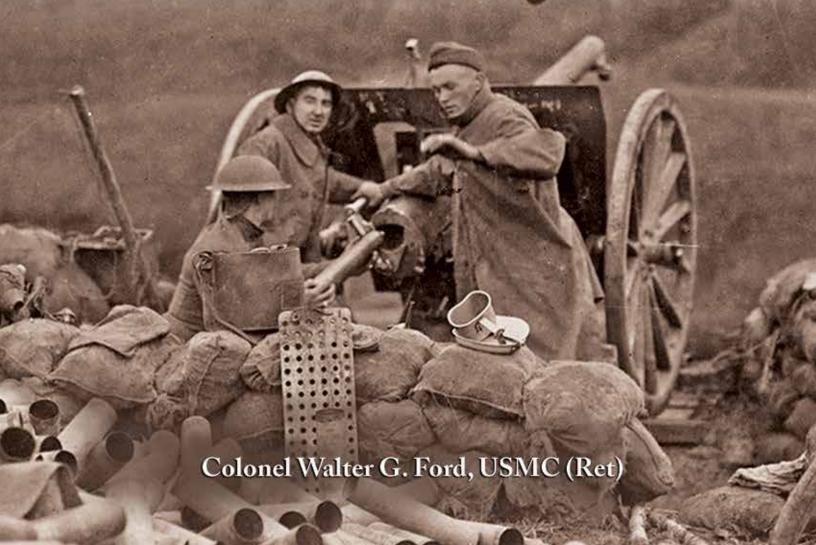
U.S. Marines in World War I Centennial Commemorative Series

REDUCING

THE SAINT-MIHIEL SALIENT

September 1918



Reducing the Saint-Mihiel Salient September 1918

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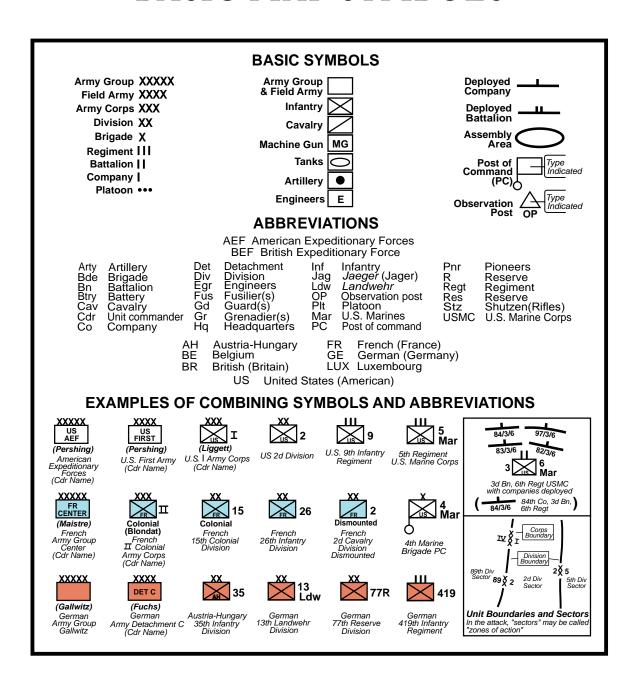
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INTRODUCTION

Then Marines of the 5th Regiment, commanded by Colonel Charles A. Doyen, arrived in France in June 1917 as leading elements of what would become the 4th Brigade, they found the western front in somewhat of a stalemate, with the French and British faced off against the German Army in a gory line of trenches stretching from Nieuport, Belgium, in Flanders on the North Sea, all the way to the Swiss border. After two and a half years of furious back and forth between the Allies and the Germans along a 468-mile strongly fortified line, the German armies still retained the initiative and Allied morale was low.

Along this battle line, just east of Verdun, sat a longstanding German-held "hernia" on the French side that French forces had repeatedly attempted to reduce between 1914 and 1916—the Saint-Mihiel salient. Here, in September 1918, the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF), led by General John J. Pershing, commander in chief, with its one Marine brigade, the 4th Brigade, would win the first large-scale American-led victory of World War I.



BGen Charles A. Doyen brought the U.S. Marine Corps' 5th Regiment to France in July 1917 and commanded 2d Division for a short time in the fall.

Courtesy of Susan Strange

GERMANS FORM THE SAINT-MIHIEL SALIENT: SEPTEMBER 1914

The Saint-Mihiel salient was the unanticipated result of a failed German operation to isolate and capture Verdun in the World War I opening campaigns of August and September 1914, long before the United States entered the war. The German Crown Prince Wilhelm had attacked south from the Ardennes to cut off Verdun from the west, while the Bavarian Crown Prince Rupprecht had pushed his army from Metz down the Rupt de Mad river valley toward Saint-Mihiel to reach the Meuse River. These two armies were to join below the key French fortress of Verdun, enveloping it and sealing its capture. The German Crown Prince was halted quickly by the

French, but the attack from Metz reached the town of Saint-Mihiel on the Meuse before it was stopped, thus driving into the French lines a wide wedge-shaped bulge, or salient, approximately defined by Verdun, Saint-Mihiel, and Pont-á-Mousson. During the four years since originally occupying the salient, the Germans had continually improved their defenses, adding elaborate trench systems, well-placed concrete bunkers and machine gun emplacements, and successive wide belts of barbed wire entanglements. French attempts to recapture the lost ground had made no gains. Pershing described the German salient as "practically a great field fortress."



The bloody western front changed little between 1914 and early 1918. The AEF would break that stalemate. Map by LtCol R. L. Cody, USMC (Ret)

The west face of the salient dropped sharply south approximately 10 miles southeast of Verdun and down to Saint-Mihiel where the German front ran due east across the marshy plain of Woëvre, which was dominated by Montsec, and then up to Pont-á-Mousson on the Moselle River. The German line around the salient stretched 40 miles, and the base of the wedge, between the two points on the German line, was 20 miles wide. Directly above Pont-á-Mousson, with excellent rail lines to deliver soldiers and equipment as needed, stood the German stronghold of Metz, just 32 miles from Saint-Mihiel.

Pinching off the Saint-Mihiel salient, a constant thorn in the French side, was a natural objective for the initial operation of the AEF. Straightening the French lines would free approximately 150,000 square miles of France, open the main rail line from Paris to the east, and position the Allies to threaten the German stronghold of Metz, the extremely important Briey iron mines, and the Metz-Sedan-Mezieres Railroad, which was a key German line of communication frequently used to rapidly shift divisions across the western front. Pershing, who arrived in France on 13 June 1917, accompanied by a staff that included two Marine Corps officers, reached an agreement with General Henri-Philippe Pétain, recently designated commander in chief of the French Army, in their June 1917 meeting on employing United States troops to reduce this salient at some point in 1918.

From June, when Colonel Doyen arrived with his Marines, until the following October, the leathernecks were assigned to the U.S. Army's 1st Division and employed everywhere but on the line. Some Marine units were assigned guard duties, while others served as stevedores or attended training. Marines of the 6th Regiment began arriving in October, and shortly after arrival of the regiment's commander, Colonel Albertus W. Catlin, the all-Marine 4th Brigade, with two infantry regiments, formed in the Bourmont Training Area under the command of recently promoted Brigadier General Doyen. That same month, the 2d Division was organized, and the 4th Brigade was moved to this division with Doyen placed temporarily in division command until Army Major General Omar Bundy took the division's helm on 8 November 1917.



Headquarters, 2d Division Marines, stop for chow at Sommedieue near the western shoulder of the Saint-Mihiel salient on 29 April 1918.

Sgt A. C. Duff, Signal Corps. National Archives

The division, including the Marine brigade, trained hard in the Bourmont area. "It was this period that made us tough. . . . We got tough, we stayed tough," said Sergeant Gerald C. Thomas from 75th Company, 1st Battalion, 6th Regiment.¹ In mid-March 1918, the 2d Division was assigned to the French X Corps and finally entered the lines for the first time near Sommedieue in the Lorraine region, southeast of Verdun, on the west face of the Saint-Mihiel salient. The intense training was sorely needed, for when the division entered the lines, 74.3 percent of the Marines in the brigade had less than a year of service, but the Army units were in worse shape—87.2 percent of the soldiers did not have a year in service.

At the end of May, as a result of a highly successful German offensive launched that March, the Marine brigade, now commanded by Army Brigadier General James G. Harbord, who replaced Doyen due to physical reasons, was in the thick of the fighting. The leathernecks played a key role in the 2d Division's efforts to blunt the German thrust toward Paris in the first week of June, and when the division turned to the offense on 6 June, the Marines' ferocious attacks etched such names as Lucy-le-Bocage, Hill 142, Bouresches, and Bois de Belleau (Belleau Wood) into the annals of American and Marine Corps military history.

¹ Sgt Thomas joined the Corps in May 1917, was commissioned second lieutenant in September 1918 after the Battle of Saint-Mihiel, and eventually retired as a general.

When July brought an end to the bloody fighting around Belleau Wood, the Marine brigade was in dire need of rest and refit, with casualties of approximately 55 percent of original strength. Initially, the 2d Division moved to a reserve position, but when the Germans launched another offensive on 15 July, the Marines played a significant role in a surprise French counterpunch as the German advance stalled. The Marines moved by truck and then on foot along mud-filled roads and in dark forests as they hurried to get into position near Soissons for an attack in the early morning hours of 18 July. Marine First Lieutenant John W. Thomason Jr. from 49th Company, 1st Battalion, 5th Regiment, who began his Marine career as a member of the Texas Naval Militia, Marine Branch, in 1917, remembered, "No battle ever tried them as hard as the night road to Soissons." The intense, sanguinary two-day battle during 18-19 July added new laurels and the names of Beaurepaire Farm, Vierzy, and Soissons to the Marine lexicon. Again, it was not an easy victory. The Marine brigade suffered more than 2,000 killed and wounded, including casualties from gas attacks with mustard, chlorine, and phosgene.

Capitalizing on the American successes in the French offensive at Soissons, Pershing formally announced the organization of the American First Army on 24 July 1918, which would be functional beginning 10 August, with Pershing commanding both the AEF and First Army, but with separate staffs for each headquarters. His intent was to pull

as many American divisions as possible from the French and British armies into the First Army for a planned attack on the Saint-Mihiel salient. Rapid command changes for both 2d Division and its Marine brigade followed the announcement. Promoted to major general on 15 July, Harbord commanded the division during the Soissons action, and Colonel Wendell C. Neville commanded the brigade, replacing Harbord. However, the much-respected Brigadier General John A. Lejeune arrived at the brigade on 25 July, assuming command the next day. As a result, Lejeune had little time to get to know his Marines. Later in his memoir, he noted, "It was on that day [25 July] that I joined the Fourth Brigade, and it was three days later that I relieved General Harbord in command of the Division." An Army War College graduate and well known in U.S. Army circles, Lejeune commanded the division through the remainder of the war and demobilization, leaving a lasting mark on the Marine Corps as its 13th Commandant. Neville, another future Commandant of the Marine Corps, returned to command of the Marine brigade where he would remain for the rest of the war.

At the end of July, the Marine brigade moved to the Nancy area for a short rest, where they learned that Lejeune had been promoted to major general and Neville to brigadier general, effective 1 July. From there, the division moved back into the lines in the Marbache area south of the Saint-Mihiel salient. Although the area had been relatively inactive, the moves were made at night beginning on



John W. Thomason, 49th Company, 1st Battalion, 5th Regiment, was awarded the Navy Cross at Soissons, continued his Marine Corps career, and gained prominence in historical scholarship, literature, and art. National Archives



MajGen John A. Lejeune, commanding general, 2d Division, confers with Gen John J. Pershing, commander, AEF.
National Archives

the evening of 6 August. By the evening of 8 August, the Marine brigade was back in the lines, but not for long. The 2d Division moved once again on 15 August. This time it was for more training south of Nancy in the Colombey-les-Belles and Boisl'Evêque area. Significantly, on departing the lines, the division became part of the American First Army. That same day, 15 August, the First Army submitted its initial plan to General Headquarters (GHQ), AEF, for reduction of the Saint-Mihiel salient. The next day, the AEF GHQ directed the First Army to be ready to attack before 11 September, specifying the freeing of the Paris-Nancy train line, now in the enemy's hands, to be the minimum expected result. That initial plan was expanded after a meeting between Pershing and Allied Supreme Commander Marshal Ferdinand Foch, which allocated a total of 25 French and American divisions for the attack and increased the objectives to include eliminating the salient, piercing the German Michel position (a.k.a. the Hindenburg Line by the Allies), and threatening Metz and the Briey iron mines. More changes were to come.

Senior German Commanders

The senior German unit opposing the American First Army in the Battle of Saint-Mihiel, *Army Group Gallwitz*, was commanded by General Max von Gallwitz. A seasoned commander at age 64, Gallwitz was one of the most capable generals in a German Army predominantly led by Prussian



German Gen Max von Gallwitz, commander of Army Group Gallwitz, faced off against the AEF in the Battle of Saint-Mihiel. National Archives

aristocrats. Formerly enlisted and commissioned during the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71), he rose in the ranks to become chief of artillery in the German War Ministry as a colonel and was promoted to major general in 1902. His *Guards Reserve Corps* captured the French fortress at Namur in 1914; Gallwitz then commanded the *Twelfth Army* on the eastern front, followed by command of the *Second* and *Fifth Armies* on the western front. He was elevated to command *Army Group Gallwitz* in 1916 and charged with controlling the Metz region, including the Saint-Mihiel salient.

In spite of the German successes against French attempts to reduce the Saint-Mihiel salient, the German Supreme Command was no longer confident of its defensibility and had determined not to accept decisive combat in the salient. Gallwitz was well aware a German plan for withdrawal from the Saint-Mihiel salient, called the "Loki" or "Michel" plan, was prepared as early as October 1917. He was not confident that his forces could withstand a full-scale attack, particularly against the south face of the salient, unless additional divisions, artillery, and machine gun units were deployed in defense of the salient. An expected attack on the salient by the Allies was sufficient to trigger Loki, the movement of the German forces rearward to the Michel position, thus straightening their lines. As early as 3 September, Gallwitz had advised German Supreme Headquarters that he planned to order his forces inside the Saint-Mihiel salient to begin withdrawing if a significant U.S. attack was expected. He did not want to allow the Americans another morale-boosting combat victory.

German Lieutenant General Georg Fuchs commanded the German forces, *Army Detachment C*, under *Army Group Gallwitz* inside the salient. At 61 years of age, Fuchs was an experienced campaigner who had fought in the Champagne region around Verdun and also on the eastern front, and was known as "a specially clever and capable general." Fuchs had eight divisions on the lines and another five in reserve. However, the German soldiers of *Army Detachment C* generally were older and not combat ready.

Thus, the scene was set for the Battle of Saint-Mihiel; however, much was to be achieved prior to the AEF and its Marines initiating the attack. Preparation began in earnest in August 1918.

PREPARING FOR THE BATTLE TO REDUCE THE SAINT-MIHIEL SALIENT

The Marines, particularly 4th Brigade commander, now Brigadier General Wendell Neville, and his regimental commanders—Colonels Logan Feland, 5th Regiment, and Harry Lee, 6th Regiment—noted opportunities for improvements in preparations for operations as the Marines moved from French control for the first time to a consolidated American command under First Army, AEF, for the Battle of Saint-Mihiel. For this September 1918 effort, the accomplished regimental commanders were



German LtGen Georg Fuchs, commanding Army Detachment C, faced off against the AEF in the Saint-Mihiel salient, September 1918. Here, he is accompanying Wilhelm II, King of Württemberg, in April 1917.
National Archives, 17390384

allocated time to "walk their formations through division terrain and maneuver exercises," and for map reconnaissance of the objective and briefings to junior leaders, which was unprecedented in earlier operations.

Following the huge casualties in the devastating but highly successful Belleau Wood and Soissons operations, these tactical considerations instilled confidence and signaled a new approach to achieving success in this American-led effort. However, the first of the brigade's priorities for the next battle, Saint-Mihiel, was manpower: reconstituting the force, placing leaders in battalions, and finding replacements. Training would follow before the attack.

Replacements

The 2d Division, with two infantry brigades—3d and 4th—each consisting of three infantry regiments and supporting units, had been hard hit in the battles of Belleau Wood in June and early July followed by the Germans' Aisne-Marne Offensive and the Allies' counteroffensive, especially at Soissons on 18–19 July. The division, and certainly its Marine brigade, was in dire need of rest, recuperation, reinforcements, and training. Major General Lejeune, commanding the division for the attack, notes in his memoir, *The Reminiscences of a Marine* (1930), that the division was approximately 8,000 men below authorized strength after these earlier battles, with the infantry regiments of 3d and 4th Brigades at roughly 50 percent of their authorized numbers.



Hurry up and wait. Marines, many of whom would go to France, gather in a loose formation in front of Marine Barracks Philadelphia in 1917.

Bain News Service Collection, Library of Congress



Headed to France and war, the departure of the 5th Regiment, accompanied by still and motion picture cameramen in June 1917, is recorded for history. Bain News Service Collection, Library of Congress

A Marine replacement battalion of approximately 1,000 leathernecks waited to join the 4th Brigade at Nancy on 1 August, but Neville's 4th Brigade still remained about 2,500 short of its authorized strength. The news that Army replacements would fill Marine units if necessary only made manpower matters worse. Lejeune wrote in his memoir about the potential for Army replacements "that the intermingling of the personnel . . . would be disastrous to the esprit de corps of the 4th Brigade." He immediately ferreted out the locations of Marines assigned elsewhere in France, particularly the AEF's Services of Supply (SOS), now commanded by his friend and predecessor at 2d Division, Army Major General James Harbord. Harbord, who shared Lejeune's concerns about degraded Marine morale and the subsequent impact on fighting fitness if soldiers were assigned to the Marine brigade, honored Lejeune's request for reassignment of all able-bodied Marines from the SOS in France to the Marine brigade. Marines began to arrive immediately at the brigade from all over France.

The Marine Corps also continued to ship replacements from the United States as the Corps' replacement battalion system picked up steam.² In August 1918, 32 officers and 4,362 enlisted Marines arrived in France in the 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th

Separate Battalions and the 1st Separate Machine Gun Battalion—all were replacement units of Marines bound for the AEF.

Although some of these replacements joined their units close to the beginning of the Battle of Saint-Mihiel, their contributions were significant. For example, Private Grover M. Chatman, who arrived in Brest, France, with Company A, 3d Separate Battalion, on 26 August already had two years as a leatherneck under his belt but was still a private and trouble seemed to follow him. On 29 August, he brashly granted himself a couple hours of liberty, and for his absence without permission, he was court-martialed. Carrying that boldness into battle on 15 September, barely more than two weeks after his conviction, Chatman was assigned to 75th Company, 1st Battalion, 6th Regiment, and earned a Navy Cross for rushing across a fire-swept area to kill three German snipers firing on his platoon.

Commanders for the 4th Brigade's infantry battalions were another challenge. Only two of the six commanders—Major Maurice E. Shearer, 3d Battalion, 5th Regiment, who assumed command of the battalion on 6 June 1918, and Lieutenant Colonel Berton W. Sibley, 3d Battalion, 6th Regiment, who took over the battalion on 8 April 1918—were experienced combat veterans at the battalion level, having held battalion command during the ferocious battles in June and July. One of the four new battalion commanders, Robert E. Messersmith, was promoted to major and assumed command of 2d Battalion, 5th Regiment, on the afternoon of 11 September, the very eve of the Battle of Saint-Mihiel. His men were fortunate. Messersmith was no neophyte when it came to combat. He had fought in Nicaragua in 1912, participating in the taking of rebel strongholds at Coyotepe and Barranca. As a captain, he led 78th Company, 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment, in the fierce June fighting around Lucy-le-Bocage until he was subsequently gassed and evacuated, then returned to command the company in the July Soissons fighting until wounded on 19 July. However, compounding his challenge in leading the unknown Marines of his battalion because of the last-minute assumption of command, 350 replacements—about one-third of his authorized battalion strength-arrived at his post of command just prior to midnight on 11

²In this period, the term *replacement battalion system* meant that individuals (or groups of servicemen) were organized into battalions for training purposes, then sent to France, where the men were assigned as individual replacements to units needing to replace lost personnel.







Three of the Marine brigade's more experienced leaders proved their worth during the Battle of Saint-Mihiel. From left: Maj Maurice E. Shearer, LtCol Berton W. Sibley, and Maj Robert E. Messersmith.

Marine Corps History Division

September, too late to be assigned to the companies prior to the opening of the preattack artillery barrages set for 0100 on 12 September.

The last-minute arrival of replacements was not just a challenge for Messersmith's 2d Battalion. Shearer's 3d Battalion, 5th Regiment, also took on board 204 Marines on 11 September just prior to moving to its attack support position near Limey. Unit continuity would not be a positive factor in the Battle of Saint-Mihiel.

The untested Marine replacements in the brigade were joined by numerous experienced veterans returning from medical care. These combat veterans, who had blunted and then pushed back the German offensive at Belleau Wood in June and played a key role in the successful French counteroffensive at Soissons in July, were ready to help break in the fresh recruits joining their units. The new replacements, recovered wounded, and Marines from other assignments in Europe combined to bring the Marine brigade very near its authorized strength with a good mix of young, but inexperienced, Marines and experienced, but not necessarily old, battle-hardened veterans.

In addition to finding Marine and Army replacements to ready his 2d Division for the Battle of Saint-Mihiel, Lejeune found himself jockeying for proficient Army officers to fill senior leadership billets. Army Brigadier General Hanson E. Ely, who led the 3d Brigade, had taken over on 15 July just prior to the Allies' Aisne-Marne counteroffensive and thus was a proven combat leader. The commander of the 3d Brigade's 9th Infantry, Army Lieutenant Colonel Edward R. Stone, was in place when Lejeune assumed command of the division. Stone led the regiment through training in August, but Colonel George W. Stuart replaced him on 31 August. The commander of 3d Brigade's other infantry regiment, 23d Infantry, longtime leader Colonel Paul B. Malone, headed to another command and left a key regiment without a commander.

Malone assumed command of 10th Infantry Brigade, 5th Division, on 25 August and went on to lead that brigade in the Battle of Saint-Mihiel. Anticipating the loss, Lejeune had his eyes set on a hard-charging, extremely intelligent, and seasoned planner to replace Malone at the helm of 23d Regiment—Army Lieutenant Colonel George C. Marshall. Marshall already had proven himself as a valued leader in 1st Division. He arrived in France as a junior captain in 1917, was now a lieutenant colonel, and would end the war as a colonel, before going on to earn much greater glory in World War II. Marshall notes in his memoirs that Lejeune and his division chief of staff, Army Colonel Preston Brown, visited him at AEF Headquarters while he

was working on AEF plans for a "fake show" in the Belfort gap near the Swiss border. Marshall, at a low point in morale, saw himself out of the real action. Lejeune offered him command of 23d Regiment for the Battle of Saint-Mihiel, saying he could assume command four days prior to the attack and be released from command at the end of the battle. Marshall readily agreed and requested they make a strong appeal to his superior, Army Brigadier General Fox Conner. Within minutes of meeting, Lejeune and Brown returned with Conner, who directed Marshall to immediately prepare to depart— Marshall's excitement at possible command was short-lived. Conner sent him to another staff job at First Army headquarters with the task to review and adjust, as needed, all the plans for the upcoming Battle of Saint-Mihiel.

