



MY SEARCH FOR THE “TALL SERGEANT”

An Unidentified World War II Hero

Bruce Novak





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This book is dedicated to
World War II combat veterans
David A. Markoff and Thomas E. Scholler,
who became my good friends thanks to this journey,
but, regrettably, did not live to see this book completed,
and to all the unidentified heroes of World War II,
like “the tall sergeant,” whose families never knew of their heroism.

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Their [infantrymen's] nobility and dignity come from the way
they live unselfishly and risk their lives to help each other.

-- Bill Mauldin, *Up Front*

Chapter 1 - The Search Begins

Stevens was stunned and unable to move. A tall sergeant from the 26th Division shouted out from behind an embankment to ask if he'd been hit. Stevens called back, "I'm hit hard as hell." The sergeant jumped up over the rise, put his arms under Stevens, and shoved him to safety. Before he could duck back down himself, a German stood up from a concealed post fifteen yards away and killed the sergeant with machine-gun fire. Stevens would try for years, in vain, to learn the sergeant's name.

—Kareem Abdul-Jabbar and Anthony Walton, *Brothers in Arms*¹

Johnnie Stevens, a staff sergeant and tank commander, was black. All 26th Division soldiers were white. I knew soldiers in combat often risked their lives to save comrades. What struck me in this case was that in the still-segregated United States Army a white soldier would, without a moment's hesitation, risk his life to save a black soldier he didn't even know. I would learn this wasn't uncommon, and, despite the humiliating discrimination suffered by black soldiers in civilian and military life, particularly in the South, and even the race riots, the reverse was also true.

In early 2008 while I was searching on Amazon for books by Boston Celtics basketball players, *Brothers in Arms* popped up. That it was about World War II but was coauthored by a basketball star, albeit a Celtic nemesis, intrigued me, so I bought it. When I read the passage quoted above, I thought, quite naively, "I live near the 26th Infantry Division's headquarters. Maybe I can identify that sergeant." It seemed a shame that his family never knew of his heroism. The division, I assumed, would have records of all its soldiers who'd been killed in combat and of the date each died. *Brothers in Arms* said this event occurred on November 11, 1944.² How many tall sergeants could have been killed that day? Thus began a search that stretched over nine years. This is the story of that journey and some wonderful people who helped me along the way.

Two factors inspired me to think I could do such research. I was now retired, and though nearly as busy as when teaching high-school physics, I would never have attempted such a project then. I wouldn't have had the time. Also, I had just finished listening to an audiobook of *Shadow Divers* by Robert Kurson,³ a fascinating account of two wreck divers' quest to identify a World War II German U-boat discovered sunk off the New Jersey coast.

On April 30, about a week after reading *Brothers in Arms*, I called a number listed in the Boston phone book for the 26th Infantry Division Headquarters. When I explained why I'd called, the person who answered gave me a phone number for Ed Loonie of the Yankee Division Veterans Association. The 26th Infantry Division, a National Guard unit, based in Massachusetts, was called the "Yankee Division." Ed put me in touch with Colonel (now Brigadier General) Len Kondratiuk, director of the Massachusetts National Guard Museum & Archives in Worcester, MA (now located in Concord, MA), and Peter Bogdan, editor of *Yankee Doings* magazine, the division's veterans' quarterly magazine. Peter explained that the Yankee Division no longer exists, but its nickname and shoulder patch now apply to the 26th Maneuver Enhancement Brigade.

Abdul-Jabbar's book gives some details about this event.⁴ The rescue is said to have occurred on the morning of the fourth day of the Third Army's Lorraine offensive, November 11, 1944, during a battle for a "Hill 309." Hills on French maps are named for their heights above sea level in meters. This hill is said to be located near Wuisse (pronounced "Vue-ees"),⁵ a village in Lorraine Province, France, about 25 miles from the German border. The rescued soldier, Staff Sergeant Stevens, was the platoon sergeant and a tank commander in Lt. Charles Barbour's platoon of Company A, 761st Tank Battalion. The first of three black American tank battalions to fight in Europe during World War II, the 761st landed in France in October 1944. Stevens's rescuer was a "tall sergeant" from the 26th Infantry Division, a part of Gen. George Patton's Third Army. At this time the 761st was attached to the 26th Infantry Division.

The 26th had been shipped to France in September 1944. It joined Patton's Third Army in Lorraine Province and first engaged in combat in October. Since November 8, Barbour's platoon had been operating with the 101st Infantry Regiment of the 26th Infantry Division, split off from the other platoons of Company A. Those other platoons were then working with the division's 104th Infantry Regiment. An endnote credits this account to an interview with Johnnie Stevens conducted by Joe Wilson, Jr., and reported in his book *The 761st "Black Panther" Tank Battalion in World War II*.⁶

My contacts, Ed, Peter, and Len, all thought the action referred to was probably part of a major battle the 26th Division engaged in from November 8 through 11 for a Hill 310, about 5 miles southwest of Wuisse, just north of the town of Moyenvic (about 19 miles east-northeast of Nancy, France). That's a well-known battle in Yankee Division history. They said a soldier in combat could easily lose track of just where he was and when, particularly when recalling events a half-century later. Peter suggested I write a letter to *Yankee Doings* asking if any readers recalled such an incident. Len suggested that the most likely infantry units involved were companies of the 101st Regiment's 3rd Battalion, which were heavily involved in fighting on Hill 310 on November 8 and 9. He advised writing to the National Personnel Records Center (NPRC) in St. Louis for copies of those companies' morning reports (daily status reports) for those dates. Len also warned me that NPRC's performance was erratic. I took their advice and also wrote a letter to Abdul-Jabbar complimenting him on his book and informing him of my search. I never received a reply; years later I also wrote a letter to his coauthor, Anthony Walton, also without receiving a reply.

Nothing else happened regarding this search until mid-July when the requested morning reports arrived from NPRC with a bill for \$11. I called Len and we arranged to meet at his Museum later that month. Len provided me background about what the 26th Division was doing around November 11, 1944. He also gave me copies of excerpts and maps from several reference books about the Yankee Division, particularly its 101st Infantry Regiment during the Lorraine campaign.

Chapter 2 - Reading

That August I did a lot of research. I read the excerpts about the Yankee Division that Len had given me. The 26th Infantry Division consisted of three infantry regiments, the 101st, 104th, and 328th, plus artillery, various supporting troops, and a headquarters. Each infantry regiment contained three battalions, each consisting of four infantry companies. Years later I would comb these excerpts trying to determine where each of these companies was around 11 Nov 44. Now, however, I was mainly interested in finding out with which infantry company Johnnie Stevens's platoon was working. But these excerpts barely mentioned the 761st Tank Battalion. This isn't unusual. As retired Maj. Gen. George Ruhlen wrote in his foreword to Walter Reichelt's *Phantom Nine*,¹ "After action reports or unit histories seldom mention the deeds of attached units--they are orphans who have lost their identity."

Next I read the history of the 761st "Black Panther" Tank Battalion by Joe Wilson, Jr.,² the source of Abdul-Jabbar's story about Staff Sergeant Stevens's rescue. Wilson says, "On November 11, Johnnie Stevens led Able Company's 3rd platoon in an assault on Hill 309 near the town of Wuisse." He then quotes from an interview he had with Stevens on July 4, 1994:

I remember Hill 309 because I lost so much on Hill 309. My tank was knocked out, I had a crew member killed, Shiver's [another tank commander in his platoon] tank was knocked out and I lost a lot of men on that hill. . . . I came out with three of my crew members. . . .

. . . We were laying in the field, and the Germans started dropping mortar fire. Because, you see, they want to kill tankers. Tankers kill too many people, and when you come out of those tanks, they're going to make sure they kill you. I had been hit pretty hard. My combat suit was all covered with blood, and I was laying in a ditch. A tall sergeant from the 26th Division calls out to me, "Hey, Sarge, you hit?" I said, "I'm hit hard as hell." He jumped over the other side of the embankment and he took his arms and put them under me and he just shoved me over the embankment where I was safe from the mortar fire. And before he could duck back down himself, a German raised up about 15 yards away and with his burp gun, he cut that sergeant half in two. After I got out of the hospital, I tried to find out the sergeant's name. He should have been posthumously cited. This has always bugged me. I could never find out who this guy was. I received some letters from Minnesota, places like that where people think they know who it was, but the timing wasn't right. It was November 11 at 11 o'clock. I didn't want to say who it was unless I could prove it and I never had a witness. (pp. 77-79)



Johnnie Stevens in 1944
(used with permission from Joe Wilson, Jr.)

Meanwhile, I sent another letter requesting help to *Yankee Doings* and another request, including a \$20 check, to NPRC for the rest of the morning reports for November 9-11, 1944, from all companies of the 101st Infantry Regiment. Also, I did some google-map research of Hill 310 and the area around Wuisse, finding a region northeast of Wuisse that might have been Hill 309, but the map wasn't detailed enough to be sure.

Then, I read Trezzvant Anderson's unit history of the 761st, *Come Out Fighting*, written in 1945.³ (Through a "nationwide" search done by my town library, I was lent a very fragile copy from Boston College's library, about 7 miles from my home.) Anderson was a correspondent who accompanied the 761st in Europe. He makes no mention of Staff Sergeant Stevens's rescue or Hill 309, but does say:

The first task force [of the 26th Division] was composed of the 101st and 104th Infantry Regiments of the 26th Division, with engineers, and the tanks of Company "A" attached to the 104th, and one platoon attached to the 101st. Captain David J. Williams, II. of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was in command of the two platoons, and First Lieutenant Charles H. Barbour, of Junction City, Kansas, commanded the other platoon. [Johnnie Stevens was Barbour's platoon sergeant.] (p. 23)

The other task force, "Provisional Task Force A," was made up of the 328th Infantry Regiment and an engineer company, both from the 26th Division, the 602nd Tank Destroyer Battalion, and the rest of the 761st Tank Battalion. This was their organization at 0600 on 8 Nov 44.

Anderson goes on to say:

The two platoons of Able Company, with their supporting forces moved out from their positions at Bezange La Grande, and Lieutenant Barbour's platoon moved from a point just north of Arracourt. . . .

Able Company made the first contact with the enemy, and the two platoons under Captain Williams supported the 104th in the attack on Vic-sur-Seille, so named for the river which ran through it. . . .

A bit further to the right the other platoon of Able Company, under Lieutenant Barbour, supported the 101st Regiment in taking the town of Moyenvic ["Moe-yah-veek"], which fell after a hard battle. . . .

[On November 9] far out on the left flank, Company "A" had completed its mission in the attack of Chateau-Salins, with the 104th Regiment, and the town had been captured after four hours of fighting. . . . Company "A" then headed east, advancing on the left side of Morville [complete name: Morville-les-Vic, "Mor-veel - leh - Veek"]. . . .

On the second day, after furious battling, following re-grouping of the battalion tanks, the town of Morville was taken, the area was cleared, and the action moved on towards the junction point of Ham Pont, where the units of the 761st would converge and form a single spearhead for the thrust through the densely wooded area of the Forest De Koecking, which stretched some twenty miles ahead, with enemy positions scattered at strategical points in the entire sector. . . .

In the area in between [Hampont and Goebbling] lay Obreck, Dedeline, and Chateau Voule. They were taken after bitter enemy resistance had been overcome, and the operations moved on to Wuisse.

Company "A" got in some fire missions at Wuisse, and then was subjected to an enemy counter-attack, which was repulsed by two platoons from the company, destroying two enemy tanks.

Later on, on the night of November 11, one platoon of Company "A" attached to the 104th Regiment, staged a counter-attack on its own initiative, and captured Wuisse, and defended it during the night of the 11th. The platoon was commanded by First Lieutenant Joseph O. Kahoe, Jr., of Washington, D.C. (pp. 27-31,33,35)

So, according to Anderson, who was with the battalion in Europe and writing, presumably with the help of the veterans, less than a year after these events occurred, Stevens's platoon started out attached to the 101st Infantry Regiment on November 8. But Anderson says nothing about what this platoon did after the battle for Moyenvic on that date. He says the battalion regrouped in Hampont on November 10. Was Stevens's platoon part of that regrouping? He says, "Company 'A' got in some fire missions at Wuisse," and then a German counterattack "was repulsed by two platoons from the company" (p. 35). So, at least two platoons of Company A were near Wuisse on 11 Nov 44. Was Stevens's platoon there too? Anderson doesn't say.

I went on to read two more histories of the 761st Tank Battalion: *Hit Hard*,⁴ published in 1983, by David Williams, commander of the 761st's Company A; and *Patton's Panthers*,⁵ published in 2004, by Charles Sasser.

Williams says he and his company were sent to Bezange La Grande before the offensive began to report to Colonel Colley, commander of the 104th Regiment (p. 151). He told Williams, "You know we're only going to keep two platoons of your company." These were initially attached to the 104th's 1st Battalion and, after the afternoon of November 8, to its 2nd Battalion (p. 161). "We will send five of your tanks over to the 101st Regiment" (p. 158). Williams chose Lieutenant Barbour's platoon, which included Staff Sergeant Stevens (p. 159). After "a terrible four days" [November 8 - 11] of battle, which included helping seize Chateau-Salins and Hampont, then moving through Obreck to Chateau-Voue, Company A was pulled back to Hampont for rest. There Williams learned that Barbour's platoon had lost three tanks in combat with two men killed and Stevens wounded (pp. 189-195). Williams never mentions Hill 309.

Sasser confirms the split-up of Company A. But he says, "Captain David Williams's Able Company was assigned to the first task force, made up of the 101st and 104th Infantry Regiments of the 26th. Two platoons under his command would fight with the 101st. Able's Third Platoon, led by Lieutenant Charles Barbour, would go with the 104th to spearhead its lead rifle platoons" (p. 72). The rest of the 761st was part of another task force built around the 26th Division's other infantry regiment, the 328th. Sasser twice mentions that the action on Hill 309 was part of an attack on Wuisse (pp. 131-133).

Sasser's account of Stevens's wounding and rescue is similar to Wilson's. Sasser concludes it as follows:

It didn't look as if Stevens was going to make it. Germans feared and despised American tankers and tried to kill as many of them as they could, any way they could. Exposed as he was to the enemy, Stevens's best bet was to play dead. More often than not, however, that didn't work. Germans liked to make sure the dead were really dead.

A tall white sergeant from the 26th Infantry lay nearby in a ditch. He lifted his head.

"Hey, Sarge," he called out to Stevens. "You hit?"

"I'm hit hard as hell." [Stevens was temporarily paralyzed from the waist down.]

Although the white dough was relatively safe in his ditch, he jumped out without a second thought, putting himself in danger to run to a black tanker's aid. He grabbed Stevens by the back of his jumpsuit and shoved him over the embankment and into the ditch. Then, before he could duck down himself, some German in the woodline cut him across the middle with a burp gun. The white sergeant's body fell on top of Stevens.

Not so long before, Sergeant Roy King had tried to save a white dough in Morville's town square and was killed in the attempt. Now a white dough had died saving a black man. It profoundly touched Johnnie Stevens. He didn't even know the white sergeant's name. (p. 134)

I began this search knowing only that, if Staff Sergeant Stevens's memory was accurate, his rescuer was tall, a sergeant from the 26th Infantry Division, probably the 101st Infantry Regiment, and that the rescue occurred on a Hill 309 near Wuisse on November 11, 1944. A main goal of all my reading, of course, was to narrow down what unit this "tall sergeant" belonged to, if not to a single company or battalion, at least to a single regiment. Instead, the possibilities had now expanded to include BOTH the 101st and 104th Regiments.

Chapter 3 - The Search Widens

In early September, I wrote to authors Williams, Wilson, and Sasser asking whether Hill 309 could be Hill 310 and if they had any information that could help narrow down what company the tall sergeant had been with or knew anyone who might. I also asked Sasser if he might have mixed up which regiment Lieutenant Barbour's platoon was attached to.

Williams never replied. I later learned he had died years earlier.

An email reply arrived the next day from Joe Wilson, Jr., thanking me for my interest in his "good friend Johnnie Stevens and what he recalls as the worst day of his life, may God embrace his soul."¹ (Joe later told me Stevens had died in July of 2007.) He also assured me that Hill 309 was not the same as Hill 310. Joe suggested I go to the American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC) website to see which sergeants from the 101st Infantry Regiment were killed on 11 Nov 44 and buried in Europe, and offered further assistance. This began a friendship that has stretched to over 200 pages of emails, several letters, postcards, and packages, dozens of phone calls, and seven visits so far.

The American Battle Monuments Commission is "guardian of America's overseas commemorative cemeteries and memorials." Its website listed five sergeants from the 101st Infantry Regiment killed on either 8 or 9 Nov 44, one on 13 Nov, but none on 11 Nov 44. From the 104th Infantry Regiment, three sergeants were listed as killed on 8 Nov, two on 10 Nov, one each on 12 and 13 Nov, and one, Sgt. Anthony J. Stanevich from Connecticut, on 11 Nov 44. But, as the website noted, it has records only of those buried in their cemeteries or listed on their Walls of the Missing, 176,399 (44%) of the 405,399 American servicemen and women killed during World War II.² About 39% of the casualties listed in *The History of the 26th Yankee Division: 1917-1919, 1941-1945* from the 101st were included on ABMC's website along with 44% from the 104th.³

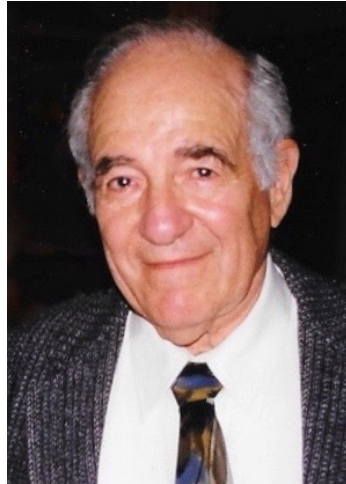
Charles Sasser replied in mid-October. He'd been away doing research. He said, although he did additional research, that his book was based on interviews with 17 veterans of the 761st.⁴ Those veterans thought his account was very accurate. Over the next couple of years we exchanged a few emails. In August 2010, I asked him whether he had any notes that told which 26th Division regiment Stevens's platoon was working with. Sasser replied, "I do have notes—Johnny Stevens himself told me they were working with the 104th."⁵

Meanwhile, an Institut Geographique National (IGN) topographic map of the Lorraine Province region I'd ordered in August arrived. Like the google map, it showed an area northeast of Wuisse that might be Hill 309, but, with elevation lines spaced every 20 meters, it was impossible to tell. Though this 1:100,000-scale map didn't identify Hill 309, it did label Hill 310 near Moyenvic. I kept Len Kondratiuk informed of my "progress" by phone and email, and sent him a copy of the Wuisse area of the map and also a copy of *Shadow Divers*, the book that had helped inspire me to begin this search.

I also wrote a letter to the mayor of Wuisse, which Barbara Williams, a French-teacher friend, translated for me, telling him of my search, asking if Hill 309 exists, and enclosing 5 euros for a topographic map of the area.

After the September 2008 edition of *Yankee Doings* came out, two 26th-Division veterans emailed me responses. David Markoff, who'd served in Company G of the 104th Infantry Regiment, asked me to phone him. Tom Scholler, who'd served in Company K of the 101st, thought he knew the identity of the "tall sergeant." I replied asking for Tom's phone number, which he sent me. Thus began my years-long phone friendships with both of them.

Dave Markoff related an interesting story about how one of the black tankers had “saved” him. After several grueling days in combat during which he had lost two friends, Dave was resting back in a town when a well-dressed major from corps headquarters berated him about his filthy appearance. Enraged, Dave got up ready to smack the major with the butt of his rifle, but a black tanker sitting nearby tripped Dave before he got too far, thus, Dave believed, saving his life. Dave wanted help locating that tanker to thank him.⁶



Dave Markoff in 1945 and 2003



Tom Scholler in 1944 and 2008

Tom Scholler told me that, during the battle for Morville on 9 Nov 44, his friend, 6'3" Platoon Sergeant Jimmy Martin had been fatally shot when he rushed to aid a wounded black tanker. Two other soldiers from Tom's company, S/Sgt. Wendell Smith and PFC Harvey Battersby, were then killed trying to aid Martin. Morville was near Hill 310. This wasn't quite where or when Johnnie Stevens said he'd been rescued, and some details seemed different, but it was a similar event involving a tall sergeant from the 26th Division. Tom had not actually witnessed this event, he'd been wounded several days earlier, but he had heard accounts of it—which might have changed a bit in the retelling—at postwar reunions. He also remarked that when he was wounded again during the Battle of the Bulge, it got recorded as occurring on the wrong date.⁷ So far I'd found no documentary evidence of the existence of Hill 309, and didn't even have any corroboration of the date. Had Stevens been a bit mixed up about details? Maybe, but 1100 on 11/11 seemed hard to mix up.

In *Come Out Fighting* Anderson describes what may be the action in which Jimmy Martin was killed. During the battle for Morville, partway through the town, Sgt. Roy King's tank, of Company B, was ignited by German bazooka fire. As Sergeant King escaped from his burning tank, he was fatally shot by German machine-gun fire. Two of his crew, who exited the tank through the hatch in the floor, then used machine guns to knock out several German machine-gun nests. Meanwhile, in what Anderson calls “a beautiful demonstration of comradeship” several white Yankee Division infantrymen tried to rescue Sergeant King, a number of them being killed in the attempt.⁸

It is interesting to note that Sasser, in *Patton's Panthers*, relates this event differently. He says that Sergeant King, whom Sasser calls “Sgt. Roy ‘Love’ King,” after being wounded, was killed attempting to rescue a dying white infantryman.⁹ Both Anderson and Sasser identify the same four tankers as being Sergeant King's crew. However, according to Joe Wilson, Jr., Sgt. Love King was a different person, a tank commander in Company C.¹⁰ Perhaps Sasser learned more about this event than Anderson knew. The morning report of Company B, 761st Tank Battalion, for 10 Nov 44 lists Sgt. Roy King as “seriously wounded in action” on 9 Nov 44.¹¹ There is no mention in Company C morning reports of Sgt. Love King being killed or wounded on that date.¹²

Around this time I read a book recommended to me by both Len and Peter, *G Company's War* by Bruce Egger and Lee Otts.¹³ During World War II Egger was a staff sergeant in the 328th Infantry Regiment's G Company. He recalls early on the morning of 11 Nov 44 his unit was trucked to "an orchard near the little town of Vic-sur-Seille" from which they proceeded on foot at 0600. He continues,

We walked for two hours and stopped for a short break. . . . An artillery unit dug in along the road was firing into the woods, which were about two miles to our front. . . .

We turned right at a road junction; a sign on the road to the left indicated that it was thirty-five kilometers to Metz. Along the road to the forest, which took us through a small village, were four dead German soldiers. . . .

The road was congested with vehicles from the 101st Regiment and with tanks, so we left the road and crossed a field over which the infantry and some tanks had just passed. . . .

It was about noon when we entered the woods and we stopped and waited for three hours. While we were waiting it occurred to me that this was Armistice Day. . . .

We were in reserve to the 101st Regiment, which was leading the attack. . . .

We moved out at 1500 over a road through a conifer forest. We could hear small arms fire to our front and on the high ridge to our right. [Perhaps this was the ridge that extends northeastward from Hill 310.] Our route of travel took us across a clearing about three hundred yards wide where we saw two dead GIs and an American tank with an 88 hole through the turret. Bayoneted rifles had been stuck in the ground beside the bodies. This was a common practice to indicate the location of the dead for the grave registration unit.

[They stayed overnight in a nearby forest. The next afternoon while they] were waiting along the road for E and F Companies to move ahead, a platoon from the 101st Regiment walked past on the way to the rear. [Apparently, on 11 Nov 44 the 328th was still behind the 101st.] (pp. 32-35)

If Egger's company had been on the road from Moyenvic to Metz south of where it passes through Chateau-Salins when they turned right, either onto the road to Salival or the one to Morville-les-Vic, a 7-mile march turning east at Hampont and northeast at Chateau-Voue would have brought them near Hill 309. If so, the destroyed tank may have been Staff Sergeant Stevens's—he said it had been hit in the turret. The dead soldiers Egger saw near the tank could have been Stevens's crewmate and the "tall sergeant." However, if they were only 35 km from Metz's center, according to a modern topographical map, they would have been much farther north than those roads, about 7 km beyond Chateau-Salins.¹⁴ Also, according to the maps, Metz would have been straight ahead, not to the left.

