., PVT.  
\*JANNINO, JOSEPH, PVT.  
JENNINGS, JOHN M., PVT.  
\*JOHNSON, HOWARD M., SGT.  
\*\*JOHNSON, MACK C., SUP. SGT.  
JONES, MELVIN H., PVT.  
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- \*JOURDAN, ARTHUR, PVT.  
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JULIAN, WALTER I., SGT.  
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KELLEY, JOHN W., CPL.  
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KERSHAW, HARRY L., PVT.  
KILLEN, DON J., PVT.  
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KINURE, EUGENE E., PVT.  
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\*KITSON, JOHN E., PVT.  
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KORBA, JOHN, PVT.  
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\*KRASNO, JACOB S., PVT.  
\*KRAWIETZ, THOMAS H., PVT.  
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\*KRELL, STANLEY M., PVT.  
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LAMM, FRANK, PVT.  
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LEONARD, ROLLYN B., PVT.  
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\*LEWIS, HARRY E., MECH.  
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LIGHTSEY, BARTON, PVT.

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 \*LOCKE, JOHN, PVT.  
 LONG, EDWARD, PVT.  
 \*LOUK, WILLIAM F., PVT.  
 LOVE, JAMES J., PVT.  
 LOVINS, WILSON E., PVT.  
 LUDDINGTON, WALLACE W., PVT.  
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 MARTIN, JOHN W., CPL.  
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 MATHIS, WILFRED H., CPL.  
 MATTISON, JOHN, PVT.  
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 MEROLA, JOSEPH A., MUS.  
 \*MEYER, FLOYD, PVT.  
 \*MICHALSKI, STANLEY, PVT.  
 \*MILLER, ALFRED, PVT.  
 \*MILLER, ELMER R., PVT.  
 \*MILLER, JOSEPH, PVT.  
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 NEAL, JAMES F., PVT.  
 \*NEAL, WILLIAM, PVT.  
 \*NEELY, FRED E., PVT.  
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 NORDSTRAND, AXEL L., PVT.  
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 OESTERLE, GEORGE C., PVT.  
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\*PARKER, ALBERT T., PVT.  
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PATTON, JOE, PVT.  
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PEASE, HOMER R., SGT.  
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PETERSON, PETER H., PVT.  
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PFEIFFER, LOUIS H., PVT.  
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PHILLIPS, DONALD P., COOK  
PHILLIPS, JOHN, PVT.  
PHILLIPS, LUTHER C., PVT.  
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PITTS, WILLIAM N., PVT.  
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\*ROWE, THOMAS P., 1ST SGT.  
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\*RUSHING, ROY, PVT.  
\*RYAN, WILLIAM J., PVT.  
RZEMYASCH, JOSEPH, PVT.  
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SAMMON, WILLIAM, PVT.  
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SANCHEZ, CANUTO, PVT.  
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SANGSTER, OTTO, CPL.  
SANTORO, ANGELO, PVT.  
SANTO SPIRITO, DOMINICO, PVT.  
SARVER, CLAUD, PVT.



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 †SCHROEDER, HERBERT, PVT.  
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*SCHUSTER, CLEMENS W., PVT.*
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 SCOT, ALVIN L., PVT.  
 SEIMETZ, CLEMENTS, PVT.  
 SENEGA, MICHAEL, PVT.  
 SHAFFER, ROMEO H., PVT.  
 SHARMET, STEPHEN, PVT.  
*SHAW, EARL G., PVT.*  
 SHAW, JOHN J., PVT.  
 SHELBY, JOSEPH, PVT.  
 SHERMAN, FRED, PVT.  
 SHIPLEY, BENJAMIN C., PVT.
- \*SHIPMAN, EVERETT W., PVT.  
*SHOEMAKER, WILLIAM H., CPL.*  
 SHOOP, CLARENCE, PVT.  
 SHUMAKER, WALTER, PVT.  
*SHURTZ, CLARENCE V., CPL.*  
 SILLIMAN, JAMES H., PVT.  
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 SILVA, MELITON, PVT.  
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- \*\*SIMPSON, ARCHIE M., CPL.  
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 SKLENAR, ADOLPH, PVT.  