As a result, command of the 23d Regiment went to another proven Army officer, Colonel Edward Stone. Stone had commanded 9th Infantry for a short time, so he was a known entity to Ely and Lejeune. Recently promoted to colonel, Stone assumed command of 23d Regiment on 11 September, just one day prior to the opening of the Battle of Saint-Mihiel. Significantly, both 3d Brigade regimental commanders were leading their regiments into battle for the first time at Saint-Mihiel.

Overall, the manpower picture in the Army units of 2d Division also improved. Many of the replacements transferred in from the 36th Division, a National Guard division raised with men from Texas and Oklahoma, arriving in France at the close of July. The 2d Division's strength as of 1 August 1918 was 990 officers and 20,852 enlisted men; increases remained steady until the Battle of Saint-Mihiel was launched on 12 September with the division slightly higher than authorized strength at 1,170 officers and 29,353 enlisted men. Moreover, shortages in clothing and equipment were all addressed prior to the upcoming battle. The Marines' new uniforms were all Army regulation items. During the months in France, the beloved campaign hat was replaced with the overseas cap; Army overcoats, which were shorter and less likely to collect mud, were received; and Army wrapped puttees replaced leggings.³

Training

Assimilation of the replacements into infantry companies aided the intensive training of the raw replacements significantly, particularly in the Marine brigade where knowledgeable veterans provided hard-earned insights. For the Marines, lessons learned in the earlier battles, those aimed at improving the battle skills of the experienced Marines as well as the replacements, were added to the training program run by Lieutenant Colonel Julius S. Turrill. Turrill, formerly commander of 1st Battalion, 5th Regiment, and now assigned to Colonel Feland's headquarters at 5th Regiment, ensured a demanding schedule.

Each infantry battalion rotated through three to five days of training at Camp Bois-l'Évêque, a large French training camp located between Nancy and Toul with established ranges and barracks and room for maneuver. Captain David Bellamy, adjutant for 3d Battalion, 6th Regiment, wrote in his war diary that the camp included a "famous French drill ground, which I saw once in moving pictures in New York." The Marines trained with all the weapons available to the infantry battalion, sharpening their rifle marksmanship skills, tossing grenades, and firing rifle grenades, as well as the M1916 37mm cannon (a.k.a. the "one-pounder" due to the weight of the round), Stokes mortar, the French Chauchat automatic rifle, and Hotchkiss machine gun. The Chauchat (a.k.a. "Sho-Sho" by troops) Model 1915 was new to the replacements and generally held in disdain by experienced veterans. Each Marine infantry squad included one Chauchat, which had been rechambered from the French 8mm round to accept the American .30-06 round, with a 16- or 20-round magazine. The leathernecks learned to fire the weapon from the hip when advancing against the enemy.

In his memoir published 50 years after the war, Sergeant Don V. Paradis, 80th Company, 6th Regiment, wrote of the training, describing in some detail the rifle grenade because of its relative newness to Marines:

We spent several days at Camp Bois de l'Eveque going through rifle range, hand grenade throwing and rifle grenade practice. . . . [The rifle grenade] was a cylinder

³ Hindu for bandage, a puttee was a strip of cloth wrapped around the lower leg as protection in snow or dense undergrowth.

about eight inches long and it fastened to the barrel of your rifle. When the bullet was fired it passed through the center of the grenade which had been dropped into the cylinder. The butt of the rifle was resting on the ground and aim was taken by angling the barrel of the rifle. . . . The gasses from the fired shell propelled the grenade. I think the range was from fifty to seventy-five yards.

When the Marine battalions were not at Camp Bois-l'Évêque, the training never slackened in their base camp, where drills focused on close and extended order movement, assault formations, defense against gas attacks through use of the gas mask, and signals. While the infantry units honed their talents, the regimental pioneer platoons of the headquarters companies were attached to the division's 2d Engineer Regiment to sharpen their occupational-specific skills, and the signal platoons of the regimental headquarters companies were attached to the division's signal platoon for training.

While the training was intense, Navy corpsmen had time to delouse the leathernecks, removing the infamous cooties for the first time since March—a giant boon for morale. Paradis, obviously impressed, commented on the delousing and "cootie delouse machines":

The machines were a big long cylinder about five feet in diameter and perhaps twelve or fourteen feet long. We stripped naked in a building. All our clothes were made into a bundle.... Our dog tags were taken from around our neck and tied securely to the bundle. The large door closed and sealed, then live, dry steam under pressure was turned on the cylinder for a period of ten or fifteen minutes. This was supposed to kill all lice or bedbugs, also their eggs. We did not receive this treatment again until in Germany. No wonder we were as lousy as pet coons when we reached the Rhine.

For the upcoming battle, the brigade's machine gun battalion, commanded by Major Littleton W. T. Waller Jr., son of famous Marine Major General Littleton W. T. Waller Sr., then commanding the Advanced Base Force in Philadelphia, also experienced unique, consolidated training. The four companies of the 6th Machine Gun Battalion and the machine gun company from each of the Marine regiments assembled at Camp Bois-l'Évêque along with all the other machine gun units of the 2d Division for intensive instruction under the command of the division machine gun officer, Army Major Ziba L. Drollinger.

The replacements were introduced to the French Hotchkiss machine gun, the weapon issued to the machine gun companies on their arrival in France. The machine gun companies originally arrived in France armed with their familiar Lewis light machine guns, but the AEF had insisted the Lewis machine guns be replaced with the Hotchkiss, the standard machine gun in the AEF. At first,



Camp Bois-l'Évêque. National Archives



The French-made Chauchat automatic rifle was not favored by the Marines but it got the job done.
U.S. Signal Corps, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-3783



Under the tutelage of French poilus, or infantry, Marines train in tossing hand grenades from inside trenches during WWI.

National Archives

the Marines were not impressed with the heavy air-cooled Hotchkiss that, with its fixed-height tripod, weighed in at 109 pounds. The issue was not just the weapon's weight or difficulty concealing the high silhouette. As Waller noted, "Its big fault was the fact that it's being air cooled, which on prolonged barrage fire cut down its rate of speed to approximately 25 rounds a minute." However, the Marines did come to appreciate its much greater range and dependability.

For both the replacements and the veterans, a different employment technique for the machine guns was stressed at Camp Bois-l'Évêque. Trench warfare had been a previous focus of training, but Waller wrote in a 1920 *Marine Corps Gazette* article, "During our stay at Camp Bois de l'Eveque we had field manoeuvres [sic] in the American style of fighting in the open."

The Marines understood that this focused training, led by Americans, signaled that a main effort by the AEF was coming soon. Rumors abounded, and Waller noted, "Men returning from hospitals told us of the talk in the S.O.S. [Services of Supply] of the big drive on the St. Mihiel salient and in other places."

The terrain exercises for the infantry units of the brigade afforded the Marines the necessary space for small unit and individual maneuver across open ground to take on and overcome German machine gun nests and bunkers that had proven so deadly a task in past battles. The use of cover and concealment, infiltration, and flanking tactics were emphasized.



Marines with 80th Company, 6th Regiment, hunted "cooties" (lice) when time permitted.
Pvt Arthur Furst, U.S. Signal Corps,
National Archives

During the training period, numerous decorations for heroism in the June and July battles caught up to 2d Division, and Lejeune was intent on presenting those medals in an appropriate division-level parade. Camp Bois-l'Evêque had the available space so an awards parade was set for Sunday, 25 August. Each unit of the division provided a representative number of men, and more than 5,000 men stood on parade as those to be honored were marched to the front. Major General Hunter Liggett, commander of I Corps, and Major General Joseph T. Dickman, commander of IV Corps, were among those distinguished guests accompanying Lejeune in presenting the awards. Such a large formation did attract German attention, but the sole German aircraft venturing into the area was promptly shot down and the morale-lifting parade concluded without incident.

The intensive training was capped by a division-wide attack rehearsal on 30–31 August over terrain replicating that anticipated in the Saint-Mihiel salient. The division's artillery, 2d Field Artillery Brigade, which had been refitting and training in a separate area, provided individual soldiers carrying flags to represent firing batteries, battalion, regiment, and brigade staffs, plus infantry liaison teams for the two-day maneuver. For the Marine brigade, each regiment had one battalion absent from the rehearsal exercise, but all liaison and intelligence personnel participated, as did the 6th Machine Gun Battalion.

In what would become a hallmark of Lejeune's leadership style, he gathered his officers for a review

at the end of the exercise. Errors and opportunities for improvement were noted, but his central message encouraged all to lead their men "in such manner as to achieve victory with a minimum of loss." He clearly believed a great benefit of the exercise was the melding of a team, "the kindling and fostering of a division spirit," so important to the success of a mixed Army and Marine Corps division.

At this juncture, an entry in the official Record of Events of the Fourth Brigade, Marine Corps, From August 1, 1918 to September 15, 1918, Inclusive 4, is worthy of emphasis. This particular events listing is included in volume 6 of the U.S. Army, Records of the 2d Division (Regular) in the World War and addresses manning and the division-wide exercise and maneuvers at the close of training:

The above exercises and maneuvers were carried out fairly well considering that all organizations from the Brigade were composed of from 30 to 35 percent replacement troops. At this time, the Regiments were short about 800 officers and men each.

So, in spite of aggressive efforts, the Marine regiments were far short of personnel. The infantrymen yet to arrive would not benefit from this individual training and the follow-on division rehearsal maneuvers meant to develop a cohesive team well versed in unit standing operating procedures. Additionally, the 2d Field Artillery Brigade, which was so critically important to success in the coming bat-

tle, was comprised of a majority of gunners with less than a year's service.

As the division continued its preparations for the coming attack, the situation along the western front continued to crystallize. Allied forces arrayed along the front were building in capability as the location and strength of the enemy forces were gauged. For the AEF, the Saint-Mihiel salient was the center of attention.



Maj Littleton W. T. Waller Jr. (right) stands in a 2d Division staff formation alongside Army Maj John W. Llufrio, Quartermaster Corps.

Sgt John P. Musler, U.S. Signal Corps,
National Archives



Marines with 3d Battalion, 6th Regiment, pass in review during a 2d Division awards parade at Camp Bois-l'Évêque on 25 August 1918.

Cpl D. J. Sheehan, U.S. Signal Corps, National Archives

Medical Preparations for Attacking the Saint-Mihiel Salient

For the Saint-Mihiel operation, AEF medical preparations advanced a pessimistic approach as medical planners and doctors prepared for an overwhelming number of casualties. One casualty estimate ran as high as 75,000. Addressing this anticipated need, 21,000 hospital beds and 65 evacuation trains were staged and available.

In the Marine brigade, the medical department capitalized on a brigade effort to centralize administrative record keeping, greatly reducing transportation and coordination requirements. The brigade gathered regimental personnel officers and company clerks, with their typewriters, in a brigade administrative facility in Manonville. The regimental and battalion medical record-keeping staffs were added to this effort, significantly easing the administrative burden and, being collocated with the Marines, ensuring ready access to reports brought in by runners from the front lines.

Using lessons learned in the battles preceding Saint-Mihiel, U.S. Navy medical officers planned several improvements for brigade medical support. First, Marine bandsmen, pressed into service as litter bearers in earlier operations, had suffered significant losses; so as early as July 1918, training infantrymen as litter bearers began. Each infantry company detailed 12 men as litter bearers under the direct supervision of the senior corpsman. At Saint-Mihiel, this system reached maturity as litter bearers, in addition to their combat training, learned basic first aid, including how to help prevent shock and handle chemical agent cases, avoiding contamination, and studied varying methods to move and transport wounded. Most important, Marines training as litter bearers did not want to let their fellow Marines down or to be seen as shirkers, so the training stressed the significance of their duties and their contributions to the ultimate success on the battlefield.

The efforts of Private Albert Meyer, 79th Company, 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment, on the morning of 15 September reflect the effectiveness of this training. Assigned as a litter bearer, Meyer was nominated for the Medal of Honor for rushing "into the open with great risk to his own life to save Corporal

Elbert E. Brooks who was threatened with capture, killing two Germans with a pistol and pulling Corporal Brooks back to safety. This in the face of a large approaching force of Germans." He was awarded a Navy Cross for this action.

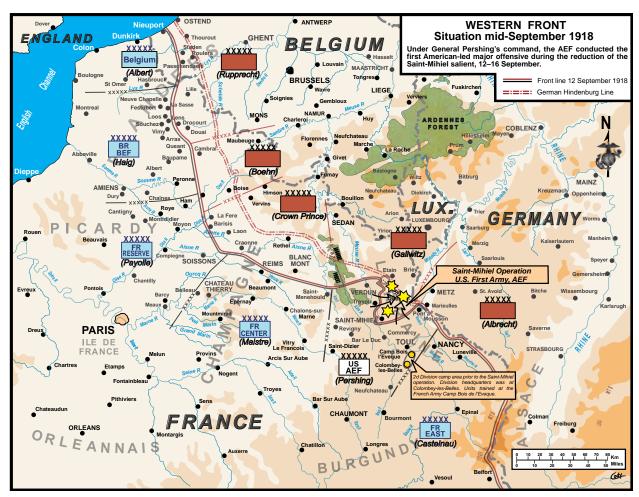
Addressing mobility for litter-borne wounded and medical supplies, a continuing challenge for medical teams going into battle, was also a priority for Navy planners with the Marine brigade. Previously, the small two-wheeled, mule-drawn cart allotted for each battalion medical unit in a regiment proved woefully inadequate to address the number of casualties experienced. Only the most essential medical supplies could be packed on these carts when allowances were made to include 12–20 litters.

For Saint-Mihiel, numerous French two-wheeled, hand-pulled stretcher carts were issued to each regiment. The carts easily facilitated the transport of additional medical supplies to the front and expedited casualties to the rear. On the afternoon of 11 September, heavily loaded with litters and medical supplies, including extra wound-dressing materials and blankets, these carts stood ready for the night march to assigned jumping-off positions. Unfortunately, even the best preparations could not take into account the weather and terrain. A steady downpour turned already muddy roads into quagmires, and regardless of the determined efforts of the medical staff and Marines, the carts eventually were abandoned.

The loss of the carts and the onboard medical supplies frustrated the Marine brigade's medical officers and corpsmen, but what the weather took



Driver and stretcher-bearer training helped to prepare for the action to come. National Archives, 45494414



As the AEF and its Marines prepared to take on the Saint-Mihiel salient, the strategy for collapsing the entire western front was revisited after the victories at Soissons.

Map by LtCol R. L. Cody, USMC (Ret)

away was thankfully offset by the absence of anticipated casualties.

Deception: The "Belfort Ruse"

Deception in battle, particularly when forces are closely aligned geographically and spies are active, becomes extremely difficult but of significant importance to the outcome of a planned attack. For the Battle of Saint-Mihiel, the deception effort came in the guise of the "Belfort Ruse" and, although it did not involve Marines, the former commander of 2d Division, Major General Omar Bundy, played a significant role. Although not viewed as an effective leader, Bundy commanded the division from 8 November 1917 to 15 July 1918, leading the Marine brigade through the bloody but very success-

ful battles at Belleau Wood in June and July 1918. While training with the division in May 1918, a status report on the division by one evaluator that was ignored by General Pershing, commander of the AEF, noted that Bundy "appears to be trying to learn his duties as a division commander, but gives no evidence of unusual ability for this position." Weeks later, in a 9 June diary entry, Pershing wrote, "General Bundy disappoints me. He lacks the grasp. I shall relieve him at the first opportunity." However, Pershing did not technically relieve Bundy; in this case, he elevated him to command the not-yet-formed VI Corps on 26 August, with plans to use him and his paper Army corps as a cat's-paw in his deception effort.

The French, and certainly the Americans at home, eagerly awaited news of a major offensive

INDIVIDUAL ACTS OF HEROISM BY NAVY MEDICAL PERSONNEL

hile many Marines stepped forward to push the Germans back during the Battle of Saint-Mihiel, at their side and often out front were the doctors and hospital corpsmen of the U.S. Navy's Medical Corps. One corpsman standing out in a crowd of heroes was Hospital Apprentice First Class David E. Hayden. Hayden rushed across an open area, laced by enemy machine-gun fire, to assist Corporal Carlos D. Creed, a rifleman in 2d Battalion's 96th Company. Creed was so severely wounded that Hayden remained by his side, under fire, trying to stabilize him before hoisting him over his shoulder and racing back to battalion lines. Creed died, but for his actions, Hayden was awarded the Medal of Honor.

The regimental surgeons for both 5th and 6th Regiments cultivated an existing sense of commitment and service among the hospital corpsmen of the brigade and their leadership examples particularly shone through on 15 September. U.S. Naval Reserve Lieutenant Robert J. Lawler, the acting regimental surgeon for the 5th Regiment, had made a rapid positive contribution to the regiment since joining on 6 September 1918. He arrived in France in late June as a member of the National Naval Volunteers, commanding the Medical Detachment, 2d Replacement Battalion. During required training prior to being assigned to an operational unit, he was officially integrated into the U.S. Naval Reserve Force.

Lawler was thrown into the medical leadership position in 5th Regiment with very lit-



Lt Joel T. Boone, Medical Corps, USN, was appointed a lieutenant (junior grade) in the U.S. Navy Reserve in 1914, transitioning to the regular Navy in 1915. His service with 6th Regiment signaled the measure of a man destined for great leadership achievements. Bureau of Medicine Library and Archives, U.S. Navy

tle time to get to know the other surgeons, his frontline hospital corpsmen, and most important, the Marines he served. He worked tirelessly, setting the example, visiting battalion dressing stations under fire, supervising the medical treatments provided by the hospital corpsmen, and helping evacuate wounded to the rear. For his actions during 12–16 September and later during October, Lawler was awarded the Navy Cross and three Silver Stars.

The 6th Regiment's surgeon, Navy Commander Joel T. Boone, was much more seasoned. He was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for heroism in action at Belleau Wood in June, followed by the award of the nation's highest distinction for valor in combat, the Medal of Honor, for actions in July near Vierzy. In the Battle of Saint-Mihiel, he added two Silver Stars to his accolades for braving artillery and machine-gun fire to get the regiment's battalion dressing stations in operation near the lines. Boone continued his service after the war, retiring as a vice admiral in 1950. Along the way, he served as the surgeon to three presidents: Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert C. Hoover.

The 6th Regiment's medical staff made a real difference reducing Marine losses during the attacks on 15 September and the counterattacks that followed. Assistant surgeon Navy Reserve Lieutenant (Junior Grade) Gordon A. Grimland established a dressing station in a culvert up close to the action while under continuous fire. He and his attending medical personnel held their position, providing medical assistance even as they were targeted by German artillery. Among those helping Grimland was Pharmacist's Mate First Class Oscar S. Goodwin. Both Grimland and Goodwin were awarded the Navy Cross for their dedicated support.

The hospital corpsmen in Major Barker's 1st Battalion, 6th Regiment, also earned the

respect and praise of their Marines this day. Hospital Apprentice First Class Bernard W. Herrman from 76th Company distinguished himself when he rushed into the open to recover wounded Marines. Pharmacist's Mate Third Class James E. Manning was treating 1st Battalion wounded in a forward dressing station when an artillery shell struck, wounding one Marine in two more places. Manning was dressing the new wounds when another round hit the station, wounding him. He refused evacuation until the Marines were removed. After all were evacuated, incoming artillery completely destroyed the station.

Another hospital corpsman in the battalion, Pharmacist's Mate Third Class John R. Litchfield, with 74th Company, was killed by incoming artillery fire while attempting to evacuate wounded from a trenchline. Each of these hospital corpsmen was awarded a Navy Cross.



PHM3C John R. Litchfield, killed in action when trying to rescue wounded Marines, was awarded the Navy Cross for his actions.

Courtesy of NavSource.org



After the battle began, German prisoners were often pressed into service as stretcher-bearers. National Archives, 45494422

by the American First Army after its formation was made official on 24 July 1918 with the AEF's General Orders No. 120. Rumors abounded that the American divisions were to mass as one army and attack to reduce the longstanding German penetration capped at Saint-Mihiel—the Saint-Mihiel salient. French newsstands featured maps of the salient, and customers in wine shops and soldiers on leave in Paris talked of the impending attack while U.S. officials in Washington, DC, openly discussed the first AEF-led operation. General Pétain, commander of French forces, cautioned Pershing on 19 August that the secrecy of the American operation had been compromised and an effort was needed to mislead the Germans.

Pershing took the lead in beginning the deception when, in a press conference on 26 August, he announced that a "tentative date" had been established for a major American offensive, but security precluded offering more information. The next day, the French liaison officer with the press corps suggested the American First Army might attack in the Alsace region, more than 100 miles southeast of Saint-Mihiel. The deception accelerated.

That same day, VI Corps, with Bundy commanding, was assigned to the administrative control of the First Army. AEF planners and VI Corps, at least the commander and his staff, were assigned the task of planning a First Army attack in the Vosges Mountains to seize the Mulhouse-Belfort area, south and east of Saint-Mihiel, where a pass known as the Belfort Gap provided access to Germany's



Army MajGen Omar Bundy commanded 2d Division with its Marine brigade from early November 1917 until after the battles in Belleau Wood, never gaining the confidence of the AEF commander, Gen Pershing. Harris & Ewing Collection, Library of Congress, LC-H261-29796

Rhine Valley. The U.S. Army's 29th Division was already in the Belfort area, and to add credibility to the rumors of the planned First Army attack, both Pershing and Pétain visited the division and toured the area at different times. Bundy and his staff, never aware that they were not planning the real attack, moved to Belfort and were joined by three reconnaissance officers from six other divisions. Increased message traffic, aircraft reconnaissance missions in the area, and French artillery firing registrations added to the credibility of a pending attack by First

Army in the Belfort area. The activity was noticed immediately and reported to the Germans, who were now forced to consider the possibility that the Saint-Mihiel salient might not, in fact, be the debut of the American First Army. Three German divisions were shifted nearer the Belfort-Mulhouse area, villages in the area of the suspected attack were evacuated, additional artillery was moved into range of the anticipated attack, and some ammunition dumps were relocated rearward.

The deception worked to the benefit of the AEF. The Germans could not totally discount an American attack through the Belfort Gap. Forces that might have made it more difficult for the AEF in reducing the Saint-Mihiel salient were not available to the enemy. Deemed successful by the Allies, the Belfort Ruse set the stage and the curtains were about to be drawn for the entrance of the American First Army.