Just to be sure, in mid-October I sent a third request for morning reports to NPRC, this time for those from all three tank companies of the 761st for November 8-12, and again requested the November 10, 1944, report for Company K of the 101st Infantry Regiment.

As throughout this search, I kept Len and Joe updated about what turned up. Now I began updating Dave and Tom as well.

Also in mid-October I reread the various accounts of November 8 through 11 and compared their maps. Hugh M. Cole's *The Lorraine Campaign* contains a map showing the paths of two parts of the 4th Armored Division's Task Force A. They crossed at Hampont. Then one passed through Conthil on November 11, a couple of miles north of Wuisse, the village said to be near Hill 309. The other continued through Chateau-Voue and just north of Wuisse on November 12.¹⁵ A map in *The History of the 26th Yankee Division* shows the 104th passed north of Wuisse, the 328th south; the 101st's route there is unspecified though it seems to be between the other two regiments' routes.¹⁶ A map (which Dave Markoff sent me) from *History of a Combat Regiment 1639-1945: 104th Infantry Regiment* edited by Ralph A. Palladino shows the route of the 104th as a wide path just north of Wuisse.¹⁷ Another map in that book shows the 2nd Battalion passed closest to Wuisse, while the 104th's other two infantry battalions passed farther north. Each of these maps, as well as those in *Come Out Fighting* and *Hit Hard*, differs somewhat from the others and from a modern map in the relative locations of the towns.

ADVANCE IN 26TH DIVISION ZONE

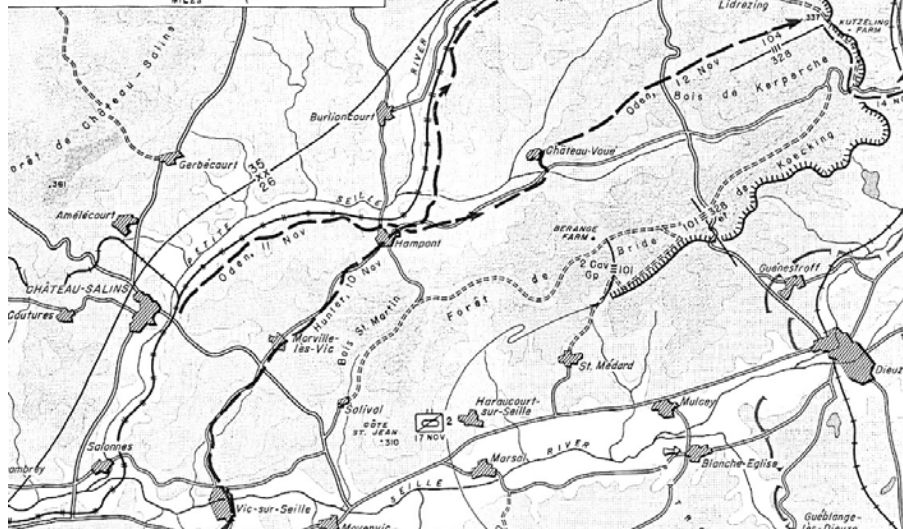
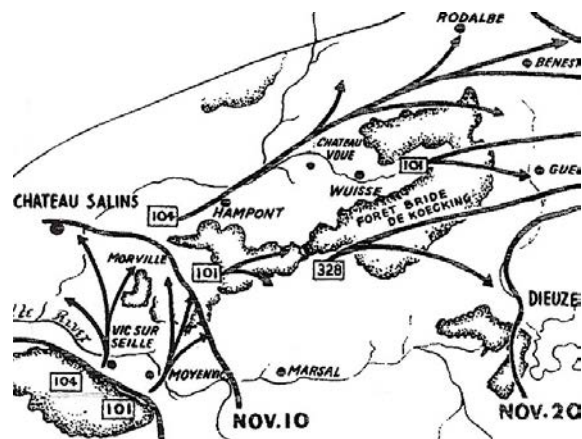
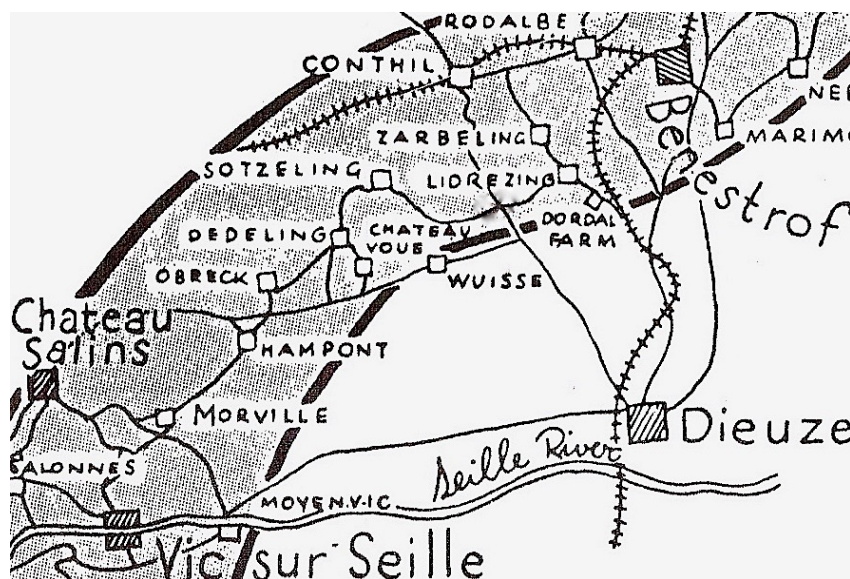
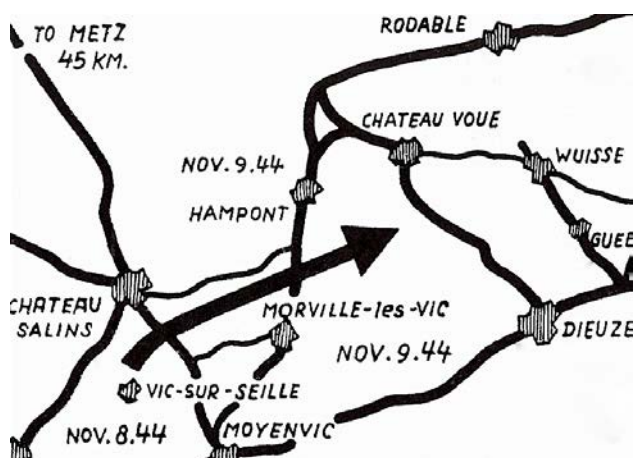
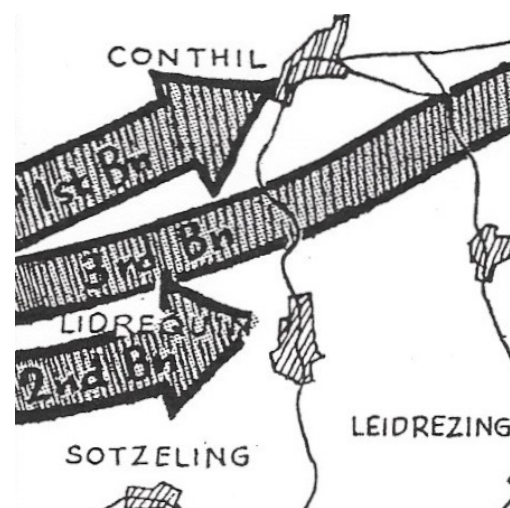
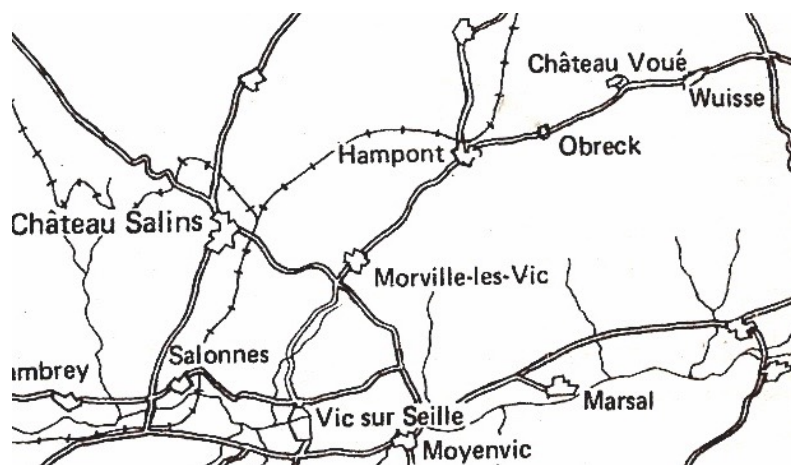
8-17 November 1944

- LINE OF DEPARTURE, 0600, 8 NOVEMBER
- - - AXIS OF ADVANCE, CCA, 4TH ARMD DIV
- FORWARD POSITIONS, NOON 17 NOVEMBER
- GERMAN FRONT LINE (APPROX), NOON 17 NOV

Elevations in Meters

0 210 250 300 350 and above

0 1 2 3

From Cole's *The Lorraine Campaign*From *The History of the 26th Yankee Division*From Palladino's *History of a Combat Regiment 1639 to 1945*From Anderson's *Come Out Fighting*From Williams's *Hit Hard*

Next I read Tom Scholler's autobiography, *Howard Street: A Pittsburgh Story*,¹⁸ and David Williams's novel, *Eleanor Roosevelt's Niggers*,¹⁹ written several years before his *Hit Hard*, which was also about the 761st Tank Battalion. When the 761st and its two brother black tank battalions were organized, some thought the Army had been pressured into forming them by Eleanor Roosevelt, but that they would never see combat. Joe Wilson, Jr., told me about this book and that, because of Williams's crude portrayals of several tankers, Williams was shunned by many veterans at subsequent battalion reunions. Joe considers Williams's *Hit Hard* to be "a novel based on fact and as accurate as any history book. . . . Williams' account was a novel designed to make money. It is difficult to say what was true or not in the book. He was controversial. My opinion is that the foundation was true and he may have embellished the details, or maybe not."²⁰

In October at Joe's suggestion I had called Company A's clerk, Charles Ashby. He said he doesn't like to think about those times because so many of his close friends were killed. Ashby said he had no recollections of where Company A was on particular dates. In fact, he often was away from the company at battalion personnel, delivering mail, or serving as liaison. He did recall how ironic he felt it was that his company's first major battle occurred on Armistice Day. He didn't remember the incident I was researching, but he did recall that Stevens had rescued a wounded white soldier by driving a tank between the soldier and the Germans.²¹

By late November no response had come from NPRC to my August request for morning reports, so I called them. A fellow there told me that increases in requests and changes in procedures had backlogged their operations by four to six months—though he'd been told to just say "weeks"!

In early December I sent author Jeff Shaara a copy of *Hit Hard* and an account of my research. (I know Jeff from attending a number of his "book talks" and corresponding with him over the last several years.) Since he was then doing research for his third novel about World War II, *No Less Than Victory*, which would be covering the period when the 761st Tank Battalion was in combat, I thought he might want to mention the 761st. He did; he included in his book General Patton's welcome of the 761st into Third Army.²²

As 2009 began, I sent off more inquiries. I again wrote to NPRC asking why my August and October requests were never answered despite the check enclosed with my October request being cashed. I sent Peter Bogdan another letter for *Yankee Doings* thanking Dave Markoff and Tom Scholler and asking for information somewhat more specifically. This letter was printed in March but produced no responses. Having received no reply from Wuisse's mayor, I wrote him another letter, which Barbara Williams again translated. The mayor finally answered in late February, saying he knew of no Hill 309—but not sending a map or returning my 5 euros.

That winter my email correspondence widened to include three of Joe's World War II researcher friends: Paula Baker, Jerome Leclerc, and Capt. Yannick Rouvrais. Leclerc and Rouvrais are Frenchmen who live in the Lorraine region of France and are involved in World War II commemoration.

In late March 2009 I emailed Paula Baker explaining about my research. She had done research on her father, a soldier during World War II in the 35th Infantry Division, who had been killed during the Lorraine battles. Paula suggested trying to get aid-station reports from the 26th Division.²³ She also was in touch with Leclerc.

That same day I also emailed Jerome Leclerc explaining about my research and asking if he knew of Hill 309. About a week later he emailed me a copy of part of a topographic map (IGN's 1:50,000-scale "Chateau-Salins" map) showing Hill 309 labeled at a road junction about one mile northeast of Wuisse (see next page). So much for the mayor! Jerome later mailed me the map itself. Incidentally, I asked Jerome if he was related to General Leclerc whose French armored division led the allied troops into liberated Paris. He said he wasn't. "Leclerc" was the general's "nom de guerre."

Back in January I'd contacted Yannick Rouvrais. In May he visited Wuisse and Hill 309 where he took photos, which he emailed to me (see below). Today Hill 309 is farmland and woods with some farm buildings at the crossroads. It seems fairly flat in the pictures, though rolling hills show in the photos of Wuisse. Joe had told me back in October that Johnnie Stevens also remembered the area as being rather flat.



Part of the map Jerome sent me showing Wuisse and Hill 309—marked in red



Wuisse's western entrance



500 meters before Hill 309



Approaching the Hill 309 junction coming from the west

Chapter 4 - Hassling with NPRC

The morning reports I'd requested in August 2008 from the National Personnel Records Center never arrived, nor was the enclosed check ever cashed. Apparently they'd been lost. But in mid-April 2009, those morning reports from companies of the 761st Tank Battalion which I'd requested from them in October finally arrived. They confirmed that Stevens had been wounded on 11 Nov 44. Johnnie had been right about both the hill and the date!

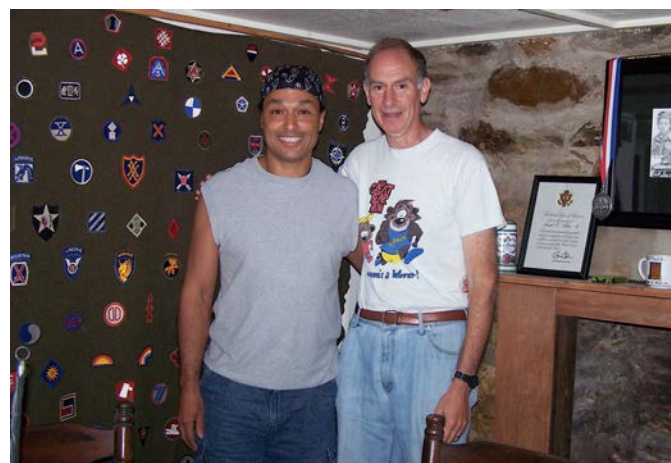
I'd also requested Tom Scholler's company's morning report for 10 Nov 44. They instead sent me the entire month's reports. The one for 11 Nov 44 lists T/Sgt. James R. Martin as "SWA near Nancy France remaining 114th Med Bn 9 Nov 44 Lost to 60th Evacuation Hosp 10 Nov 44."¹ "SWA" stands for "severely wounded in action."² This morning report does, however, record S/Sgt. Wendell Smith and PFC Harvey R. Battersby as KIA (killed in action). Tom Scholler said they were killed trying to rescue Martin. Technical Sergeant Martin is included in a list of those killed in battle in *The History of the 26th Yankee Division*,³ and as DOW (died of wounds) in a casualty list for the 101st Infantry Regiment stored at the National Archives building in College Park, MD.⁴ Neither source, however, gives the date of his death.

So Technical Sergeant Martin definitely wasn't the "tall sergeant," but who was? In early May 2009, I sent NPRC two more requests for morning reports, those from November 10-13, 1944, for every company of the 104th Infantry Regiment and for those I didn't already have for all companies of the 101st, enclosing checks with each request. In late May I called NPRC to inquire about my August 2008 request. A computer answered saying there'd be a "46-second wait." Fifteen minutes later a woman answered, listened to my question, then said she'd transfer me "to someone who could better assist me." Then the line went dead. The next day I tried again. A fellow told me it was impossible to trace my earlier request and my latest requests were too big. So I broke them up by battalion (four companies each) and sent six different request letters. Meanwhile, I continued to share my findings, speculations, and questions by email and phone with Joe, Len, Dave, and Tom.

By late May replies began to dribble in from NPRC (some addressed to "Bruce Novah" or "Bruce Norah"). First the checks enclosed with my early-May requests were returned, one because they couldn't "identify a military service record for the above-named individual"—were they looking for MY WWII records? The other was returned because they couldn't find an invoice for that check. Then came a letter stating, "We are unable to determine what information you are seeking. . . ." Finally, in mid-June, after yet another letter to NPRC to again explain the reason for my requests, morning reports began to arrive. Some were those I'd requested. Others were from companies of the 26th Infantry REGIMENT, a part of the 1st Infantry Division. These came from four different research technicians. One first sent me copies of morning reports for Companies E, F, G, and H of the 26th Infantry REGIMENT, though her cover letter said they were from 101st Regiment of the 26th Infantry DIVISION. In response to my letter of complaint, she sent morning reports for Companies E, F, and G of the 101st, but said she couldn't find those of Company H. By the end of August I'd received the requested reports for Company A of the 104th, all companies of the 101st except Company H, plus those from five companies in the 26th Infantry Regiment which I hadn't requested. I sent a thank-you note to Lois Dumey, the one technician who got my order completely right. I've been told NPRC hires part-time help to pull records. I also made yet another useless call to NPRC. At the end of August 2009, I mailed my ninth and last request to them, asking for some of the as-yet-unsent reports from the 104th.

At Dave Markoff's suggestion, I also wrote to one of his army buddies to see if he or anyone he knew recalled the fighting at Hill 309. I received no reply.

In September, on the way back from helping our son move to Las Vegas, my wife Linda and I visited overnight with Joe Wilson, Jr., at his home in Maryland. We had a very pleasant visit. He showed us his impressive collection of World War II memorabilia and loaned me a videotape of a History Channel show about the 761st Tank Battalion, "First to Fight: The Black Tankers of World War II."⁵ This film is a good history of the battalion. It includes a brief description by the narrator and Johnnie Stevens of the battle at Hill 309, but with no new details.



Joe and I in his basement museum

When no more morning reports had arrived by December, I again tried calling NPRC. This time I got a recorded message which said, "At this time we are experiencing higher than normal call volume and are unable to accept any calls," after which the line disconnected! A later try got the same response.

After that I wrote to Congressman Barney Frank requesting help with NPRC. He'd been my representative for many years; however, now I lived in a different district. For that reason his office declined to help.

Meanwhile, I continued corresponding by email, letter, and phone with my new friends. I answered several questions that Tom Scholler asked me about Israel and helped edit a history of General Patton he was writing for a friend of his. Yann Rouvrais told me he'd be retiring from the French army in March to become a civilian security manager. I sent Jerome Leclerc photos of the D-Day Memorial in Bedford, VA, that my wife and I had visited. He replied with the first of a yearly series of his Happy New Year's beautiful painted scenes.

In February 2010, I attended a film/talk at the Boston Public Library (recommended by Joe) about the first black army unit to see combat during World War II, the 92nd (Black) Infantry Division, which served in Italy. I sent Joe a copy of their DVD, "Inside Buffalo: The Story of unsung African American Heroes of the 92nd Division in World War II."⁶

By the end of April, tired of waiting, I wrote to our newly elected US Senator Scott Brown, who'd been our state senator, for help with NPRC. Three months later his office sent me a Privacy Act release form to sign and return, which I did. Meanwhile, my research remained stalled for months.

Chapter 5 - The Search Heats Up

Finally, during my phone call in July 2010 to an army buddy, Jim McKan, his wife reminded me that he now worked for the National Archives. Jim put me in touch with Rick Peusser, a researcher at their branch in College Park, MD, who told me what types of documents the Archives might have that could be useful and connected me with one of their archivists. Jim also gave me a phone number for the then director of NPRC, Ron Hindman. Mr. Hindman advised me that, yes, my request was too big for NPRC to process, directed me to a part of NPRC's website which seemed not to exist, but also sent me the site address for an online list of for-hire private researchers who search out and copy documents at National Archives branches including NPRC.¹ I called Norm Richards, the first on the list who lived near NPRC and specialized in morning reports (among other documents). After we talked, I emailed him my specific request:

Norm,

The companies for which I'd like morning reports are all from the 26th Infantry Division:

Companies B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, and H [*sic*, HQs] of the 104th Infantry Regiment, and Companies H and HQs of the 101st Infantry Regiment. I'd like them for the dates Nov 10-14, 1944. Copying them two-to-a-page should be fine if they are readable.

What I'm looking for is a sergeant (or specialist) killed on November 11, 1944. (I've attached to this email the account that inspired my search.) Deaths weren't always reported on the date they occurred, which is why I'd like you to check the 12th-14th. Those reports for the 10th I want also in hopes they tell something about just where that company was operating at that time.

Could you please also CHECK these companies' morning reports for November 15th and 16th to see if they have any mention of a sergeant killed on the 11th. Please also check for this in the morning reports for Nov 14th, 15th, and 16th. Don't bother copying these reports unless they mention a sergeant's death on that date. Those companies are

101st Infantry Regiment's Companies A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, and M, and
104th Infantry Regiment's Company A.

(Over the last 2 years I managed to get copies of the morning reports for November 10-13, 1944, of these companies.)

Thank you.

Bruce Novak²

Norm replied that evening saying he'd be able to look through the morning report microfilms Friday (in 4 days).

Meanwhile, I also sent Norm a story posted on the 761st Tank Battalion website³ about an Austrian "Hitler Youth" named Bruno who'd been captured/liberated by a tanker who had been identified years later by a veteran of Norm's father's 90th Infantry Division as Johnnie Stevens. It turned out that Norm, who is assistant historian of the 90th's veterans association, was good friends with Bruno, who has attended 90th Division reunions. Norm had even walked where Bruno had been captured with the veteran who made the connection. It's a small world!

Friday afternoon I received the following email from Norm:

Bruce, I've been reviewing tapes of the 104th and of [Stevens's] unit as well. I really believe I've found the Sgt. in question.

John J. Daley was the 1st Sgt. of 104/G (Co. G would be in the 2nd Bat. of the 104th) KIA Nov. 11th and he appears on the Nov. 12th report—makes sense since [Stevens] mentions the incident occurred late on the 11th. [It was at 11 am according to S/Sgt Stevens.]

On the 761st/Co. A morning report for Nov. 12th, it states at the bottom of the report that: "Company continuing attack with 2nd Bat. 104th Reg."

There is no other Sgt. shown as KIA on Nov. 11th in any other company within the 104th. I've checked all companies.

I've made copies of those few reports. Will copy more reports if you want on Tuesday when I return to the research room.

Norm

PS. John J. Daley was from Rutland [*sic*—see page 24], Massachusetts (Hampshire County) and his remains were apparently brought back to the states in 1948, since he is not listed as buried overseas on the ABMC website. Would you want to order his IDPF (Individual Deceased Personnel File)? I can send you the address later since I don't have it with me here at the Center.⁴

My research was stalled no longer!

I replied that my next step would be to submit another letter to *Yankee Doings* asking if anyone remembered First Sergeant Daley and if he was tall. I also explained the question of which regiment of the 26th Division Staff Sergeant Stevens's platoon was attached to at that time, and asked Norm what an Individual Deceased Personnel File (IDPF) was. Norm explained that since morning reports are written at company level, they are generally more accurate than battalion's after-action reports. He also explained:

The IDPF is a free file that all soldiers KIA in WWII have. Sometimes they have great details of the situation when the person was killed, sometimes not. It takes 12-16 weeks to receive the file, but it is free. There is usually correspondence in the file between the Army and the next of kin pertaining to the desire of the family to have the remains buried in a National Cemetery overseas or returned home for interment; that correspondence was usually in late 1947 thru 1948.⁵

I asked Norm how to get an IDPF. He replied, "For the IDPF, write a brief note citing the Freedom of Information Act. Include his name, rank, serial number, date of death and unit--Division/Regiment/Company."⁶ He gave me an address in Virginia to mail my request to and said it normally takes 12-16 weeks. (Later, IDPFs were available through US Army Human Resources Command at Fort Knox, KY, but recently they were moved to National Archives, St. Louis, MO. This is not the same facility as the National Personnel Records Center, though it shares the same address.)