 SLACK, GILL, PVT.  
 SMALLLEY, ANSON J., SGT.  
 SMITH, ALBIN E., PVT.  
 SMITH, CLYDE W., PVT.
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 \*SMITH, JOSEPH S., PVT.  
*SMITH, RAYMOND, PVT.*  
 SMITH, ROBERT, PVT.  
 SMITH, TOM A., PVT.  
 SMITH, WOODSON, PVT.
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 SNIPES, CHESTER, PVT.
- \*SNYDER, ALBERT A., PVT.
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 SPANICLUSKI, FRANK, PVT.  
*SPAUTZ, MATHIEW S., SGT.*  
 \*SPECKMAN, HARRY W., CPL.  
 \*SPENCE, HERBERT, PVT.
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 STAPIEKA, JOSEPH, PVT.  
 STAUB, ISADORE, PVT.  
 STEELMAN, EDDIE, PVT.
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 STONE, HARRY I., PVT.  
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*STRONG, FRED L., PVT.*
- \*STROUP, ALBERT, PVT.  
 STUCK, ROBERT M., PVT.  
 STULAS, ANTHONY, PVT.  
 STURMAN, JOSEPH P., PVT.  
 STUTTS, WILEY W., PVT.  
 SUAZO, MARTIN, PVT.  
 SUMMER, THOMAS, PVT.  
 SURFACE, LLOYD R., PVT.  
 SUSSOMS, RUFUS, PVT.
- \*SUTTON, EARL A., CPL.  
 SUTTON, HAZEN A., PVT.  
 \*SUTTON, JAMES E., PVT.
- \*\*SWANSON, FRANK E., PVT.  
 SWETT, FLOYD R., PVT.  
 SWIFT, CLARENCE, CPL.  
 SZCZEPANSKI, JOHN, PVT.  
 TABB, JAMES R., SGT.  
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- \*TEFF, HENRY G., CPL.  
 TERRILL, CLARENCE, PVT.

- \*THOMAS, ARTHUR, PVT.  
 THOMAS, BENJAMIN B., PVT.  
 THOMAS, EUGENE, PVT. No. 1555201  
 THOMAS, EUGENE, PVT. No. 1855311  
 \*THOMPSON, FRANK P., PVT.  
 \*THOMPSEN, HERMAN W., SGT.  
 THREATTE, CHALMERS, PVT.  
 TIGHE, JOSEPH, PVT.  
 TITZE, ROBERT, PVT.  
 TODD, JOHN B., PVT.  
 \*TOMASZEWSKI, WALTER, PVT.  
 TOSON, OLIVO, CPL.  
 TROTTER, CHARLES L., SGT.  
 TRUJILLO, AVENICO, PVT.  
 \*\*TUNING, CHARLES R., CPL.  
 UMBAUER, WILLIAM H., PVT.  
 VANCE, LYNN, MESS SGT.  
 \*VANCE, ROBERT N., SGT.  
 \*\*\*VAN SAUN, CARLOS H., PVT.  
 VANTREASE, GUY H., PVT.  
 VASSEY, WALTER C., PVT.  
 VAUGHN, SAM, PVT.  
 VERCROYSSSE, HILARE, PVT.  
 WAECHTER, LLOYD U., PVT.  
 \*WAGNER, WILLIAM L., PVT.  
 \*WALDEN, LIGE W., PVT.  
 WALKER, EMANUEL, PVT.  
 \*WALKER, LEE, PVT.  
 \*WALLACE, STANLEY J., PVT.  
 \*WALSH, LYLE J., PVT.  
 WARD, ALFRED, PVT.  
 \*WARD, JAMES, PVT.  
 WARD, WILLIAM, PVT.  
 WATSON, DAN W., JR., PVT.  
 \*WAUFORD, BRYAN, PVT.  
 WECKERMEYER, BEN, PVT.  
 WEDNER, FRANCIS, PVT.  
 \*WELCHER, JOHN W., PVT.  
 \*WELLS, DEWEY M., PVT.  
 \*\*WELSHHONS, WILLIAM O., PVT.  
 WHITE, JOHN B., PVT.  
 \*WHITE, SUNDAY, PVT.  