THE PLAN, THE POSITIONING, AND THE BATTLE BEGINS

The Plan

The 2d Division, commanded by Marine Major General Lejeune, with its Marine brigade, became part of I Corps on 27 August 1918 as the First Army, AEF, continued to shape its force for the next great battle—the Battle of Saint-Mihiel. While the Saint-Mihiel salient, its key terrain, and German positions were being closely studied, the 4th Brigade commander, Brigadier General Neville, firmed up his leadership team; however, gaps in battalion leadership would hound the brigade up to the beginning of the battle.

The refinement of details for the First Army attack against the Saint-Mihiel salient went forward as unit preparations continued with General Pershing's First Army assuming control of the fairly quiet 40-mile sector along the salient on 30 August. However, that same day, trouble erupted when Marshal Ferdinand Foch visited Pershing with a newly revised strategic direction that scattered American divisions, essentially robbing Pershing of his forces and denying the American First Army a showcase opportunity at Saint-Mihiel. Foch's dramatic change placed the focus of effort west of the salient

in the Meuse-Argonne area, leaving only a few divisions to make a minimal effort against the southern face of the salient. Pershing's relationship with Foch had never been comfortable, and on this occasion, Pershing adamantly refused to agree to a plan breaking up his American First Army, distributing divisions to French and British Armies. Unhappy with Pershing's position, Foch departed Pershing's headquarters, leaving his revised plan for First Army with Pershing for further consideration.

Upset, Pershing hurriedly met with his immediate superior, French Army Commander General Pétain, to garner support for his position. Together, they crafted a suggestion for Foch that would have the First Army attacking both sides of the salient, with somewhat reduced forces and a revised limit of advance uncovering strategic railways, pinching off the salient, and straightening lines so Allied forces could be rapidly positioned to protect the eastern flank of Foch's planned major effort west of the salient. Pershing and Pétain met with Foch on 2 September, with Foch acquiescing somewhat, agreeing that the Saint-Mihiel salient attack would go forward with a limited effort, reducing the salient to a lesser depth along a line stretching from Les Éparges on the west and through Vigneulles, Thiaucourt, and Regniéville to the Moselle River. Pershing's First Army then would move expeditiously approximately 60 miles west, assuming a front of approximately 90 miles for Foch's primary Meuse-Argonne operation. The First Army would remain intact, Pershing would have his showcase, and his First Army retained a major role in the next great Allied operation.

The same day Pershing was overcoming objections, forging a distinctive future for the AEF on 2 September, Neville's 4th Brigade received orders to move during the next three days into the area of the salient. Corporal Havelock D. Nelson, who joined the Marine Corps in June 1917, arrived in France with his unit less than six months later in November 1917, now was a guide in 97th Company, 3d Battalion, 6th Regiment. He noted that his unit began a series of moves that day, all in the dark of night over jammed roads, to get into position for the battle. Realizing the next big operation was in the offing, but thankful for a short break, the company remained in one position at

the Bois Saint-Gengoult during 5–9 September, waiting but conducting some drills to reduce monotony while replacements continued to arrive, including some valuable veterans from the hospitals. First Lieutenant John W. Thomason Jr. of 49th Company, 1st Battalion, 5th Regiment, addressed the impact of veterans in the "hurry up and wait" of war:

So much of war is just lying around waiting in more or less discomfort. And herein lies the excellence of veterans. They swear and growl horribly under discomfort and exposure—far more than green troops; but privations do not sap their spirit or undermine that intangible thing called morale.

On 7 September, First Army issued *Field Orders No. 9*, confirming the forces would be in place the night of 11–12 September, and the attacks would begin with an artillery preparation at 0100 on 12 September, followed by infantry attacks on the southern face at 0500 and the western face at 0800. At the AEF level, Pershing had four army corps:

 I Corps: comprising the 82d, 90th, 5th, and 2d Divisions (in line from right to left), and the 78th in reserve. I Corps was commanded by Army Major General Hunter Liggett, an old friend of Lejeune's and one of the reviewing of-

SAINT-MIHIEL SALIENT, SEPTEMBER 1918, KEY TERRAIN The salient was located in the area between the Meuse and Mosale Rivers. The Heights of the Meuse, a hilly, wooded area on the salient's western face, provided the Germans with excellent observation, particularly from Loupmont and Montace, which overlocked Allied lines on the salient's section of the Mosalie. During he wet season, which begins in September, Peating The Mosalies and Mosalies with the Allies and the Mosalies. The Rup de Mad, the principal stream that cut northeast through the plant, empided into the Mosalies. During he wet season, which begins in September, Peating The Mosalies and the Mosalies. The Rup de Mad, the principal stream that cut northeast through the plant, empided into the Mosalies. During he wet season, which begins in September, Peating The Mosalies and the Mosalies. During he wet season, which begins in September, Peating The Mosalies and the Mosalies and the Mosalies and the Mosalies and the Mosalies. During he we season, which begins a the Mohal Peating The Mosalies and the Mosa

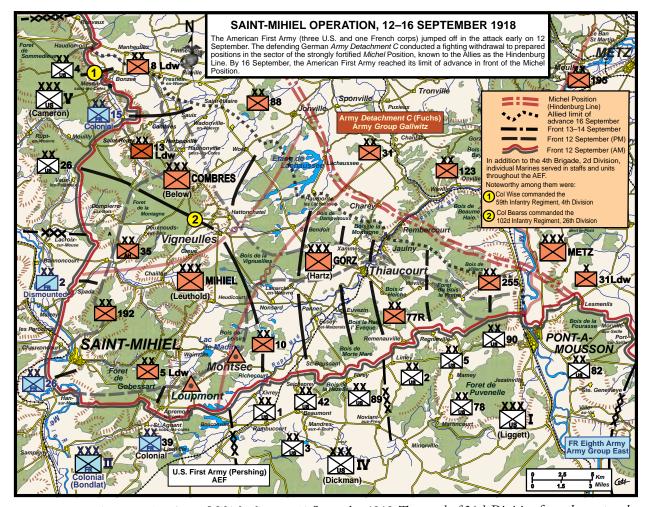
The terrain inside the Saint-Mihiel salient, while varied, included the Woëvre plain, woods heavily damaged by previous battles, numerous small streams, lakes, and boggy areas. The heights of Montsec allowed the Germans to visually dominate most of the salient. Map by LtCol R. L. Cody, USMC (Ret)

- ficers for the 2d Division's 25 August awards parade.
- IV Corps: with its 89th, 42d, and 1st Divisions (in line from right to left), with the 3d Division in reserve. IV Corps was commanded by Army Major General Joseph Dickman, and was set to conduct the main attack against the south face of the salient.
- V Corps: with the 26th Division, French 15th Colonial Division, and part of the 4th Division (in line from right to left), with the remainder of the 4th Division in reserve, under Army Major General George H. Cameron,



Marshal Ferdinand Foch, Supreme Commander Allied Forces (left), and Gen John J. Pershing, commanding both the AEF and the American First Army, had a controversial but highly successful relationship.

Gilles Lagin Collection



American First Army attack at Saint-Mihiel salient on 12 September 1918. The attack of 26th Division from the west and 1st Division from the south to close the salient at Vigneulles was a change to the original order, exploiting successes of the first day of battle.

Map by LtCol R. L. Cody, USMC (Ret)

- and would launch a secondary attack against the west face of the salient.
- French II Colonial Corps: with its 39th and 26th Divisions and 2d Cavalry Division (Dismounted) (in line from right to left), under French Major General Ernest J. Blondlat, was to hold the center of the salient, protecting the American flanks.
- This force, with American and French divisions, both on the line and in reserve, numbered 500,000.

In Pershing's plan of operations, IV Corps' 1st Division, attacking against the south face of the salient, would meet the 26th Division of V Corps attacking southeast from Les Éparges, at Vigneulles, thus pinching off the salient by attaining the revised line of advance agreed to with Foch and Pétain on 2 September.⁴

For the aviation effort in reducing the long-standing German-held Saint-Mihiel salient, Pershing's First Army took advantage of the greatest armada of armed aircraft up to that point in history. While American squadrons played a significant role in the Saint-Mihiel campaign, only about one-third of the aviation force was American; French, British, and Italian squadrons made this a truly Allied air effort. However, Marine aviation played no role in the air action against the salient. Marine aviation in France was, in the main, located with the Marine Day Wing of the U.S. Navy's Northern Bombing Group, with some pilots in 217 and 218 Squadrons in Great Britain's Royal Air Force and with the French Flying Corps.⁵

The challenge of effectively organizing the massive amount of aviation fell to an Army officer with a tremendous future, Colonel William Mitchell, chief of Air Service, First Army. He and his staff developed a plan to ensure German rear areas holding reserve units and ammunition dumps were pounded, while also maintaining air superior-

ity when weather permitted, allocating air support to units in the attack, and attacking German troops on the line while protecting its aviation forces. The air operations at Saint-Mihiel, in a historical sense, became a significant milestone in the evolving U.S. military aviation.

In addition to attaining and maintaining air superiority, the First Army air plan included photographic missions, with provisions for rapidly supplying photographs of enemy positions to head-quarters, which allowed long-range artillery to get into the action. The plan also called for deteriorating enemy morale with propaganda leaflet drops and strafing enemy positions, including frontline infantry. Most important for the 2d Division and its Marines, all the Allied aviation units were designated as "army," "corps," or "division" assets and, thus 2d Division had dedicated aircraft, flown by Army Air Service pilots, assigned prior to the battle: 1st Aero Squadron and 1st Balloon Company.

Positioning

Preparing for the attack against the south face of the salient, the 4th Brigade arrived around Manonville on 8 September. Corporal Nelson reported that the rest for his unit that began on 5 September ended on 9 September, when billeting parties moved out again, this time during the day. While the road was congested, the demands of the march were somewhat diminished as morale lifted when they sighted American nurses while passing a field hospital near Minorville. Nelson learned in previous guide roles that leading his company into its final position in dark of night was extremely challenging. This time, during daylight, prior to his unit's arriving at the spot where he waited as their guide, Nelson placed small white pieces of paper at critical turning points in the wooded area that would be their final position. Unfortunately, when the unit arrived at approximately 2100 on 10 September in a downpour, the woods were so dark Nelson could not see a piece of paper he held six inches from his face. He did, however, eventually get the men near the planned position.

The 2d Division issued Field Orders No. 27 on 10 September, calling for the attack in a column by its two infantry brigades. The 3d Brigade,

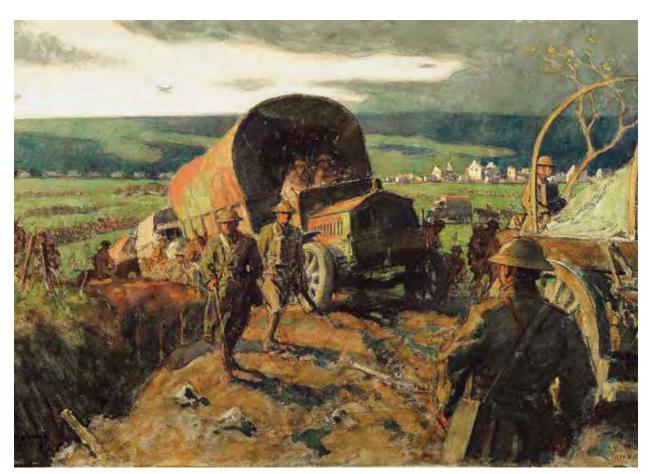
⁴The order provides an opportunity to grow the legend of Marine Col Hiram I. Bearss, commanding the 102d Regiment, 26th Division, who marched his doughboys fast and hard to beat the 1st Division into Vigneulles.

⁵ Some records indicate that the Royal Flying Corps was reorganized and named the Royal Air Force on 1 April 1918 prior to the arrival of Marine aviation units.

with 9th Infantry on the right and 23d Infantry on the left, would lead, supported by Neville's 4th Brigade, which was to pass through and assume the lead when ordered. The division's 2d Field Artillery Brigade, reinforced with French artillery units, directed the 15th Field Artillery Regiment, a United States 75mm gun horse-drawn unit, to provide liaison teams to 9th Infantry and the 12th Field Artillery Regiment, also an American 75mm horse-drawn unit, to do the same for 23d Infantry. The infantry regiments' battalions would attack on a two-company front, with each battalion's remaining two companies following, along with a machine gun company in support.

The 2d Division's main attack by 3d Brigade was weighted with the addition of attached gas and flame companies, a company of medium tanks, and two companies of light tanks. Additionally, a bat-

talion of 75mm artillery from 15th Field Artillery was attached to 9th Infantry and one from the 12th Field Artillery was attached to 23d Infantry. These artillery units were provided extra ammunition, engineers, ramps, and bridges to assist in crossing trenches and to improve overall mobility in advancing to maintain a range advantage in front of the attacking infantry. A company of light tanks was attached to the 4th Brigade. The 4th and 6th Machine Gun Battalions were controlled at division level for an overhead barrage at H-hour, the hour of the ground attack, continuing until the attacking infantry advanced into the machine gun barrage danger zone. After this initial salvo, the 4th Machine Gun Battalion would revert to division reserve, and Major Littleton W. T. Waller's 6th Machine Gun Battalion, the Marine machine gun-battalion, would return to the 4th Brigade.



On the Trail of the Hun by Capt William James Aylward, one of eight official artists commissioned in the Army and sent to France to record the war through paintings, illustrations, and watercolors.

Official Art of the American Expeditionary Forces, Smithsonian National Museum of American History, 445410

Brigadier General Neville's attack order for 4th Brigade, Field Orders No. 9, was distributed on 11 September, and that same day, 5th Regiment issued its implementation order, Field Orders No. 26. Colonel Logan Feland's 5th Regiment, following and supporting 9th Infantry on 2d Division's right, was to move in a column of battalions, with 3d Battalion, led by the battalion commander with the most battalion-level command experience in the regiment, Major Maurice E. Shearer, in the front. Shearer's battalion was trailed by Lieutenant Colonel Arthur J. O'Leary's 1st Battalion and Major Robert E. Messersmith's 2d Battalion bringing up the rear. The Army and Marine regiments were to be separated by 1,000 meters and battalions by 600 meters to avoid confusion, intermingling, and casualties from friendly fire, but were close enough to provide relief if needed. The 5th Regiment's plan also directed that the battalions attack with two line companies abreast and two following. Noteworthy here, the Army battalion selected to lead the attack for 9th Infantry on the division's far right was 3d Battalion, commanded by Marine Major Robert L. Denig.

Other than Shearer, the 5th Regiment's battalion commanders had no battalion-level command experience. O'Leary joined the regiment on 27 August 1918, transferring in from 1st Depot Division and assuming command of 1st Battalion the next day when its commander, Lieutenant Colonel Julius Turrill, became the regiment's second in command. O'Leary had arrived in France more than two months earlier with 1st Machine Gun Replacement Battalion on board USS Henderson (AP 1), debarking at Brest on 8 June. The Saint-Mihiel operation was his only shot at battalion command in World War I, and that was short-lived as he was listed as sick and transferred to a hospital not long after the battle. The 2d Battalion was in a bit better leadership situation. Although Messersmith assumed command of the battalion on 11 September immediately prior to the attack, he was battle hardened after commanding 78th Company, 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment, at Belleau Wood and Soissons in June and July.

Colonel Harry Lee's 6th Regiment issued its implementation order at 1435 on 11 September, directing the regiment to attack with two battalions, one following in trace of the other, with two com-

panies leading in each battalion and two following. Lieutenant Colonel Berton Sibley's 3d Battalion, the lead battalion for the regiment, was directed to send one infantry platoon and a machine gun section to maintain liaison with 5th Regiment on the right. The 6th Regiment's advance would depend on 23d Regiment's progress, which it was to follow, maintaining roughly a 1,000-meter separation and ensuring liaison with units on the left and right. A combat group of 1st Battalion, commanded by Major Frederick A. Barker, reinforced with 73d Machine Gun Company, the regimental machine gun company, was attached to 23d Infantry, 3d Brigade, to ensure cross-boundary liaison with IV Corps' 89th Division on the left. Major Ernest C. Williams, commanding 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment, was directed to assign one of his companies as a covering force on the left flank of the regiment.

Sibley was the sole commander with battalionlevel combat experience in the 6th Regiment. He arrived in France commanding 3d Battalion, debarking USS Von Steuben (ID 3017) on 19 November 1917, and continued to command the battalion with distinction at both Belleau Wood and Soissons. Williams assumed command of 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment, on 10 August after arriving in France with the 3d Replacement Battalion in June and completing required officer training and spending some time in 75th Company, 1st Battalion, 6th Regiment. His combat credibility was earned in November 1916 with the Medal of Honor awarded for action during the occupation of Santo Domingo. Along with the medal, he gained a hard-drinking, hard-charging reputation. Major Barker joined the regiment from the provost marshal's office in Paris, assuming command of 1st Battalion on 30 July 1918. An old hand, Barker participated in numerous campaigns against the Caco bandits in Haiti and rebels in Santo Domingo during 1916. Assigned as assistant provost marshal in Paris when the regiment arrived in France in early July 1917, Barker remained there until Lejeune's plea for Marines to fill the ranks of the 4th Brigade garnered results.

While the Allied effort of 12–16 September 1918 to reduce the Saint-Mihiel salient often is referred to as the Battle of Saint-Mihiel, the actual battle was mostly east and north of the town. The assigned front for Lejeune's 2d Division was

BRIGADIER GENERAL ROBERT L. DENIG

World War I Hero and Father of Today's Marine Corps Public Relations

mong the advantages Marines enjoyed in the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) upon arrival in France in 1917 was an abundance of experienced, even battlescarred officers and noncommissioned officers. The profusion of accomplished leaders allowed the Marine Corps to provide individuals to command U.S. Army units of the AEF; a rapidly expanding U.S. Army needed mid-level leadership. One of the knowledgeable Marine officers assigned to command Army units in World War I and, in fact, who led two Army battalions, one in the Battle of Saint-Mihiel, was Major Robert L. Denig Sr. After retiring in 1941, he returned to active duty to make even greater contributions to the Corps as the Marine who originated the Marine Corps' Division of Public Relations.

Denig's early experiences in his Marine career were with the U.S. Army. Commissioned a Marine second lieutenant in 1905, while at the School of Application, Annapolis, Maryland, he was detached for service with the 1st Marine Brigade in 1906, where he served with the U.S. Army in the Cuban pacification. Stationed at Marine Barracks Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in June 1917 when the Marine Corps was gathering men to fill out the 5th Regiment for duty in France, Denig was eager to get into the action. Transferred to Quantico, Virginia, on 1 July 1917, he assumed command of 17th Company, Base Detachment, 5th Regiment, and then on 1 August, embarked on the USS Henderson (AP 1), bound for France.

Arriving in France, Denig trained in trench warfare at the U.S. Army schools at Gondre-



Robert L. Denig, a first lieutenant in 1913, was commissioned in 1905. One of his first assignments was with the U.S. Army in Cuba in 1906, which generated some understanding of Army procedures, positioning him for command of Army units in WWI.

Marine Corps History Division

court and Langres, and in May 1918, he was ordered to the 3d Infantry Division, a regular Army division that had arrived in France on 4 April 1918, for duty as the commanding officer, 1st Battalion, 30th Infantry. The baptism by fire for Denig and his battalion was not long in coming. A surprise German offensive hit the French Army in late May all along the Aisne front, rolling back French forces to the Marne River and threatening Paris. The 3d Division, including Denig's battalion, rushed to meet the Germans along the south bank of the Marne not far from Château-Thierry. Units of the AEF, including the 2d Division and its Marine brigade, gained worldwide recognition by first blunting and then pushing back the Germans in spite of heavy losses, particularly at Belleau Wood.

Spurred by the Marine losses at Belleau Wood and the need for an experienced combat leader to replace a recently promoted Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Holcomb, commanding 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment, Denig returned to the Marine brigade on 8 July and was sent to 2d Battalion initially to be the second in command. When Holcomb, as the senior battalion commander, stepped up to command 6th Regiment in the absence of the regiment's commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel Harry Lee (who was filling in as 4th Brigade commanding officer), Denig commanded the 2d Battalion. This was for only a short time in mid-July, as Holcomb knew a French counteroffensive was coming and wanted to continue command. Denig moved the battalion into position, ensuring the men were fed, armed, and ready for battle, then returned command to Holcomb and remained as second in command with the battalion throughout the intense fighting of 18–19 July at Soissons.

Denig's impressive success commanding both Army and Marine battalions moved him to the fore when the 9th Infantry, 3d Brigade, 2d Division, needed a battalion commander. He was transferred to 9th Regiment on 26 July and assumed command of 3d Battalion, 9th Infantry, on 30 July. Denig led the battle-scarred bat-



Recently retired WWI combat hero Robert L. Denig was handpicked to return to active duty in 1941 as a brigadier general by old friend and the 17th Commandant, MajGen Thomas Holcomb, to create and lead the Division of Public Relations at Headquarters Marine Corps.

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talion through a rebuilding and training phase in August and into the Battle of Saint-Mihiel on 12 September, where his battalion led the assault for 9th Infantry on the right side of the 2d Division attack. Advancing quickly in the early morning behind a rolling barrage with his doughboy battalion, shrapnel from a German shell neatly sliced Denig's cigar in half, leaving him with a stub and only a minor wound to his hand. Undeterred, Denig took a horse as a war prize to carry food, blankets, and other battalion items, as his battalion advanced to capture a German artillery battery.

After Saint-Mihiel, the 2d Division, with Denig remaining in command of 3d Battalion, 9th Infantry, was sent to the French Fourth Army for the attack on the German bastion of Blanc Mont Ridge. Denig's men launched their assault against the ridge as part of a 3d Brigade flanking attack at 0550 on 3 October. Not long into the advance, Denig stopped to glance at his map and took a round in the elbow. Although severely wounded, he refused to yield command until satisfied the brigade's objective, Médéah Farm, would be taken. His war was over, as Denig was evacuated to the rear and then to Paris. He was back with his family in Philadelphia for Christmas. For his heroism and combat leadership near Médéah Farm, Denig was awarded both the Distinguished Service Cross and Navy Cross.

Denig continued an illustrious 36-year active-duty career, but arguably his most significant contribution to the U.S. Marine Corps was immediately after retirement from active duty following his tour as the commanding officer, Marine Barracks Bremerton, Washington, in June 1941. Although a colonel, as was the policy of the day, Denig was retired as a brigadier general because of his distinguished service in time of war. However, the Marine Corps was not finished with him. The 17th Commandant of the Marine Corps, Major General Thomas Holcomb, his World War I friend and former commander, ordered Denig to report to him in Washington, DC. Denig notes in his oral history:

I arrived in Washington. I went around, reported to the Commandant—which was in the orders—and I went in there and he said, "Well Denig . . . what do you know about public relations?" I said, "I don't know anything about it. I never heard of it before. What is it?" Well he said, "You'd better learn because that's what you're gonna be." That's my introduction to public relations.