The following Monday I called Len. He found 1st Sgt. John J. Daley listed in the Yankee Division's unit history's list of World War II casualties. Later, using Daley's army serial number, Len found two data cards listing Daley's mother and father and their addresses during World War II.

Len told me the meaning of the first two digits of an 8-digit World War II army serial number: For enlisted men, the first digit indicates Regular Army (1), National Guard (2), or draftee (3 or 4). Officers have a first digit of "0." The second digit tells from where the soldier came: For example, 1 = New England; 2 = New York, New Jersey, or Delaware; etc. The other six digits are used for individual identification.

The next day I sent out a letter requesting the IDPF of First Sergeant Daley. Later that week I talked to Dave Markoff who had served in Daley's Company G. Dave remembered First Sergeant Daley well. When I told Dave that Daley might have been the "tall sergeant" who rescued Johnnie Stevens, Dave thought a moment and said, "Yes, he was the kind of soldier who would have done that."⁷ However, Dave recalled Daley as being of medium height. My wife, Linda, found 1st Sgt. John J. Daley listed on the World War II Memorial's website, but the listing had no more information.

Nearly two years earlier I had found Sgt. Anthony J. Stanevich listed under the 104th Infantry Regiment on the American Battle Monuments Commission's website as having died on 11 Nov 44. However, his name wasn't on any of the morning reports I had from the 104th. Len checked company rosters of the 104th when it arrived in France. He found Sergeant Stanevich on the Company L roster. But Stanevich isn't mentioned on any of that company's morning reports from 10 Nov - 14 Nov 44.⁸ Norm said sometimes a soldier wasn't listed as killed in action (KIA) until his body was found weeks or months later. He checked Company L's reports farther into November. On the 17 Nov 44 report he found Sergeant Stanevich listed as "missing in action 11 Nov 44 near Obreck France."⁹ Obreck is a village about 2 miles west of Wuisse. The 28 Nov 44 report changed his status to "killed in action 11 November near Obreck France."¹⁰ So, two weeks after requesting First Sergeant Daley's IDPF, I sent a request for Sergeant Stanevich's also.

In about two weeks Norm had gotten me more morning reports from NPRC and more information than the NPRC staff had provided in two years! He'd even found reports from Company H of the 101st Infantry Regiment, which the NPRC people couldn't locate! Norm charged \$95 plus \$40 for copying, which I paid gladly including a tip.

Having found two possible rescuers in the 104th Infantry Regiment, I then queried Charles Sasser as to whether he might have mixed up the 101st and 104th Regiments. He replied, "I do have notes—Johnny Stevens himself told me they were working with the 104th."¹¹

Also, about the time I contacted Norm, Len suggested I call Hall Duncan, a Yankee Division World War II veteran who had contacted him. Hall had been wounded near Guebling, close to Bourgaltroff, about five miles east of Wuisse. Hall had joined Company I of the 101st Infantry as a replacement a few days after 11 Nov 44, so he couldn't help me with my research, but I could help him with his. He was investigating events around the time and place of his wounding. I sent him excerpts from Wilson's, Anderson's, and Sasser's books about the 761st Tank Battalion's battles near Guebling, and particularly about S/Sgt. Ruben Rivers. Rivers earned the Medal of Honor and was killed fighting not far from the location and at about the same time that Hall was wounded. Rivers came from a town in Oklahoma near where Hall lives. Hall would later help establish a memorial to Rivers near where he died. Hall became another friend I talked to regularly about my research and who visited us in 2011.

In mid-August Len sent me a copy of the "Battle Casualties" list from *The History of the 26th Yankee Division*.¹² It lists the Division's combat deaths during World War II. Of the 2113 names, 409 were either sergeants, staff (or platoon) sergeants, technical sergeants, first sergeants, or master sergeants. (Another 62 were T/5s, technicians grade 5, which I then incorrectly thought were equivalent in rank to sergeants, as are specialist 5s today. Years later I realized T/5s were equivalent to corporals, and that I should have instead been including the 31 T/4s and T/3s which were equivalent in rank to sergeants and staff sergeants, respectively—see page 28.) So, now instead of just checking for those killed on 11 Nov 44, to see if they were sergeants, I could also check those sergeants (and technicians) who died in combat to see if they died on 11 Nov 44.

Near the end of August 2010, I called the National Archives branch in College Park, MD, about getting casualty lists with dates of death for the 101st and 104th Infantry Regiments. They said I could buy copies, but they weren't sure whether those lists contained dates of death. My research was suspended for two weeks in September while my wife, my son, and I vacationed in Wyoming, Montana,

and Colorado. After returning home, I sent for those casualty lists. They include handwritten dates of death (killed in action or died of wounds) for fewer than half the names. Dates are included only for those having last names beginning with A through G and T through Z, and even some of those are omitted. I'm amazed that no data base exists listing every soldier killed in action during World War II and giving the unit and date of death of each one. The National Archives tried to put together such a list just after the war but, apparently, lost interest, funding, or both!¹³ Combining information from the National Archives casualty lists with that from the American Battle Monuments Commission's website, the World War II Memorial's website (which rarely gives date of death), and the morning reports Norm and I had checked, left 110 sergeants of various ranks, plus T/5s, with unknown dates of death.

In early November 2010, I revisited Len Kondratiuk at the Massachusetts National Guard Museum and Archives, which has data on all National Guard soldiers from Massachusetts. We spent five hours together and found dates of death for 26 more sergeants. One of those, S/Sgt. Raymond A. Mungo of Company I, 101st Infantry, had been killed in action on 11 Nov 44—a third possibility!¹⁴ Another 12 were later eliminated due to information on museum cards or morning reports. I then looked up all the uneliminated on the World War II Memorial website, but it added little information.

On November 18, as part of a pilgrimage my wife and I made to Gettysburg to see commemoration activities for Lincoln's famous Address and to visit with Joe Wilson, Jr., I spent a few hours at the National Archives building in College Park, MD. That morning I got an Archives Research card, which allowed me to go upstairs into the research area. There I looked up and requested several journals and after-action reports from the 101st and 104th Infantry Regiments. While my request was being processed, my wife and I went out to lunch with my friend Jim McKan. By the time we returned, what I'd requested was piled on a cart in eight full boxes. Over the next 90 minutes I sorted through the material. I'd intended to xerox useful documents, but many of the over-60-year-old journals literally started to fall apart when I touched them, so I digitally photographed them, about 80 pages. These photos included pages covering 9 Nov 44 through 11 Nov 44 from the Journal of the Commanding Officer of the 101st Infantry Regiment; 8 Nov 44 through 13 Nov 44 from the Journal of Headquarters, 3rd Battalion of the 101st Infantry Regiment; and two chapters about the battles in Lorraine Province from the 1945 edition of the book *History of a Combat Regiment 1639-1945: 104th Infantry*.

The "Journal of C.O. [Commanding Officer] 101st Inf" from 9 Nov through 11 Nov 44 says little that seemed relevant to my search. At 1510 on 10 Nov it says an enemy battalion was reported about a half mile southeast of Hampont. At 1630 the C.O. alerted all troops for a possible counterattack on Hill 310. However, in a message sent at 1645 on 9 Nov from the 26th Division's commander to the 101st's C.O. which was stuck in with the 9 Nov part of this journal, a "Hill 309" is referred to: "101 Inf, reach and hold line: Hill 318.1 Q141256, Hill 315.5 Q151253, Hill 305.5 Q154242, Hill 309 Q159239. Coordinate with 104 Inf on Hill 318 Q141256. Protect right flank from Hill 309.0 Q159239 to MOYENVIC (Excl). Coordinate with outpost of 3rd Bn 328 Inf on outskirts MOYENVIC. Resume Atk [attack] in Z [zone?] 100900 Nov 44."¹⁵ This "Hill 309" seemed to be near Moyenvic rather than Wuisse, but without a map showing the grid used, I couldn't be sure. (Eventually, in May 2014, I would acquire such maps.)

The "Q" numbers in the quotation above refer to grid coordinates. (Frequently they are indicated by being put in parentheses or without "Q".) Topographic maps often have a standardized set of vertical and horizontal numbered grid lines printed on them to locate positions on the map. These are NOT longitude and latitude lines, though they are used similarly to specify a position on a map. (Often such maps show the direction to "true north," the direction toward earth's north pole; "magnetic north," the direction toward earth's north magnetic pole; and "grid north," all of which are usually in somewhat different directions.) The first half of the digits refers to the vertical grid lines; the second half of the digits refers to the horizontal lines. For example, Hill 309 is located about nine-tenths of the way over from vertical grid line "15" to line "16" and nine-tenths of the way up from horizontal line "23" to line "24" (see map on page 34). On the 1:50,000- and 1:25,000-scale topographical maps shown later in this book, both the vertical and horizontal grid lines are spaced one kilometer apart.

The “Journal of HQ 3d Bn 101st Inf” has more, including some mentions of Lieutenant Barbour and his tanks. The entry for 0700 on 10 Nov 44 says (all in capital letters), “Lt Barber [*sic*] of tank outfit [presumably Lt. Charles Barbour of Company A, 761st Tank Battalion] arrived at CP [command post] and was notified that his tanks are attached to 1st Bn—he left with Sgt Daley for 1st Bn.” At 1405 it says, “RCN [reconnaissance] troops of tanks going forward at this time. In 1½ hours tanks will go forward (Lt Barber [*sic*])—10 tanks) to help in any way that Bn Cmdr sees fit to use them.” So Lieutenant Barbour’s platoon, which would have had only 5 tanks, was still with the 101st Infantry the afternoon before Staff Sergeant Stevens’s rescue. At 1608 it says, “Four tanks can remain with our battalion. The rest of them must go with 1st Bn. 1st Bn jumping off at 1610—Arty [artillery] preparation commenced at 1600.” Then at 0910 on 11 Nov, “Capt Wilson left CP to bring tanks up to front lines.” At 1225 3rd Battalion was told that the 101st’s mission was to hold the right flank. By 1510 the front line was reported to be “at 175256—176260—174263” (see map on page 34). At 1325 on 12 Nov the 2nd Battalion, 104th Infantry, is reported to be in Chateau-Voue.¹⁶

Note that the Sergeant Daley referred to above was a regimental liaison officer who is mentioned several times in this journal, including after November 11. For example, at 1030 on 13 Nov it reports, “Sgt Daley Regt’l LN NCO reported to CP.” He’s not the same person as 1st Sgt. John J. Daley of Company G, 104th Infantry, who was killed on 11 Nov 44, nor is this Sergeant Daley reported to have died during World War II.

During our visit Joe showed me a copy of the “761st Tank Battalion After-Action Report” dated 2 Dec 44. Its entry for 7 Nov 44 says:

Under command of CAPT DAVID J. WILLIAMS II, two (2) platoons of COMPANY ‘A’, attached to 104th Infantry Regiment, marched to Vic [vicinity of?] Bezange La Grande (Q073171).

Under command of 1ST LT CHARLES H. BARBOUR JR, one (1) platoon of COMPANY ‘A’, attached to 101st Infantry Regiment, marched Vic north of Arracourt (Q115144).¹⁷

This confirms what Anderson and Williams wrote about which infantry regiment Lieutenant Barbour’s (and Staff Sergeant Stevens’s) platoon was attached to initially.

The report’s entry for 8 Nov 44 says two platoons of Company A supported the infantry’s attack and capture of Vic-sur-Seille, while one platoon—presumably Lieutenant Barbour’s—supported the infantry’s attack and capture of Moyenvic. That is the last mention of Barbour’s platoon until at least a week after 11 November. The two other platoons, under Captain Williams’s command, do continue to be mentioned. The entry for 9 Nov 44 says, “COMPANY ‘A’, two (2) platoons, supporting Infantry, attack and took Chateau-Salins (Q100255).” For 10 Nov it reports, “Company ‘A’, two (2) platoons, marched with Infantry through Morville (Q127247) Ham Pont (Q1526269), on to Obreck (Q162279). Two (2) tanks lost, two (2) men killed in action, three (3) wounded in action.” For 11 Nov: “Company ‘A’, two platoons, supported Infantry through Obreck (Q162279) to Dedeline (Q182290) and Chateau-Voue (Q175285).” For 12 Nov: “Company ‘A’ two (2) platoons, repulsed counter attack at Weiss (Q205285) [Wuisse], destroyed two (2) enemy tanks.” On 13 Nov: “Company ‘A’, one (1) platoon, returned to CP area for maintenance. Company ‘A’, one (1) platoon, under command of 1st Lt Joseph O Kahoe, Jr, attached to 2nd Battalion, 104th Infantry Regiment for counterattack, took Wuisse (Q205287) at 1400 hours, and defended town during the night.”¹⁸ So, apparently, Lieutenant Barbour’s platoon did not rejoin the rest of Company A during this time. But did it continue to operate with the 101st Regiment?

Company A’s morning reports for this period have even less to say: From 10 Nov through 12 Nov 44 Company A’s headquarters was located in Moyenvic. On 10 Nov and 11 Nov the company was “engaged in combat in France.” Casualties during that period were reported as “in France.” Finally, the 12 Nov report of events says, “Co[mpany] continuing attack with 2nd Bn 104th Inf Regt.”¹⁹

When we visited, Joe also lent me a videotape of “The Liberators: Fighting on Two Fronts in World War II,” a film about the 761st Tank Battalion that aired on the PBS-TV series “The American Experience.” This show was made in 1992, about two years before Johnnie Stevens was interviewed by Joe Wilson for his book (see pages 2-3). It contains the earliest account by Stevens of events at Hill 309 that I’ve found, so I will quote this account in its entirety:

The first time I got wounded was at Hill 309. That was in France. And it was an early-morning attack. And my tank--being a platoon sergeant, my tank--I was in the lead tank. And we had been told by the recon boys there was nothing out there except heavy machine-gun fire. But when we got in the middle of the field, we found out that they had antitank guns. They had bazookas, and they started knocking out tanks one behind the other. And my tank got hit, and I ejected myself out of the tank. I hit the ditch, and they started raking the field with machine-gun fire. And then some sergeant from the 26th Division, he yelled over to me, and he said, “Sarge, are you hit?” I say, “Yeh, man.” He says, “Is it bad?” I say, “I’m hit hard as hell,” just like that. So he rolled onto where I was. And I had blood running down my combat jacket. And he took me and pushed me over the bench, over the embankment, and threw me on the other side out of the line of fire. Then he raised up to come over the bank with me. And as he raised up, a German about maybe ten yards away in the bushes took a burp gun and cut him half in two--he killed him. See, I never knew who that sergeant was. All I know is he was from the 26th Yankee Division who we were supporting at the time. And that’s the only thing I know.²⁰

On December 3, 2010, Senator Brown’s office called to say they were sending me three packages of documents. They were dropped off the next morning. Instead of the requested morning reports for each company in the 104th Infantry Regiment from 10 Nov 44 through 14 Nov 44, NPRC had sent each company’s reports for the entire month of November 1944—ironic, since they sent me six times as many reports as what they told me was too large a request! However, having the whole month’s reports was useful, since it enabled me to eliminate another 35 “tall sergeant” possibilities: those who’d been killed on dates other than November 11; or had been wounded, promoted, or joined their companies after that date.

After informing Norm Richards of these developments, I sent him a list of the 53 remaining sergeant/technician possibilities from the 101st Infantry Regiment plus the Division’s artillery and support units to see if any were mentioned in November 1944 morning reports. Norm found 12 of these mentioned. A few had been transferred or promoted. The rest were killed or wounded.

Chapter 6 - Three Possibilities

So, by the end of 2010 it seemed I'd narrowed down the identity of Johnnie Stevens's rescuer to three possibilities: 1st Sgt. John J. Daley of Company G, 104th Infantry; Sgt. Anthony J. Stanevich of Company L, 104th Infantry; and S/Sgt. Raymond A. Mungo of Company I, 101st Infantry. The morning reports from all the companies of the 101st and 104th list no other sergeants killed or missing in action on 11 Nov 44.

In mid-January 2011, I reestablished contact with Paula Baker. We'd been out of touch for over a year after her computer crashed, losing all her email contacts, and her email address had changed. Paula suggested seeing whether the National Archives had any World War II records from the 114th Medical Battalion, the medical unit of the 26th Division. She suggested asking NPRC for "Surgeon General Tapes" (SGOs), which sometimes describe wounds, for each of my three candidates for "tall sergeant." I forwarded that suggestion to Norm, who said that SGOs sometimes were included in personnel files he'd requested from NPRC. He requested those files, but never received any of them.

Paula also volunteered a friend of hers, Marilyn Jensen, to look up my three candidates for "tall sergeant" on ancestry.com. I sent Paula their names and ranks. The next day Marilyn emailed me this information:

1st Sgt. John J. Daley (31 00 7950) born in 1916, enlisted on March 13, 1941. He was single, no dependents, had one year of college. Height was 69", weight 147. He was Catholic and is buried in Massachusetts.

S/Sgt. Raymond A. Mungo (31 01 9957) was born in 1914, enlisted March 7, 1941. He was single, no dependents, four years of high school. Height was 67", weight 152. He was Catholic and is buried in Massachusetts.

Sgt. Anthony J. Stanevich (31 05 1607) was born in 1915, enlisted on August 11, 1941. He was single, no dependents, grammar school education. Height was 67", weight 176. He is buried at the St. Avoild Military Cemetery in France. There is a tribute to him on the World War II Memorial site by his son, John C. Stanevich. Stanevich's home town was listed as Waterbury, Connecticut. Perhaps he married after his enlistment.¹

She also said the enlistment records on ancestry.com were probably transcribed, so she wasn't sure how accurate they were. According to Stephen Ambrose in *D-Day*, the average height of American World War II draftees was 5'8".²

It's interesting that all three of these men enlisted when in their mid-twenties several months before the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. Perhaps that was typical of those who'd made sergeant by November 1944 in the 26th Infantry Division, since it was a National Guard division before America entered the war.

About this time I sent a request for Staff Sergeant Mungo's IDPF. I also sent yet another letter to *Yankee Doings* relating the purpose and history of my search, thanking those from the 26th who'd helped me so far, and asking for information about the deaths of First Sergeant Daley, Staff Sergeant Mungo, and Sergeant Stanevich. I rechecked the various casualty lists, organizing the information about sergeants in the 101st and 104th Infantry Regiments, and now also checked the 328th Infantry Regiment's casualty list, which the National Archives had sent me with the others in the summer of 2010, but which I'd ignored until then.

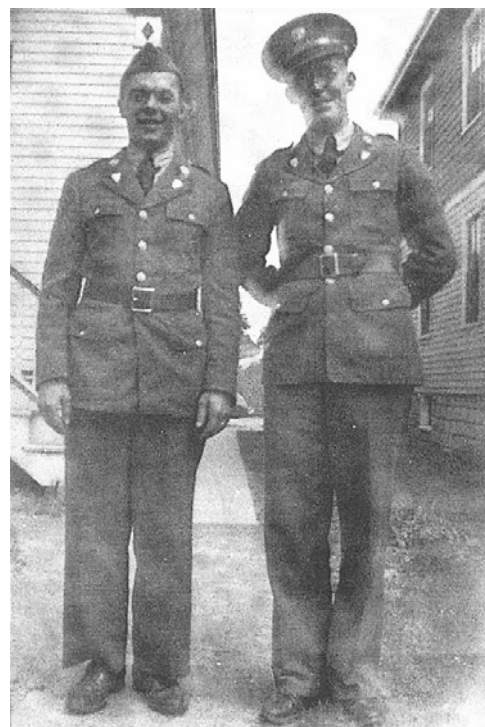
Since Hall Duncan was looking for someone to help coordinate his planned visit to where he'd been wounded in France, I emailed Yann Rouvrais. Yann replied, "The veteran you are talking about sent a letter to our mayor. We are a little village, with only 300 inhabitants, and the people are very proud to welcome an American WWII veteran! Sure, he will receive a good welcome here."³

Yann was extremely helpful to Hall, particularly while he was visiting France. They kept in touch, and in 2014 Yann and his family visited Hall in Oklahoma. Together they traveled to Tecumseh, OK, hometown of S/Sgt. Ruben Rivers, a black tanker who was killed by the Germans near Yann's village of Bourgalstroff in 1944 and was posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor. Rivers had been a tank commander in Company A of the 761st Tank Battalion.

In mid-February two letters arrived from Monique Gilbert, though the letters had been signed by someone else. Gilbert was Acting Chief of the Freedom of Information and Privacy Act Office of the US Army Human Resources Command at Fort Knox, KY, not Virginia where I'd sent my IDPF requests (see page 15). The letters said my request would take up to 16 weeks to process. By then, however, I'd already been waiting six months for the first two. I tried to call that office but spent over half an hour talking to people in four other offices at Fort Knox, none of whom could find a number for Gilbert's office. Finally, they connected me to the "Audex System" for which I needed a password. Joe gave me the email address of an acquaintance of his, Matthew Rector (who wrote *The United States Army at Fort Knox*),⁴ who worked at the Fort. He gave me the number of Lieutenant Colonel Bathrick, the Human Resources Public Affairs Officer, who got me in touch with Gilbert. The Human Resources Office assured me the requested IDPFs would eventually be sent.

On March 19, I got two calls responding to my latest letter in *Yankee Doings*: First Sergeant Daley's nephew, Tim Daley, said his uncle was killed by artillery fire.⁵ He told me the incident is described in *Touched with Fire*, a book about Northampton, MA, residents during World War II.⁶ He also told me that, based on a photo he has of his uncle with two friends who survived the War, he thinks First Sergeant Daley was about 5'11". The second call was from Jack Downes, who was with Staff Sergeant Mungo when Mungo was killed by mortar fire at Salival ("Sah-lee-vahl") while leading his squad through a hole in a stone wall that had been blasted by black tankers. Downes was three soldiers behind Mungo at the time. Downes thinks Mungo was about 5'11".⁷

At Len's suggestion, I called Forbes Library in Northampton, MA, to see if they had a copy of *Touched with Fire*. Not only did they have it in their collection, they also had copies for sale. It was published in 1993 by Northampton's local newspaper, the *Daily Hampshire Gazette*. I requested the book through interlibrary loan. It shows a photo of First Sergeant Daley standing beside a shorter soldier and says Daley "was awarded the Silver Star posthumously for crawling forward under heavy artillery and small-arms fire with orders from the battalion commander to withdraw the company. He remained with the company," according to his citation, "and helped direct the withdrawal until mortally wounded." After reading this I called Tim Daley, and purchased three copies of the book, for Len Kondratiuk, Joe Wilson, and myself. I also sent a letter to the author, Allison Lockwood, praising her book, offering a few minor corrections, and asking her to identify her source for the things she wrote about First Sergeant Daley.



1st Sgt. John J. Daley on right
(used with permission from
the *Daily Hampshire Gazette*)

On March 23, I received a letter from Jack Jones, who served as a sniper in Company C of the 101st Infantry Regiment. He was 6-feet tall. He was badly wounded by a German sniper hiding in a church steeple who'd "put a bullet through [his] spine" on 11 Nov 44 during the battle for Hill 310. A day or so earlier he had helped rescue a wounded tanker who was under heavy fire from German soldiers on a nearby hill. Jones described this action as follows:

When we reached the site, we got out and moved in as close as we could get. I left the group and crawled up to two burned-out tanks. Both had been stopped by mines or antitank fire. I crawled up and got under one of the tanks. Beside the second disabled tank was a soldier lying on the ground. Next thing I know, I am under fire from the hill. I looked and saw one German soldier in a foxhole quite a way up the hill. With my sniper rifle I was able to target in on him pretty well. Then shots started coming at me from another area. I thought it was another sniper up there but then figured out that he was in a tunnel with opening above the way, so he could fire from different positions. It got to the point that I had him quite well boxed up. Then I signaled the rescue crew to come up and take the tanker out. I kept the sniper down. I don't know if I wounded him or not.⁸

I looked up John "Jack" Jones on his company's November 11 morning report. It said he'd been promoted to sergeant November 9 and was seriously wounded the next day. That night I talked to Jack on the phone. I asked him if he wanted copies of the morning reports I had from his company. He did, so the next day I sent them to him.

On April 15 Lt. Col. Ed Radzwich, who'd been Staff Sergeant Mungo's company commander, also called in response to my letter. However, he wouldn't tell me anything about Mungo's death over the phone and referred me to a book he'd written which he offered to sell me. Since Jack Downes had already informed me of the details concerning Mungo's death, I declined to buy the book. A month later, another veteran of Mungo's company, Mike Samberg, emailed me suggesting I speak with Radzwich.