 WHITE, WARDEN, PVT.  
 \*WHITEHEAD, GEORGE H., PVT.  
 \*WHITTLE, P. W., PVT.  
 \*\*WICKLIFF, GLENN G., PVT.  
 \*WILKINSON, GEORGE A., SGT.  
 WILLARD, HARRY I., PVT.  
 WILLIAM, JOHN H., PVT.  
 WILLIAMS, FORNIE, PVT.  
 WILSEY, FRANK P., CPL.  
 \*WILSON, DEWEY E., PVT.  
 \*WILSON, JAMES E., CPL. No. 100093  
 \*WILSON, JAMES E., PVT. No. 3174259  
 \*\*WILSON, JAMES F., PVT.  
 WILSON, LUCIAN, PVT.  
 \*\*WIND, JENS R., CPL.  
 \*WINTRODE, JOHN H., 1ST SGT.  
 †WIRTH, EDWARD, PVT.  
 WOOD, ROBERT, PVT.  
 WOODALL, JAMES B., PVT.  
 \*WOODWARD, WILLIS F., CPL.  
 \*\*WORM, CASSIUS C., PVT.  
 WORTHEN, TOM, PVT.  
 \*WURST, FRED, CPL.  
 WYATT, DUD, PVT.  
 YAKSTIS, JOSEPH P., PVT.  
 \*YATES, EDMUND E., CPL.  
 YEARY, JACOB C., PVT.  
 YODER, DEMAS, PVT.  
 YOULLES, JAMES, PVT.  
 YOUNG, CARL P., PVT.  
 \*YOUNG, HARLEY E., PVT.  
 YOUNG, TED, PVT.  
 YOUNG, WILLIAM, PVT.  
 \*YOUNG, WILSON, PVT.  
 YOUNGMAN, FRED P., SGT.  
 \*YOUNKERS, HENRY, CPL.  
 ZIEGLER, JOSEPH, PVT.  
 ZINKE, ADOLPH W., PVT.

## COMPANY B

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 CAPT. HARRY C. McHENRY  
 CAPT. WILLIAM R. WITHERELL  
 1ST LIEUT. HERMAN GARNJOST, JR.  
 1ST LIEUT. EMORY IRWIN  
 1ST LIEUT. DAVID W. OYLER  
 1ST LIEUT. ALFRED A. PAYETTE  
 1ST LIEUT. HAROLD R. POUCH  
 1ST LIEUT. EARLE M. SEFTON  
 1ST LIEUT. HOWARD G. SMITH  
 1ST LIEUT. JOHN M. STOVALL  
 \*\*1ST LIEUT. ARTHUR E. WHITEMORE  
 1ST LIEUT. JOYCE WICKERSHAM  
 2ND LIEUT. ALFRED H. ALLAN  
 2ND LIEUT. DAN W. BROWN  
 2ND LIEUT. KIRT W. CHAPMAN  
 2ND LIEUT. HENRY T. GILLESPIE  
 2ND LIEUT. FENIMORE MEYER  
 \*2ND LIEUT. GEORGE H. PENDLETON  
 2ND LIEUT. CHARLES T. WARNER  
 \*2ND LIEUT. CARLYLE B. WURSTER  
 ABEGG, ALFRED, PVT.  
 ADAMS, WILLIAM C., CPL.  
 \*ADAMUS, MACIN, PVT.  
 ALDRIDGE, CLYDE J., 1ST SGT.  
 \*ALLAN, ALFRED H., SGT.  
 \*\*ALLEN, HAROLD L., PVT.  
 ALLEN, THOMAS, PVT.  
 ALLEN, WYLIE J., CPL.  
 ALLISON, ELMER, PVT.  
 ALVARADO, REFUGIO, PVT.  
 AMERSON, STEPHEN, PVT.  
 \*ANDERSON, IRA RAY, CPL.  
 ANDERSON, LAWRENCE H., PVT.  
 \*ANDREWCHACK, JOHN, PVT.  
 ANTY, LANGAER, PVT.  
 ARNOLD, MARVIN T., PVT.  
 ATWATER, LEO R., PVT.  
 AUEN, EILERT, SGT.  