Denig was given an old gear locker for an office in Headquarters Marine Corps and immediately set about creating a public relations office, beginning with recruiting talented writers. When war erupted on 7 December 1941, Denig's plan to recruit professionals from the newsrooms of America to tell the Marine

Corps story was approved by the Commandant, and proved so successful in recruiting talent that editors complained their papers were suffering. While each volunteer was required to complete Marine Corps recruit training, promotion to sergeant was guaranteed upon graduation. Denig's famous guidance to focus on the enlisted man in telling the human-interest story resulted in thousands of articles being read in America's homes as Marines captured one Pacific Ocean island after another during World War II.

By the end of the war, Denig's team of 268 officers and enlisted men included news reporters, photographers, broadcasters, and artists stationed with Marines around the world—all actively promoting the Corps and its Marines. For his work in establishing and leading the Marine Corps Division of Public Relations during World War II and cultivating the "Denig's Demons" ethos and professionalism, he was awarded the Legion of Merit when he retired the second time on 1 December 1945.¹ Brigadier General Denig passed away in Los Altos, California, on 25 July 1979, and was buried in Arlington National Cemetery with full military honors.

¹ The professional journalists, photographers, illustrators, and artists recruited by Denig and his staff were so aggressive and prolific in telling America the story of Marines at war in the Pacific that they became known as "Denig's Demons."

about a mile and a half wide at jump off, quickly increasing to more than two miles. It included Remenauville on the east and Limey on the west and, while basically featureless up to the Rupt de Mad River, the terrain was rolling and wooded in some areas. German Army Lieutenant General Georg Fuchs' Army Detachment C was charged with defending the salient and the 419th Regiment of the 77th Reserve Division in the Gorz Group opposed the 2d Division. The 77th Reserve Division, with its 232d, 257th and 419th Regiments, was extremely weak and considered unreliable by the Germans. The division was hard-hit by desertions and its battalions averaged fewer than 500 effectives.

Sergeant Karl McCune, 55th Company, 2d Battalion, 5th Regiment, who joined the Marine Corps in Akron, Ohio, during October 1916 and made corporal just eight months later while with his company en route to France on board the USS Henderson, documented in some detail his unit's movement to the attack position on 11 September. His unit moved into the Bois Ropage to make camp at nightfall on 4 September after marching all day along muddy, congested roads in the rain. Chauchat magazines and other ammunition were

issued and checked and the Marines survived there in continuous rain until the night of 9 September, when they made an all-night march to the Bois des Hayes, again along muddy roads.

The inclement weather continued, and the assault troops began moving to their frontline trenches after dusk on 11 September. Rutted, boggy roads created by the heavy rain and German harassing and interdiction artillery fires on the crossroads behind the lines caused immense confusion, but did not stop the doughboys and Marines as they quietly moved forward; often each man held on to the man in front to ensure direction. One 9th Infantry lieutenant noted that, after entering an approach trench near Limey, his men trudged through thigh-high water for almost a mile to reach their jumping off point.

The Battle Begins

The main assault of the American First Army to reduce the Saint-Mihiel salient began with massive four-hour artillery preparation fires from approximately 3,000 artillery pieces all around the salient at 0100 on 12 September. Thousands of rounds hit well-known German artillery positions, observation



Maj Ernest C. Williams had a reputation as a hard-fighting Marine, reinforced by the Medal of Honor he was awarded prior to WWI and before he assumed command of 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment, in July 1918.

Marine Corps History Division



A major in this 1917 photograph, Arthur J. O'Leary was the post censor officer at Marine Barracks Mare Island, CA, prior to transferring to Marine Barracks Quantico, VA, for training and further transfer to France commanding the 1st Machine Gun Replacement Battalion en route to war. Marine Corps History Division



Saint-Mihiel, September 1918. Schutz Group Photographers' Collection, Library of Congress



American artillerymen fire a French M1897, 75mm field gun during the initial assault on the Saint-Mihiel salient on 12 September 1918. National Archives

posts, headquarters elements, and trenches, disrupting communications and destroying artillery and ammunition sites. Then, prior to the first infantry attacks at 0500, smoke screens were laid to prevent German observation of the moving infantry in the rainy predawn light. The timing of the American offensive hardly could have been better. Earlier in an August 1918 German coordination conference, General Erich Ludendorff, chief of staff of the Ger-

man Army, approved a deepening of the south front of the Saint-Mihiel outpost zone and a move rearward of the main line of resistance as soon as an impending Allied attack was suspected. The surging concentration of Allied forces, mainly American, strongly signaled a pending attack; therefore, on 8 September, the Germans ordered the movement of heavy artillery to the rear into the *Michel* position. Then, on 10 September, Army Group Gallwitz directed: "The work of removing materiel and equipment will be started with all energy, since a more threatening situation might necessitate cutting short the time for salvaging the stores and force a premature beginning of the Loki movement." The withdrawal of German forces to the new main line of resistance began on the night of 11-12 September 1918. First Lieutenant Thomason noted the enemy was already in the process of moving back when the American First Army initiated its artillery preparation fires.

Impressed by the massive artillery fire raining down on the Germans, Sergeant McCune, in the 5th Regiment, recorded in his diary: "The noise was terrific; huge guns emplaced everywhere thundered steadily until 5 a.m., raising tremendous havoc on the Boche [German] position." At 0500 on 12 September, U.S. Army infantrymen moved forward in the attack as the artillery continued a rolling barrage in front of the advancing doughboys. The Germans provided little opposition, responding with a weak

counterbarrage. After a light day, McCune noted the 55th Company set up near Thiaucourt for the night, and then the next day, moved to a hill near the Bois de Bonvaux, where it remained until the night of 15 September.

Lejeune, in his report to Major General Liggett, commanding I Corps, noted Allied air maintained superiority most of the day, with the enemy gaining dominance for short periods when larger numbers of squadrons appeared. Corporal Nelson, in 97th Company, 6th Regiment, wrote later that, despite the Army Air Service's massed aircraft, enemy air constantly threatened, and the men on the ground frequently engaged the German aircraft. As his company moved out on 12 September, following 23d Regiment, a German airplane swooped down, strafing the Marines. Hard-luck Private John Quan, who had just returned to the company on 9 September after being wounded at Belleau Wood in June, clutched his leg and had to be evacuated once again.

A 12 September entry in the German *Army Group Gallwitz* war diary stated:

The rapid opening of the hostile attacks against the west and south fronts of the Army Detachment, and the initial successes of the enemy in the vicinity of Thiaucourt, which as already mentioned greatly threatened the execution of the Michel Movement, which had been provided for in case of an attack, had caused Army Detachment "C" to order the Loki Movement to be started, doing this on its own initiative and responsibility. This was started by 12.00 noon by Corps Mihiel. Army Group had approved the action taken and reported the movement instituted to GHQ [General Headquarters]. The movements made by Corps Mihiel were carried out according to schedule without being disturbed materially by the enemy. They were continued throughout the night.

In a report sent to I Corps at 0848 on 12 September, the 2d Division celebrated a large number of captured Germans being moved to the rear of its lines at the cost of few casualties. The report ended with: "We are going strong." A following

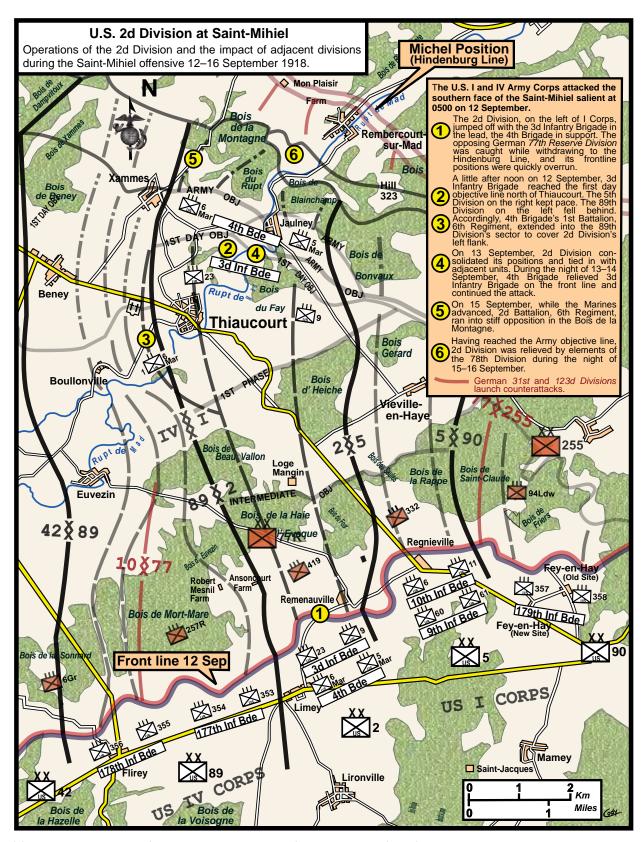
report at 1035 points to the low morale and poor combat effectiveness of the opposing German forces. Prisoners from the 77th Division said their officers had run away, deserting them during the preceding night.

Continuing the attack, the division reached its first phase line about an hour ahead of schedule, holding there for another artillery concentration to further soften the German resistance and continuing the attack after 1100. By noon, the 23d Regiment, on the division's left, pushed through Thiaucourt, receiving only light German artillery fire. The planned line of advance for the first day of the attack, which in the 9th Infantry's zone of action was the First Army objective, was reached around 1300. By 1400, 23d Infantry had reached the final Army objective in its zone. While the 3d Brigade consolidated its position across the division front, the 23d Infantry sent patrols forward to Jaulny and Xammes. Major General Liggett would later note that when 2d Division captured Thiaucourt and the high ground north of the city, the Germans had no hope of retaining the salient.

Major Barker, commanding the reinforced 1st Battalion, 6th Regiment, attached to 23d Infantry to maintain liaison with IV Corps' 89th Division during the attack, reported the mission accomplished with limited enemy resistance and few casualties. His Marines captured 13 prisoners this first day and, after the Army objective was reached, the battalion moved to a reserve position near Thiaucourt.

The Marines did get a little action on the division's right during the night of the first day of battle. The commander of the 9th Regiment, Army Colonel George Stuart, concerned about a possible counterattack, made an urgent request for two companies from 5th Regiment to reinforce his left flank. Major Shearer, commanding 3d Battalion, 5th Regiment, sent a couple of battle-tested leaders to respond to Colonel Stuart's call: Captain Robert Yowell and his 16th Company and First Lieutenant Richard N. Platt with his 20th Company.

Yowell, an experienced former enlisted Marine, joined the Corps in 1904 and rose to first sergeant prior to commissioning while in Santo Domingo in August 1917. He joined the 16th Company in January 1918 and had commanded the company continuously since March, leading his men with



The 2d Division jumped off in the attack at 0500 on 12 September 1918 after a four-hour artillery preparation. Map by LtCol R. L. Cody, USMC (Ret)



The capture of the key town of Thiaucourt and the high ground to the north on 12 September made the continued hold on the Saint-Mihiel salient by German forces impossible.

Schutz Group Photographers' Collection, Library of Congress

cool excellence through both Belleau Wood and Soissons without being wounded—a remarkable feat in the face of devastating combat losses.⁶

Platt was an equally interesting and proven leader, coming into the Marine Corps riding the surge of patriotism at the war's beginning. He was appointed a second lieutenant in March 1917, with a date of rank in February. He joined 20th Company in July 1917, sailed with the unit to France in August 1917, and assumed command of the company in September, never to yield it until October 1918 when he was assigned to the Army School of Instruction in Langres, France. He fought with the company with valor at Belleau Wood and Soissons before taking it into the fight to reduce the Saint-Mihiel salient.⁷

Both companies were ordered to move up, and Stuart reported to the commander of 3d Brigade at 2130 on 12 September: "Now two companies [of] Marines in support and will make every attempt to hold out till morning." The Marines were ready to take on and repel the anticipated German counterattack. The two companies remained in place until

around 2100 on 13 September when they returned to the control of Shearer's 3d Battalion, 5th Regiment. While the attack did not develop in their area, the Marines had proved they were ready, willing, and able.

Two Marine colonels commanded Army regiments in the Battle of Saint-Mihiel. The recently promoted Colonel Frederic M. Wise, who brought 2d Battalion, 5th Regiment, to France in 1917, played a key role on the side of the salient opposite Lejeune's 2d Division. When his Marine battalion left the lines at Pont-à-Mousson in August 1918 en route to the training area, Wise learned he had been a colonel since 1 July and knew he was now "promoted out of the Marine Brigade," as there was no available assignment for a colonel.

Wise received orders to the 4th Division and was soon in command of 59th Regiment, which was deployed on the extreme left of the salient for the coming attack in case of a German counterattack against that AEF flank when the battle began. In his memoir, *A Marine Tells It to You*, Wise notes that in preparation for the assault, "mile after mile the American guns stretched, wheel to wheel, beneath their camouflage netting. Behind them for miles the shells were piled by millions." The artillery preparation fires did their damage as all assigned division and regimental objectives were swiftly tak-

⁶ He was awarded a Silver Star for his bravery in action in Belleau Wood and would earn two more at Blanc Mont in October, commanding the company through the remainder of the war. Yowell eventually retired as a major in April 1945 with almost 41 years of active service.

 $^{^{7}}$ Platt would later be awarded a Silver Star during the Mont Blanc battle for gallantry in action.

en. The weather, constant rain, limited visibility, and the rats in the old French trenches were the greatest threat, as by 1000 on the first day of the battle, the fighting was over in the 59th Regiment's area. Another Marine colonel commanding an Army regiment would make more dramatic contributions to success in the battle.

By midmorning on 12 September, Fuchs was fully aware that his Combres Group in the west of the salient and his Gorz Group on the south were losing ground far too rapidly to allow his center forces, the Saint-Mihiel Group, to escape the AEF's pincer movement. He issued emergency orders to get on with the Loki movement while conducting delaying and rear guard actions. The German war diary noted that the 77th Reserve Division was overrun by rapidly moving Allies on the south side of the salient, and to protect the withdrawing forces, Fuchs ordered a counterattack by the 31st and 123d Divisions, providing relief for the German units in the continuing Loki movement. The 31st Division, with its battalions averaging roughly 600 effective fighters, attacked 2d Division all around Jaulny close to 2200, but with little effect other than allowing the heavily attrited 10th and 77th Divisions to withdraw through the lines of the counterattacking German divisions.

By the evening of 12 September, the enemy situation was clearing and the timing was ripe for an attack to penetrate to Vigneulles from both sides of the salient to pinch it off, capturing German units inside. Objectives for the second day had been reached and General Pershing wanted to capitalize on the day's successes quickly. Orders were issued sending 1st Division from the south face of the salient and the U.S. Army's 26th Infantry "Yankee" Division from the west, with the forces meeting at Vigneulles.⁸

The 26th Infantry Division chose Marine Colonel Hiram Bearss and his 102d Infantry to lead its charge, and the race was on to garner the honor of reaching Vigneulles, closing off the escape of German *Group Mihiel* and straightening the AEF



Marine Col Frederic C. Wise commanded 59th Regiment, 4th Division, on the western flank of the Saint-Mihiel salient. Marine Corps History Division

lines. Bearss was determined to reach Vigneulles first. Risking a German attack, he lined up his regiment on the Grand Tranchée, a wide road built by Louis XVI of France to ease access to his palace at Hattonchâtel in Vigneulles. Bearss dismounted his horse, moved to the front of the column to lead the way, and stepped out smartly just after 2100. Unaware of the planned rush to Vigneulles, the 1st Division continued its attack, entering heavy undergrowth in the Nonsard Wood. Although the men encountered only limited resistance, the going was extremely slow as they got lost in the thickets, while others simply stopped to sleep. Bearss pushed on in the rain, bearing down on Vigneulles: a fool if he encountered heavy German resistance with resulting casualties, but a hero for the ages should his unit take Vigneulles for First Army. By 0230 on 13 September, Pershing's 58th birthday, Bearss' unit was in Vigneulles, capturing the majority of a German machine gun battalion and the city as a birthday present for Pershing. The 1st Division's lead doughboys entered the town around 0600. The Foch-Pershing line of advance had been attained.

⁸The Yankee Division was formed in July 1917 and activated in August the same year. It was based in Boston for most of its history, with units from the New England area, hence the "Yankee" nickname hinting at its geographic makeup.



Col Hiram I. Bearss, commander of the 102d Infantry, 26th Division, was a severe but fair leader who was awarded a Medal of Honor for bravery in battle in Samar in 1910. Marine Corps History Division

THE MARINE BRIGADE TAKES THE LEAD

By late afternoon on 13 September, Major General Lejeune, commanding 2d Division, sent 4th Brigade forward to relieve 3d Brigade along the First Army objective line. Brigadier General Neville, commanding the Marine brigade, issued Field Orders No. 10 directing the commanders of his two infantry regiments—5th and 6th Regiments—to coordinate with the commanders of 9th and 23d Infantry to effect the relief, moving into position prior to dusk. Command of the front passed to Neville at his post of command in Thiaucourt at midnight on 13-14 September. Successes on 12 September had pushed the division line near Xammes on the left, across to include Jaulny, and to the southwest corner of the 5th Division on the 2d Division's right at the Bois de Bonvaux. The 2d Division front was just in advance of the Army objective line on the division's right.

Colonel Logan Feland's 5th Regiment replaced 9th Infantry on the right of the division, while Colonel

Harry Lee's 6th Regiment replaced 23d Infantry on the left. Well designed, the relief in place had the men moving in small units, holding to defilade and woods, limiting German surveillance. The Marines assumed the lead without a hitch by 0400 on 14 September.

Even with the established policy directing that 20 percent of each company, including one officer, be left out of battle and remain in the rear as a reserve to rebuild the unit should casualties be so extreme as to render a unit ineffective, the brigade strength remained good. The policy of leaving 20 percent in the rear was one of the hard lessons reinforced at Belleau Wood and Soissons, where certain units were almost wiped out. In naming those Marines to remain ready in the rear, some unit commanders avoided tagging only experienced veterans among that proportion; although altruism and respect for battles endured made that an appealing route, experience was needed in the attack. Corporal Nelson from 97th Company, 3d Battalion, 6th Regiment, reported that his unit identified a mix of experienced noncommissioned officers and new replacements among the "20 percenters." His battalion had received 250 new replacements on 11 September while waiting in the Bois de la Rappe to move into the attack and needed seasoned fighters. Still, even with the 20 percent out of action and the significant number of new replacements, the battalion's World War I history notes that "never before had the Battalion gone into an attack so well organized and equipped."

In 96th Company, 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment, the 20 percent was drawn from those veterans who had been in the most fighting. A junior officer who rapidly became a central figure in the company because of his leadership during the battles of Belleau Wood and Soissons and a future Commandant of the Marine Corps, First Lieutenant Clifton B. Cates, was among those men left out of the fighting at the Battle of Saint-Mihiel. Captain Wethered Woodworth, badly wounded at Soissons while leading 96th Company, had returned to 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment, to command 78th Company, and he too opted to pull the veterans to make up his

⁹The term *defilade* in this context refers to the use of normal terrain, such as a ravine or creek bed and woods, to protect against observation and direct fire.

company's 20 percent. With the noted high number of replacements received by the 4th Brigade, subsequent to the dedicated training period and rehearsal in late August, the absence of seasoned veterans created challenges when the battle was joined, particularly on 15 September.



BGen Wendell C. Neville commanded the 4th Brigade, 2d Division, in the September 1918 attack to reduce the longstanding Saint-Mihiel salient. Marine Corps History Division

Getting into Position Saturday, 14 September

Brigadier General Neville's Marine brigade devoted 14 September to feeling out the German lines and repositioning. The morning found 5th Regiment establishing an outpost line stretching from the north side of the Bois de Hailbat across to the northeast corner of the Bois de la Montagne. Initially, Colonel Feland placed Lieutenant Colonel O'Leary's 1st Battalion, 5th Regiment, to the north of Jaulny in an outpost position; Major Messersmith's 2d Battalion, 5th Regiment, in a supporting position; and Major Shearer's 3d Battalion, 5th Regiment, in reserve. On the 2d Division's left, Colonel Lee began the day with Lieutenant Colonel Sibley's 3d Battalion, 6th Regiment, in an outpost position with Major Williams's 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment, in a support position east of Xammes and Major Barker's 1st Battalion, 6th Regiment, in reserve.

In the early afternoon, the division messaged Neville to have his Marines aggressively patrol to the front to determine the German main line of resistance. The brigade adjutant, Lieutenant Colonel Earl H. Ellis, simply forwarded the division message to the regiments for action, and Neville followed up with verbal guidance to his commanders later in the day. At 1740, Lee, in his post of command at Thiaucourt, ordered Sibley to move his 3d



American doughboys streamed to the frontlines, pressing the German withdrawal from the Saint-Mihiel salient. National Archives



Jaulny, not originally included in the American First Army objective line, was added due to heavy machine-gun and rifle fire originating from the city. Heavy bombardment by German artillery devastated the town after its capture. Originally published in Records of the 2d Division in the World War, vol. 6, "Report of Operations Second Division, 12–16 September 1918," Second Division Historical Section, Army War College, Washington, DC, 255. Schutz Group Photographers' Collection, Library of Congress

Battalion up to the Army objective line in the area from northwest of Jaulny to just north of Xammes, south of the forested Bois de la Montagne. Then, he directed Barker to move his 1st Battalion forward to reconnoiter the wood out to about two kilometers in front of the 3d Battalion. Williams was ordered to move his 2d Battalion into the former 3d Battalion position in support. Later that evening, Lee had his 1st and 2d Battalion commanders place covering detachments on the left to protect the 2d Division flank as IV Corps' 89th Division had not kept pace on that side. The regiment also coordinated an on-call preplanned artillery barrage to help seal the flank if needed.

Addressing the 89th Division's advance on the left of 2d Division earlier that morning one of the notable deeds of the brigade after it assumed the lead was achieved by its hospital corpsmen inside the 89th Division's zone. With the 6th Regiment on the 2d Division's far left, about even with the town of Xammes in the adjacent 89th Division's zone of action, Colonel Lee sent a chief pharmacist's mate and four hospital corpsmen, among them Hospital Apprentice First Class David E. Hayden, who was awarded the Medal of Honor for his actions in the fighting the next day, from Thiaucourt to establish

an advance aid station in Xammes. Lee was under the impression the 89th Division was in possession of the town and the roads in and out of Xammes, making it a good site for consolidation, treatment, and evacuation of wounded. The Navy men met no resistance inside the town and quickly established an aid station; however, linkup with the doughboys did not happen, as no U.S. soldiers could be found.