On April 18, copies of Sergeants Daley, Mungo, and Stanevich's IDPFs finally arrived, sent from Human Resources Command at Fort Knox. Each consisted of a stack of papers one-half inch thick, mostly forms and correspondence between Army agencies or between the Army and the soldier's family that stretched on for years about each man's effects and burial. On each "Report of Burial" form, however, was a box for "Cause of Death." Daley's said only, "KIA," but Mungo's said, "Mortar Wd [wound] chest," and Stanevich's said, "GSW [gunshot wound] Back."⁹

I then called Northampton's Veteran Affairs Officer to see if his office had a copy of Daley's Silver Star citation. It didn't.

Having seen Sergeant Stanevich's son John's name mentioned in the sergeant's entry on the World War II Memorial's website, I now began trying to contact his son. I mailed a letter to an address I'd found for him on whitepages.com in Waterbury, CT. It, however, gave no street address or phone number. The letter was returned marked "insufficient address."

Allison Lockwood replied to my letter in mid-May. We later talked by phone. She didn't recall where she'd seen First Sergeant Daley's Silver Star citation but said what she wrote was based on articles in the *Daily Hampshire Gazette* newspaper. I called the newspaper. Their computer and clipping files only go back to 1970, but they said Forbes Library has microfilm records that go back farther. The Library said they could search through those records for \$20 per hour. However, "Julie" in their "Coolidge Local History Room" would search through their World War II clipping books for mentions of Daley's Silver Star as a free veterans' service.

Meanwhile, Senator Brown's local office sent me another package, duplicate copies of what they'd delivered five months earlier, all company morning reports from the 104th Infantry Regiment for November 1944. When I called about this, one of Senator Brown's staffers told me they'd been checking recently to see if all old requests had been handled and found this box sitting around for me.

In early July, Joe Wilson, Jr., forwarded to me an email from Dale Wood. Dale was researching his father's World War II service with Company G, 101st Infantry Regiment, of the Yankee Division.

As a result of reading Abdul-Jabbar's book about the 761st Tank Battalion, he had contacted the webmaster of the 761st-veterans' website. After exchanging emails and a phone conversation, I sent Dale copies of the relevant morning reports I had, as well as photos of battalion and regiment journal pages, and contact information for Joe, Len, Peter, and Norm.

In August of 2011, Dale told me that a 1994 Lorraine-anniversary issue of *Yankee Doings* he'd picked up on eBay mentions two 26th-Division sergeants killed on 11 Nov 44 who are buried in the Lorraine cemetery: Anthony Stanevich and Francis Hyde. Several days later, Dale found a years-old note from John Stanevich on a veterans website (onesoldierremembers.com) asking for information about his father's army career. By then I'd found a whitepages.com listing for him in Kissimmee, FL, again with no street number or phone number. Kissimmee's voter registration office confirmed that John Stanevich voted there but wouldn't give me his address, so I'd mailed a letter to him without the street number. Now I also sent him an email. The letter came back marked "unable to forward," and the email was never answered.

Meanwhile, I began searching for a copy of First Sergeant Daley's Silver Star citation. I called Lieutenant Colonel Bathrick at Human Resources Command who gave me a phone number at National Archives II. That just gave me their general email address, so I called a number I already had for them. A man there said he'd email me an application to send in (along with a \$20 fee). Len said NPRC might have a copy of the citation, so I sent them a request. Just three weeks later a reply came saying the citation wasn't in their files, and if it had been, the fire in their St. Louis building on 12 July 73 would have destroyed it.

I had not heard from Julie at the Forbes Library's Coolidge Local History Room since speaking with her over two months earlier, despite having left her some phone messages. I finally contacted her in mid-August. She said their message machine was broken, and she couldn't find any mention of First Sergeant Daley in their index, though it wasn't very thorough. She said I could search through their clipping books and microfilms myself, so the next day I drove out to the Forbes Library in Northampton.

The search wasn't hard. Within 15 minutes I'd found Daley's obituary, which had been printed in the *Daily Hampshire Gazette* on Nov 28, 1944, in the Oct 1 - Dec 31, 1944, volume of their World War II clipping scrapbooks.¹⁰ It took another half-hour to locate an article about his posthumously awarded Silver Star. Printed on Jan 5, 1945, it was in their Jan 1 - Mar 31, 1945, volume. Neither added anything to what Lockwood's book had reported. However, though the obituary said he died on "Armistice Day" [Nov 11], the Silver Star article said he was "mortally wounded" on Nov 8.¹¹ The G Company, 104th Infantry, morning report for 12 Nov 44 says First Sergeant Daley was killed in action on 11 Nov, as was a Private John F. Daly of the same company.¹² Dave Markoff confirmed this. He said that after a grueling battle when he was told of Daley's death, he asked "Which one?" He was told, "Both of them." (Immediately after being told this was when Dave was berated for his appearance by the obnoxious major—see page 7.)¹³ Daley's "Report of Burial" dated 15 Nov 44 in his IDPF also says he died on 11 Nov, though it had been changed from "(estimated) 10 Nov 1944." No corrections, contradictions, or even mentions show up on any other November 1944 G Company morning reports. I photographed these articles and also a one-page "Military Service Record, World War, 1939 - , Forbes Library, Northampton, Massachusetts" which then-Sergeant Daley had filled out in 1942.¹⁴

First Sgt. Daley Killed In Action On Armistice Day

First Sgt. John Daley, 28, son of Mr. and Mrs. Michael J. Daley of 141 Crescent street, was killed in action in France on Armistice day, according to word received



FIRST SGT. JOHN DALEY

by his parents from the war department yesterday.

A native of this city, Sgt. Daley was graduated from St. Michael's high school in 1933 and

from McCarthy's Business college here.

He entered service on March 13, 1941, as a member of Co. G, 104th infantry. After training at various camps in this country, he went overseas on Sept. 9, 1944. He wore the Combat Infantryman's badge. Prior to entering service he was employed in Hartford, Ct.

Besides his parents he leaves a brother, Timothy F., and a sister, Miss Mary E. Daley.

Silver Star Posthumously Awarded Daley

Northampton Sergeant Cited for Gallantry in Action. Helped Direct a Withdrawal Until Mortally Wounded

With The 26th (Yankee) Infantry Division in France—The Silver Star medal has been awarded posthumously to First Sergeant John J. Daley, of Northampton, Mass., for gallantry in action by order of Major General Willard S. Paul, commanding the 26th infantry division.

On November 8, First Sgt. Daley was acting executive officer for Company G, of an infantry regiment and the company was subjected to extremely heavy enemy artillery, mortar and small arms fire. The battalion commander ordered the company to withdraw and Sgt. Daley crawled forward under heavy fire to notify the company commander. He remained with the company commander and

helped direct the withdrawal until mortally wounded.

Sgt. Daley is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Michael Daley, of 141 Crescent street, Northampton.

Clippings about
1st Sgt. Daley from
the *Daily
Hampshire Gazette*

I've often wondered about some of the coincidences and contingencies of history. John J. Daley's name is carved on a stone memorial labeled "War Dead 'We Remember'" near Northampton's city hall. His name is right above that of John F. Daly. Both these men came from the same city, served in the same company, and both were killed on the same day.

First Sergeant Daley's Military Service Record sheet said he was born in 1916 in Northampton, MA, the son of a couple who had both been born in Ireland. He went to Catholic grammar and high schools and to business college. Before the War he was a machinist. Never married, he joined the Army in 1941 at the age of 25. His entire army career was spent in the same G Company.

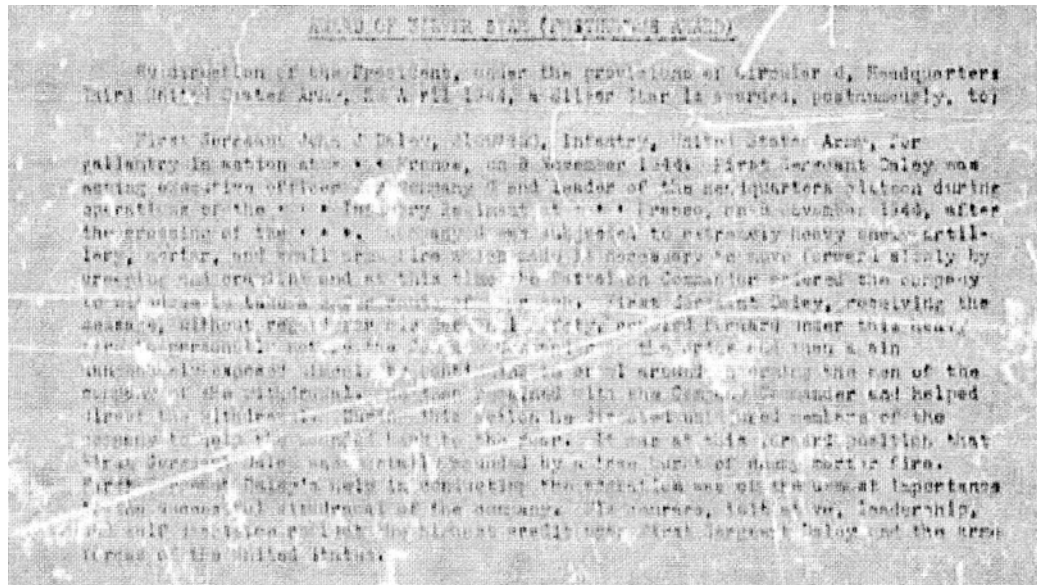
Another John J. Daley, whose name I kept running across in internet searches, grew up in Rutland, VT, about 70 miles north of Northampton. He was about 7 years younger than First Sergeant Daley and had also attended a Catholic school. During World War II he served with the 1st Marine Division in the Pacific, including during the invasion of Okinawa. However, unlike the First Sergeant, this John J. Daley survived the war. He then graduated from college, worked in pharmaceutical sales, and got into politics. Eventually he was elected as Rutland's Mayor and then Vermont's Lieutenant Governor, the first Democrat to hold that office since before the Civil War. Later he taught social studies and coached football at Rutland Junior High for 12 years, was again elected Mayor of Rutland, and then elected to two terms in the Vermont House of Representatives. He was married and had 10 children. This John J. Daley died in 2000.¹⁵

What might First Sergeant Daley have accomplished if he, too, had survived the War?

At Len's suggestion I sent a "Freedom of Information Act" request to Human Resources Command for a copy of First Sergeant Daley's Silver Star citation, having identified him by full name, rank, army serial number, unit, and date of death. Two months later a letter arrived from their Awards & Decorations Branch saying they'd found the citation and that a copy of it and a transcript were enclosed—but they weren't! When I called them, a woman there said the items were still in my folder, apologized, then said they'd send them out "within a couple of weeks." They arrived a week later.

The copy of the citation itself, issued by 26th Infantry Division Headquarters on 2 Dec 44, was barely readable, apparently a copy of a carbon copy (see next page). The transcript was someone's attempt to read and transcribe it. With a magnifying glass and enhancing the contrast with our computer, I was able to fill in a few more words and correct a couple as well. The result for the main paragraph follows:

First Sergeant John J. Daley, 31007950, Infantry, United States Army, for gallantry in action at * * * France, on 8 November 1944. First Sergeant Daley was acting executive officer for Company G and leader of the Headquarters Platoon during operations of the * * * Infantry Regiment at * * * France, on 8 November 1944, after the crossing of the * * *. Company G was subjected to extremely heavy enemy artillery, mortar, and small arms fire which made it necessary to move forward slowly by creeping and crawling and at this time the Battalion Commander ordered the company to withdraw _____ route of _____. First Sergeant Daley, receiving the message, without regard for his personal safety, crawled forward under this heavy fire to personally notify the Company Commander of the order and then again _____ly exposed himself by continuing to crawl around informing the men of the company of the withdrawal. He then remained with the Company Commander and helped direct the withdrawal. During this action he directed uninjured members of the company to help the wounded back to the rear. It was at this forward position that First Sergeant Daley was mortally wounded by a tree burst of enemy mortar fire. First Sergeant Daley's help in conducting the operation was of the utmost importance to the successful withdrawal of the company. His courage, initiative, leadership, and self-sacrifice reflect the highest credit upon First Sergeant Daley and the armed forces of the United States.¹⁶



Copy of 26th Infantry Division's Silver Star citation for 1st Sgt. John J. Daley

Presumably for security reasons, the names of the town, river, and regiment were left out. These were indicated on the citation (shown above) by asterisks. Illegible words are indicated on my transcript (see page 24) by an underline. The date of the action, "8 November 1944" is fairly clear—it certainly doesn't say "11." It also says Daley was "mortally wounded," which implies he died later. This disagrees with his company's 12 Nov 44 morning report, which says Daley was killed in action on 11 Nov 44, not just wounded, and not died of wounds. No morning report suggests that he was wounded on 8 Nov. In Daley's IDPF, both his Report of Burial dated 15 Nov 44 and his Report of Death dated 28 Nov 44 state that he was killed in action, not died of wounds, on 11 Nov, as does the National Archives' list of battle deaths for his division. Also, when I told Tim Daley of this discrepancy, he replied that two of his uncle's company-mates had told him that his uncle was killed on November 11. Having earlier sent Tim copies of what Forbes Library had in its records about his uncle, I now sent him copies of the citation, its transcript, and some documents from First Sergeant Daley's IDPF. I also sent Dave Markoff a copy of the citation transcript—Daley had been first sergeant of Dave's company.

Other things were happening in 2011 during this time too. I sent another letter to *Yankee Doings*, thanking Tim Daley and Jack Downes for their help and again asking for information about Daley, Stanevich, or his son, John. Googling John confirmed that he was living in Kissimmee, FL, but again yielded no address or phone number. Dave Markoff had begun writing a book about his World War II experiences which we often discussed over the phone. Tom Scholler, plagued by various health problems, was awarded the Legion of Honor by a French diplomat for his World War II service in France. In March, Hall Duncan visited the area of Lorraine where he'd been wounded. In September he returned there with his wife to do a program using his books in some schools and to help dedicate a memorial to Ruben Rivers. Hall's wife died late in October. In early December he made a long-talked-about visit to the Boston area, staying with us. Hall and I met with *Yankee Doings* editor Peter Bogdan and Len Kondratiuk at the National Guard Museum & Archives in Worcester, MA. We also drove to several historic and cultural sites around the Boston area.



Len, Hall, the author, and Peter
at the MA National Guard Museum & Archives

As 2012 began I received good news and bad. Jerome Leclerc continued his tradition of emailing very innovative and beautiful holiday-greeting pictures and informed me of the “little World War II museum” he’d set up, “Espace de Mémoire Lorraine 1939-1945” in Vezelise, France. Tom Scholler’s wife sent a note saying Tom had died on January 2 of an infection after a brief stay in the hospital. Dave called to tell me he’d called Len with questions concerning Dave’s book and found out Len had made brigadier general. I sent Dave copies of his company’s November 1944 morning reports, some maps, and the Lorraine chapter of *History of a Combat Regiment 1939-1945: 104th Infantry*, which I’d photographed at the National Archives. (I later learned that he owned a copy of the book.) Dave was agonizing particularly about how to present what he viewed as an Army cover-up of an incident in which an officer needlessly got several of his men killed. He’d also found that the US Army Heritage and Education Center in Carlisle, PA, has information about where many different types of military records are located.

In April, thanks to peoplefinder.com, which I’d joined to track down some of my old Army friends, I finally contacted Sgt. Anthony Stanevich’s son, John. Based on a photograph of his parents together, he thought his father was about 6 feet tall—his mother was 5’8”. A colleague of his father told John that he’d seen Sergeant Stanevich get shot by a sniper.¹⁷ That’s consistent with the Report of Burial which lists his cause of death as “GSW Back” (gunshot wound in the back). But why then was he carried by his company as MIA from 17 Nov to 28 Nov 44? I mailed John copies of the morning reports that mention his father and some documents from his IDPF. I also tried several times to call the man who’d told John about his father’s death, but never got through. Two weeks later John emailed me that he’d found his father’s enlistment record which said he was 5’7” and 176 lbs, just what ancestry.com said.

Chapter 7 - Writing and Research

That seemed to pretty well exhaust my research possibilities. Joe Wilson, Jr., had asked me to write up the story of my research for the 761st's website, and Peter Bogdan had requested a write-up for *Yankee Doings*. However, trips and other projects took priority until 2013.

Meanwhile, in May 2012, Hall Duncan helped set up and run a small memorial service at the grave of an Army classmate of mine who'd been killed in Vietnam forty years before and is buried not far from where Hall lives.

At the end of October Joe visited us. Together we toured many of the historic sites in the Boston area. Thanks to Hurricane Sandy, Joe had to spend two days more with us than he'd planned to, one day of which he spent helping us clean up our backyard after the storm.

In early January 2013 I sent Dave Markoff's sister, Hilda Banks, copies of his company's November 1944 morning reports, then had Norm send her those from December 1944 as well. She was helping Dave, who was now staying in a VA facility, edit his book. I also helped a bit by proofreading it, as did Len Kondratiuk. At the end of February Dave died. His book, *The World War II Memoirs of PFC David A. Markoff*, was privately published by his family several months later.¹

In March, I compiled a chronology of my research. This was easy to do since I keep a journal and had saved all emails related to this research on our computer and all paper correspondence in a folder. At this point, with all the book excerpts, casualty lists, morning reports, and journals, these formed a ten-inch tall pile on the end table next to our bed—not to mention the twelve books added to my bookcase. Then I began writing this memoir, but had drafted only a couple of pages before trips and other projects again got in the way. I returned to writing off and on, but didn't really make much progress until December of that year.











In April, on the way back from a trip to Colonial Williamsburg, my wife and I toured Antietam battlefield with Joe. We also visited Dave's wife and daughter, and they gave me some of Dave's war-related books and videos.

That month, just to be sure, I asked Norm Richards to check all the 328th Infantry Regiment's November 1944 morning reports for any references to sergeants KIA or MIA on 11 Nov 44. He found just two. One, Sgt. Francis J. Hyde of Company E, was killed in action 11 Nov 44. I'd found his name back in 2008 in the ABMC's online listing. Also, in 2011 Dale Wood had seen Sergeant Hyde along with Sergeant Stanevich mentioned in an old issue of *Yankee Doings* as having died on 11 Nov 44. Since Sergeant Hyde wasn't from the 101st or 104th, I'd never investigated him further until 2011 when all other possibilities seemed doubtful. Then I requested his IDPF also. His Report of Burial says he died of a gunshot wound in the neck,² which doesn't match what Johnnie Stevens described. The other's name was difficult to read on the morning report.³ He was a staff sergeant from Company B with a first name "William." His middle initial was "F" or maybe "P." His last name looked like "Banry" or "Barry." Listed as MIA near Morville, his name didn't appear in the 26th Infantry Division casualty (killed) lists either in the Yankee Division's history or in the National Archives under those or any similar names.

A colleague from my army days had offered to look some things up for me on ancestry.com, so in early September, I asked him to find these two soldiers' heights. However, despite a couple of reminders over the next few months and a couple of assurances that he would, he never did.

Another spurt of a few days' writing in early September got me through five typed pages of a first draft. Then another vacation trip intervened.

Finally, in December 2013, I got back to doing some regular work on the writing. This was when I discovered enlisted grades during World War II were different than they are now. I had assumed that technician grades then were like specialist ranks now, so, for example, a technician fifth grade (T/5) was, like the specialist five rank (Spec/5) I'd known in the army, equivalent to a three-stripe sergeant. Not true. A T/5 was equivalent to a corporal. A T/4 was equivalent to a three-stripe sergeant, however, and a T/3 to a staff sergeant (see chart of enlisted ranks below). This eliminated 62 T/5s' deaths from consideration but added 31 T/3s' and T/4s' deaths. Based on dates of death or information showing they were alive after 11 Nov 44 from the American Battlefield Monuments Commission's website, the National Archives' list of 26th Infantry Division casualties, the morning reports I have from the 101st and 104th Infantry Regiments, and the World War II Memorial's website, only six of these could possibly have been the "tall sergeant." Of course, no evidence suggested any of them had died on 11 Nov 44.

1st Grade		2nd Grade	3rd Grade		4th Grade		5th Grade		6th Grade	7th Grade
										No Insignia
Master Sergeant	First Sergeant	Technical Sergeant	Staff Sergeant	Technician Third Grade	Sergeant	Technician Fourth Grade	Corporal	Technician Fifth Grade	Private First Class	Private
M/Sgt.	1st Sgt.	T/Sgt.	S/Sgt.	T/3.	Sgt.	T/4.	Cpl.	T/5.	Pfc.	Pvt.

My writing gradually progressed through January and February 2014. On January 17, I visited Len Kondratiuk at the National Guard Museum, now relocated to Concord, MA. He looked up and eliminated the one Massachusetts resident on my list of new "possibilities." I delivered to the museum Dave Markoff's copy of *History of a Combat Regiment* and one of the books of Bill Mauldin's cartoons that Dave's wife had given me when we visited her. Also, I copied more extensive versions of some book excerpts about what the 26th Division and its regiments were doing around 11 Nov 44, and copied some more during another visit in March.

In early February I rechecked all the morning reports I had from the 101st and 104th Infantry Regiments to see what they tell about their companies' locations and activities around 11 Nov 44. These reports give only a vague indication of where the troops were operating each day, but there are some patterns. Each regiment of the 26th Infantry Division contained 12 infantry companies grouped into three battalions. Each battalion consisted of three rifle companies plus one heavy weapons company (0.30-inch machine guns and 81-mm mortars).⁴ Companies A, B, C, and D (plus a headquarters) made up 1st Battalion; E, F, G, and H were 2nd Battalion; I, K, L, and M composed 3rd Battalion. (*J* was skipped, Len had explained, because in old English script it was too easily confused with *I*.) Each day's morning report has a line for "Station," that is, where its headquarters was located, and also often includes a brief "Record of Events."

The 101st Regiment seems to have been still operating in the region of Hill 310 between Moyenvic and Hampont around 11 November. All four companies of its 1st Battalion were headquartered in Moyenvic on 10 November. On 10 and 11 November they all were attacking. By 12 November they had moved 3000 yards northeast of Moyenvic and were all on defense. Second Battalion's company headquarters were all about 1100 yards northeast of Moyenvic on both 10 and 12 November. Their troops were holding high ground on and around Hill 310. Company K's headquarters was in Morvilleles-Vic on 10 November. It had just rejoined 3rd Battalion for an attack on Salival. By 12 November this battalion's company headquarters were either in Salival or on the ridge ESE of Hampont. Company K reports it then "pressed [its] attack toward Wuisse."⁵

The 104th Regiment was in the area of Wuisse during this period. All four companies of its 1st Battalion were headquartered near Morville-les-Vic on 10 November, but near Obreck on 11 November and Dedeling on 12 November. Second Battalion occupied similar positions. The 3rd Battalion's companies were already headquartered near Obreck and fighting near there on 10 November. By 12 November their company headquarters were in Lidrezing.⁶

What do the 26th Infantry Division history books say about which regiments' troops were near Hill 309 at 1100 on 11 Nov 44? Around this time I also restudied excerpts from these books to find out.

*History of a Combat Regiment 1639-1945*⁷ is a history of the 104th Infantry Regiment written right after the war and reissued in 1960 edited by Maj. Gen. Ralph A. Palladino, who'd commanded the 104th from 10 Nov 44 through 29 Dec 45. It says the 26th Division attacked on 8 November, as part of Third Army's Lorraine Offensive, with all three regiments, the 104th on the left (north), the 101st in the middle, and the 328th on the right. Company A of the 761st Tank Battalion was attached to the 104th Infantry Regiment. The 104th's 1st Battalion attacked Vic-sur-Seille with the 3rd Battalion in support, while the 2nd Battalion attacked Salornnes. By 11 November ["November 10" in the 1945 edition] all three battalions had moved through Hampont, Dedeling, and Chateau-Voue. Company L had withstood a German counterattack north of Hampont, and 2nd Battalion had beaten back a night attack in Chateau-Voue driving the Germans from the town. "The entire regiment continued to advance. . . . The 1st Battalion took over the high ground near Conthil; the 2nd the small villages of Sotzeling, Lidrequin, Lidrezing, and Zarbeling. The fast-moving 3rd Battalion spearhead of K, L, and M Companies drove forward to secure Rodalbe. . . ." There on the late afternoon of 13 November ["November 12" in the 1945 edition] German panzer units surrounded them. Meanwhile, the 101st Infantry "was being checked by enemy defenses on the high ground around Dieuze."