 AURELI, DANIEL, PVT.  
 AUSTIN, WILLIAM J., PVT.  
 \*AYERS, LEO I., PVT.
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 BAILEY, EUGENE J., PVT.  
 BAKER, LEVI P., SGT.  
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 \*BALENSIEFER, LOUIS G., CPL.  
 \*BALENSIEFER, MARTIN C., PVT.  
 BARNES, CHARLES H., PVT.  
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 BARTELL, ALBERT R., SGT.  
 BARTKOWSKI, FRANK T., CPL.  
 BASSELL, HENRY N., PVT.  
 BATEMAN, JOHN W., PVT.  
 \*BAUMGARTNER, HENRY J., PVT.  
 BEADKE, LEM, PVT.  
 \*BEDWELL, GERALD A., SGT.  
 BEFORE, JOE, PVT.  
 BELLAK, JOHN, PVT.  
 \*BELUE, WILLIAM F., PVT.  
 \*BENDER, HAZLE C., PVT.  
 BENNETT, VICTOR L., SGT.  
 \*BENTLEY, EMERY, PVT.  
 BERKOFF, MYER, PVT.  
 BERRY, NORMAN C., PVT.  
 \*\*BIGGINS, WALTER, PVT.  
 BILLINGS, ROBERT W., PVT.  
 \*BILLO, FRED S., PVT.  
 \*BIRCH, ROY A., PVT.  
 BLAUL, FRANK, PVT.  
 \*BLOOD, IVAN, PVT.  
 \*BOBO, FRED S., PVT.  
 BOND, CLYDE, PVT.  
 BOND, GUY R., CPL.  
 \*BOOTH, DALE, CPL.  
 \*BOOTH, JAMES W., PVT.  
 BOYLE, MELVIN, PVT.  
 BOYTS, MARTIN L., PVT.  
 BRACELIN, DAN P., PVT.  
 BRADLEY, JOHN J., PVT.  
 BRAMBLE, ED D., PVT.  
 \*\*\*BREESSE, CHESTER, SGT.  
 BROOKS, LAWRENCE, PVT.  
 \*BROWN, ELMER L., PVT.

- \*\*BROWN, MART, PVT.  
\*BROWNING, ORVILLE C., CPL.  
\*BRUMBAUGH, RAYMOND C., PVT.  
\*\*BURNS, JAMES, CPL.  
\*\*BUSHBY, FRED T., SGT.  
BUTLER, KENNETH J., PVT.  
\*BUTLER, RALPH B., PVT.  
\*CAIN, ROLLIE, CPL.  
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CAMPBELL, JERRY W., PVT.  
CAFONI, CHARLES C., PVT.  
CARNACHAN, JAMES G., PVT.  
CASE, ELROY M., PVT.  
\*CASEY, JOHN M., PVT.  
CASKEY, WILLIAM E., PVT.  
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\*CAVETT, PERCY, SGT.  
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\*CHENOWETH, ORVILLE, PVT.  
\*CINAGLIA, NAZARENO, PVT.  
\*CIOFFI, ENRICO, PVT.  
\*CLARK, BRUCE R., CPL.  
\*CLARK, HARRIS, PVT.  
CLARK, LENNOX B., CPL.  
\*CLARK, WILLIAM T., PVT.  
\*CLINE, ELMER H., PVT.  
\*CLINE, HERLDY, PVT.  
CLINE, HOWARD, PVT.  
CLINE, WILLIS W., PVT.  
\*\*CLOSSON, RAYMOND L., CPL.  
OBB, OAKLEY, PVT.  
COLIO, JOSEPH, PVT.  
COOK, SPURGEON, PVT.  
\*COOKSEY, CHARLES D., PVT.  
\*COOPER, LEVI H., PVT.  
COOPER, MARION W., PVT.  
CORBIN, GEORGE D., PVT.  
\*CORBIN, JAMES W., PVT.  
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 \*\*BENTON, CLARENCE, PVT.  
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 KENNEDY, ARTHUR B., PVT.  
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 \*KING, ALFRED P., PVT.  
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 \*KINNEY, LEO W., PVT.  
 \*\*KINYON, EDWARD M., CPL.  