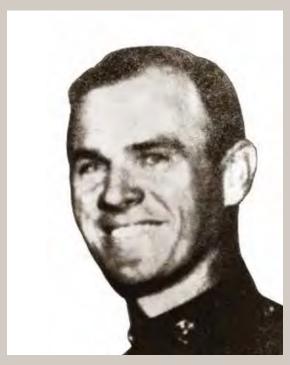
Hours after readying to treat casualties, the soldiers of the 89th Division's assault element entered Xammes to find the major objective of their division occupied by the U.S. Navy. Navy hospital corpsmen of the 6th Regiment, 4th Brigade, 2d Division, wearing olive drab U.S. Army uniforms, had stolen the march and captured the town—perhaps a first in U.S. Navy history.

General Thomas Holcomb, 13th Commandant of the Marine Corps and World War I veteran of the 6th Regiment, wrote in the preface to the Medical Department of the U.S. Navy's *Navy Medics with the Marines*, 1917–1919, that "never had there been more notable displays of heroism, greater accomplishments of valor, or more courageous acts under the most arduous conditions than on the battlefields of France during World War I," but this one was unique.

DAVID E. HAYDEN

avid Ephraim Hayden was born in Florence, Texas, grew up on a ranch and joined the U.S. Navy Hospital Corps in Houston, Texas, on 21 May 1917, not long after war was declared. After training in San Diego, California, and Quantico Virginia, he was assigned to the 6th Regiment, serving with the 2d Battalion in France.

During the battle to reduce the Saint-Mihiel salient, 12-15 September 1918, Hospital Apprentice Third Class Hayden initially was assigned to an aid station in the recaptured town of Thiaucourt. From there, he went forward with 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment. In the early predawn darkness of 15 September, the battalion was attacked while in a column of companies moving forward on the road. The Marines scattered and the fight was on, but in isolated pockets, throughout the morning. When Corporal Carlos D. Creed, 96th Company, 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment, rushed forward and crossed a field, he was hit hard by enemy fire. That is when Hayden swung into action, running under fire to Creed, treating his wounds as best as possible where he lay, and then carrying him to safety. Despite Hayden's efforts, Creed died from his wounds. For his actions in the face of intense enemy fire, Hayden was awarded the Medal of Honor.



Bureau of Medicine Library and Archives, U.S. Navy

Hayden left the Navy in July 1920 as a pharmacist's mate third class. He later became a U.S. Marshal, serving for 34 years, and died on 18 March 1974. He is buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

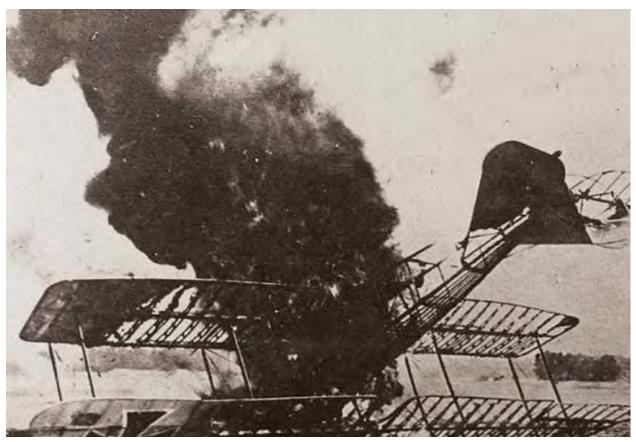
However, it was the actions by hospitalmen and doctors during the next two days that helped earn the accolades of future Commandant Holcomb and garnered the admiration and respect of all the Marines. The value of the Navy's medical service in the Battle of Saint-Mihiel would be dramatically demonstrated in the next 48 hours.

Just prior to midnight on 14 September, Sibley advised Lee that he had established his new battalion post of command at a grid location just inside the southeastern edge of a small wood west of Jaulny. He positioned Captain Thomas T. McEvoy's 97th Company on the right of his line and Captain Lewis M. Bourne's 84th Company on the left, with Captain James H. Johnston's 82d Company and Captain Alfred H. Noble's 83d Company waiting for first light to be repositioned. Sibley also reported that Barker and his 1st Battalion passed through his lines at 2100 on their way north to conduct the earlier directed reconnaissance. Indicative of the Germans'

ability to see what the Marines were doing and react accordingly, Sibley noted that the German artillery was heavily shelling his current and previous positions, and around 2300, German aircraft bombed the area of his recently vacated headquarters.

A small morale-lifting victory for the Marines amid all the jockeying for position on 14 September was recorded by Sergeant Karl McCune from 55th Company, 2d Battalion, 5th Regiment, whose unit was located east of Thiaucourt and southwest of the Bois de Bonvaux. He wrote in his diary that excitement in an otherwise quiet day was provided by a lone German aviator who flew low over the company, drawing the fire of every man with a rifle or a pistol as well as the machine gunners. The aircraft was downed nearby, the pilot captured, and the aircraft stripped for souvenirs.

The positioning, patrolling, and outposting efforts on 14 September were in preparation for turning over the sector. Although the action was far



A German biplane brought down during the Battle of Saint-Mihiel on 12 September 1918 is destroyed. Gilles Lagin Collection

from over, to facilitate planning and initial efforts for future relocation, I Corps issued *Field Orders No. 30*, alerting the 2d Division of its pending relief, less the 2d Field Artillery Brigade, by the 155th Brigade, 78th Division. Relief was to begin on the night of 15 September and be completed by the evening of 16 September. The division was moving back to the Ansauville-Royaumeix area, near Domèvre-en-Haye, 15 miles to the rear.

Day of Challenge Sunday, 15 September

That Sunday proved the most demanding for the Marines, particularly for Major Williams and his leathernecks in 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment. Complicating the looming contact, German pilots dominated the air, finding the Marines and calling in deadly artillery fire.

Just after midnight on 14–15 September, Colonel Lee received a message from Colonel Neville notifying him that Colonel Feland had been ordered to establish a line of outposts to his right front along a line from the northern edge of the Bois de Hailbat across to the Bois de la Montagne. Lee's mission was changed from reconnoitering the Bois de la Montagne to outposting the north edge of that wood across to the woods between Xammes and Charey.¹⁰ During the outposting, Lee was to ensure he maintained liaison with 5th Regiment on his right and IV Corps' 89th Division moving up on his left. Lee immediately launched a runner to Major Barker, changing his 1st Battalion's mission from reconnaissance of the wood with two infantry companies to establishing an outpost line with all four of his infantry companies on a "general line [along the] north edge of Bois de la Montagne and the north edge of the woods lying between Xammes and Charey and establish[ing] combat liaison with the 5th Marines on the right and 89th Division on your left." Lee also informed Barker that Williams's 2d Battalion would be sent forward to the southern edge of the woods in support of his outpost line.

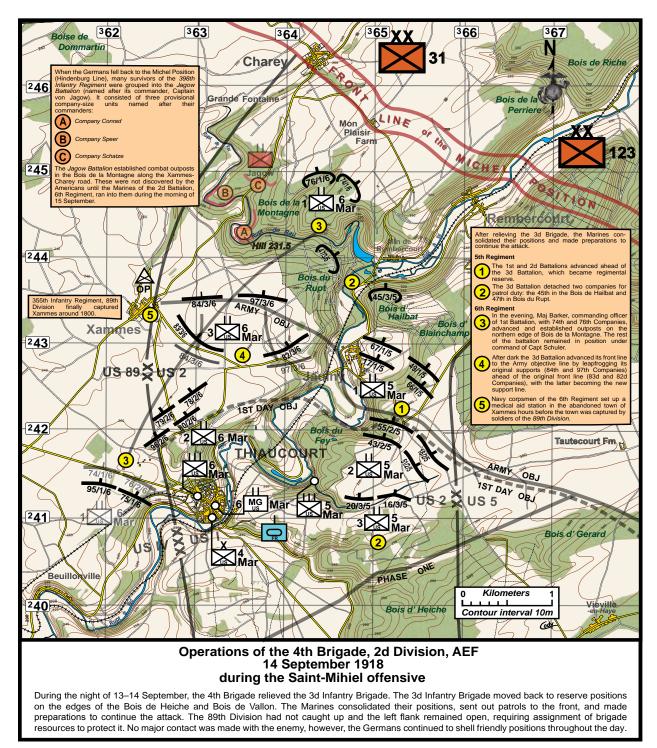
After sending the runner with the changed mission to Barker, Lee sent a runner to Williams at 0212 with a message directing him to "proceed immediately with your Bn. [battalion] and M.G. Co. [machine gun company] north and occupy the line from Xammes-Charey Road Eastward across the Southern edge of the woods lying between Xammes and Charey along the unimproved road running East and West through the Bois de la Montagne and the X line 244.3 from hill 231.5."11 Just minutes later, Lee demonstrated his lack of knowledge on the enemy situation when another of his runners carried a message to Lieutenant Colonel Sibley in 3d Battalion, informing him that "things seem to be going well up at the front," and updating him on the locations of the 5th and 89th Divisions, and the 5th Marines and the revised missions of both Barker and Williams. Lee included no update on the enemy situation and provided no indication of the forthcoming buzz saw that would cut into the 2d Battalion.

Major Williams assembled his battalion immediately after receiving Lee's order to move forward and was quickly on the road, leading his men from horseback with First Lieutenant Graves B. Erskine's Intelligence Section, containing the scouts, just ahead. The very long, difficult-to-control column moved in a less-than-tactical procession with the battalion headquarters group—80th, 96th, 79th, 78th, and the attached 81st Machine Gun Company, 6th Machine Gun Battalion—following the scouts and Williams. Williams reported to 6th Regiment that his unit turned onto the unimproved road through the Bois de la Montagne at 0500. A good description of the wood comes from the memoir of Private Carl A. Brannen, who joined the Marine Corps in a fit of patriotic fervor in February 1918 after dropping out of Texas A&M University in the middle of his sophomore year. 12 Now in 80th Company, very close to the front of the column, he

¹⁰ The term *outposting* refers to when a smaller group or military unit establishes positions some distance in front of the larger, main organization to provide warning of advancing enemy, preventing surprise.

¹¹ The map scale: 1/20,000. The X line 244.3 refers to the northing grid line 244.3. The digits identify a location within a 1 km grid square. The X line and Y line were often used in 4th Brigade message traffic to provide location, with the X line referring to the horizontal grid line and the Y line referring to the vertical grid line. The Bois de la Montagne was approximately located between the 363–366 easting and 244–245 northing grid squares (on p. 40).

¹² Founded as the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, the small school was established in College Station, TX, as an all-male military institution where membership in the Corps of Cadets was mandatory until 1964.



The successes in the 2d Division advance on 12 September set the stage for the 4th Brigade as it assumed responsibility for the division's front lines on 14 September.

Map by LtCol R. L. Cody, USMC (Ret)



1stLt Graves B. Erskine (shown as a captain), in charge of the 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment's scout section, cautioned his battalion commander, Maj Ernest C. Williams, not to advance into the Bois de la Montagne.

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described the wood: "The Bois de la Montagne is a wood shaped like a W, roughly two kilometers wide. The top of the W is oriented to the northeast." The areas to the north and south of the wood were open farmland, however, steep slopes inside the wood rose fairly quickly above Le Rupt Rau, a stream flowing across the unimproved road and on into the Rupt de Mad. The forested, steep terrain provided ample opportunity to hide German artillery observers, riflemen, and Maxim machine guns.¹³

Barker expected Williams to check in as he moved up in support; however, Barker later reported that Williams entered the Bois de la Montagne to the west of his position without contacting him. While Williams stopping to coordinate would have reduced later positioning issues, Barker had little information on the enemy situation to pass along. Williams continued, leading his leathernecks on the road toward the bridge traversing the stream in

a heavy morning ground fog limiting visibility to about 50 yards. With little knowledge of what lay ahead, Erskine cautioned Williams not to advance farther into the southern edge of the woods. With his battalion stretching from near Hill 231.5 and back up the road across the small bridge, Williams halted to confirm his location.

Williams may well have thought this part of the woods unoccupied, as he was a bit surprised when he saw a detachment of German soldiers moving back toward the north. When a leatherneck opened fire on the Germans, they scrambled away only to be pursued by the battalion's German-born sergeant major, Sergeant Major William Ulrich, shouting at them in their own language to halt and surrender. Ulrich had been with the battalion headquarters since early August, coming from 80th Company on temporary duty as acting battalion sergeant major. He was joined officially on the 2d Battalion muster roll as the battalion sergeant major on 1 September and promoted from gunnery sergeant to sergeant major by the regiment on a temporary foreign warrant effective 6 September. 14 Not lacking combat experience, he had been awarded a Silver Star for the ribbon of his World War I Victory Medal at Soissons in July, but acting somewhat impetuously now, he ran after the fleeing Germans. It worked out well, as he returned to the battalion with 51 prisoners, which garnered him a Navy Cross.

Erskine, his scouts, and some Marines from other companies also chased to the north after the fleeing Germans. Breaking out of a tree line into the open, the Americans discovered they were close to the Germans' well-fortified Hindenburg Line. Erskine was among those wounded as German machine gunners reacted to the encroaching Marines. Later, Corporal Edward J. Wollert, from 79th Company, moved to Erskine's aid as six Germans attempted to take him captive. Wollert shot two with his pistol, and Erskine killed two more. Wollert forced the remaining two men into service as stretcher-bearers, carrying the wounded Erskine to

¹³ The Maxim gun was developed by Hiram Maxim in 1884. Manufacturing was financed by Englishman Albert Vickers, and the weapon was sometimes known as the Vickers-Maxim and later, after redesign, just Vickers. The Maxim was the first fully automatic machine gun, which was recoil operated and water cooled.

¹⁴Marine regimental commanders were authorized to promote senior enlisted during the war on temporary foreign warrants based on the needs of the unit and individual performance, pending selection by a formal promotion board. Ulrich was returned to his permanent rank of gunnery sergeant at the end of the war, then promoted to sergeant major in January 1919 and appointed a provisional second lieutenant in the Marine Corps Reserve in March 1919.





Col Logan Feland, (left) commanding 5th Regiment, and Col Harry Lee, (right) commanding 6th Regiment, were proven leaders who continued in command of their regiments through the end of the war. Lee is wearing his one star as a brigadier general in 1919.

Marine Corps History Division

the rear. Wollert was recommended for the Medal of Honor by his unit and ultimately awarded a Navy Cross for saving Erskine.¹⁵

The most vicious fighting yet encountered in the Battle of Saint-Mihiel ensued; the Marines had stumbled into the German outpost line of resistance fronting the Hindenburg Line. German General Max von Gallwitz, overall commander of the area, was rushing in reserves to defend the area against a suspected heavy attack by General Pershing's AEF attempting to penetrate the Hindenburg Line and gain the crucial German bastion

of Metz. In spite of Gallwitz's movement of forces, the 6th Regiment was attacking a weakened battalion in a delaying action: the Jagow Battalion, named for its commander Captain von Jagow of the 398th Infantry Regiment. Jagow had just assumed command of the battalion on 13 September and that evening reorganized seven understrength companies into three, each named for the lieutenant commanding the merged unit: 5th, 6th, and 7th Companies became Company Schatze; 9th and 10th Companies formed Company Conrad; and 11th and 12th Companies consolidated into Company Speer. Each company retained its numerical designation for later expansion. On 14 September, undetected by the Americans, Company Speer was on the German right, Company Conrad on the left, and Company Schatze in support. At midnight, the 6th and 7th Companies of Company Schatze were inserted in the German line between Company Speer and Company Conrad. The Germans had detected the 2d Battalion column at 0600 and reported their field pickets withdrawing and some soldiers of Company Conrad's 9th and 10th Companies on Hill 231.5 captured.

¹⁵ In his oral history interview conducted in October 1969, 51 years after the battle, Gen Graves Erskine recalls this action somewhat differently. He said he was ordered by Maj Williams to chase the withdrawing Germans and he took Ulrich with him, telling Ulrich to shout at them in German to halt. Erskine stated that a Marine named "Vale" found him wounded at about 1000 that morning and carried him to medical assistance. For this, Erskine gave Vale his .45-caliber pistol. According to the 96th Company muster roll, Pvt Archie M. Vale was in 96th Company, 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment, during the Battle of Saint-Mihiel. Vale was awarded a Silver Star to place on his WWI Victory Medal for gallantry in action during the Battle of Saint-Mihiel; however, the citation mentions no specific act. The 79th Company muster roll for September 1918 credits Cpl Wollert with saving Erskine and includes the text of a Medal of Honor recommendation for Wollert.

Sergeant Don Paradis from 1st Platoon, 80th Company, later wrote in his memoir that when the lead elements of his 200-yard-long company column crossed the bridge, "the Germans let loose machine gun and rifle fire." The Marines bolted, seeking cover on both sides of the road, as the Germans hit with rifle and machine-gun fire, all the while raining down artillery.

The 80th Company, commanded by First Lieutenant David R. Kilduff since the wounding of its commander, Captain Bailey M. Coffenberg, on 13 September, took the brunt of the initial attack. Paradis, expecting a German infantry assault, quickly assembled approximately 25 Marines armed with a mix of rifles, Chauchat automatic rifles, and two machine guns in a line in a nearby ditch to take on the Germans. The 80th Company's lead platoon took fire from two sides, and very quickly about half of Paradis' platoon, including Kilduff, was severely wounded. Kilduff, who was awarded two Silver Stars for gallantry and superb leadership during the Battle of Saint-Mihiel, died from his wounds.

While the battalion did have a standard operating procedure for reacting to an ambush, last-minute replacements arriving hours prior to the infantry advance on 12 September prevented participation in reaction drills developing the refined teamwork so necessary for effective action. Surprise at the ferocity of the German attack, the distance between the front and rear of the column, poor visibility, and general confusion resulted in a completely disorganized Marine response. The battalion was divided by the road with 79th Company, commanded by Captain George W. Martin, and a significant part of Captain Wethered Woodworth's 78th Company on the left of the road. The remainder of the battalion dug in along the road or on the right side. To his credit, Martin took charge of the reinforced company-size element on the left, getting it into the fight.

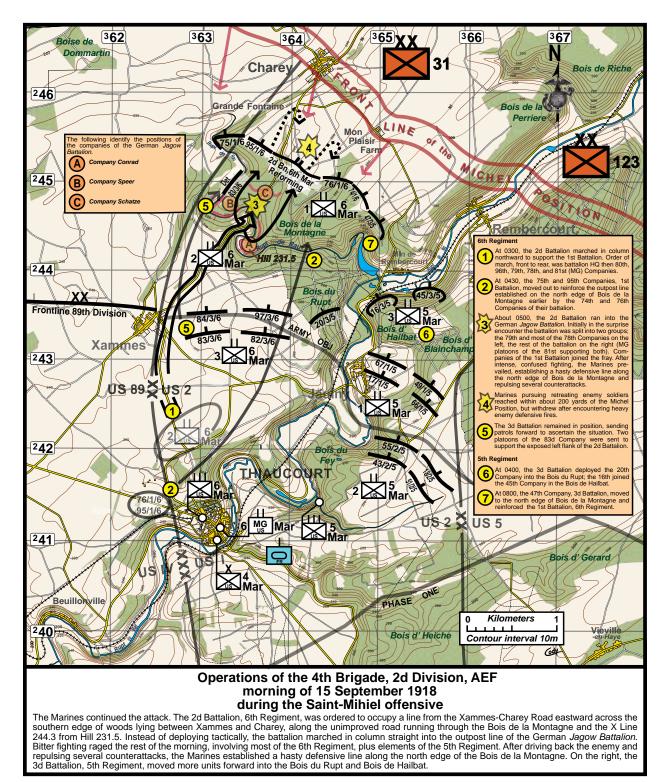
Uncertain of what was occurring at the front, Colonel Lee sent a field message at 0710 to Major Williams and 78th Company via a runner, directing Williams to halt and reorganize along the south edge of the wood at Hill 231.5 and support Major Barker, who had been directed to occupy the north edge of the wood. Taking the initiative to update the regiment on the situation, at 0715, Woodworth

sent a message to Lee advising him that Williams's 80th Company and a platoon of 96th Company were isolated by the attacking Germans from the rest of the battalion at approximately 363.5 easting and 244.6 northing on the map. Captain Martin, with his company and part of Woodworth's 78th Company, was encountering heavy resistance as they tried to advance.

The 96th Company went after German Company Conrad on Hill 231.5, but its commander, Captain John A. Minnis, soon fell with a chest wound, leaving the unit without central direction; however, individual Marines and small groups continued to fight off the enemy. The Germans obviously were targeting leaders, as Woodworth, who only recently recovered from his Soissons wounds, was wounded again. His second in command, First Lieutenant Archie W. French, also was wounded and evacuated, which left Second Lieutenant James P. Adams to command the disjointed 78th Company. Of the 2d Battalion's four infantry company commanders present on 12 September when the Battle of Saint-Mihiel began, only Martin remained in the fight.

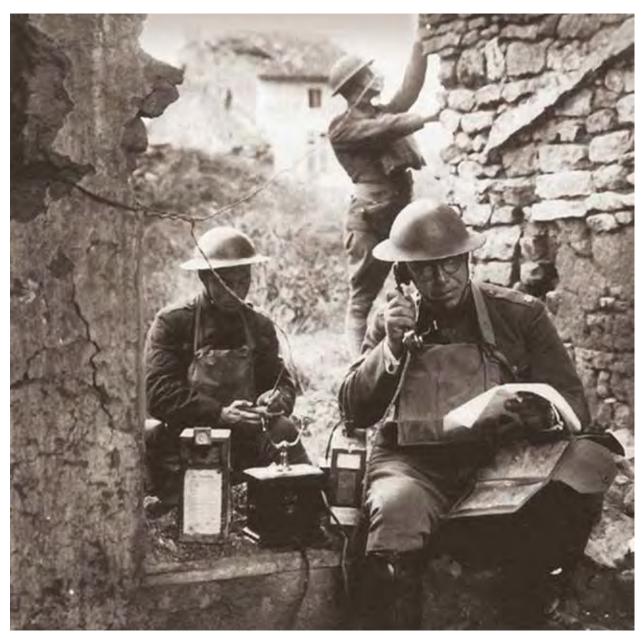
The audacious raw courage of individual Marines now began to shape the battle. Private John Joseph Kelly, a 78th Company runner from Chicago, Illinois, who had a reputation as a bad actor, looked around to see who might be the senior Marine left in the company. He spotted Sergeant Henry S. Bogan, rushed over to him, and together they organized a portion of the company to go into the attack, avoiding annihilation by the German machine-gun and rifle fire. Bogan led a detachment of leathernecks against a German machine gun, capturing the weapon and its crew and then charging on into enemy trenches, clearing them out to 150 yards. For his actions this day, Bogan was awarded both the Navy Distinguished Service Medal and Army Distinguished Service Cross. A proven leader, he earned a second Distinguished Service Cross and two Silver Stars during the Battle of Blanc Mont the next month.

Private Kelly and 16 others were pinned down in some rocks by attacking German infantry. The Germans hit them hard, taking down half of Kelly's men before the Marines could halt the attack. Not to be deterred, the Germans attacked again. This time Kelly was the loader for a Chauchat gunner.