In *The Lorraine Campaign*,⁸ written in 1950, Hugh Cole says, on 8 November, the first day of their offensive, the 101st and 104th Infantry Regiments seized and crossed bridges over the Seille in Moyenvic and Vic-sur-Seille, respectively, and the 101st began attacking up Hill 310. The next day the Division "began a three-day battle to maneuver around Hill 310 and pivot onto the Koecking ridge." On 9 November the 104th pushed the Germans out of Chateau-Salins and extended its right flank into Morville-les-Vic. Company K of the 101st cleared the town, then the 101st, as part of Task Force A, continued toward Hampont (p. 323).

The 1st Battalion of the 101st Infantry continued to work its way around Hill 310 on 10 November. About 1610 Colonel Scott [the 101st's commander] gave the order to assault the ridge behind the hill. This assault was the turning point in the fight for a foothold on the Koecking plateau. Company C, attacking with marching fire behind a curtain of shells, succeeded in pushing the Germans off the ridge northeast of Hill 310. A company of enemy infantry counterattacked immediately, but C Company beat off the attack. . . . The rest of the 1st Battalion swung around to the left, into the Bois St. Martin, and reached out to meet the 3rd Battalion, which the day before had wheeled in a wider arc to move onto the Koecking ridge. The 3rd Battalion literally blasted its way out of the thick, dark woods and on 11 November reached a road junction south of Hampont. . . . Then the 3rd Battalion turned back on the main ridge line to meet the 1st Battalion. On the same day, the 1st had finally driven the enemy off Hill 310. . . . (p. 324)

Cole also reports that on 11 November "[the 26th's commander] General Paul switched the 328th Infantry to the center of the division zone—on top of Koecking ridge—sent the 104th Infantry in on the left to support CCA [Combat Command A of the 4th Armored Division] in their drive toward Rodalbe, and turned the 101st to the east in an advance along the southern slopes of the Koecking ridge" (pp. 324-325). According to the book's map, Lieutenant Colonel Oden's column of CCA crossed right through the road junction at the crest of Hill 309, but not until 12 November, while CCA's other column, commanded by Major Hunter, passed about 1.5 miles north of Hill 309 on 11 November.⁹

The History of the 26th Yankee Division: 1917-1919, 1941-1945,¹⁰ whose second edition was published in 1955, says from 8 Nov until at least 10 Nov 44 the 101st Infantry Regiment was mostly involved with attacking and capturing Hill 310 and Salival just north of Moyenvic. Meanwhile, the 104th Regiment took Vic-sur-Seille and attacked other towns in the area. The 328th Regiment attacked toward Moncourt and Bezange-la-Petite to guard the Division's south flank, then on the night of 9 November broke contact and moved to Hampont. From there it "was committed due east in the Bride de Koecking Woods." With the help of the 101st's 3rd Battalion, it fought its way forward, while "the 3rd Battalion of the 104th broke out and went all the way to Rodalbe. The 1st Battalion [of the 104th] was at Conthill, and 2nd Battalion at Lidrequin." The book doesn't give dates for this action.

The Command is Forward,¹¹ James Haahr's history of the 101st Infantry Regiment in Lorraine published in 2003, includes the entire "Commandant's [Commander's] War Diary of the 101st Infantry Division" from August 1944 through May 1945. (This document is also available from the College Park, MD, branch of the National Archives.) This war diary lists the 1st Platoon of the 761st Tank Battalion's Company A as attached to the 101st on 6 Nov 44 (p. 70). It also says, "Company K [of the 101st was] attached to TF 'A', Company B, 761st Tank Bn" (p. 69). "Tanks were used successfully against Salival in conjunction with 'I' Company" on 9 November (p. 75). Company K rejoined the 101st on the morning of 10 November (p. 75). The war diary describes various operations by the 101st Regiment on and around Hill 310 from 8 through 11 November. By evening on 10 November Company C "was on the crest [of the ridge north of Hill 310]; 'B' Company [was at the] northeast edge of the woods [east of Salival]; and 'A' Company [was] in the interval between. The 3rd Battalion [with "Tank Force 'B'" assisting them] had progressed well up beyond the road junction southeast of Hampont. 2nd Battalion continued to secure southern slopes of Hill 310" (pp. 75-76). Third Battalion was then to swing down "to the southeast along the ridge and assist the 1st Battalion by catching the enemy along the ridge to the rear." (p. 76). At noon on 11 November the 3rd Battalion of the 101st was attached to the 328th Regiment to "continue the attack in its present zone," and "the 3rd Battalion of the 328th Infantry, plus the balance of the 101st Infantry, were to secure and hold the line they were then on through Moyenvic to Xanrey, and protect the flank of the Division . . ." (p. 77). On 12 and 13 November the 1st and 2nd Battalions were planning to attack St. Medard and Haraucourt, respectively (pp. 77-79).

A unit history booklet titled *101 Infantry: Northern France, Rhineland, Ardennes, Central Europe; World War II, September 7, 1944 - May 8, 1945*, probably written in 1945, says on 12 November the 3rd Battalion was counterattacked from the direction of Wuisse.¹² Haahr also mentions this attack but says it came during the afternoon of the 13th (p. 79).

An article in a National Veterans News Network newsletter says the 101st Regiment "battled up Hill 310 which it took 11 November as the 104th pushed to Rodalbe, and the 328th Regiment stormed Berange Farm standpoint [about one mile SSE of Wuisse] the following day and entered Koecking Ridge Forest."¹³

These accounts, though often vague about exact locations and dates, also suggest the 101st was still fighting near Hill 310 on 11 November 44. To check this, I emailed Wally Clarke, a veteran of Company D, 101st Infantry, whose email address I found in *Yankee Doings*. He replied that he was on Hill 310 for four days, November 8-11, but he'd seen no tank battles.¹⁴

I also reread the 7 Nov 44 - 13 Nov 44 sections of the books about the 761st Tank Battalion and the journals I'd photographed at the National Archives in 2010. My findings are included in my earlier summaries of these.

In early March 2014, I abandoned hope that my ex-army colleague would ever check ancestry.com for me, so I emailed Marilyn Jensen to ask whether she'd look up the heights of Sgt. Francis J. Hyde, Sgt. Herbert J. Berner, three still-possible T/4s, and my father and an uncle who'd both served in the army during World War II. I included Sergeant Berner because the National Archives' casualty list says

he died of wounds (DOW) on 13 Nov 44,¹⁵ and his company's morning report for 13 Nov 44 (Company I, 104th Infantry Regiment) says he was "seriously wounded in action 13 Nov 44 near Lidrezing France."¹⁶ Lidrezing is just two miles ENE of Hill 309. If he died on 13 Nov, it's possible he was wounded earlier, despite what the morning report says; not likely, but no one else seemed to be the "tall sergeant" either! My father and uncle were included as a check of ancestry.com's accuracy.

Within a few days Marilyn had found them all. My father and uncle were both listed as 6-feet tall, pretty close since my father was 5' 11" and my uncle 6' 1". Sergeant Hyde was 5' 8". The three T/4s' heights were 5' 7", 5' 9", and 32", the last apparently a misprint. Sergeant Berner was 5' 11".¹⁷

Sergeant Berner's height justified further research. So I called Human Resources Command at Fort Knox, my source three years earlier of IDPFs for Sergeants Daley, Stanevich, Mungo, and Hyde. It took three tries to get a real person, Sue Kilianski, the FOIA (Freedom of Information Act) Officer, who asked me to email my request to her. Ten days later an email arrived from Patricia Dugdale at the "Freedom of Information and Privacy Act Office" acknowledging my request. She assigned it a number "for tracking purposes," provided two phone numbers if I had any questions, and said it might take up to 48 weeks to get Berner's IDPF. Ten days later, on March 31, she sent an email saying the IDPF had been sent to me via the "SAFE" (Safe Access File Exchange) system. (They no longer send these out as stacks of paper about 1/2-inch thick. Now they go out by email as pdf files or by mail as a CD for those who don't have email. So, if the file has previously been requested and already been scanned it goes out quickly. If not, it takes a long time.) I downloaded Berner's file, and scanned through it.

Sergeant Berner's Report of Burial (dated 16 Nov 44) said he died 13 Nov 44 in Morville-les-Vic, France—which isn't near Lidrezing. The cause of death was "KIA Sv [severe] chest wounds." A Report of Death (dated 5 Dec 44) also gave his date of death as 13 Nov 44 with the cause "died of wounds rec'd in action." It also listed as "emergency addressee" a brother, Milton G. Berner, in Gasport, NY.¹⁸ Marilyn had found a reference to him also. When I looked up this brother's phone number on peoplefinders.com, I found two numbers for that name in that area, both disconnected, and listings for two persons over 90 years old said to be deceased.

Around this time I called two veterans of Sergeant Berner's Company I, 104th Infantry, Harry Kirby and Bill Houle, to see if they remembered how he was killed. I'd found Harry's phone number in *Yankee Doings* and Bill's in my notes—though I don't recall contacting him before. Harry had been transferred to Headquarters Company before they left the U. S. and he didn't know Sergeant Berner. Bill didn't recall Sergeant Berner either, but we had a long talk. Bill was wounded on 9 Nov 44 during the battle for Morville-les-Vic. He had some stories I thought would interest Joe Wilson, Jr. They did, and Joe had a couple of long talks with Bill.

On March 31, the same day I got Sergeant Berner's IDPF, a package arrived from Bill Houle containing a DVD of an interview he'd had at his local library in 2013 for a living history project about his World War II experiences. He also included copies of some articles concerning the 26th Division and a first draft of his World War II memoirs.

Bill's memoirs included a story about a Sgt. John J. Konopka. "Back at the Battle at Morville," Bill wrote, "I watched him knock out a German machine gun nest single-handedly."¹⁹ Bill later told me Sergeant Konopka had rushed the Germans and killed them with a hand grenade.²⁰ Konopka's name sounded familiar. He was listed as killed in action in the 26th Division history, and the American Battle Monuments Commission website said he died on 12 Nov 44. Company I's morning report for 12 Nov 44 says he died that day near Lidrequin, a village about one mile north of Hill 309. Was he the "tall sergeant"? Alas, when Marilyn checked him on ancestry.com, it said he was only 5' 6".²¹ Bill agreed that Sergeant Konopka was short. Another sergeant, John S. McCollum, who'd also been killed in action on November 12 near Chateau-Voue was 5' 7".²²

Two other tantalizing items arrived in mid-March: a DVD from Joe Wilson, Jr., and a book from Dave Markoff's wife, Lee. The DVD was of a visit by Jim Sudmeier and Jerome Leclerc to the Lorraine battlefields in 2006 searching for Hill 309. After watching the video I emailed Jim. He replied that they'd found three possible "Hill 309"s: ²³

In searching for the "other Hill 309" LeClerc and I visited a broad hilltop just 0.67 miles SSE of Wuisse and another high plateau about 1.2 miles NE of Wuisse near the intersection of highways D999 and D199H. The first hill was part of the Koecking Ridge battle involving the 101st. It is 4.9 miles NE of the Cote St. Jean [Hill 310]. The second hill was traversed by Task Force Oden of the 4th Armored around Nov. 12, working along with the 104th.

Since I am a big fan of Google Earth, let me summarize these three hills for you. Elevation measurements were certainly not perfect during the WWII era, nor am I convinced that Google Earth is a whole lot more accurate. For relative measurements, it is probably better than for absolute ones:

Hill(m)	Near to	Distance	Direction	Coords N	Coords E
306	Moyenvic	1.36 mi	NE	48deg 47min 42.32sec	6deg 34min 40.93sec
311	Wuisse	0.67 mi	SSE	48deg 50min 33.30sec	6deg 39min 27.66sec
313	Wuisse	1.2 mi	NE	48deg 51min 58.36sec	6deg 39min 40.01sec

The first of these three hills may be the "Hill 309" referred to in the 9 Nov 44 message from the 26th Division's commander to the 101st Regiment's commander (see page 17). The last of these is apparently the "Hill 309" Jerome found for me on the modern French topographical map. I later talked with Jim by phone about these hills and his visit to them. He told me some French villagers near Wuisse remembered the black American tankers. ²⁴

The book Lee Markoff sent me was *Youth Interrupted: A Nantucket Boy at War in Europe* by Karl Lindquist, a good friend of Dave Markoff's with whom he served in the army. I suspect this memoir, written in 2010, inspired Dave to write his. I read it in late March. Lindquist "inadvertently" became first scout for Company G, 104th Infantry, the company Dave also served in, for a couple of months before Karl became a medic for the battalion. He was awarded a Silver Star for actions on 22 Oct 44 near Bezange-La-Petite and a Bronze Star for those on 13 November near Lidrezing. His Bronze Star citation says on that day Company G was involved in "a daylight attack which progressed from Obreck to an important hill position above Lidrezing, France." ²⁵ If this is true, then Company G wasn't near Hill 309 until that day, two days after S/Sgt. Johnnie Stevens's rescue. Karl also explained how both these award citations were greatly distorted and inflated compared to the actual events.

Peter Bogdan, editor of *Yankee Doings*, had died. His wife, Shirley, was now serving as editor, and I sent her a letter for *Yankee Doings* asking about Sergeant Berner's death, whether any of the 101st had moved beyond the Hill 310 area by 11 Nov 44, and if anyone knew where to get army World War II grid maps of the Lorraine area. This letter appeared in the May 2014 edition of the magazine, but no one replied.

Chapter 8 - The Other Hill

The reference to a "Hill 309" near Moyenvic in the message sheet stuck between pages of the 101st Infantry Regiment's journal that I'd photographed at the National Archives in 2010 continued to haunt me, particularly now that most evidence suggested S/Sgt. Johnnie Stevens's platoon was working with the 101st on November 11, and on that date the 101st was all still operating on or near Hill 310, not near Wuisse. To know where this Hill 309 was required locating it on a map. But that was impossible without a map having the same grid system used in the message to describe the hill's position. Neither Joe nor Len knew where to find World War II army grid maps. Marilyn knew one website that had such maps, that of the 134th Infantry Regiment, 35th Infantry Division.¹ It had several 1:50,000- and 1:25,000-scale army World War II topographical grid maps of the southern and central areas of the Battle of the Bulge but none of the Lorraine region. So, on March 24, 2014, I called National Archives and Records Administration's (NARA) Customer Service Center.² They gave me an address to which I wrote for a complete copy of that message sheet, since my photograph didn't show all of it. They also told me the phone number for their Cartographic Section, where I left a message for Daryl Bottoms.

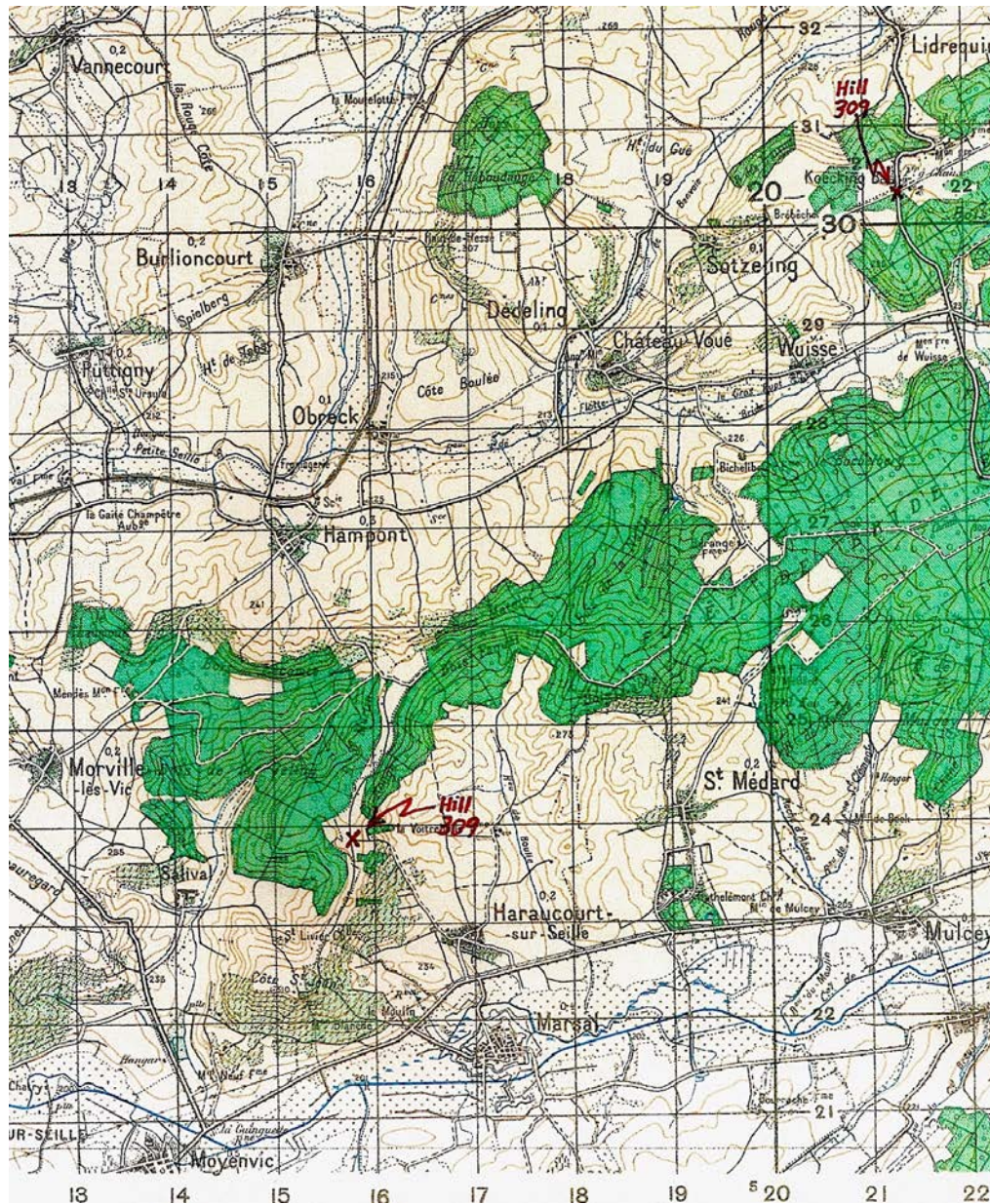
THESE SPACES FOR MESSAGE CENTER ONLY		
TIME FILED	MSG CEN NO.	HOW SENT
MESSAGE (SUBMIT TO MESSAGE CENTER IN DUPLICATE) (CLASSIFICATION)		
No.	DATE 9 Nov 44	
To CG 101 Inf;		
101 Inf, reach and hold line; Hill 318.1 Q141256		
Hill 315.4 Q151253, Hill 305.5 Q14242, Hill 309		
Q159239. Coordinate with 104 Inf on Hill 318		
Q141256. Protect right flank from Hill 309.0		
Q159239 to MOYENVIC (Excl). Coordinate with		
outpost of 3d Bn 328 Inf on outskirts MOYENVIC.		
Resume Atk in Z 100900 Nov 44.		
CG 26 Inf Div		1545
OFFICIAL DESIGNATION OF SENDER		TIME SIGNED
AUTHORIZED TO BE SENT IN CLEAR	SIGNATURE OF OFFICER	SIGNATURE AND GRADE OF ADDRESSEE

Message mentioning Hill 309 on slip inserted between pages of "Journal of C.O. 101st Infantry"

About two weeks later Bottoms returned my call. He said they had topographical World War II army grid maps in both 1:50,000 and 1:25,000 scale. He gave me his email address to send a specific request. Three days later copies of the 101st's memos and journal pages for 9 Nov 44 to 10 Nov 44 arrived from the National Archives. On April 26 a letter arrived from Bottoms containing a map-key showing the locations and identification numbers of all their 1:50,000-scale World War II topographical maps covering France. He also included a list of private companies allowed to copy those maps. I called the first company on the list, Archival Research International/Double Delta Industries. Jim Parker answered and explained how to order map copies and their cost: \$6.50 per linear foot plus \$18 for shipping. I emailed them my order for six maps and got a reply saying the cost was \$135. (These maps are 28-inches long which counts as 3 feet for billing purposes: $6 \times 3 \times \$6.50 + \$18 = \$135$.) I ordered six maps because I couldn't tell from the map-key just which map or maps covered my region of interest. On May 14, two weeks after I mailed my check, the maps arrived rolled up in a mailing tube.

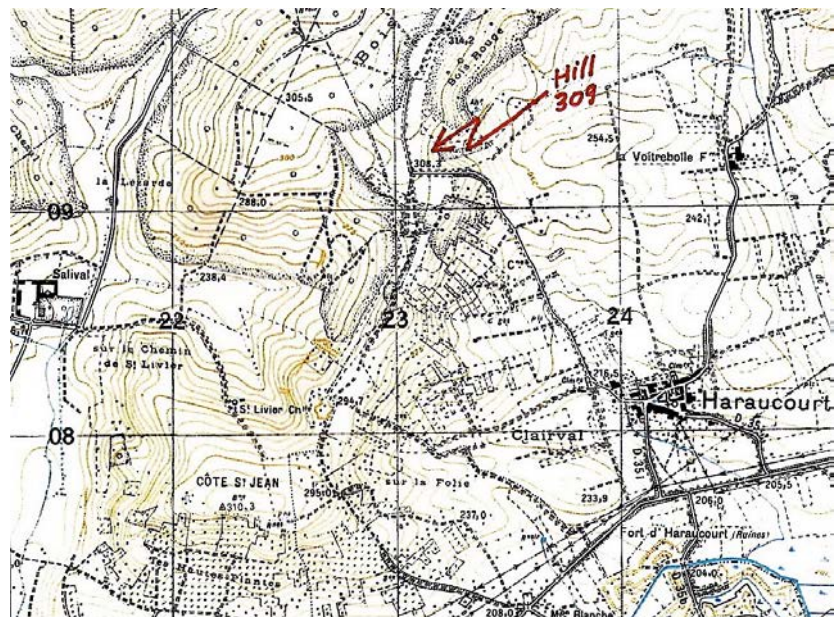
Neither Hill 309 is marked on the 1:50,000-scale maps. Using the grid coordinates given in the message, however, I located the "other Hill 309" on the "Chateau-Salins" map.³ It was about a mile NNE up the ridge from Hill 310, near the ridge's east side (see map detail on next page). But some of the other grid coordinates given in the 101st's journal and morning reports made no sense, as if they'd been miscopied, and the hill wasn't labeled on this map. To be sure this was the correct location for "Hill 309," it seemed I needed a 1:25,000-scale map on which the hill probably would be labeled.

On June 12, I emailed Daryl Bottoms to see if 1:25,000-scale maps were available for the "Chateau-Salins" region. Three days later he sent me the identification numbers of the maps I wanted. I got a price for copying them from Jim at Double Delta, sent a check, and on July 3 the maps arrived. These 1:25,000-scale maps had both Hill 309s labeled on them. I sent copies of sections of these maps to Joe Wilson, Jr., Len Kondratiuk, Hall Duncan, Bill Houle and his typist Ray Tonchen, and Jim Sudmeier.