 \*KIRKPATRICK, GRANT, PVT.  
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 \*KOELSCH, WILLIAM, PVT.  
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 \*MARTIN, JOHN S., PVT.  
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     PODZIMEK, RALPH, PVT.  
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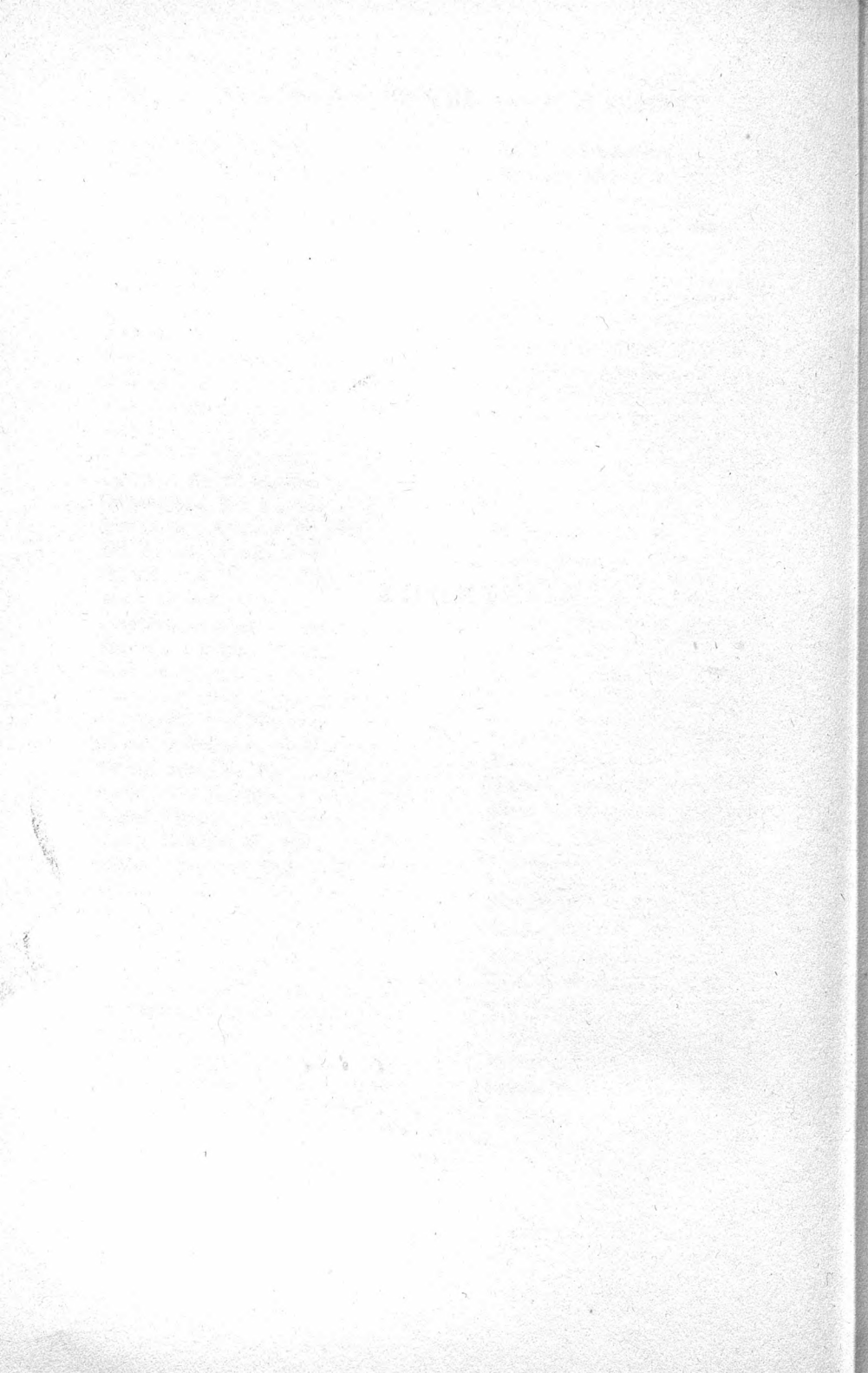
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