The 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment, encountered stiff resistance on the left side of the Marine brigade on 15 September 1918. The action eventually involved units of both Marine regiments.

Map by LtCol R. L. Cody, USMC (Ret)



Communications were always an issue for military forces in WWI, and it was no easier for the Marines. Runners and field phone lines, such as the one being tested here during the Battle of Saint-Mihiel, were the primary means of communication. Gilles Lagin Collection

When his gunner was wounded, Kelly took over the gun, once again breaking up the attack. Kelly was awarded three Silver Stars for actions this day, and later, at Blanc Mont, earned the nation's highest combat award, the Medal of Honor.

Plenty of opportunities for valor existed, and the machine gunners stepped to the fore to claim their share. From 0800 to 1000, German artillery pounded the leathernecks of Major Williams's battalion. Captain Martin's Marines, on the left of the road, were reinforced by eight Hotchkiss M1914 machine guns from 81st Company, 6th Machine Gun Battalion, now commanded by First Lieutenant Edmund P. Norwood. Earlier in the morning, the 81st Company lost its commanding officer, First Lieutenant Jack S. Hart, when he was severely wounded while capturing a German Maxim machine gun and its crew, earning him a Navy Cross.

First Lieutenant Norwood, an experienced machine gun officer who was awarded a Silver Star during the fighting in June and July, stepped up to command the company from his second-in-command position. Second Lieutenant George Bower, a former sergeant, commissioned in July 1918, held his 81st Company machine guns in position during the seesaw fighting that morning, covering a withdrawing rifle platoon and halting an enemy counterattack. Wounded, he was evacuated and later awarded the Navy Cross for refusing to fall back in the face of the assaulting German infantry. Private James R. Brummett, a rifleman in the 81st Company machine gun platoon, stopped a German attempt to flank his machine guns with his tenacious and accurate rifle fire, which also brought him a Navy Cross.

Another machine gunner who helped prevent the Germans from overrunning 2d Battalion was Corporal Lyle C. Houchins in 73d Company, the



Pvt John Kelly from 78th Company, 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment, jumped into action on the morning of 15 September, helping to reorganize Marines in total disarray after a deadly attack by the German Jagow Battalion near Hill 231.5 in the Bois de la Montagne. Kelly was awarded three Silver Stars for actions during the Battle of Saint-Mihiel.

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6th Regiment's machine gun company. During one of the enemy counterattacks, Houchins repositioned his machine gun from its sheltered location out into the open to take the advancing Germans under fire from their flank. He is credited with breaking up an attack 100 yards short of the Marine lines. Houchins was promoted to sergeant by the regimental commander on 22 September in recognition of his heroic efforts. In 1919, Sergeant Houchins was awarded a Navy Cross and Distinguished Service Cross for the 15 September action, but these were posthumous awards. Houchins later died of wounds received in the Meuse-Argonne fighting on 1 November 1918.

Sergeant Paradis reported that German rifle and machine-gun fire fell unrelentingly until around 0900. He speculated that another attacking Marine company had forced a German withdrawal. In fact, the Jagow Battalion had simply exhausted its machine gun ammunition. When the Marine force was spotted earlier that morning, Captain von Jagow messaged 398th Regiment requesting an immediate resupply of machine gun ammunition. At 0845, he followed up, telling his higher headquarters that he had no more machine gun ammunition and declaring that now it was up to the German artillery to "smoke out the enemy from these ravines and patches of woods."

Confusion seemed to reign within 6th Regiment's headquarters and its battalions due to a lack of information. Colonel Lee needed to know who was where so he could influence the action. At 0930, he directed Lieutenant Colonel Sibley to send patrols forward to locate Major Barker and tell him to check in with the regiment. Sibley tapped his 84th and 97th Companies, ordering them to each send one patrol forward to find Barker and have him contact Lee, but Sibley also directed that the patrols locate the two separated elements of Williams's 2d Battalion. Barker messaged Lee at 1010, but only requested reinforcements to respond to a German counterattack. He did not update locations or provide more intelligence on the enemy situation. When communications finally were established, Lee reinforced his front lines with elements of both 1st and 3d Battalions.

At 1100, the Germans reinforced the *Jagow Battalion* and then, intent on keeping the attack-

ing Marines away from the *Michel* position (Hindenburg Line), they launched four counterattacks during the day. At 1800, remnants of the 6th Grenadier Regiment, who had been organized into a battalion on 14 September under Captain von Buddenbrock, and elements of the 398th Regiment, initiated another counterattack. This time, the Germans reported recapturing their lost outpost areas.

The Marine units holding the 6th Regiment's front had become a bit jumbled. Prior to the unanticipated arrival of the 2d Battalion along the northern edge of the wood, Barker ordered Captain George H. Stowall to move his 75th Company to the left of the battalion, outposting the northern edge of the Bois de la Montagne, and First Lieutenant John N. Popham Jr. to place his 95th Company in position to support Stowall. Popham had joined the company from the 1st Machine

Gun Replacement Battalion on 29 August and was thrust into command on 12 September when the company commander, First Lieutenant James A. Connor, was hospitalized due to illness. Before these 1st Battalion units could move to their positions, Major Williams moved his battalion into the area and was heavily engaged by the Germans. Toward the end of the day, the far left of the 6th Regiment's line was held by the 1st Battalion's 75th and 95th Companies, beside them were the 2d Battalion units, followed by another 1st Battalion company—74th Company—and then the 45th and 47th Companies of the 3d Battalion, 5th Regiment, whose Marines were dug in on the northern edge of the Bois de la Montagne. Further compounding the situation, 89th Division had not advanced on the left, so the 2d Division's flank was open. Called on to cover the flank, Major Barker



Open Attack at St. Mihiel by Lucien Jonas, ca. 1927. Jonas, a WWI artist, produced this drawing of U.S. forces firing invaluable Hotchkiss machine guns in the Battle of Saint-Mihiel.

Library of Congress, LC-DIG-pga-03886



Maj Frederick A. Barker's calm, experienced leadership paid off in the bloody fighting on 15 September in the Bois de la Montagne. Marine Corps History Division

dispatched 74th Company, commanded by yet another recent September arrival, Captain Robert H. Shiel, to protect the flank.¹⁶

The 2d Division's tanks, both heavy and light, had no influence in the battle. With the very heavy rains, they simply could not keep up with the infantry. The artillery had its challenges also. In his after action report, the commander of 3d Brigade, Army Brigadier General Hanson E. Ely excoriated the artillery for their performance, writing that he could not find his artillery liaison officer when fire was needed to break up German counterattacks and that friendly fire killed several of his soldiers. During the battle in and around Bois de la Montagne, artillery was available, but there is no indication that preplanned targets were prepared to support the 6th Regiment, certainly not 2d Battalion's advance on the morning of 15 September. However, Williams may not have requested artillery fire early on enemy contact that morning due to uncertainty as to the location of his men. In addition, artillery fire into forested and hilly terrain can be less than effective. While artillery was not employed in the close-in fight, artillery interdiction fires helped prevent unimpeded German reinforcements as deep counterbattery fires pummeled enemy artillery in the Charey-Saint-Julien area and battered the Mon Plaisir Farm and other German strongpoints.

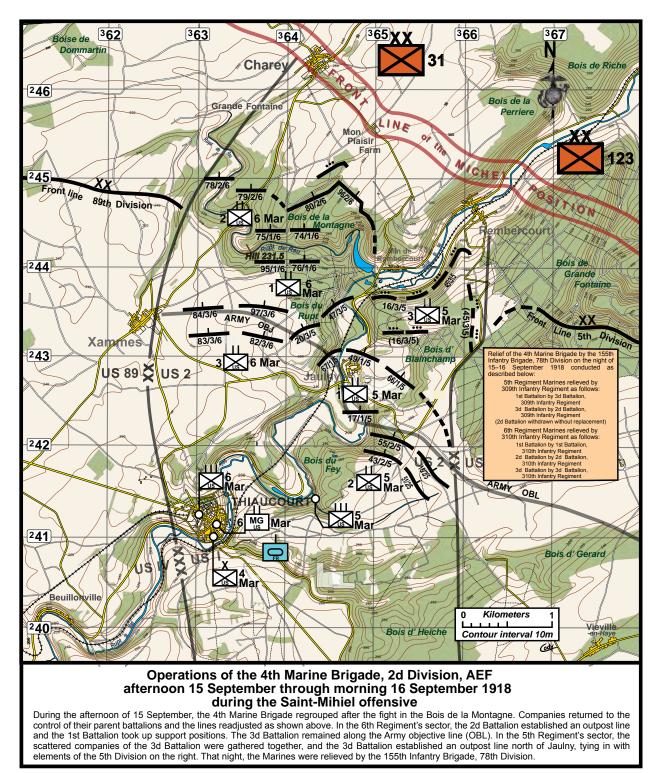
During the day, German aviators controlled the skies whenever they chose to surge and dominate. Marine machine gun units presented a valuable target and often were forced to defend themselves against air attack. In one example, Private Ernest W. Porter from 23d Company, 6th Machine Gun Battalion, was awarded a Navy Cross for actions near Thiaucourt while advancing with 6th Regiment. He and his gun crew were under an intense artillery barrage when a German aircraft attacked. Porter voluntarily rushed to man his machine gun and engage the aircraft, but was killed in the bombing.

On the other side of the 2d Division front, the 5th Regiment had a relatively quiet 15 September. They found no enemy in the Bois de Hailbat. As early as 1330, Feland was directed to dig in and hold where his units were located, preparing for the relief scheduled for that evening.

By the afternoon, the 2d Division issued a warning order informing the Marine brigade to expect relief by elements of the U.S. 78th Division during the evening. The relief would occur in spite of the continuing pressure from the enemy. Each regiment and the 6th Machine Gun Battalion were directed to accurately define its frontlines and designate guides to bring in the replacement units. The 155th Brigade, 78th Division, relieved the infantry regiments of the 4th Brigade during the evening and early morning hours of 15-16 September. The 4th Brigade reported a relatively easy relief operation that was completed by 0645 on 16 September. The 6th Machine Gun Battalion remained in position, retiring to rejoin the brigade 24 hours later.

The experience at the unit level did not reflect such a smooth transition. Sergeant McCune from 55th Company, 2d Battalion, 5th Regiment, closed his diary for the Battle of Saint-Mihiel,

¹⁶ Barker's calm and persistent leadership during the four-day Battle of Saint-Mihiel was recognized by the award of two Silver Stars for his World War I Victory Medal.



The Marines fought hard and, in spite of missteps, gained new glory while reinforcing to the German High Command their individual fighting tenacity. In the days leading to the 11 November Armistice, the experiences gained by the numerous new replacements and their leaders would prove to be the greatest benefit of the Battle of Saint-Mihiel. Map by LtCol R. L. Cody, USMC (Ret)



German prisoners of war are marched to the rear through Saint-Mihiel. Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-36562

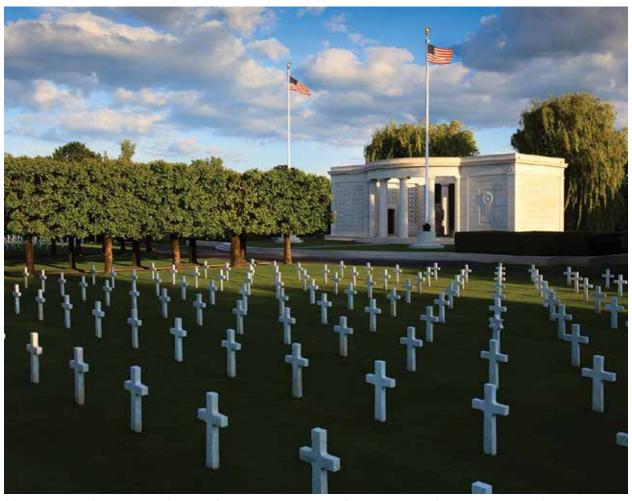
writing that the company was relieved at 0400 on 16 September but, due to road congestion, could not leave its position until noon, when the men marched to Minorville in clear weather and, for the first time in a long while, "over good roads."

MISSION ACCOMPLISHED, SALIENT ELIMINATED

In closing the Saint-Mihiel salient, the American First Army succeeded in driving back the German forces from an area the French had in their sights since the winter of 1914–15.

In his final report to Congress on the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I, Gen-

eral Pershing stated, "We captured nearly 16,000 prisoners, 443 guns, and large stores of material and supplies. The energy and swiftness with which the operation was carried out enabled us to smother opposition to such an extent that we suffered less than 7,000 casualties during the actual period of the advance." Major General Lejeune's 2d Division captured 3,300 of those prisoners and 118 of the guns, mostly by 3d Brigade in the first 24 hours of battle, as the AEF attempted to catch the bulk of the German force in a pocket with the 1st Division and 26th Division closing the salient by meeting at Vigneulles. The 4th Brigade made no claim to large numbers of guns or prisoners, initially reporting it practically impossible to give a complete and accurate account. In a 17 September



The World War I Saint-Mihiel American Cemetery and Memorial, final resting place for more than 4,000 Americans, in Thiaucourt, France, was dedicated in 1937. It is one of numerous American cemeteries abroad maintained by the American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC).

ABMC Lithograph

message, Colonel Harry Lee noted that the 6th Regiment captured two Austrian 88mm guns with ammunition and sights; 11 machine guns, including light machine guns and the heavier Maxims; a German ambulance; and two carts (wagonettes) with horses.

While the Battle of Saint-Mihiel is most often seen as an Army show, the Marines experienced the stiffening German resistance after assuming the lead on the night of 13–14 September, and sending large unit patrols forward to probe the German defenses. The 2d Division's 3d Brigade had hit the Germans as they were shuffling forces around, deepening their outpost line, and withdrawing some forces to a new main line of resistance. It experienced limited counterattacks

as the Germans fought to hold off the attacking soldiers to escape encirclement. However, General Max von Gallwitz, the senior German commander, was absolutely not going to allow the Hindenburg Line to be penetrated. When the Marines moved up, hitting his outposts, Gallwitz pushed more units into the area in case Pershing continued to attack. The Germans had yielded all they planned, the *Michel* position would be held at all costs, so the Marines were attacking determined defenders with their backs against a wall.

The Battle of Saint-Mihiel was the "full dress show" Pershing had sought for the AEF and provided the inspiration for Allied Supreme Commander Marshal Foch's offensive to end the war in 1918. It proved that the American military could

plan, equip, and win with an extremely large force of more than half a million men, and for many years, the effort to reduce the Saint-Mihiel salient was taught at U.S. Army schools as the preferred way to eliminate a salient—attacking the sides. Closing the salient was quite a satisfying birthday gift for Pershing, who celebrated his 58th birthday on 13 September with the news that Vigneulles had fallen and "the pincers had snapped shut."

As for 2d Division casualties in the Battle of Saint-Mihiel, the 3d Brigade reported 5 officers and 81 enlisted men killed in action and 9 officers and 274 enlisted men wounded. The final Navy Medical Department report for 4th Brigade indicated 3 officers and 57 men were killed, with another 86 men dying of their wounds, and 13 officers and 745 men wounded in action. The 4th Brigade's losses were heavier than the 3d Brigade's, and 6th Regiment accounted for the majority of the Marine

brigade's casualties. In comparison to the 4th Brigade's devastating losses in the June and July 1918 battles, Saint-Mihiel was relatively painless.

Captain George Hamilton, commander of 49th Company, 5th Regiment, in speaking with First Lieutenant John W. Thomason Jr., his second in command, described the Battle of Saint-Mihiel as a "walkover." He added further that "it was fine training for them [men], and even our greenest replacements had a chance to get over being gun-shy. . . . And the noncoms are fine, too. . . . [I] hope we don't lose too many of them."

The press to end the Great War was being felt in Germany. Great battles lay ahead, but the experience at Saint-Mihiel undoubtedly aided in securing victories in the weeks to come. Sadly, Captain Hamilton's wish for future human losses was not realized. Success in the coming battles would prove costly.

SOURCES

To 1924, at Fort Sam Houston, TX, the 2d Division dedicated a section under U.S. Army Capt Cylburn O. Mattfeldt to collect and preserve maps, orders, message traffic, and other papers pertaining to the division's operations in the First World War. Between 1924 and 1928, Mattfeldt completed an 11-volume effort, *Records of the Second Division (Regular)*, 1918–1919. The first nine volumes include official documents and the last two volumes are maps and overlay drawings. In 1930, the Second Division, Historical Section, U.S. Army War College, then located in Washington, DC, began researching, compiling, and translating the German War Diaries. This effort, completed in 1935, resulted in nine volumes titled, *Translations: War Diaries of German Units Opposed to the Second Division (Regular)*, 1918. The author's copies are courtesy of Col W. V. H. White, USMC (Ret). These volumes were a boon to the research and writing of this pamphlet.

While the Marine Corps History Division holds all the World War I unit muster rolls, the online muster rolls accumulated and made available by Ancestry.com were invaluable. Other sources of great value included: American Battle Monuments Commission, 2d Division: Summary of Operations in the World War (1944); American Battle Monuments Commission, American Armies and Battlefields in Europe: A History, Guide, and Reference Book (1938), reprinted with a new introduction by the U.S. Army, Center of Military History in 1992; Col Oliver Lyman Spaulding and Col John Womack Wright, with the Second Division Historical Committee, The Second Division, American Expeditionary Force in France, 1917-1919 (1937), though a reprint was done in 1989; U.S. Army, Center of Military History's online edition of Order of Battle of the United States Land Forces in the World War, vol. 1, American Expeditionary Forces: General Headquarters, Armies, Army Corps, Services of Supply, and Separate Forces (1988); BGen A. W. Caitlin, USMC, "With the Help of God and a Few Marines," (1919), though a reprint was done by Battery Press in 2004; George B. Clark, Decorated Marines of the Fourth Brigade in World War I (2007); George B. Clark, Devil Dogs: Fighting Marines of World War I (1999) and his updated edition of Devil Dogs: Fighting Marines of World War I, (2013); George B. Clark, History of the Marine Battalions in France, 1917–1918 (2011); George B. Clark, His Road to Glory: The Life and Times of "Hiking Hiram" Bearss, Hoosier Marine (2000); George B. Clark, ed., His Time in Hell: A Texas Marine in France: The World War I Memoir of Warren R. Jackson (2001); George B. Clark, The Second Infantry Division in World War I: A History of the American Expeditionary Force Regulars, 1917–1919 (2007); Tom FitzPatrick, Tidewater Warrior: The World War I Years of General Lemuel C. Shepherd Jr., USMC (2010); Elton E. Mackin, Suddenly We Didn't Want to Die: Memoirs of a World War

I Marine (1993); Maj Edwin N. McClellan, The United States Marine Corps in the World War (1968, reprint of 1920 edition); LtCol Peter F. Owen, USMC (Ret), ed., The World War I Memoirs of Don V. Paradis, Gunnery Sergeant, USMC (2010); BGen Edwin Howard Simmons, USMC (Ret), and Col Joseph H. Alexander, Through the Wheat: The U.S. Marines in World War I (2008); Anne Cipriano Venzon, Leaders of Men: Ten Marines Who Changed the Corps (2008); Maj Littleton W. T. Waller Jr., Final Report of the 6th Machine Gun Battalion (reprint of 1919 report by George B. Clark); Col Frederic M. Wise and Meigs O. Frost, A Marine Tells It to You (1981 reprint of 1929 edition by the Marine Corps Association); James H. Hallas, Squandered Victory: The American First Army at St. Mihiel (1995); U.S. War Office, Final Report of Gen. John J. Pershing, Commander-in-Chief American Expeditionary Forces (1920); Mitchell Yockelson, Forty-Seven Days: How Pershing's Warriors Came of Age to Defeat the German Army in World War I (2016); Capt John W. Thomason Jr., USMC, Fix Bayonets! (1925); Michelin Guides, The Americans in the Great War, vol. 2, The Battle of St. Mihiel (St. Mihiel, Pont-A-Mousson, Metz) (2012 digital edition, originally published in 1919); Frank H. Simonds, History of the World War, vol. 5 (1920); Col Leonard P. Ayres, U.S. General Staff, The War with Germany: A Statistical Summary, 2d ed. (1919); MajGen Hunter Liggett, USA (Ret), Commanding an American Army: Recollections of the World War (1925); Mark E. Grotelueschen, Doctrine Under Trial: American Artillery Employment in World War I (2001); Ronald J. Brown, A Few Good Men: The History of the Fighting Fifth Marines (2001); Forrest C. Pogue, George C. Marshall: Education of a General, 1880-1939 (1963); LtCol Berton W. Sibley, History of Third Battalion, Sixth Regiment, U.S. Marines (1919); and Carl Andrew Brannen, Over There: A Marine in the Great War (1996).

Of course, the National Archives and Records Administration and the Library of Congress proved invaluable to this research, as did the Naval History and Heritage Command. Additionally, NavSource Naval History proved responsive on

U.S. Navy ship information. Details on medical officers and corpsmen were frequently confirmed with the historian at the U.S. Navy's Bureau of Medicine and Surgery (BUMED).

The personal papers and oral histories reviewed at the Archives and Special Collections Branch and the Oral History Section, Marine Corps History Division, included: BGen Robert L. Denig, Gen Graves B. Erskine, Gen Lemuel C. Shepherd Jr., Gen Thomas Holcomb; 1stLt David Bellamy; MajGen George Barnett; BGen Charles L. McCawley (Quartermaster); MajGen William A. Worton; LtGen Merwin H. Silverthorne; and Gen Gerald C. Thomas. A fully annotated manuscript of this work is on deposit in the Historical Reference Branch, Marine Corps History Division, Quantico, VA.

The list of Marines and Navy personnel for appendix C was compiled with the assistance of C. Douglas Sterner, curator, Military Times Hall of Valor, principally from his currently unpublished work, Marine Corps Heroes, 1861–1942, vol. 1. Copies of this work are held by the author and the Historical Reference Branch, Marine Corps History Division, Quantico, VA. Entries were crosschecked with Jane Blakeney's Heroes: U.S. Marine Corps, 1861–1955: Armed Forces Awards, Flags (1957); and Harry R. Stringer, ed., The Navy Book of Distinguished Service: An Official Compendium of Names and Citations of the Men of the United States Navy, Marine Corps, Army, and Foreign Governments Who Were Decorated by the Navy Department for Extraordinary Gallantry and Conspicuous Services above and beyond the Call of Duty in the World War (1921). The appendix listing U.S. Navy medical and dental personnel and casualty data was compiled from Lt George G. Strott, Navy Medics with the Marines, 1917–1919 (2005). Casualty numbers differ somewhat from those listed in the American Battle Monuments Commission's work titled 2d Division: Summary of Operations in the World War and Clark's Devil Dogs. Information for the order of battle also came from Clark, Devil Dogs, 260, 268; and, Clark, History of the Marine Battalions in France, 1917-1918, 10-21.