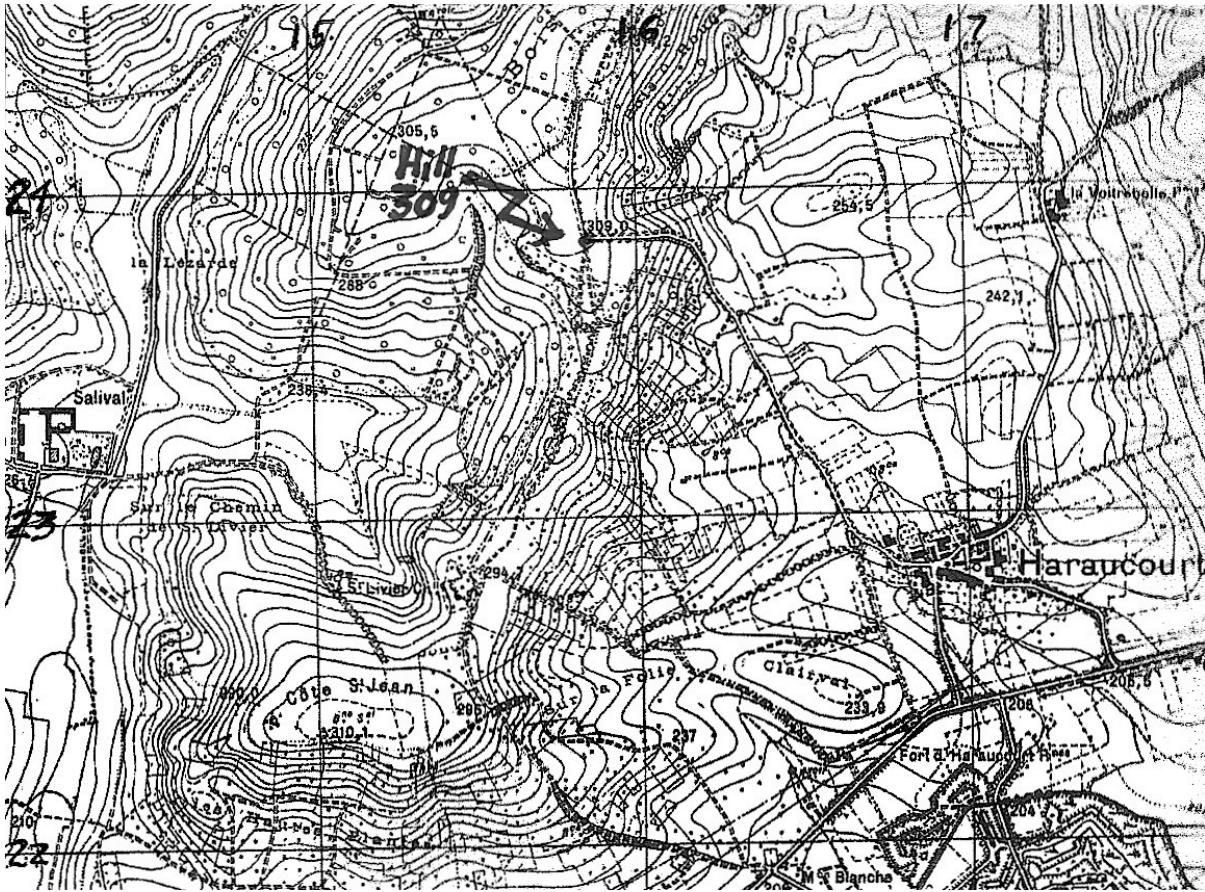


Detail from 1:50,000-scale 1944 army map; each grid box is 1 km x 1 km
(based on a 1938 French version)

However, these maps' grid numbering was different from that on the previous maps. These maps were printed in the early 1950s. Had the grid system changed after World War II? I emailed Bottoms about this. He confirmed that the grid system had changed then. He said both the 1938/1944 and the 1950s versions of these maps are stored in the same folders. Apparently, Double Delta had copied the wrong maps and should copy the correct versions for me at no additional cost. I informed Jim Parker of this, and he sent me the correct maps for free. (Jim said they'd copied the ones they did because those were printed in color while the others were only in black and white.)



Detail from 1:25,000-scale 1953 army map
(Hill 309 is labeled as "308.3")



Detail from 1:25,000-scale 1938 army map (Hill 309 is labeled as "309.0" on this map.)

These 1:25,000-scale maps⁴ labeled both Hill 309s where I expected them to be: one about a mile northeast of Wuisse, the other about two miles northeast of Moyenvic along the ridge stretching northeast from Hill 310 (Cote St. Jean). These are roughly where two of the possibilities that Jim Sudmeier and Jerome LeClerc found are located.

Now I wondered how the authors who related the story of Johnnie Stevens's wounding knew it happened at the Hill 309 near Wuisse--or did they? Trying to answer this, I again read the 8 Nov through 12 Nov 44 sections of the books about the 761st Tank Battalion. In late July, I also called Joe Wilson, Jr., author of *The 761st "Black Panther" Tank Battalion in World War II*, emailed Charles Sasser, author of *Patton's Panthers*, and wrote to Anthony Walton, co-author of *Brothers in Arms*, to ask them this question. Joe didn't recall Johnnie ever actually telling him Hill 309 was near Wuisse. Joe said he had assumed the hill was located there because he knew black tankers had been seen operating in the Wuisse area on November 11.⁵ Well, yes, the rest of the 761st's Company A was there, but was Johnnie's platoon there too? Chuck Sasser replied, "Hill 309: My notes say Johnnie told me this. Several of the men, according to my notes, told me when these particular incidents occurred, they were working with the 104th."⁶ In another exchange of emails he told me, "I don't know, other than what Johnny [sic] told me during the interview, and I didn't question him further, since I frankly wasn't aware there was ANOTHER Hill 309. Sorry, I can't be of help, but my notes only reflect what the guys told me, and I always figured they knew better than anyone else, since they were there."⁷ I bugged Sasser one more time with an email saying, "So, is it correct to say Johnnie **didn't** tell you that Hill 309 was near Wuisse? Sorry to keep harping on this, but it makes a big difference as to which companies Johnnie's rescuer could be from."⁸ He never replied. Professor Walton never responded to my letter or to an email I sent to him in early September. I suspect his source for saying Hill 309 was near Wuisse was the source of his book's story of Johnnie Stevens's wounding and rescue, which an endnote in *Brothers in Arms* identifies as Wilson's book, but I'm not sure.

In early August 2014, I sent Marilyn Jensen a list of all 17 three-stripe sergeants from the 101st Regiment whose dates of death weren't yet known, as well as a few others who were reported to have died a day or two later, to find out their heights—one more desperate attempt to identify the “tall sergeant.” Using ancestry.com she checked for height and weight from enlistment records and also checked for dates of death. She found no evidence that any of these had died on 11 Nov 44. The closest was a 5'9" soldier killed in action on November 13. A few had nonsensical heights and/or weights listed: For example, one was said to be 3'7" weighing 644 pounds, another 3'2" weighing 483 pounds! One possibility was James P. McDonnell of the 101st Regiment, height 6'. (For further information about McDonnell, see pages 54 and 56.) Another possibility was Stanley P. Jurek of the 104th, 5'11" tall.⁹ Jurek was listed as MIA 13 Nov 44 on Company L's 21 Nov 44 morning report.¹⁰

In mid-August Joe forwarded an email to me from Mathieu Do, a young World War II researcher who lived near Chateau-Salins and explored surrounding battlefields with a metal detector. He was looking for World War II era maps of his area. He offered to take photos for Joe. I emailed “Mat” a brief history of my research and the two Hill 309s, an excerpt from Joe's book about Johnnie Stevens's wounding and rescue, and parts of some WWII-era maps of his region of Lorraine, and asked if he could take pictures of the Hill 309 near Moyenvic. Mat replied within a few minutes—so quickly it's unlikely he read my entire email and attachments—suggesting Cote St. Jean (Hill 310) might be Hill 309 and asking if I wanted him to photograph the Hill 309 near Wuisse. I asked if he could photograph the Hill 309 near Moyenvic. Mat said if the weather was good the next day he'd go there and do that.¹¹ However, despite emailing him a section of a modern topographic map showing Chateau-Salins and that Hill 309, I never heard from him again, nor did Joe.

About this time I again called the National Archives and asked for the after-action report of the 101st Infantry Regiment or of any of its battalions for 8 Nov through 12 Nov 44. Nine days later a copy arrived of 15 pages from “War Diary Commanding Officer 101st Infantry” covering 1 Nov to 19 Nov 44. (This material is all included in Haahr's *The Command is Forward*.)¹²

In mid-September I began reading a new book, *The Black Panthers: A Story of Race, War, and Courage; The 761st Tank Battalion in World War II*, by Gina M. DiNicolo.¹³ I'd run across a mention of this book in the booklist on the 761st Tank Battalion's website.¹⁴ Like the other history books I'd seen about the 1944 Lorraine Campaign, this book's map of the area had locations displaced from where they were shown on World War II army topographical maps. For example, on this book's map, Hill 310 is shown west of Moyenvic rather than northeast, and Salival is shown northeast of Moyenvic rather than due north (p. 151).

The Black Panthers contains a very intriguing passage related to Stevens's (Lt. Barbour's) platoon:

The morning of November 10 found the 101st Infantry Regiment on the offensive. Barbour remained shaken, but ready to support with his tanks. I Company “resumed its attack on enemy position in the woods to the north.” The company planned to send Barbour's tanks “up the ravine to the northeast to blanket the woods with flanking fire.” Before Barbour gave the command to move forward, the company received word of a tremendous tank ditch stretching across the ravine and making its way well into the treeline on either side. . . . The 101st I Company commander remained undeterred. He would send the tanks out “cross-country” with his infantry trailing. Their destination: the corner of the woods where the ditch ended. Barbour gave the order and his platoon moved out. The foot soldiers had not expected such a brisk pace. Barbour pulled ahead and tankers and doughs lost one another. A determined I Company commander regrouped with Barbour, his newfound respect for the tankers apparent. The leaders, both on edge, came to an agreement and mapped out their plan. [At this point, DiNicolo breaks off this story.]

Hollis Hunt [temporary commander of the 761st Tank Battalion since their regular commander, Col. Paul Bates, had been injured on November 8] . . . brought Barbour back to the command post for a few days before he made a final decision. He saw that Barbour performed well, but it seemed the loss of three tanks and two men killed in action shook his spirit. (p. 172)

The “two men killed” were probably tank commander George Shivers and a crew member from Johnnie Stevens’s tank. Two of the three tanks lost were, presumably, their tanks. According to Stevens, when interviewed by Wilson (see page 3), those men were killed and those tanks lost in the fighting at Hill 309 on November 11.¹⁵ However, DiNicolo includes no mention in *The Black Panthers* of what Barbour’s platoon was doing or what company it was working with on that date. Her endnote for her first paragraph cited above refers to a document called “Lorraine Campaign, 3rd Battalion 101st Infantry Regiment 26th Infantry Division, June 19 1945” (p. 282). Did the writer of that document include any details about what happened on November 11, 1944?

After I finished reading this book, Joe gave me DiNicolo’s email address. She and I exchanged several emails. I sent her a copy of part of a World War II army topographic map, pointed out some minor errors in her book, and asked where I could obtain some of the sources listed in her book’s endnotes. She replied:

Thank you. My book is based almost completely on primary sources from the war. I had the opportunity, but did few interviews—too unreliable.

Most of the books you mention [about the 761st] rely on personal accounts—40-50 years after the fact. I do not consider these accurate. The 761st had a penchant for embellishment as Paul Bates noted DURING the war.

The S-3 Daily Reports (Geist) for the 761st are at the National Archives in College Park, MD, as are the reports for most other units.

Dickerson [who wrote one of the documents referred to in DiNicolo’s endnotes that interested me] is on line—Fort Benning’s infantry library. Google it. . . . I hope this helps.¹⁶

It did. I was able to read Maj. John O. Dickerson’s paper which he wrote as a student in the Advanced Infantry Officers Course in 1947-48 at Fort Benning, GA, about the operations of the 2nd Battalion, 101st Infantry Regiment, from 8-10 November 1944. But while this paper is very thorough, it breaks off with the morning of 10 November, a day prior to the period of interest to me and makes little mention of the 761st’s tanks.¹⁷

Fort Benning’s Donovan Research Library research librarian, Janice, and her colleague, Genoa Stanford, helped me locate another student paper also available in their online collection. Written by Maj. Werner Holtz for the same course as Major Dickerson’s, this paper describes the operations of Company C, 104th Infantry Regiment, from 8-21 November 1944. By this point in my search, I was fairly certain that when Johnnie Stevens was wounded his platoon was working with the 101st, not the 104th Infantry Regiment. Nevertheless, this paper also confirmed that by November 11 the 104th Infantry Regiment was operating near Conthil, not near Hill 310.¹⁸

When I asked DiNicolo specifically where she’d found “Lorraine Campaign, 3rd Battalion 101st Infantry Regiment 26th Infantry,” her source for the paragraph quoted earlier about Lieutenant Barbour and his platoon on November 10, 1944, she replied, “I am sorry, I cannot recall the location of this source, but it does exist and is cited with utmost accuracy.”¹⁹

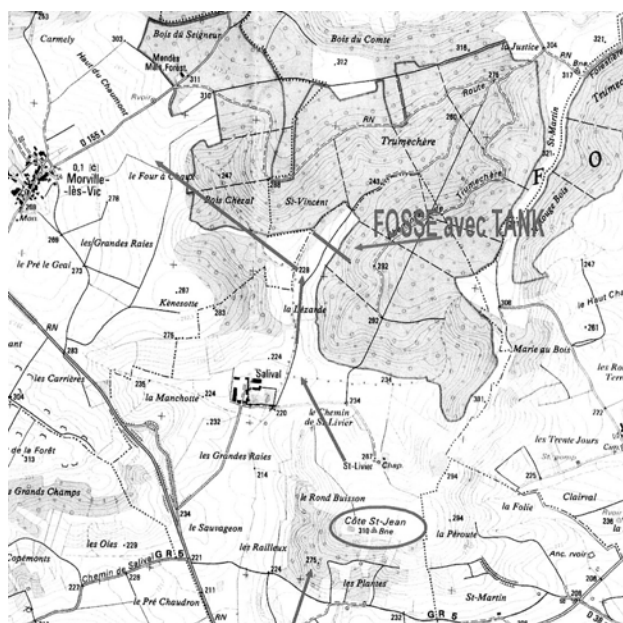
On September 15, I emailed Jerome Leclerc telling him about the “other Hill 309,” including a map of its location, and asking if he could go there to check it out and take some photographs. I said there was no rush—in retrospect a mistake! He replied that he would do that when he had the chance.

For the next nine months I did no further research on this project. Much of my time was taken up by running an army reunion and editing a science textbook. Every few months I emailed Jerome to remind him about checking out the “other Hill 309.” Each time he assured me he hadn’t forgotten and would get to it, but by the next summer he still had not. However, Hilda Banks, Dave Markoff’s sister, graciously offered to help edit my writings about this research. She’d worked for many years as a professional editor, and I’d helped a bit with editing Dave’s memoirs. So, just after Thanksgiving, 2014, we began mailing sections of this book back and forth between us every few weeks.

Chapter 9 - Where Was the Battle?

Finally in mid-June 2015, after completing my textbook editing, I got back to tracking down DiNicolo's sources concerning the activities of Company I, 101st Infantry Regiment, and Lieutenant Barbour's platoon around November 11, 1944. This was when I read Major Holtz's paper. I also emailed the National Archives College Park, MD, branch briefly explaining my search and inquiring in a general way about some of the sources DiNicolo listed in her book's bibliography. While my wife and I were on a trip helping my daughter move to Georgia, a reply arrived from Paul Brown of the Archives II Reference Branch. Apparently, I hadn't been too clear in my email, since he thought I expected to find names of individual soldiers in these sources. So, in early September, I wrote back explaining that my goal was to determine with which company or companies of the 101st Infantry Regiment the wounded tanker's platoon had been working on November 11, 1944, and requesting excerpts from specific documents. Near the end of September, Brown sent me documents similar to what the National Archives had sent me back in April 2014, excerpts covering November 10-12, 1944, instead of November 9-11, 1944, as those did. They did not include "Lorraine Campaign, 3rd Battalion 101st Infantry Regiment 26th Infantry."

During our journey back home from Georgia, we visited the U.S. Army Heritage and Education Center in Carlisle, PA. It includes both a museum and a research library/archives. There I was able to photograph several pages from Wally Clarke's *George S. Patton's Typical Soldier: A Memoir of Thomas W. (Wally) Clarke, Company D, 101st Infantry, 26th Division, Third Army*.¹ Clarke says his company was on Hill 310 November 9, 1944, and attacked Germans concealed in a woods in the late afternoon of November 10. His account of November 11 includes: "After a quiet night, we moved out and contacted 'B' Company in the aforementioned woods. We were pinned down in the woods by machine gun bullets. . . . By nightfall, we had reached the right flank of the woods where we could look for miles over green rolling country" (pp. 41-42). The edge of this woods might have been the edge of the woods along the ridge just south of Hill 309 where the topographical maps show that elevation drops sharply.



This detail from map of Morville-les-Vic, sent to me by Joe Wilson, Jr., is actually part of a modern topographical map printed in color with overlaid lines and words in orange.²

In mid-September, I also noticed that a map of the region around Hill 310 which Joe Wilson, Jr., had sent to me several months earlier showed what appeared to be the tank trap mentioned in the excerpt from *The Black Panthers* quoted on page 36. This was a line across the road leading north from Salival about 1 mile from the village and 1 mile west of Hill 309. The line extended into the woods on both sides of the road and was labeled “FOSSE avec TANK.” According to an old French-English dictionary I have, “fosse” could mean “trench,” “avec” means “with,” and “tank” means “tank.” I emailed Jerome Leclerc about this (and to remind him about visiting the Hill 309 near Moyenvic for me). Jerome replied, “‘Fosse avec Tank’ is ‘ditch with tanks’ so the man who made the map . . . wanted to show where the tanks were.” He also said, “I really want to go to take the pictures, but I also need time,” explaining that his World War II Museum and its website were keeping him very busy.³

On a hunch—really more of a hope—I visited Len Kondratiuk at the National Guard Museum to see if James P. McDonnell was listed on any of the 101st Infantry Regiment's landing-in-France rosters. McDonnell was one of the sergeants from the 101st who was killed in action on a date I was unable to determine. Marilyn Jensen had found his enlistment record which said he was 6-feet tall. But McDonnell wasn't listed.

Now I recalled Lt. Col. Edward Radzwich offering to sell me a copy of his book. Radzwich was Company I's commander during the Lorraine Campaign. Maybe his book described what Company I was doing on 11 Nov 44. But Radzwich had died in 2011. Len's museum had no copy of Radzwich's book or any record of its title. Len also determined that no book by Radzwich was listed in any American library, so, apparently, it had never been published. Shirley Bogdan, editor of *Yankee Doings*, couldn't find any record of the book's title either. Perhaps a Company I veteran had a copy.

On September 28, I emailed George Kessel, a veteran of Company I whose email address was listed in *Yankee Doings*. I briefly described my research and asked if he recalled what his company was doing on 11 Nov 44 and whether he had a copy of Radzwich's book. George replied the next day:

Well, you got the right guy and I was still with them on the date in question. I was 1st squad, third platoon. . . . I wish the events of that period were clear in my mind but when you are a PFC rifleman one's knowledge of surroundings is limited to a fox hole, the next hill, etc., and these few weeks in November are just a blur (I was evacuated to a hospital in Nancy Thanksgiving week and never returned. There were ten of us left of the original Company). My platoon sgt was Walter Young and squad leader Bill Tennyson, both of whom were rather short. I just don't recall other NCO's in the Company. I don't have a copy of Radzwich's book, but I do have some daily logs, etc. at home. I return to Naples [Florida] next week and will take a look.⁴

In early 2011, a letter from me was published in *Yankee Doings* seeking information about the deaths of three Yankee-Division sergeants who were killed in action on 11 Nov 44, including S/Sgt. Raymond Mungo of Company I, 101st Infantry. Two veterans of Mungo's company, Jack Downes and Mike Samberg, responded to that letter (see pages 21-22). I'd misplaced contact information for both of them, but Shirley Bogdan was able to give me their addresses. Using these, I found their phone numbers on peoplefinders.com.

I phoned Jack Downes on October 6. Jack, who was 91, recalled that a platoon of black tankers worked with his company when they attacked Salival. At then-Captain Radzwich's request, one of their tanks blew a hole in the stone wall surrounding a farm. The Germans were firing at his company from a nearby hill. Staff Sergeant Mungo was killed just after his squad moved through that wall. Jack didn't remember seeing any of those tanks after that. He didn't recall any tall sergeants in his company, but only really knew those sergeants in his platoon. He said Radzwich had a typed memoir—Jack had borrowed a copy to read years ago.⁵

Two days later I got through to Mike Samberg. He told me he'd joined Company I's 3rd platoon as a replacement around November 13. Most of the original members of the company were from Attleboro, MA. Mike helped Lieutenant Colonel Radzwich edit his memoir and had a copy. Mike said he'd look through it for any references to black tankers on 11 Nov 44.⁶

On October 9, George Kessel emailed me saying he was home and had reviewed his materials from World War II: "I have written recollections of Radzwich and Col. Peale, Battalion Cmdr. 761st was indeed with Co I on these dates, and lost some tanks. I remember the action vaguely (one day was just like the next). Still cannot help in identifying the sergeant involved, sorry."⁷

That same day, Mike Samberg sent me an email containing copies of three pages from Radzwich's memoir about 11 Nov 44. If Radzwich had the date right, Lieutenant Barbour's platoon was probably working with Company I on that day:

A word about the support we received from the 761st Tank Battalion. There were three tanks on the left flank and two on the right flank. I remind the reader that I was not a witness to the debacle inflicted on the 761st Tank Battalion. *Yankee Doings Special Issue - 50th Anniversary of Lorraine Campaign*, states in a paragraph: "We jumped off after an artillery barrage with the tanks leading. I Company on the right and L Company on the left. Lt. Dennis had carefully instructed the machine gunners how to cover our front and flanks. On the left, the German guns knocked out two of our tanks and the third departed. Lt. Freeman reported the other two on the right received machine gun fire. The crews abandoned their tanks." That was the end of our tank support.⁸

I then called Mike to ask if he would mail me the memoir to make a copy for the National Guard Museum & Archives in Concord, MA. I also emailed him sections of the 1944 "Chateau-Salins" topographical 1:50,000-scale map and one showing Sarre-Union, where he'd also been involved in combat; the passage about Johnnie Stevens's rescue from Wilson's book; the paragraph about the November 10 attack from DiNicolo's book; plus Jack Downes's phone number and George Kessel's email address in case Mike wanted to contact them.

I emailed the above excerpt from Radzwich's memoirs to Len Kondratiuk and Joe Wilson, Jr. Joe phoned in response. He told me troops may not have worn their rank when in combat, or it may have been hidden under an overcoat, so the "tall sergeant" could have been a corporal or even a PFC! Joe was beginning to sound like the guys from the Yankee Division back in 2008 who thought Johnnie Stevens might have been a bit confused about the hill's name or the date. But Hill 309 did exist—two of them, in fact! And the 11 Nov 44 morning report of Company A, 761st Tank Battalion, did confirm the date of his wounding. So I still trusted Johnnie Stevens's memory about his rescuer being tall and a sergeant.