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APPENDIX A

Abbreviations and Military Terms Used by the American Expeditionary Forces

This appendix can be found on the supplementary microfilm reel for the World War Casualties within the Muster Rolls of the Marine Corps. It is reproduced in its entirety.

AA	Antiaircraft or Army Artillery	APC	Air Production Center ⁵
AAA	Antiaircraft Artillery	APM	Assistant Provost Marshall
AAB	Antiaircraft Battery	APO	American Post Office
AAS	Antiaircraft Service or Army	APOD	American Post Office
	Ambulance Service		Department
AASC	Army Air Service Commander	ARC	American Red Cross
AC	Army Corps or Air Corps	ARCMH	American Red Cross Military
ACA	American Civil Administration		Hospital
ACS	Army Candidates School or Aero	Arr	Arrived
	Construction Squadron	Art	Artillery
AC of S	Acting (Assistant) Chief of Staff	AS	Advanced Section ⁶ or
ADC	Aide-de-Camp		Air Service
Adj	Adjutant	ASC	Army Service Corps ⁷ or Air
Adm	Admitted (to hospital, etc.)		Service Camp
AEC	American Embarkation Center ¹	Asgd	Assigned
	or American Education Center	ASS, Fr. H	American Statistical Section,
	(AEF University)		French Hospitals
AEF	American Expeditionary Forces ²	ATM	Acting Town Mayor
AEFU	American Expeditionary Forces	ATS	Antitetanic Serum
	University		(administered) or Army
AF in F	American Forces in France ³		Transportation Service ⁸
AF in G	American Forces in Germany ⁴	AW	Articles of War
AG	Adjutant General	AWL	Absent with (official) Leave
AGD	Adjutant General's Department	AWOL	Absent without Official Leave
AGO	Adjutant General's Office		
AIS	Army Infantry Specialists	BAS	Battalion Aid Station or
	(School)		Brigade Ambulance Service
Amb	Ambulance	BEF	British Expeditionary Forces
AMC	American Military Cemetery		
A of O	Army of Occupation (in Germany)		

¹ Established 3 January 1919 at Le Mans; disestablished on 16 July 1919

 $^{^{\}rm 2}$ In some instances, AEF was made singular. For our purposes, it will be made plural.

³ Created 22 August 1919 to function beginning 1 September 1919 in place of general headquarters (GHQ).

 $^{^4}$ On 2 July 1919, Third Army is deactivated and staff and troops remaining in Germany on and after 3 July 1919 were designated as AF in G.

⁵ Opened winter of 1917–18 at Romorantin, France.

⁶ Established 4 July 1917 with headquarters (HQ) at Nevers, France; on 17 September 1917 in Is-sur-Tille, France; on 1 November 1917 in Neufchâteau, Belgium; on 20 January 1918 in Langres, France; on 15 June 1918 in Nogent-en-Bassigny, France; on 23 October 1918 in Neufchâteau; and on 12 June 1919 in Is-sur-Tille.

 $^{^7}$ Established 22 August 1918 and furnished detachments for various special services in the AEF.

⁸ Established 18 October 1917 and combined with Transportation Service on 18 December 1917.

ВН	Base Hospital	Conc. HC	Convalescent Hospital Center
Bn	Battalion	C of S	Chief of Staff
BORU	Bordeaux Overseas Replacement	CPO	Central Post Office
DORO	Unit	CPWE	Central Prisoner of War
BR	Bedridden (naval classification of	CIWE	Enclosure
DK	patients received on naval	CQM	Chief Quartermaster
	-	CRO	Central Records Office ¹⁰
BS	transports for the United States)	CWS	Chemical Warfare Service ¹¹
ВЗ	Base Section (a geographical division of the Services of Supply)	CWS	Chemical Warrare Service
BX	Bordeaux	D	Duty
DΛ	Dordeaux	DAH	Disordered Action of Heart
CAC	Coast Artillery Corps	DC	Dental Corps
Cal	Caliber	DCD	Dismounted Cavalry Division
CAO	Chief Aviation Officer	DCI	District Criminal Investigation
CASC		DCR	_
	Corps Air Service Commander	DCK	Division of Casualty
CAN	Chief, Air Service	DD	Replacement
CAM	Cerebro [Cerebral] Spinal	DD	Detached Duty or Depot
C	Meningitis	D 1	Division
Cav	Cavalry	Del.	Delivered
CC	Casual Camp or Casual	DG	Director General
	Company or Convalescent	DHQ	Division Headquarters
	Center or Convalescent	DI	Infantry Division (French)
	Camp or Company	Dis. Bks.	Disciplinary Barracks
C&C	Casualties and Changes	DNB	Death, Nonbattle
	(a record form of AGO)	D of P	District of Paris ¹²
C-in-C	Commander-in-Chief	D of ST	Director of Storage and Traffic
CCO	Casual Camp, Orleans	DRC	Dental Reserve Corps or Daily
CDH	Contagious Disease Hospital		Report of Changes
CEO	Chief Engineer Officer	D of W	Died of Wounds
CFO	Casual from Command	DWC	Duty with Command
C fr C	Casual from Command		
CG	Commanding General	E	East
CGS	Chief, Gas Service	EC	Engineer Corps or Embarkation
CH	Camp Hospital		Camp
C1.	Colonial (French)	ED	Extra Duty
Class. Cp.	Classification Camp	EH	Evacuation Hospital
Clf. Cp.	Classification Camp	EM	Enlisted Man
cm	Centimeter	Eng.	Engineers
CMT	Chief, Motor Transport	Ent.	Entered (hospital or on record)
COC	Casual Officers' Cam	EO	Embarkation Order or Embarka-
COD	Casual Officers' Depot ⁹		tion Office
CO	Commanding Officer	EPD	Extra Police Duty
CORD	Casual Officers' Replacement	ER	Expert Rifleman
	Depot		

Opened at Blois, France, on 18 January 1918 as a depot for classification and distribution of casual officers arriving from the United States and from organizations in the AEF. Another COD was established at Gondrecourt, France, on 22 February 1919.

¹⁰ Organized on 20–21 May 1918 at Saint-Pierre-des-Corps, France, but was moved to Tours, France, on 15 September 1918.

¹¹ Created on 28 June 1918 from the Gas Service.

 $^{^{\}rm 12}$ On 6 May 1918, geographical boundaries defined as comprising Departments of the Seine and Seine-et-Oise.

FA	Field Artillery	G-3	Operations Section,
FAS	First Aid Station		General Staff
FC	Fracture, compound	G-4	Supply Section, General Staff
FCC	Fracture, compound,	G-5	Training Section, General Staff
	comminuted	GSW	Gunshot wound
FH	Field Hospital		
FM	Field Message	Н	Hour
Fme.	Farm (French)	HA	Hospital Ambulance
Fne.	Fountain or spring (French)	HC	Hospital Center
FO	Field Orders	HE	High Explosive
Fr	French	HES	High Explosive Shell
Fr.	From	HFA	Heavy Field Artillery (in orders)
FS	Fracture, simple	HOE	Evacuation Hospital (French)
FSR	Field Service Regulations	HT	Hospital Train
FUO	Fever of unknown origins	H Tr.	Hospital Train
100	rever or analown origina	11 11.	Troopical Train
GAC	Group of Armées of Center	IA	In action
	(French)	ICT	Infected Connective Tissue
GAE	Group of Armées of the East		(British)
	(French)	IIB	Initial Information Blank
GAF	Group of Armées of Flanders	ILOD	In Line of Duty
	(French)	Inf.	Infantry or Infirmary or
GAN	Group of Armées of the North		Information
	(French)	IS	Intermediate Section ¹³ or
GAR	Group of Armées of Reserve		Intelligence Section
	(French)	ISD	Intermediate Salvage
GC	Group de Combat or combat		(or Storage) Depot
	group, fighting unit	IWS	Infantry Weapons School
GCM	General Court Martial	_,,,,	
Gd. Co.	Guard Company	JAG	Judge Advocate General
Gd. Div.	Grand Division, a railway oper-	JHG	Justice Hospital Group
	ating unit of the Transportation	<i>J</i>	(hospitals located in or near Jus-
	Service		tice Barracks, near Toul)
GH	Gas Hospital or General		,
	Hospital (in United States)	KIA	Killed in action
GHQ	General Headquarters	km	Kilometer =1,000 meters
GIA	Gassed in Action		,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,
GISD	General Intermediate Storage	L	In line of duty
	Depot (at Gièvres)	L Bn	Labor Battalion
GPA	General Purchasing Agent	L of C	Line of Communication ¹⁴
GPC	German Prison Camp	LS	Liaison Service
GQG	Grand Quartier General		
	(French GHQ)	M	Meter or Morphine (administered)
GRS	Graves Registration Service	MC	Medical Corps or Marine Corps
GS	General Staff or Gas Service		
G-1	Administrative Section,		
	General Staff		13 August 1917 by territorial organization of the inication with HQ at Nevers.
G-2	Intelligence Section, General Staff		n 5 July 1917 (see Services of Rear).
			J J (

3.4 /T D	3.6 · /5 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		G1. 1
Mar. Tr. Bn.	Marine Training Battalion	0	Slight
Mar. Tr. Rgt.	Marine Training Regiment	O in C	Officer in Charge
Med.	Medical	OCE	Office of Chief Engineer
	Medical Segregation Camp	OLA	Over Leave, Absent
Ment.	Mental (naval classification of	OR	Operations Report
	patients received on naval	Ord.	Ordnance
	transports for the United States)	O&T	Observation and Training or
MG	Machine Gun		Observation and Treatment
MGB	Machine Gun Bullet		
MG Bn	Machine Gun Battalion	PA	Personal Adjutant (statistical offi-
MH	Mobile Hospital		cers were so designated in GHQ
Mil.	Military		GO no. 187, dated 25 October
Mil. Sp. Co.	Military Specialists Company		1918)
MIA	Missing in Action	PAL	Prisoner at Large
MM	Motor Mechanics or Marksman	PC	Post of Command
mm	Millimeter	PBH	Provisional Base Hospital
MORS	Mobile Ordnance Repair Shop	PBHU	Provisional Base Hospital Unit
MP	Military Police	PH	Post Hospital
MPC	Military Police Corps	PLM	Paris-Lyon-Méditerranée
MPES	Military Postal Express		(Railway)
1.11 250	Service ¹⁵	PMG	Provost Marshal General
MR	Monthly roster or muster roll	POD	Post Office Department
MR Bn	Marine Replacement Battalion	Pont. Bks.	Pontanezen Barracks (near Brest)
MRC	Medical Reserve Corps	PORR	Paris-Orleans Railroad
MR Park	Motor Reception Park	POW	Prisoner of War
MS Co.	Military Specialists Company	Prov.	Provisional
MSD	Motor Supply Depot	PUO	Pyrexis Unknown Origin
MSTU	Machine Shop Truck Unit	100	(Trench fever)
MTC	Motor Transport Corps ¹⁶	PW	
MTS	Motor Transport Corps Motor Transport Service ¹⁷	1 VV	Penetrating Wound (British) or Prisoner of War
WIIS	Wotor Transport Service	PWIB	Prisoners of War Information
N	North	PVVID	Bureau ¹⁸
N NA			Dureau
NA NA CNI	National Army	OCA	O
NASN	No Army Serial Number	QGA	Quartier Général d'Armée (Army
NBH	Navy Base Hospital		Headquarters)
NDR	No Disability Rating or	D	D
	Notifiable Disease Reported	R	Roster
NG	National Guard	RA	Regular Army
NSN	No Serial Number	RC	Reserve Corps
NSR	No Service Record	RD	Replacement Depot ¹⁹
NYD	Not Yet Diagnosed	Rel.	Released
15 C 1		Repl.	Replacement
	May 1918 for handling official and personal mail tually operating 169 field and mobile post offices	Reptd.	Reported
and railway mail so		Rheu.	Rheumatism or rheumatic
	11 July 1918 as a separate service of Services of		

 $^{^{16}}$ Established on 11 July 1918 as a separate service of Services of

Supply (see MTS). ¹⁷ Established on 8 December 1917 as a separate service under QMC and included Service of Utilities on 16 February 1918 and Service of Utilities, which dissolved on 11 July 1918.

¹⁸ Established on 1 July 1918.

¹⁹ The 1st RD was organized at Saint-Aignan, France, on 30 December 1918 to take the place of the 1st DD, which was abolished on 9 July 1919.

RIO RMS RO Ros. Rptd. RR&C RRD RR Op. Bn. RSO RTO	Regimental Intelligence Officer Railway Mail Service Regulating Officer/Office Roster Reported Renting, Requisition, and Claims (Service) ²⁰ Regional Replacement Depot ²¹ Railroad Operating Battalion Regimental Special Order Railway Transportation Officer/ Office	TD TFW TM Bty Tr., Trs. Trans. TS TSST TTW	Transportation Department ²⁶ Temporary Foreign Warrant Trench Mortar Battery Transferred Transferred Transportation Service ²⁷ Training School for Sanitary Troops Through and through wound (British) Temporary Warrant Target Year
0		IID	
S	Severe or South	UD	Utilities Detachment
SAA	Small Arms Ammunition	Unasgd.	Unassigned
San. Tr.	Sanitary Train	USR	United States (Army) Reserve
SC	Signal Corps	USTP	United States Troops, Paris
SCD	Surgeon's Certificate of	T/O	W
(ID)	Disability	VC	Veterinary Corps
SD	Special Duty	VDG	Venereal disease, gonorrhea
Seg.	Segregation	VDH	Valvular Disease of the Heart
SIW	Self-inflicted Wound	VDS	Venereal disease, syphilis
SO	Special Orders	VLC	Venereal Labor Camp
SOP	Senior officer present	Ven.Lab.Cp.	Venereal Labor Camp
SOR	Services of Rear ²²	VO	Verbal Orders
SOS	Services of Supply ²³	VOCOH	Verbal Orders, Commanding
Sp. Tr. Bn.	Special Training Battalion	IDO	Officer, Hospital
Stat. Sect.	Statistical Section	VRC	Veterinary Reserve Corps
"S&S"	Stars and Stripes, official AEF		
	newspaper ²⁴	WD	Walking, Dressing (naval clas-
St.	Saint (French)		sification for patients received
Ste.	Sainte (French)		on naval transports for United
S of U	Service of Utilities ²⁵		States) or War Department
SW	Shell Wound	WDB	War Damage Board ²⁸
		WIA	Wounded in Action
TB	Tuberculosis	WND	Walking, No Dressing
TC	Transportation Corps or		(naval classification for patients
	Tank Corps		received on naval transports for
			United States)
	22 April 1918 under Services of Supply.	WRI	War Risk Insurance
²¹ Established on France.	15 January 1919 at Chelles, Toul, and Revigny,	WRS	War Risk Section ²⁹

²² On 16 February 1918, L of C is reorganized as Service of Rear (see SOS).

 $^{^{23}}$ SOR is redesignated Services of Supply on 13 March 1918 and abolished on 1 September 1919.

 $^{^{\}rm 24}$ Authorized on 8 February 1918.

 $^{^{25}}$ Established on 16 February 1918 to include Transportation Department, Motor Transport Service, and Forestry Service; disbanded on 11 July 1918.

²⁶ Established on 14 September 1917.

²⁷ Created on 14 September 1917 as a separate service and was included in Service of Utilities on 16 February 1918.

²⁸ Established on 19 January 1919 to evaluate damages caused by AEF in France. On 1 February 1919, jurisdiction extended to Serbia, Romania, Greece, Italy, Great Britain, and Belgium.

²⁹ Created on 7 January 1918 and charged with War Risk Insurance administration in AEF.

APPENDIX B

Marine Casualties at Saint-Mihiel, 12–16 September 1918

Unit	Status	Officers	Men		Tota
5th Marines	KIA	0	8		8
	DOW	0	42		42
	WIA	0	248		248
	Gassed	0	0		0
	Missing	0	1		1
				Total	299
6th Marines	KIA	3	44		47
	DOW	0	43		43
	WIA	9	463		472
	Gassed	0	3		3
	Missing	0	10		10
				Total	575
6th Machine Gun	KIA	0	5		5
Battalion	DOW	0	1		1
	WIA	4	34		38
	Gassed	0	1		1
	Missing	0	0		0
				Total	45
Total	KIA	3	57		60
	DOW	0	86		86
	WIA	13	745		758
	Gassed	0	4		4
	Missing	0	11		11
				Total	919

Note: 4th Brigade headquarters experienced no casualties. KIA = killed in action; DOW = died of wounds; WIA = wounded in action. Casualty numbers come from the U.S. Navy, Bureau of Medicine's 1947 reference work written by Lieutenant George C. Strott, titled *Navy Medics with the Marines*, 1917–1919, and differ somewhat from those listed in the American Battle Monuments Commission's 1944 work titled 2d Division Summary of Operations in the World War and George B. Clark's 1999 work titled Devil Dogs: Fighting Marines of World War I.

APPENDIX C

List of U.S. Marines and Navy Medical and Dental Personnel Awarded the Highest Medals for Heroism for Action during the Battle of Saint-Mihiel, 12–16 September 1918

NAVY CROSS

Becker, Vernon P.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pride in presenting the Navy Cross (Posthumously) to Trumpeter Vernon P. Becker, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while serving with the 6th Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F. in action near Thiaucourt, France, on 15 September 1918. Trumpeter Becker displayed exceptional devotion to duty and coolness in action in carrying messages under trying barrages and machine-gun fire. He was wounded severely while doing his duty.

Death:
Killed in action
Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Silver Star Citation (WWI)

Bower, George

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Second Lieutenant George Bower, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while serving with the 81st Company, 6th Machine-Gun Battalion, 6th Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F. in action near Thiaucourt, France, 15 September 1918. Aiding an infantry platoon, which had been forced to withdraw because of heavy machine-gun and artillery fire, Lieutenant Bower, while suffering from severe wounds, kept his guns in position, consolidating his location, and preventing the danger of an enemy counterattack.

Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Distinguished Service Cross (same action as Navy Cross)
Three Silver Star Citations (WWI)

Brummett, James R.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Private James R. Brummett, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while serving with the 81st Company, 6th Machine-Gun Battalion, 6th Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F. in action near Thiaucourt, France, September 12–16, 1918. By effective use of an automatic rifle, Private Brummett defended the left flank of his platoon, thereby preventing the enemy from reaching the rear of his lines. On several other occasions, he volunteered and carried messages through terrific bombardment.

Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Distinguished Service Cross (same action as Navy Cross)
Silver Star Citation (WWI)

Chandler, Henry E.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pride in presenting the Navy Cross (Posthumously) to First Lieutenant Henry E. Chandler, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while serving with the 6th Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F. in action near Thiaucourt, France, 15 September 1918. Lieutenant Chandler fearlessly exposed himself to severe artillery and machine-gun fire and located machine-gun nests and sniper posts harassing his company and hindering its advance. He then led his platoon forward in the face of heavy fire and destroyed the nests.

Death:
Killed in action
Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Distinguished Service Cross (same action as Navy Cross)
Two Silver Star Citations (WWI)

Chatman, Grover M.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Private Grover M. Chatman, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while serving with the 75th Company, 6th Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F. in action near Thiaucourt, France, 15 September 1918. While his platoon was occupying an outpost line in close proximity to the enemy, Private Chatman voluntarily crossed an open space swept by machine-gun fire and overcame three snipers who had been harassing his platoon.

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Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Distinguished Service Cross (same action as Navy Cross)
Silver Star Citation (WWI)

Cook, Howard C.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in [presenting] the Navy Cross (Posthumously) to Private Howard C. Cook, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while serving with the 95th Company, 6th Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F. in action near Thiaucourt, France, 15 September 1918. Private Cook repeatedly volunteered and carried messages for his battalion commander through severe machine-gun and artillery fire. He also exposed himself in an open field for several hours under fire, in order to locate enemy snipers and machine-gun nests.

Death:

Killed in action

Personal Awards:

Navy Cross (WWI)

Distinguished Service Cross (same action as Navy Cross)

Three Silver Star Citations (WWI)

Dietrich, Carl R.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to First Lieutenant Carl R. Dietrich, United States Marine Corps, for exceptionally meritorious and distinguished service while serving with the 4th Brigade (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F. in action at Soissons, St. Mihiel, Champagne and the Argonne, France. Throughout the operations of the 4th Brigade Marines First Lieutenant Dietrich was indefatigable in his attention to duty. He was frequently sent on important missions in the transmission of orders, establishing liaison and location of elements of the command, under extremely difficult and dangerous circumstances. Days and nights without sleep, Lieutenant Dietrich has always proved himself reliable, efficient and of great value and assistance.

Personal Awards: Navy Cross (WWI) Silver Star Citation (WWI)

Dunlap, Robert Henry

Navy Cross (First Award)

Citation:

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Colonel Robert Henry Dunlap, United States Marine Corps, for exceptionally meritorious and

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distinguished service. As Regimental Commander of the 17th Field Artillery, 2d Division, A.E.F., during the Argonne-Meuse Campaign, September to November, 1918, Colonel Dunlap displayed great ability as a leader and commander of men, and the success of his regiment was in no small measure due to his untiring energy and push, and to the offensive spirit which he displayed on many occasions.

Death:

Not in battle, though in France (DNB, 1931)

Personal Awards:

Navy Cross (WWI)

Navy Cross (France, 1931)

Navy Distinguished Service Medal (Nicaragua, 1928–29)

Hart, Jack S.

Navy Cross

Citation:

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to First Lieutenant Jack S. Hart, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while serving with the 6th Machine-Gun Battalion, 6th Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F. in action near Thiaucourt, France, 15 September 1918. Acting as company commander, Lieutenant Hart advanced with the first wave of infantry to locate favorable positions for his guns. He discovered an enemy machine-gun which he alone attacked, and although severely wounded, succeeded in capturing the gun and taking the crew prisoners.

Personal Awards:

Navy Cross (WWI)

Distinguished Service Cross (same action as Navy Cross)

Four Silver Star Citations (WWI)

Houchins, Lyle C.

Navy Cross

Citation:

The President of the United States of America takes pride in presenting the Navy Cross (Posthumously) to Corporal Lyle C. Houchins, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while serving with the 73d Company, 6th Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F. in action near Thiaucourt, France, 15 September 1918. During an enemy counter attack, Corporal Houchins voluntarily left a sheltered position and, in entire disregard for his own safety, set up his gun in the open on the advancing enemy. He broke up the counter attack within one hundred yards of our line.

Death:

Killed in action

Personal Awards:

Navy Cross (WWI)

Distinguished Service Cross (same action as Navy Cross)

Three Silver Star Citations (WWI)

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Keyser, Ralph Stover

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Major Ralph Stover Keyser, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while attached to the Fifth Marines in France. Major Keyser participated in the battles of the Chateau-Thierry Sector, June 10th to July 10th, 1918; in the counter-thrust southwest of Soissons, July 18th to 19th; and as member of the General Staff of the Second Division. He participated in the occupation of the Marbache Sector (just north of Nancy) August 12th to 16th; the St. Mihiel salient September 2 to 16; the battle of Blanc Mont Ridge, October 1st to 10th, and the battle of the Meuse-Argonne, November 1 to 11th; the march to the Rhine; the occupation of the Coblens Bridge Head, and return of the Second Division to the United States and in the workings of his important department very efficiently, and with marked success. The services rendered by Major Keyser were conspicuous; highly meritorious, and in duty of great responsibility.

Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Army Distinguished Service Medal
Five Silver Star Citations (WWI)

Loomis, Casey V.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Corporal Casey V. Loomis, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while serving with the 73d Company, 6th Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F. in action near Thiaucourt, France, 15 September 1918. During an enemy counterattack Corporal Loomis voluntarily left a sheltered position, and, in entire disregard of his own safety, set up his gun in the open under heavy enemy fire. By securing enfilading fire on the advancing enemy, he broke up the counterattack within one hundred yards of our line.

Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Distinguished Service Cross (same action as Navy Cross)
Two Silver Star Citations (WWI)

Meyer, Albert

Navy Cross³⁰ *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Private Albert Meyer, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while serving with the 79th Company, 6th Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F. in action near Thiaucourt, France, 15 September 1918. While on duty as stretcher bearer for his company, Private Meyer rushed into

³⁰ Initially recommended for Medal of Honor according to unit muster roll from September 1918.

the open to rescue another soldier threatened with capture in the face of a large force of advancing Germans. He killed two of the enemy and brought in the soldier to a place of safety.

Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Distinguished Service Cross (same action as Navy Cross)
Silver Star Citation (WWI)

Moran, Patrick J.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Private Patrick J. Moran, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while serving with the 81st Company, 6th Machine-Gun Battalion, 6th Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F. in action near Thiaucourt, France, 15 September 1918. Passing from one gun to another, at all times exposing himself to great danger, carrying ammunition and encouraging his comrades, Private Moran showed great devotion to duty. When his company commander had become seriously wounded, he left his place of shelter and carried him to a first-aid station.

Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Distinguished Service Cross (same action as Navy Cross)
Silver Star Citation (WWI)

Nelson, Robert L.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Captain Robert L. Nelson, United States Marine Corps, for exceptionally meritorious and distinguished service as Aide-de-Camp to the Division Commander, 2d Division, A.E.F., in the operations at St. Mihiel, Blanc Mont Ridge and the Meuse-Argonne. Captain Nelson's service in that capacity greatly contributed to the efficiency, discipline and morale of the 2d Division.

Personal Awards: Navy Cross (WWI) Silver Star Citation (WWI)

Nutting, Lester Herbert

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pride in presenting the Navy Cross (Posthumously) to Private Lester Herbert Nutting, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while serving with the 96th Company, 6th Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F. in action near Thiaucourt, France, 15 September 1918. Private Nutting voluntarily advanced two hundred yards beyond the front lines to locate enemy machine-gun nests, signaling back their positions to the

other members of his detachment, who immediately destroyed them. Private Nutting was killed in returning to our lines.

Death:

Killed in action

Personal Awards:

Navy Cross (WWI)

Distinguished Service Cross (same action as Navy Cross)

Silver Star Citation (WWI)

Parker, Donald M.

Navy Cross

Citation:

The President of the United States of America takes pride in presenting the Navy Cross (Posthumously) to Corporal Donald M. Parker, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while serving with the 80th Company, 6th Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F. in action near Thiaucourt, France, 15 September 1918. Corporal Parker voluntarily joined an officer and with him attacked and silenced a strong machine-gun nest, menacing the left flank of the line. He held the position in the face of strong opposition until he was fatally wounded by a sniper.

Death:

Killed in action

Personal Awards:

Navy Cross (WWI)

Distinguished Service Cross (same action as Navy Cross)

Silver Star Citation (WWI)

Porter, Ernest Washington

Navy Cross

Citation:

The President of the United States of America takes pride in presenting the Navy Cross (Posthumously) to Private Ernest Washington Porter, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while serving with the 23d Company, 6th Machine-Gun Battalion, 6th Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F. in action near Thiaucourt, France, 15 September 1918. While taking cover with the remainder of his gun crew from a heavy artillery barrage, Private Porter answered a call for volunteers to combat an enemy aeroplane. Upon reaching his gun he was instantly killed by an aerial bomb.

Death:

Killed in action

Personal Awards:

Navy Cross (WWI)

Distinguished Service Cross (same action as Navy Cross)

Silver Star Citation (WWI)

Puryear, Bennet, Jr.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Major Bennet Puryear, Jr., United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while attached to the 5th Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F. Major Puryear participated in the occupation of the Toulon-Troyon Sectors; on the heights of the Meuse—between Verdun and St. Mihiel; in the battles in the Chateau-Thierry Sector, June 1st to 10th and in the great counter-thrust, southwest of Soissons, July 18 to 19. While a member of the Division Staff, Major Puryear participated in the occupation of the Marbache Sector (just north of Nancy, August 7 to 20); the battle of St. Mihiel, September 12th to 16th; the battle of Blanc-Mont-Ridge, October 1st to 10th; and the battle of Meuse-Argonne, November 1st to 11th; the march on the Rhine, and the occupation of the Coblenz Bridge Head. Major Puryear played an important part in the successful workings of the Department of Administration. The services, as above outlined, were conspicuous, highly meritorious and in duty of great responsibility.

Personal Awards: Navy Cross (WWI) Two Silver Star Citations (WWI) Legion of Merit

Spencer, Ernest

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Private Ernest Spencer, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while serving with the 81st Company, 6th Machine-Gun Battalion, 6th Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F. in action near Thiaucourt, France, September 12–15, 1918. Private Spencer repeatedly volunteered and carried messages through intense machine-gun and artillery fire, obtaining valuable information at critical moments.

Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Distinguished Service Cross (same action as Navy Cross)
Silver Star Citation (WWI)

Ulrich, William

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Sergeant Major William Ulrich, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while serving with the Second Battalion, 6th Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F. in action near Thiaucourt, France, 15 September 1918. Accompanied by three other soldiers, Sergeant Major Ulrich fearlessly

charged into the enemy's lines through intense machine-gun fire in pursuit of a party of Germans, and returned with fifty-one prisoners.

Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Distinguished Service Cross (same action as Navy Cross)
Two Silver Star Citations (WWI)

Wilson, Claggett

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to First Lieutenant Claggett Wilson, United States Marine Corps, for exceptionally meritorious and distinguished service during the campaigns of St. Mihiel, Champagne, and the Argonne, France. First Lieutenant Wilson was in charge of the Headquarters Detachment of the 4th Brigade, 2d Division, A.E.F., and was responsible for its efficient functioning under extremely difficult, and at times, dangerous circumstances. Days and nights without sleep, particularly during the campaigns of the Argonne, when the roads were at times impassible, First Lieutenant Wilson displayed unusual foresight and energy in getting rations and transportation through on scheduled time. In the duties of Aide-de-Camp to the Brigade Commander he proved himself of great value and assistance.

Personal Awards: Navy Cross (WWI) Silver Star Citation (WWI)

Wollert, Edward J.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Corporal Edward J. Wollert, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while serving with the 79th Company, 6th Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F. in action near Thiaucourt, France, 15 September 1918. At the risk of his life, Corporal Wollert went to the aid of a wounded officer who was a prisoner in the hands of six Germans. With his pistol he shot two of them, while the officer killed two others. He captured the two remaining Germans and forced them to carry the wounded officer back to our lines.

Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Distinguished Service Cross (same action as Navy Cross)
Silver Star Citation (WWI)

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE CROSS

Bogan, Henry S.

Distinguished Service Cross (First Award) Citation:

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, July 9, 1918, takes pleasure in presenting the Distinguished Service Cross to Sergeant Henry S. Bogan, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism while serving with the Seventy-Eighth Company, Sixth Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, A.E.F., in action near Thiaucourt, France, on 15 September 1918. Sergeant Bogan led a small detachment in an attack on a machine-gun which was holding up the advance, capturing the gun and five of its crew. Sergeant Bogan then continued the advance, entered the hostile trenches and cleared them for a distance of 150 yards, remaining all day in this advanced position under continuous artillery and machine-gun fire.

Personal Awards:

Two Distinguished Service Crosses (WWI) Navy Distinguished Service Medal (WWI) Two Silver Star Citations (WWI)

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL

Lejeune, John Archer

Navy Distinguished Service Medal *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Distinguished Service Medal to Major General John Archer Lejeune, United States Marine Corps, for exceptionally meritorious and distinguished services. Major General Lejeune commanded the Second Division in the successful operations of Thiaucourt, Massif Blanc Mont, St. Mihiel, and on the west bank of the Meuse. In the Argonne-Meuse offensive his division was directed with such sound military judgment and ability that it broke and held, by the vigor and rapidity of execution of its attack, enemy lines which had hitherto been considered impregnable.

Personal Awards:

Navy Distinguished Service Medal Army Distinguished Service Medal

Neville, Wendell Cushing

Navy Distinguished Service Medal *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Distinguished Service Medal to Brigadier General Wendell Cushing Neville, United States Marine Corps, for exceptionally meritorious and distinguished service in a position of great responsibility to the Government of the United States during World War I. When in command of the 5th Regiment, United States Marine Corps, and later of the 4th Infantry Brigade, 2d Division, A.E.F., Brigadier General

Neville participated in the battles of Chateau-Thierry, the advances near Soissons and the operations of St. Mihiel, Blanc Mont Ridge and the Argonne-Meuse. In all these he proved himself a leader of great skill and ability.

Personal Awards:

Medal of Honor (Vera Cruz) Marine Corps Brevet Medal (Spanish-American War) Navy Distinguished Service Medal Army Distinguished Service Medal (WWI) Silver Star Citation (WWI)

Matthews, Hugh L.

Army Distinguished Service Medal Citation:

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, July 9, 1918, takes pleasure in presenting the Army Distinguished Service Medal to Lieutenant Colonel Hugh L. Matthews, United States Marine Corps, for exceptionally meritorious and distinguished services to the Government of the United States, in a duty of great responsibility during World War I, as Assistant Chief of Staff, G-1, 2d Division, A.E.F., in which he functioned with marked ability during the St. Mihiel, Blanc Mont, and Argonne offensives.

Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Army Distinguished Service Medal (WWI)
Two Silver Star Citations (WWI)

Wise, Frederic M.

Navy Distinguished Service Medal *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Distinguished Service Medal to Lieutenant Colonel Frederic M. Wise, United States Marine Corps, for exceptionally meritorious and conspicuous service. Lieutenant Colonel Wise commanded with skill, ability and gallantry, the 59th Infantry, American Expeditionary Forces, from 4 September 1918 to 23 January 1919. During the St. Mihiel offensive, he personally directed the attack of his regiment against Manheulles and Fresnes-en-Woevre, which resulted in the capture of the enemy's line in this area. On 28 September 1918 he directed the attack of his regiment which resulted in the capture of the Bois-de-Brieulles. From 26 September to 21 October 1918, his personal courage and aggressive attitude was an important factor in the successful operations of the 8th Infantry Brigade against the Bois-de-Brieulles, Bois-de-Fays, Bois-de-Malaumont, Bois-de-Peut, and Bois-de-Foret. He has rendered services of signal worth to the American Expeditionary Forces.

Personal Awards:

Navy Distinguished Service Medal (WWI) Army Distinguished Service Medal (WWI) Two Silver Star Citations (WWI)

U.S. NAVY MEDICAL AND DENTAL PERSONNEL MEDAL OF HONOR

Hayden, David E.

Medal of Honor *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America, in the name of Congress, takes pleasure in presenting the Medal of Honor to Hospital Apprentice First Class David Ephraim Hayden, United States Navy, for gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty while serving as a Corpsman attached to the Second Battalion, Sixth Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, American Expeditionary Forces, in action at Thiaucourt, France, 15 September 1918. During the advance, when Corporal Creed was mortally wounded while crossing an open field swept by machinegun fire, Hospital Apprentice First Class Hayden unhesitatingly ran to his assistance and, finding him so severely wounded as to require immediate attention, disregarded his own personal safety to dress the wound under intense machinegun fire, and then carried the wounded man back to a place of safety.

Personal Awards:
Medal of Honor
Silver Star
Italian Croce al Merito di Guerra
Portuguese Cruz de Guerra

NAVY CROSS

Bennett, Morton L.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Hospital Apprentice First Class Morton L. Bennett, United States Navy, for exceptionally meritorious and heroic conduct displayed while attached to the Third Battalion, Sixth Regiment (Marines), American Expeditionary Forces in action against the enemy near Thiaucourt, France, on 15 September 1918. Hospital Apprentice First Class Bennett left his regular station under intense shell fire, not caring for his own safety, to attend his severely wounded comrades, thereby saving many of their lives.

Personal Awards: Navy Cross (WWI) Two Army Silver Star Citations (WWI)

Brogden, Ronald R.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Pharmacist's Mate Third Class Ronald R. Brogden, United States Navy, for extraordinary hero-

ism in action near Thiaucourt, France, 15 September 1918. While serving as a Corpsman with the Second Battalion, Sixth Regiment (Marines), American Expeditionary Forces Pharmacist's Mate Third Class Brogden displayed exceptional courage and devotion to duty by going through the heavy artillery and machine gun fire to the aid of a wounded officer belonging to another organization. On 2 October 1918, he volunteered to accompany a raiding patrol into the enemy's trenches. On October 3d, from 6.30 a.m. to 11.30 a.m., during the attack at Blanc Mont, after all his fellow Hospital Corpsmen were casualties, he continued to dress wounded men right in the front line under heavy machine gun and artillery fire.

Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Army Distinguished Service Cross (Same Action) (WWI)
Three Army Silver Star Citations (WWI)

Goodwin, Oscar S.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Pharmacist's Mate First Class Oscar S. Goodwin, United States Navy, for extraordinary heroism in action at Thiaucourt, September 15, 1918, with the 6th Regiment, U.S. Marines. Pharmacist's Mate First Class Goodwin worked just behind the front line in the open field under heavy fire, administering to the wounded. Also in action at Vierzy, on July 19th, 1918, when a number of seriously wounded Marines could not be rescued, it was necessary to mark their location and rescue them at night. Goodwin volunteered for the work and was responsible for clearing the battlefield before morning. On this and all other engagements of the regiment he displayed heroism and courage.

Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Four Army Silver Star Citations (WWI)

Grimland, Gordon A.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Lieutenant (MC) Gordon A. Grimland, United States Navy, for distinguished service and heroic conduct in the line of his profession while serving with the Sixth Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, American Expeditionary Forces, near Thiaucourt, France, on 15 September 1918. Lieutenant Grimland displayed heroism by establishing a dressing station in a culvert, which later was subjected to high explosive fire, and remained at his station caring for the wounded and directing their evacuation during a heavy bombardment.

Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Army Silver Star Citation (same action as Navy Cross) (WWI)

Herrman, Bernard W.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pride in presenting the Navy Cross to Hospital Apprentice Bernard White Herrman, United States Navy, for extraordinary heroism while serving with the U.S. Marines in action near Vierzy (France), on July 19th, 1918. Hospital Apprentice First Class Herrman showed conspicuous courage and coolness in giving first aid to the wounded in the open under heavy enemy fire. Also at Thiaucourt, September 15th, 1918, was conspicuous evacuating wounded men at the risk of his life during heavy bombardments.

Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Three Army Silver Star Citations (WWI)

Kaga, Raymond L.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pride in presenting the Navy Cross to Pharmacist's Mate First Class Raymond Lee Kaga, United States Navy, for exceptionally meritorious and distinguished service displayed while attached to the 6th Marines, 95th Company: in action against the enemy near Thiaucourt, France, on September 15, 1918, disregarding all personal danger, Pharmacist's Mate First Class Kaga was indefatigable in rendering assistance to the wounded under heavy constant shell fire. His calm courage and energetic attention to duty was an inspiration to the entire command.

Personal Awards: Navy Cross (WWI) Three Army Silver Star Citations (WWI)

Lawler, Robert J.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Lieutenant (MC) [Medical Corps] Robert J. Lawler, United States Navy, for extraordinary heroism while serving as Regimental Surgeon, Fifth Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, American Expeditionary Forces, in France in the attack on St. Mihiel, September 12 to 16, 1918; east of Rheims, October 1 to 9, 1918; and in the attack in the Argonne, November 1 to 11, 1918. Upon all of these occasions Lieutenant Lawler displayed courage, zeal and devotion to duty of the highest order, and manifested a total disregard of personal danger, visiting the battalion aid stations under fire, and supervising and assisting in the work of evacuation of the wounded.

Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Four Army Silver Star Citations (WWI)

Litchfield, John R.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pride in presenting the Navy Cross (Posthumously) to Pharmacist's Mate Third Class John Russell Litchfield, United States Navy, for exceptionally meritorious and distinguished service while serving as a Corpsman, attached to the Seventy-Fourth Company, Sixth Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, American Expeditionary Forces, in action near Thiaucourt, France, 15 September 1918. Pharmacist's Mate Third Class Litchfield displayed exceptional bravery in giving first aid to the wounded under shell fire. He was killed taking a wounded soldier out of the trench to the rear.

Death:
Killed in action
Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Army Distinguished Service Cross (same action as Navy Cross)
Two Silver Star Citations (WWI)

Manning, James E.

Navy Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America takes pride in presenting the Navy Cross to Pharmacist's Mate Third Class James Eugene Manning, United States Navy, for distinguished and heroic service while attached to the 1st Battalion, 6th Regiment, U.S. Marines. In action against the enemy near Thiaucourt, France, on September 15, 1918, while attending to a wounded man, the dressing station was hit with a shell and the patient was wounded in two more places. Pharmacist's Mate Third Class Manning showed great devotion, dressed the new wounds and, while doing so, was struck in the back and knocked down by the explosion of another shell striking the aid station. He refused to leave his post until he finished dressing the wounded man and had removed him from the aid station, which was completely gutted a minute later by another shell. During the entire action, Manning was conspicuous for his courage and promptness in the care of the wounded.

Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Army Distinguished Service Cross (same action as Navy Cross)
Three Silver Star Citations (WWI)

ARMY DISTINGUISHED SERVICE CROSS

Bateman, Charles W.

Army Distinguished Service Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, July 9, 1918, takes pleasure in presenting the Distinguished Service Cross to Pharmacist's Mate Third Class Charles

W. Bateman, United States Navy, for extraordinary heroism in action while serving as a Corpsman attached to the Sixth Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, American Expeditionary Forces, near Thiaucourt France, September 12–15, 1918. Rendering first aid under heavy artillery and machine-gun fire Pharmacist's Mate Bateman showed utter disregard for his own personal safety, venturing through shelled areas to the assistance of the wounded. He obtained most valuable information for the guidance of stretcher bearers.

Personal Awards:

Army Distinguished Service Cross (WWI) Five Army Silver Star Citations (WWI)

Pilkerton, Alvin W.

Army Distinguished Service Cross Citation:

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, July 9, 1918, takes pleasure in presenting the Distinguished Service Cross to Pharmacist's Mate Third Class Alvin Ward Pilkerton, United States Navy, attached to 1st Battalion, 6th Regiment, United States Marine Corps, for extraordinary heroism in action near Thiaucourt, France, September 15, 1918. While he was dressing the injuries of a wounded soldier under heavy shell fire, he was himself severely wounded in two places, but he refused to treat his own wounds until he had taken care of his patient.

Personal Awards:
Navy Cross (WWI)
Army Distinguished Service Cross (WWI)
Two Army Silver Star Citations (WWI)

Stamps, Bernice B.

Army Distinguished Service Cross *Citation:*

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, July 9, 1918, takes pleasure in presenting the Distinguished Service Cross to Chief Pharmacist's Mate Bernice B. Stamps, United States Navy, for extraordinary heroism in action while serving as a Corpsman attached to the Sixth Machine-Gun Battalion, Sixth Regiment (Marines), 2d Division, American Expeditionary Forces, near Jaulny, France, September 13–15, 1918. Working continually without rest or food, Pharmacist's Mate Stamps cared for the wounded under most hazardous conditions. When a counterattack by the enemy seemed imminent the medical detachment was ordered to the rear, but he willingly stayed with the wounded and assisted greatly in their evacuation.

Personal Awards:

Army Distinguished Service Cross (WWI) Army Silver Star Citation (WWI)

Appendix D

Marine Order of Battle for 4th Brigade, 2d Division Battle of Saint-Mihiel, 12–16 September 1918³¹

Unit	Commander
4th Brigade	BGen Wendell C. Neville
5th Regiment	Col Logan Feland
Headquarters	
Supply Company	
8th Company (Machine Guns) 1st Battalion	I +C -1 A1 I O'I
	LtCol Arthur J. O'Leary
Headquarters	
17th Company (A) 49th Company (B)	
66th Company (C)	
67th Company (D)	
2d Battalion	Maj Robert E. Messersmith
Headquarters	111aj 1000010 Di 1110000101111011
18th Company (E)	
43d Company (F)	
51st Company (G)	
55th Company (H)	
3d Battalion	Maj Maurice E. Shearer
Headquarters	
16th Company (I)	
20th Company (K)	
45th Company (L)	
47th Company (M)	
6th Regiment	Col Harry Lee
Headquarters	,
Supply Company	
73d Company (Machine Guns)	
1st Battalion	Maj Frederick A. Barker
Headquarters	
74th Company (A)	
75th Company (B)	
76th Company (C)	
95th Company (D)	

³¹ Only two of six infantry battalion commanders in the Marine brigade had combat experience at the battalion level: Maj Shearer, 3d Battalion, 5th Regiment; and LtCol Sibley, 3d Battalion, 6th Regiment, commanded from Belleau through Soissons.

Unit	Commander
2d Battalion	Maj Ernest C. Williams
Headquarters	
78th Company (E)	
79th Company (F)	
80th Company (G)	
96th Company (H)	
3d Battalion	LtCol Berton W. Sibley ³²
82d Company (I)	
83d Company (J)	
84th Company (L)	
97th Company (M)	
6th Machine Gun Battalion	Maj Littleton W. T. Waller Jr.
Headquarters	•
15th Company (A)	

23d Company (B) 77th Company (C) 81st Company (D)

Appendix D

³² Sibley accepted promotion to lieutenant colonel on 3 August 1918 with an effective date of rank of 1 August.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR



WALTER G. FORD
Colonel, U.S. Marine Corps (Retired)

olonel Walt Ford left active duty in 1999 following a 30-year career as an artillery officer. He is an honor graduate of Marine Corps Command and Staff College, and a graduate of the Department of State's Senior Leaders Seminar, and he holds a bachelor's degree in history from Stephen F. Austin University in Nacogdoches, Texas, and a master's degree in national security studies from Georgetown University in Washington, DC. For 15 years following active duty, he was the editor for *Leatherneck* magazine, published by the Marine Corps Association, adding duties as publisher for both *Leatherneck* and the *Marine Corps Gazette* during his last 7 years with the association. He is a life member of the Second and Third Marine Division Associations and the Marine Corps Combat Correspondents Association.





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