Later, I asked Len about this. He said, though some might have removed their rank insignia when in combat, the photos he'd seen of World War II soldiers all showed them wearing their rank. A few years later I read in *Snow & Steel*, Peter Caddick-Adams's book about the Battle of the Bulge, that because of enemy snipers many officers and sergeants in other American armies didn't wear insignia of rank in combat. However, General Patton had forbidden that practice in the Third Army.⁹

Even the date of death on a morning report can be wrong. S/Sgt. Raymond Mungo is listed on his company's 13 Nov 44 morning report as being killed in action on 11 Nov 44. The Report of Burial in his IDPF dated 12 Nov 44 also gives his date of death as 11 Nov 44 and says he was buried at 1300 on November 12.¹⁰ However, all references I've seen to the battle for Salival say it occurred on November 9, and both Jack Downes, who was with him when he was killed, and Radzwich's memoir, quoting a S/Sgt. Charles J. Herbert, say Mungo was killed during the battle for Salival.¹¹

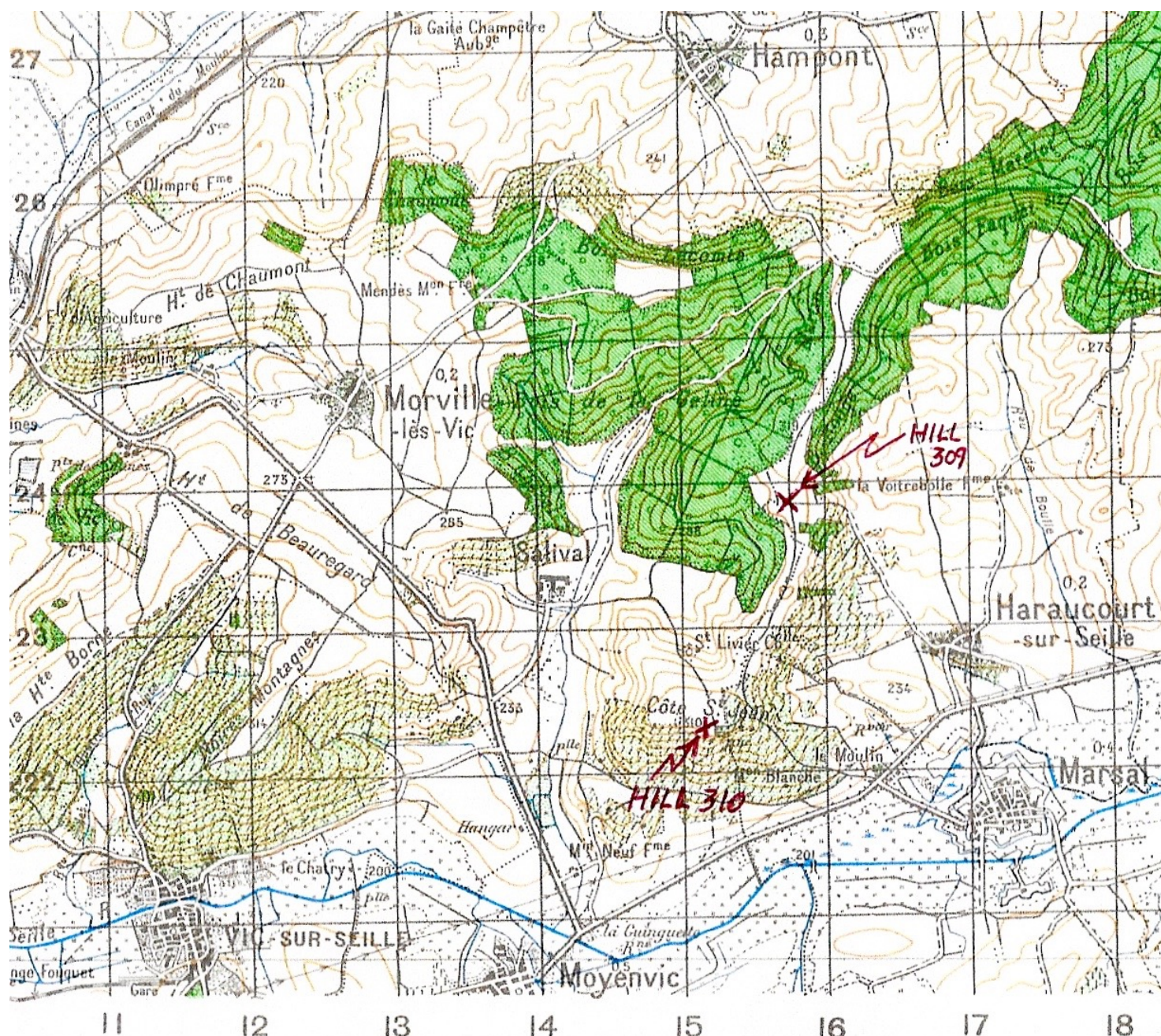
On October 11, I emailed George Kessel the excerpts from Radzwich's and DiNicolo's books that I'd sent to Mike Samberg along with the map of the area around Salival and Hill 309, and asked if I could phone him. (I also mailed these to Jack Downes.) George called me three days later. He repeated that his memory of that time was hazy, and that he remembers only German tanks. However, he did have a memoir written by the commander of the 101st Infantry Regiment's 3rd Battalion and a diary by the 101st Infantry Regiment's commander. He mailed me copies of the parts covering the first several days of the Lorraine offensive.

Radzwich's 200-page memoir, *An American Soldier's Journey*, arrived by priority mail that day from Mike Samberg. I xeroxed two copies, bound like the original, one for the Massachusetts National Guard Museum/Archives, the other for me. That night, I called Mike to let him know that the memoir had arrived. Two days later, I sent it back to him with a thank-you note and a book of stamps to reimburse him for his postage.

The excerpts from George arrived October 14 along with two photos of him during the war. The memoir of 3rd Battalion's commander Col. James N. Peale, Jr., is titled "Handglass Blue, Lorraine Offensive 1944."¹² This memoir seems to be part of a larger work, since its pages are numbered 25 to 30, but George didn't know its title or when it was printed. Since Peale mentioned a young soldier who served with him in Lorraine and later commanded a battalion in Vietnam (p. 27), this memoir seemed probably written after 1965 because the large American buildup began in that year.



George Kessel
in 1945



Detail from 1:50,000-scale 1944 army topographical map; each grid box is 1 km x 1 km

The map above shows the region where Companies I and L were operating from November 9 - 12, 1944. To try to tell just where those companies were on 11 Nov 44, I'll quote extensively from Peale's account of this period in "Handglass Blue, Lorraine Offensive 1944":

[On 9 Nov 44 Company L's commander Donald D.] Donohue reported that he could not advance because of enemy fire to his front and from Salival Farm, a walled community three kilometers north of Moyenvic. Consequently, I told him to advance on the left of Radzwich, who was attacking Salival. Supported by tanks [maybe those from Barbour's platoon, though in *Come Out Fighting* Anderson says light tanks from Company D fired into Salival and set it on fire],¹³ Radzwich captured the farm and turned against the German position north of Hill 310. He led the assault, spent his ammo, and closed with potato mashers (German hand grenades on a stick). . . . The tanks continued firing on the enemy position even after Radzwich arrived there. Then the lieutenant said that he had to go back for more ammo. He did not return. Two of our platoons headed north on the road from Salival toward the Bois [Woods] de la Geline.

. . . [Captain Gerald Robert] Wilson and I ran forward to the tail of the platoons who were approaching the woods. They were pinned down in a ditch but no one was shooting at them now. We got them to move to the woods to their right front then had them face the woods across the meadow to the east. . . .

Presently Donohue came and asked, "What is the problem?" Then he brought L Company forward shooting as they came. The enemy fire ceased and they withdrew. Then with L Company on the left of the road and I Company on the right we marched northeast into the woods. In the fading light we shot at the flashes of enemy rifles. . . .

Because each encounter in the dark cost one or more men, we halted for the night. . . . [Peale mentions the sun set at about 1730 and rose around 0600.] Early next morning [November 10] we resumed our march. . . .

By late afternoon we reached the northeast edge of the Bois de la Geline, three kilometers from Salival. We faced across a meadow the southwestern tip of the Foret [Forest] de Bride et de Koe[c]king, where the Germans defended. The tanks joined us again and [3rd Battalion's S-3 Cpt.] John Dennis rode one to reconnoiter. . . . [H]e returned with a concept for our attack on November 11th. I gave orders by flashlight to commanders, one by one, under a pup tent.

We jumped off after an artillery barrage with the tanks leading, I Company on the right and L Company on the left. Dennis had carefully instructed the machine gunners how to cover our front and flanks. On the left German guns knocked out two of our tanks and a third departed. Lieutenant [Elmer B.] Freeman [3rd Battalion's S-2] reported the other two on the right received machine gun fire. The crews abandoned their tanks. This was the end of our tank support. Robert G. Skinner of the Intelligence Section was unable to contact any friendly force on our right. Our front line was now into the forest.

. . . A German map showed the disposition of two battalions ahead of us. The first we had just over run. The second was deeper in the forest behind a clearing about a kilometer east of us and two and a half kilometers north of Haraucourt. . . . I was preparing to assail the enemy position when Colonel Ben R. Jacobs, commander of the 328th Infantry Regiment arrived. We were now attached to the 328th. He urged me to delay my advance until tomorrow, when we could attack together. . . . Our liaison team from the 101st Field [Artillery Battalion] left us and a single forward observer from the 263rd Field Artillery Battalion took their place. . . . (pp. 26-28)

After reading this, on November 11, 2015, I again emailed Gina DiNicolo, asking whether she had a copy of the document which was the source for her account of the actions on 10 Nov 44 or at least could recall where she'd found it. She replied that it might have been from the Donovan Library's online collection, and she would look for it. She also made the mistake of saying, "If you do not hear from me, bug me."¹⁴ I did, four days later and again on December 5, when I also updated her on what I'd learned from Peale's account and two history books.

Curious to see what else was in the *Yankee Doings* Lorraine-Campaign issue, on November 15 I emailed *Yankee Doing's* editor, Shirley Bogdan, asking whether she had a copy of that issue that I could borrow. She graciously sent me a spare copy to keep. This issue contains lists of Yankee Division soldiers killed during the Lorraine Campaign who were buried in European military cemeteries. These lists include each soldier's name, rank, serial number, unit, home state, date of death, location of the grave, and military awards. The only sergeants listed who died on 11 Nov 44 were Anthony J. Stanevich and Francis J. Hyde, whom I'd checked on years ago. (This issue must be the one Dale Wood had purchased a copy of on eBay and referred to in an email to me in August 2011.) Only one soldier from the 101st Infantry Regiment was said to have died on 11 Nov 44, PFC Henry B. Wise.¹⁵

The issue also includes four reminiscences of the Lorraine Campaign including Colonel Peale's memoir that George Kessel had sent me—this was where it had been printed!

A few days later I asked Marilyn Jensen if she'd check some more soldiers' heights and maybe dates of death on ancestry.com. She agreed, so I sent her the names, ranks, serial numbers, and home counties (found on the World War II Memorial's website) of the following individuals: five enlisted men from Companies I and L of the 101st Infantry Regiment who'd been killed in action; one sergeant from Company I who was "LIA," slightly injured in action; another sergeant from Company L who was "SIA," seriously injured in action, all on 11 Nov 44; plus four artillery sergeants KIA on dates unknown. An "injury" is accidental. A "wound" is the direct result of combat.

Around that time, I recalled mentions in a couple of sources of the 101st's 3rd Battalion having attacked back southward from near Hampont on 11 Nov 44. These are in passages I've quoted earlier, but then my concern was to see if any companies of the 101st Infantry Regiment were operating near Wuisse on 11 Nov 44. *The Lorraine Campaign* reports:

The 3rd Battalion literally blasted its way out of the thick, dark woods and on 11 November reached a road junction south of Hampont, where about a hundred Germans were captured. Then the 3rd Battalion turned back on the main ridge line to meet the 1st Battalion. On the same day, the 1st had finally driven the enemy off Hill 310 and from this vantage point was now directing the American batteries in counterfire against the German guns at Marsal and Haraucourt-sur-Seille in the valley below.¹⁶

The map on page 41 shows Hill 309 marked at the junction of the road coming south along the ridge toward Hill 310 and a road or trail leading southeast down the hill to Haraucourt. The road south down the ridge toward this junction runs through a 100-meter wide clearing which finally expands into a clearing a few hundred meters across containing the junction labeled "309." Johnnie Stevens had said the German who killed his rescuer had been hidden only about 15 yards away (see page 3 for Wilson's interview with Stevens). Could that German have been hiding in the woods along that road? Could the German guns that pounded Lieutenant Barbour's tanks have moved up that road during the night?

The "War Diary Commanding Officer 101st Infantry" is less clear about just where 3rd Battalion was attacking on November 11. It says the ridge just north of Hill 310 was captured by Company C of the 1st Battalion on November 10 and held, despite a German counterattack at dusk. Meanwhile, 3rd Battalion was to "continue northeast to a road junction and then swing to come down to the southeast along the ridge and assist the 1st Battalion in its advance by catching the enemy along the ridge to the rear." This operation wasn't completed, however. By nightfall, "the 3rd Battalion had progressed well up beyond the road junction southeast of Hampont. 2nd Battalion continued to secure southern slopes of Hill 310." Company C and the rest of 1st Battalion occupied the area just north of Hill 310. At 0500 on November 11, these battalions received orders to continue the attack at 0730 with 1st Battalion on the right, 3rd Battalion on the left, and 2nd Battalion in reserve.¹⁷

Now entries in the journals of the commanding officer, 101st Infantry Regiment and headquarters, 3rd Battalion made more sense. On November 10, the 101st's journal recorded at 1155, "Road clear to where Lt. Col. Peale is at (155-249) [grid coordinate]." The map shows this location is along the road northeast from Salival about halfway through the woods (Bois de la Geline). At 1510 it said, "Barber's [sic] men up with Peale and have helped him some already." However, that same day at 0700 3rd Battalion's journal said, "Lt Barber [sic] of tank outfit arrived at CP [command post] and was notified that his tanks are assigned to 1st Bn—he left with Daley [regimental liaison sergeant] for 1st Bn." It is not clear whether the "1st Bn" referred to was the 101st's which was just north of Hill 310 or the 104th's which was near Hampont. However, at 1405 this journal reported, "[Reconnaissance] troops of tanks going forward at this time. In 1½ hours tanks will go forward (Lt Barbor [sic]—10 tanks) to help in any way Bn Cmdr [battalion commander] sees fit to use them." Then, at 1608 it said, "Four tanks can remain with our battalion. The rest of them must go with 1st Bn."¹⁸

This entry saying Barbour had TEN tanks had puzzled me for years. Barbour's platoon actually had only five tanks. Whose were the extra five tanks? This question was answered in the report of an interview made in June 1945 as part of a collection of interviews concerning the 26th Infantry Division in the Lorraine Campaign. In a discussion of armored support for Company K, 101st Infantry Regiment, a platoon leader "recalled that there were about 21 tanks in the column, including a maintenance tank. He made no separate mention of TDs [tank destroyers] at any time [although the column did contain a tank-destroyer company], so it may be presumed that they are included in the above figure."¹⁹ It makes perfect sense that infantry soldiers might not distinguish between tanks and tank destroyers. They looked similar (see pictures below). Both were self-propelled tracked vehicles with a big gun mounted in a turret. Tanks had thicker armor. Tank destroyers had a turret open at the top and a bigger main gun. At the beginning of the Lorraine Campaign several platoons of tank destroyers were attached to the 101st Infantry, but Barbour's platoon was the only tank unit attached.²⁰ Those "extra" tanks were probably tank destroyers.



M4 Sherman Tank



M10 Tank Destroyer

Meanwhile, on November 10, the 101st's journal reported the Germans were gathering just east of the ridge, presumably preparing to counterattack the Americans:

- 1045 G-3 to S-3 [These were staff officers, division and regimental operations officers.] Tanks in vicinity (162-235) Are they yours? Ex O [executive officer, the regiment's second in command] replied to our knowledge, no at the present moment.
- 1103 G-2 to S-2 [division and regimental intelligence officers] Div Arty [Division Artillery] reports the above tanks are enemy shooting at our observation planes. . . .
- 1325 G-2 to S-2 Tanks at (175-248) estimated (40-50?) from Dieuze. Two companies of infantry (165-248) extending (167-255) same vicinity, 12 FLAK guns as well as five 105's. . . .
- 1350 From Div Arty to 101 F.A. [Field Artillery] Bn to S-2. 50 to 60 tanks enemy are reported (175-248), 12 self propelled guns (163-248). Airplanes up looking for them.

The German attack came at dusk. Company C repulsed it with heavy casualties.²¹

The next day, November 11, the 101st's journal reported "3rd Bn jumped off at 0910," and at 1050: "'L' 'I' 'K' moving toward 'A.' 'K' committed on left."²² The 3rd Battalion's journal reported:

- 0910 . . . Capt Wilson left CP [command post] to bring tanks up to front lines. . . .
- 1000 Bn Cmdr [commander] and Ex O of 328th Inf reported to CP for info of our Bn. Major Burke oriented him as to the front line dispositions.
- 1030 Bn held up by automatic [weapon] fire from woods 174269. L Co moved into woods under 101 FA [field artillery] concentration. . . .
- 1055 Love and Item [Companies L and I] moving toward 1st objective. King [Company K] has been committed on the right. . . .
- 1552 Col Peale notified us that [machine-gun] fire was being fired at the Rd junction behind his Bn by enemy.²³

If grid coordinate “174269” is correct, 3rd Battalion may have been operating well north of Hill 309. This location is over a mile northeast of where the road from Hampont meets the road through the woods from Salival or the road south along the ridge to Hill 309 (see map on page 41). But this grid location isn’t in woods, so maybe this coordinate is incorrect. As usual, nothing’s simple.

For comparison with the accounts quoted on the last few pages, here is the most detailed account of which I’m aware that S/Sgt. Johnnie Stevens ever gave of the battle at Hill 309.²⁴ This was a seven-minute segment of a longer videotaped interview done by Kevin J. Williams in February 2004. I borrowed a copy from Joe Wilson, Jr., when my wife and I visited him in 2013.

Williams asked Stevens to “describe what the feeling of combat was for you the first time.” Stevens answered,

Well, actually, we were like eager, ‘cause we didn’t know what it was like. We were eager to get into the action, get the action going. Then we found out it wasn’t what we thought it was. It wasn’t all glamour.

They sent me a picture of what Hill 309 looks like now. Yeh, I was looking at it yesterday upstairs. I got a picture and a map. Toughest battle, Hill 309. But it’s all changed now. But they took a picture. They got a monument at the edge of the woods commemorating the 26th Division who we was fighting with at that time. So they got this big monument there, 26th Division monument, and they got the photograph, and they got the Hill 309 pinpointed. They got a lot of buildings around there now.



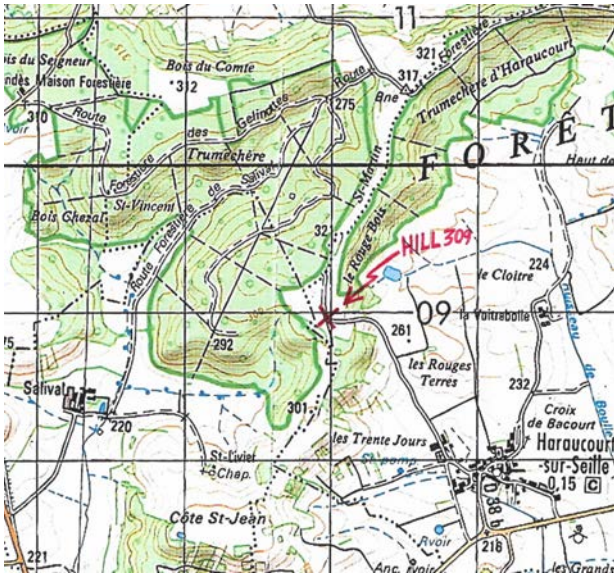
Johnnie Stevens
during 2004 interview



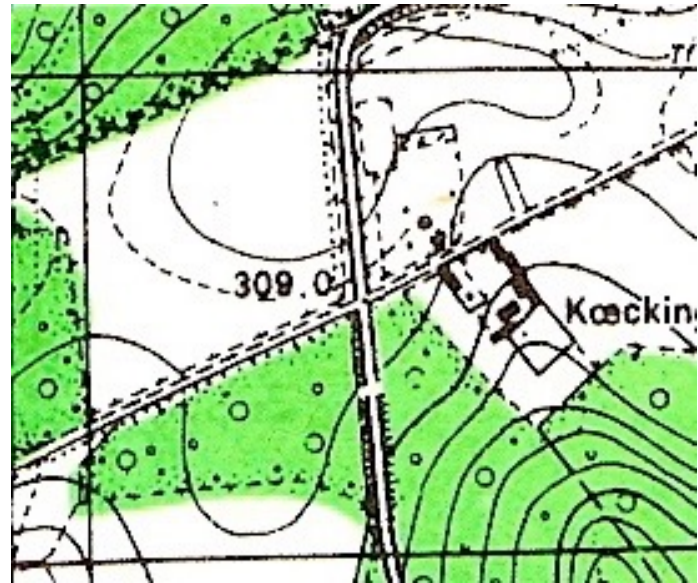
Monument to the 26th Infantry Division
located near the base of Hill 310

That “monument at the edge of the woods” is, presumably, the one near the base of Hill 310 along the road from Moyenvic to Chateau-Salins. But, according to both the 1:50,000-scale topographical map that Jerome Leclerc sent me in 2009 and Google Maps, there are still no buildings at the Hill 309 near Hill 310 (see next page).²⁵ There are buildings along the road just east of the Hill 309 junction one mile NE of Wuisse. However, according to the World War II army topographical maps, those buildings were also there in 1944.²⁶ The photograph of Hill 309 that “they” sent Stevens must have been taken at the Hill 309 near Wuisse, which makes sense since that’s where all the history books that mention the hill say it was located. That would also explain why Stevens said, “It’s all changed now.” (When I was writing this section in mid-January 2016, to try to confirm this explanation I called Jim Sudmeier, who had searched for Hill 309 with Jerome Leclerc in 2004. Jim said he’d never sent Stevens any photographs. I also called Joe Wilson, Jr. He hadn’t sent the photo either. I don’t know who did.)

Topographical Map Details and Google Map Aerial Photos of the Two Hill 309s



Hill 309 Junction NE of Moyenvic
2007 map detail



Hill 309 Junction NE of Wuisse
1938 map detail above 2007 map detail below



Present-Day Aerial Views from Google Map

When Williams then asked, "Can you tell me the story of Hill 309?" Stevens replied:

Yeh, it was a—I think my toughest battle. You see, we was told by recon there was nothing out there in the woods on the other side of the hill. And my platoon was supposed to take that hill the next morning. And the recon told us there was nothing out there. Not our recon, but the recon from the 26th Division. Now I don't know whether those guys lay down on the job that night, or whether it was the same old thing: You know there's a reconnaissance patrol out. You wait until the reconnaissance patrol leaves, then you move. Now that could have happened. They could have moved the guns in after the reconnaissance platoon moved out. I really—so I wouldn't say that they didn't do their job, because they told us there was nothing out there.

Yeh, I walked into a hornet's nest. See, we started firing on the woods as we was moving in. So I told Fox [Ivery Fox, a fellow tank commander], I says, "Open up on that damn hill on the right," you know. "Murph [Paul Murphy, Stevens's 'coverman', presumably another tank commander], you got the left. Let's take them." And we was in a wedge, see what I mean. We opened up before we got across over—see, it was open field. So we opened up on the wooded area facing us, whereas what we didn't know, they had a gun off to the left, an antitank gun, and one off to the right. There wasn't supposed to be any guns there, heavy guns up there. Supposed to be infantry and heavy machine gun. And we didn't worry about the machine gun, not in a tank. And when we opened up on them, they opened up on us. I looked up, and I saw Fox's tank go up. And then my homeboy, the only homeboy I had, George Shivers, I saw his tank go up. So now I ain't got but three tanks left, so I yelled to Murphy, "Back off! Back off! ? Get the hell out of here," just like that.

At that time a shell came at mine, hit right on my turret, in the turret ring. If it'd hit my gas tank, I wouldn't be here talking to you now. But it hit the turret ring and killed my bow gunner—I mean, my cannoneer. And I was all full of shrapnel. This finger here was hanging loose. I had shrapnel right in the corner of that eye, the scar there. Just a millimeter further, and it would've went right through the eyeball. But it stuck right in the bone. And then I had—then they started raking the field, 'cause, see, when a tanker gets out of a tank—I hit the ejection seat and I come out, and I hit the ground. And when you come out as a tanker, they want to kill you, 'cause, see, tankers kill too many people. And they started raking the field with machine-gun fire and mortar fire, machine and mortar.

And this is—that guy, this white guy, this infantryman, this white guy—it was a sergeant—this is where he yelled over to me. He says, "Sergeant, you hit?" I say, "Yeh. I'm hit hard as hell," because blood was coming all down my combat jacket, you know. So he crawled over to where I was, and he says, "Gimme your hand. Let's go." And he carried me to the edge and threw me over the bank, and I rolled down the hill. Then he raised up. And as he raised up to come behind me, that's when he got it. 'Cause, see, the Germans were so close that we could shake hands with them. That's how close they were. All in the bushes. All around the tanks. All on the edge everywhere. I could see their face as good as I see yours. That's how close they were. It was almost hand to hand. Yeh, we got slaughtered—I got slaughtered that morning.

The "open field" Stevens mentions that his tanks fired across may have been the clearing around the "Hill 309" road junction (see map on page 41). The "hill on the right" could have been the rise in the middle of the woods about 500 meters west of this clearing. The clearing along the road north of the "309" junction does seem too narrow to have had two infantry companies and five tanks in two groups spread out across, as narrow as 100 meters in places. But Stevens does say the Germans "were so close that we could shake hands with them. . . . All in the bushes. All around the tanks." In the interview quoted in Wilson's book, Stevens says the German who machine-gunned his rescuer was only 15 yards away (see page 3).

A while later, a medic arrived and gave Stevens a shot of morphine to relieve his pain. Stevens went on to say, "But I went to the hospital, and I came back, and—but I learned a lot. . . . I didn't take nobody's word for nothing after that. I had to see for myself. I wanted to make sure what was out there and what was going on. I learned to use my field glasses, my eyes, and my intuition. I never led my tanks into another trap."

Chapter 10 - Final Attempts

Having heard nothing from Gina DiNicolo for a month, on January 6, 2016, I sent her another email reminder about the source document she promised to find for me. She quickly replied, "Thank you. I am working on the promotion of 'Blood Stripe' and the paperback release of 'Panthers.' I will not have time. [Fort] Benning has this document at its infantry library or it is on the online collection."¹ So I again contacted Genoa Stanford at the Donovan Library. She promised to search for that and a few of DiNicolo's other sources.

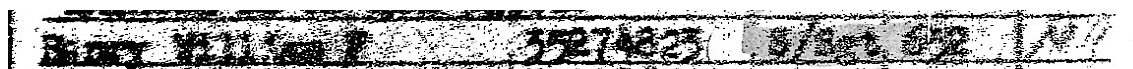
Marilyn Jensen got back to me after the holidays concerning the list of unlikely but possible "tall sergeant" candidates I'd sent her. On January 15, she emailed information about the heights of several possibilities. A week later, she mailed me copies of the ancestry.com documents. Two soldiers stood out: Sgt. Charles H. Long and PFC Harlan E. Rasmussen.

Long was listed as "SIA near Nancy France" on the 11 Nov 44 Company L, 101st Infantry, morning report.² Marilyn found two tall Charles H. Longs: One from West Virginia was 6' tall; the other from Alabama was 5' 11".³ However, none of the ancestry.com documents indicated their ranks or army serial numbers. Also, no soldier with that name is included in the casualty lists of either the National Archives or the 26th Infantry Division's history as killed in action or as having died of wounds.

PFC Harlan E. Rasmussen, listed on the 13 Nov 44 Company I, 101st Infantry, morning report as killed in action on 11 Nov 44, was 5' 11" tall.⁴ By then, Rasmussen was 24 years old and had been in the army nearly three years.⁵ It's conceivable he'd been a sergeant, had recently been busted, and hadn't yet removed the stripes from his uniform—far-fetched, but possible. (Though Radzwich's memoir includes casualties listed on Company I's 9-11 Nov 44 morning reports, he neglects to mention those listed on 12-13 Nov 44 reports. His account of the first four days of the Lorraine Offensive contains no mention of Rasmussen. Neither does Peale's memoir.)

So, on January 26, I emailed a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request for Rasmussen's Individual Deceased Personnel File (IDPF), or just the "cause of death" from the Report of Burial in his file, to Patricia Dugdale, a previous contact at the Freedom of Information and Privacy Act Office of the U.S. Army Human Resources Command at Fort Knox, KY. I received no reply. Ten days later I called a phone number I had for her at the FOIA office. The man who answered said it wasn't the FOIA office. He didn't know Dugdale or the phone number for that office, so he gave me the number for the "main switchboard." Before giving me any information, the switchboard operator asked for my name, social security number, and whether I was on active duty or a veteran. After I'd given him all this information, he still wouldn't give me the phone number for the FOIA office but only its email address.⁶

I sent the FOIA office an email similar to the one I'd sent to Dugdale. Susan Kilianski, another woman from that office who'd helped me two years before, replied that same day saying it's easier for them to send the entire IDPF and asking me to send her my request. I also asked her if it was possible to request the IDPF of a soldier by only his army service number, explaining about Sergeant William P. or F. Banry or Barry (see page 27) and enclosing his number. She looked it up and found it matched a Sergeant William F. Henry who was killed in action in Korea in 1950. The name "Henry" is too close to "Banry" to just be a coincidence. Though the first letter of his last name on the morning report doesn't look like an *H* (see section of morning report below), it could be a mistyped *B* overstruck by an *H*, since these letters are next to each other on a keyboard. The indistinct *a* could be an *e*.



Detail from Company B/328th Infantry's morning report for 15 Nov 44

On February 5, I also called Genoa Stanford at Fort Benning's Donovan Library to see if she'd had a chance to search for DiNicolo's sources concerning the Lorraine Campaign. She explained that she'd been busy doing work for some generals but had found records of the documents DiNicolo had been researching. She thought that by now they might be digitized, and, if so, she'd send me their link. She did the next day.

These documents are the results of interviews about the Lorraine Campaign, done in Europe after the end of the war there, that were conducted by a few lieutenants with commanders and staff officers of the 26th Infantry Division and its regiments, battalions, and a couple of companies. These reports are on an internet-accessible pdf (portable document format) file.⁷ Among them is "June 19, 1945, Interview of Lt. Col. James Nixon Peale, Jr., Commander, 3rd Battalion, 101st Infantry Regiment, 26th Infantry Division," which DiNicolo refers to in her book's endnotes. "Lorraine Campaign, 3rd Battalion 101st Infantry Regiment 26th Infantry Division, June 19, 1945," which she also references in her endnotes, is the same document. The following excerpts are all from reports contained in this pdf file.

An interview with four staff officers, three from the 101st Infantry Regiment and one from the 101st Field Artillery Battalion,⁸ says,

On the 11th A and B Cos in spite of well defended enemy dug-in positions cleared the woods west of the ridge and the 3d Bn, recovering K Co, moved up the road from SALIVAL to the northeast. These mopping-up actions were heavily fought against pocketed enemy resistance but they remained exclusively mopping-up actions after the ridge line succeeded in diminishing greatly the enemy fire from the east flank. The 3d Bn, with the support of tanks, finally reached the road junction at (161256) and doubled back along the ridge line. During this time, the 2d Bn maintained its position on HILL 310, and the 1st Bn took up positions on the crest of the ridge. All three battalions had lost heavily during this action, but the 2d was in the worse condition.

This passage agrees with Colonel Peale's description of this maneuver in his 1995 *Yankee Doings* memoir and the journals of the 101st Infantry and its 3rd Battalion, except it says the seizure of the road junction (161256) occurred on the same day as the attack south along the ridge toward Hill 309 rather than on the previous day.

The interview of Colonel Peale,⁹ as expected, mostly agrees with his *Yankee Doings* memoir. It describes how on November 9, "with the support of a platoon of tanks from the 761st Tank Battalion," I Company attacked and seized Salival. It goes on to say,

In this attack I Company received fire on the flanks from the woods on the right and met grazing fire from strong enemy positions in the edge of the woods to the north (see map) [on page 41]. I Company pushed on from SALIVAL, attacked this wooded area to the north and succeeded in getting a foothold before dark. . . .

By this time the enemy defenses of HILL 310 were well spotted. He had strong automatic weapons positions on the forward slope of the hill and on the hill crest. He had two (some reports say six) 75mm infantry howitzers on the ridge crest itself commanding its entire length. There were a number of mortar positions behind the tip of high ground at (158232). It was later found that these mortars were dug into 20-foot pits. The enemy artillery was all to the east of the hill positions. The 3d Battalion which was on the west of the ridge was getting practically no artillery fire but were meeting intensive machine gun and small arms fire from infantry positions on the wooded slopes.

During the 9th, L Company was sent to SALIVAL. The plan was for the battalion to attack with I Company on the left and L Company on the right up the ravine to the northeast.

[continued on next page]

On the morning of the 10th, I Company resumed its attack on enemy positions in the woods to the north. It was intended first to send the tanks up the ravine to the northeast to blanket the woods with flanking fire. [But] 500 yards from northeast of SALIVAL there was a tank trap extending across the ravine and anchored at both sides in heavy wooded areas [see map on page 38]. It was then planned to send the tanks cross-country directly at the corner of the woods with the infantry to follow. This attack jumped off as planned but the tanks moved out too quickly and got well ahead of the infantry. Then because they were exposed, the tanks withdrew to SALIVAL. Another attack was better coordinated. This time one platoon of I Company plus a weapons platoon got into the woods and after engaging in a hand to hand fight were able to clear an area about 300 yards deep and 200 yards wide. . . .

During the afternoon of the 10th, L Company was sent off to the left of I Company with the mission of clearing the ravine to the point of open ground at (158245). [This coordinate isn't where "the point of open ground" was—see map on page 41. Maybe "148245" was meant.] In moving up L Company circled through the wooded area on the left of the ravine (see map) and reached positions behind the tank trap just short of the point of open ground. (During this attack Captain Donahue taught his men the use of marching fire in clearing a wooded area.) When L Company reached the above position it encountered enemy machine guns set up to fire directly down the ravine. This fire held up the company.

By this time I Company had swung around to the left in the woods and began to push east on the point of the ravine. Under Colonel Peale's direction both companies pressed forward along enemy positions at the point of open ground. It was L Company that finally overcame the enemy machine gun positions at this point and cleared the road for further movement.

The two companies then formed in a column of twos on the road with L Company leading and moved out to the Northeast with the road junction at (161255) as the objective. Every 50 yards or so there was an exchange of fire with snipers along the road. Each time two or three men were casualties. Lt Col Peale decided that this kind of movement was too costly, and L and I Companies procured positions with a perimeter defense in the middle of the woods at grid line 25.

Colonel Peale said that it was difficult to describe the extreme hardship of this day's action. It was raining; the woods were extremely heavy and spotted by groves of heavy pine which the enemy often used for defense positions. The area was much too large for one battalion's operations and both right and left flanks were exposed. During the night it was possible to get supplies to the battalion. (That day the 1st Battalion began to work on the woods to the right.) Several enemy patrols were encountered. These were suspected to be enemy units trying to withdraw from cut off positions.

By the night of the 10th the 104th Infantry had reached positions northeast of MORVILLE. TF "A" [Task Force A] which had been working with the 104th was dissolved. K Company reverted to the 3d Battalion during the night, but it had been reduced to approximately 50% strength during its action with TF "A".

It was planned to resume the attack on the morning of the 11th with two companies moving abreast on the right and left of the road toward the enemy strong point at the road junction. This attack was made without artillery or mortar preparation. The 3d Battalion, tired and cold, made a desperate attack to get out of the woods. With a heavy volume of marching fire, they succeeded in overcoming all opposition. The woods were cleared and a few enemy automatic weapons positions were overrun at the road junction before noon. At this point an enemy battalion CP was taken with approximately 100 PWs [prisoners of war]. . . .

The battalion secured positions at the road junction and sent its supporting tank platoon guarded by a combat patrol down the crest of the ridge to the south. By this time the 1st Battalion had seized positions on the ridge from the west and the 3rd Battalion patrol met little opposition except from artillery fire.

[continued on next page]

The division regrouped during the 11-12th of November. The 104th had reached positions near HAMPONT (151269). The 328th was moved up to be committed between the 101st and the 104th Infantry Regiments. On the 12th the 3d Battalion, 101st Infantry, was given orders to push to the northeast from its positions at the road junction while the 1st and the 2d Battalions, which had been badly mauled in their fight on HILL 310 were to extend out along the southern edge of the KOECKING Forest. On the morning of the 12th Colonel Peale held up the battalion's attack until he could make a reconnaissance of enemy positions to his front. Captain Dennis, the Battalion S-3, went out with three light tanks (761st Tank Battalion) and located an enemy strong point of machine guns and AT [anti-tank] weapons at (162258) in the open ground in front of the road junction. During this reconnaissance Dennis' tank was hit by AT fire but he was able to get back to give his report of the positions.

About 1000 hours the battalion attacked with L Company on the left, I Company on the right, with the road leading into the KOECKING woods as the axis of the attack. This attack was preceded by artillery raking the wooded area and strong point on open ground to the left. I Company pushed forward along the road with tank support, but two tanks were knocked out by AT fire (probably two enemy tanks) at the road junction at (168295). The enemy anti-tank weapons were overrun by I Company's marching fire and I Company reached positions along the road at (173259).

This account generally agrees with Colonel Peale's description of these actions in his *Yankee Doings* memoir and in the journals of the 101st Infantry and of its 3rd Battalion, except that, like the previous interview, it says "the road junction at (161255)" just beyond the Bois de la Geline was seized on 11 Nov 44, the same day as the attack down the ridge toward Hill 309. [In both the earlier interview and *Yankee Doings* memoir this road junction is identified as being at (161256).] Also, it says that what, presumably, was Barbour's tank platoon attacked down the ridge with only a "combat patrol" of infantry rather than with both Companies I and L. It also suggests that Barbour's remaining tanks (Fox's, Shivers's, and Stevens's tanks were hit during the battle in which Stevens was wounded--see page 47) might still have been with the 3rd Battalion, 101st Infantry, on November 12, contradicting David Williams's account in *Hit Hard*. The last paragraph is puzzling also, since it describes a late-morning attack with Company I on the right, L on the left, and tank support during which two tanks were knocked out. This is very similar to the November 11 battle Peale describes in his *Yankee Doings* memoir, except here he says it happened on November 12. Furthermore, "the road junction at (168295)," where the tanks were knocked out, is located about a mile northeast of Obreck, well north of the Koecking woods and not at a road junction.

An interesting feature of this collection of reports is that some interviewers begin with a short evaluation of their interviewee. The previous report, for example, says, "Captain Ryan gave the majority of the information in a rather hesitant manner and depended greatly on the regimental After Action Report for his information." But this same lieutenant also interviewed Peale and was quite impressed by him despite his uncertainty about just when some events occurred: "[Peale] was not always sure of the exact dates and times, but appeared to have a very clear conception of the action of his battalion. Colonel Peale called in several of his officers and NCOs to give spot stories included in this report. . . . Colonel Peale is a young West Point officer with a very firm grasp of the importance of the battalion action."

Incidentally, this pdf file of 26th Infantry Division interviews also relates to another question. Back in the autumn of 2008, I read *G Company's War* by Bruce Egger and Lee Otts (see page 8). At that time I speculated about whether the two dead GIs Egger saw in a clearing beside a destroyed American tank could have been Johnnie Stevens's crewmate and rescuer. Then, however, I believed the battle had occurred near Wuisse. Egger's account of how G Company, 328th Infantry Regiment, got to that clearing was rather vague.

G Company's travels on 11 Nov 44, as described by Egger, could have brought them to the Hill 309 near Moyenvic at least as easily as to the Hill 309 near Wuisse (see map on page 34). The road they turned right onto may have been the road to Salival. The road to the left might have been the main road's continuation to Metz. The small village they passed through could have been Salival. After that, however, it's harder to match Egger's description to the map. They could have gone off to the east through a few hundred meters of forest to reach the Hill 309 clearing. But then the road through the woods with the high ridge on its right would have been the congested road they avoided, not the one they traveled.

An interview with 2nd Battalion, 328th Regiment, S-3, Maj. Paul S. Carrier, who'd been commander of G Company on 11 Nov 44, says on the morning of 10 Nov 44 the 2nd Battalion, which contained G Company, moved to Vic-sur-Seille.¹⁰ There, the report says, the battalion was delayed for several hours by 4th Armored Division traffic, but in the late afternoon it marched to Morville. That night 2nd Battalion was ordered to help 3rd Battalion, 101st Infantry, clear the Bois de la Geline the next morning. But by then the Germans had withdrawn from that woods, so the 2nd Battalion was told "to relieve the 3d Bn, 101st, in the heavily defended area south of the main road through Bois de Koecking." Did G Company not reach Vic-sur-Seille until a day after the rest of 2nd Battalion?

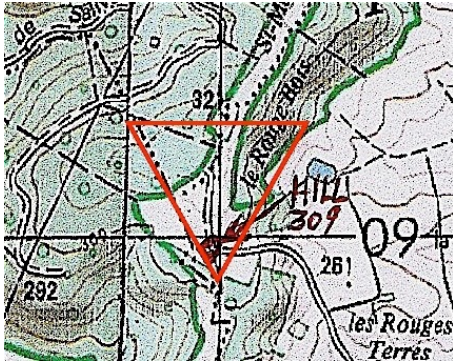
After waiting three weeks to receive some confirmation of my IDPF request, on February 26, I realized I'd somehow emailed the request to myself rather than the FOIA office (see page 48), so I sent the request again. Receiving no reply, I phoned Sue Kilianski on March 8. She'd never received my request, and said her office had been having email problems. We also discussed another "tall sergeant" possibility that Marilyn Jensen had researched through ancestry.com: 6' tall Sgt. James P. McDonnell of the 101st Infantry Regiment. I didn't know his date of death, but Sue said that was unnecessary for the IDPF request, and his IDPF would tell when he died. So, on March 8, I sent her an email asking for both Private First Class Rasmussen's and Sergeant McDonnell's IDPFs. Three days later I called her just to be sure the email got through this time. It had.

At the end of March, I again emailed Jerome Leclerc asking whether he could visit and photograph Hill 309 soon, while the trees still looked the way they would in November. He replied the next day apologizing again for the delay, explaining he was very busy developing World War II commemoration materials and that he'd recently learned his brother-in-law had a brain tumor. He again promised to visit Hill 309, but probably not until May after VE Day.

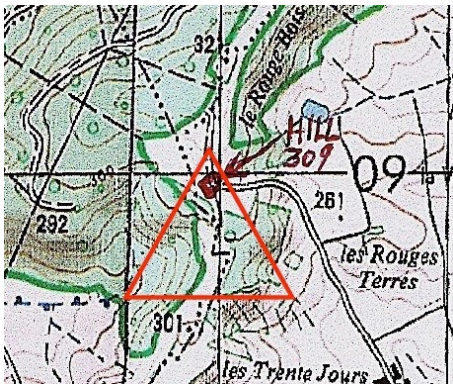
In late April, sympathetic but impatient, I finally emailed Yann Rouvrais explaining about Jerome and asking whether he could go investigate and photograph this "new" Hill 309. He replied saying he now lives in Metz but would be at his farm in Bourgalstroff for a few days the next week and could visit the hill then. I replied sending him WWII and modern maps of the region as well as Colonel Peale's and Staff Sergeant Stevens's descriptions of the battle. On May 14 Yann sent me an email with photos of Hill 309 and nearby sites, and some opinions about the battle there.



Junction north of Bois de la Geline of roads from woods and Hampont



On each map red triangle indicates view seen from Hill 309 junction in each photo



Looking north across the Hill 309 junction



Looking south across the Hill 309 junction



Cote St. Jean (Hill 310) and the ridge to its northeast, as seen from the south



Yann, seen in the photo to the left with the 26th Infantry Division memorial at the base of Hill 310, thinks it would have been impossible for Sherman tanks to have climbed to the Hill 309 junction from Cote St. Jean (Hill 310). The slope is harder from the south, and, as an infantry captain, he would never have attacked that way. People living in the area, whom Yann had asked about this, said their parents and grandparents told them the American soldiers did not attack this area from the south but came from the north.¹¹

Meanwhile, Hilda Banks and I continued to mail growing versions of this memoir back and forth to edit.

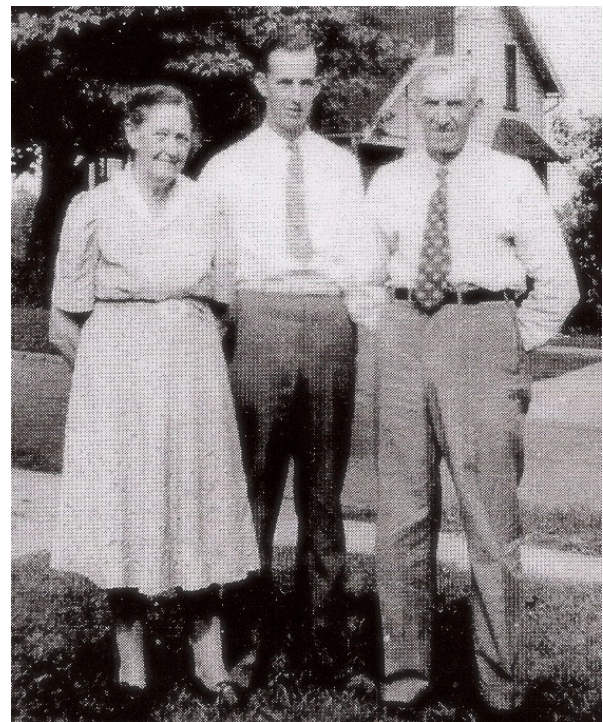
On May 23, having heard nothing more about my IDPF requests, I called Sue Kilianski again to check on their status. She was unable to find my email. She asked me to resend it and promised she'd expedite it and send me a tracking number. Three days later, having received no confirmation, I called her again. She said she'd received my email but had been too busy to reply. When, by mid-July, I had still received nothing from her office, I again tried to contact her by phone. On July 18 she finally answered. She told me she'd been away on TDY (temporary duty away from one's normal duty station). She checked, found both IDPFs had arrived at her office, and said she'd try to scan them and send me information on how to access them by the end of the week.

By August I'd still received nothing. Again I tried to contact Sue, leaving both phone and email messages. She didn't reply. In mid-August I called Human Resources Command's customer service number and explained the situation to a staff representative who finally transferred me to a FOIA-Office line. No one answered, so I left a message. Again no one replied. A week later I called HRC's customer service line. Again a person answered who couldn't find out anything and finally transferred me to the FOIA line. I left another message. Then I called back the HRC and talked to yet another of their staff—she said they have 15 people answering this line. She could do nothing more except tell me the FOIA Office was in another building at Ft. Knox—the previous individual didn't even know that—and she said that the FOIA office should reply to my message “within three business days.” They never did.

Two days later I tried Sue's phone again. This time she was there. She told me she'd been away again, but, though others worked in her office, none of them dealt with IDPFs. She'd scanned one of the IDPFs I'd requested and would do the other one soon. The next day, August 25, she sent me an email saying they were ready and another email explaining how to access them as pdf files.

Johnnie Stevens said that the “tall sergeant” was killed by machine-gun fire—“cut half in two” (see pages 3 and 19). But Private First Class Rasmussen's Report of Burial said he'd been killed by “shrapnel [in the] back.”¹² Sergeant McDonnell's Report of Burial said that he died on 19 Nov 44 due to a severe head-wound.¹³ So, neither of these soldiers was Stevens's rescuer.

Before concluding my search, in September 2016, I decided to follow a couple of trails a bit further. The previous autumn, Shirley Bogdan had sent me a copy of *Yankee Doings: Special Issue — 50th Anniversary of Lorraine Campaign*. It contains lists of soldiers killed during the Lorraine Campaign and buried in European cemeteries. Those lists include only one soldier from the 101st Infantry Regiment who'd been killed on 11 Nov 44, PFC Henry B. Wise (see page 42). I asked Marilyn Jensen to search for him on ancestry.com. She learned he was born in 1916 in Ohio, and was nicknamed “Barney.” She found a photo of him with his parents—as you can see, he's taller than his father. However, she couldn't find out anything about his height. So, on September 28, to find out how he died, I emailed Sue Kilianski a request for Wise's IDPF—as mentioned earlier, I'd now become desperate enough to check even non-sergeants.



Henry B. Wise and his parents

Meanwhile, I again attempted to contact relatives of Sgt. Herbert J. Berner (see page 31). This time I googled local newspapers in the area of his hometown, Gasport, NY. Google found a local blog and the *Lockport Union-Sun* newspaper. I sent messages to both briefly explaining my quest and saying that I was trying to contact relatives of Sergeant Berner. Neither replied, but, apparently, the newspaper printed my letter. On September 24 an email arrived from Linda McNamara, a grandniece of the sergeant. She had no information about his death but wanted to know what I knew about him. Two days later an email came from Sergeant Berner's grandnephew, Edward Berner. He had many photos of his granduncle as well as his unit insignia and one dog tag. I phoned both of them. Ed told me his grandfather, Sergeant Berner's brother, had once told Ed that the sergeant had been in a foxhole, heard a whistle, stood up to see who it was, and was fatally shot.¹⁴ Though this isn't how Johnnie Stevens describes his rescuer's death, he did stand up from a protected position to pull Stevens to safety before being shot to death. However, Ed said his grandfather was always "joking," so Ed never knew if this story was true or how his grandfather knew this. Ed emailed me several photos of Sergeant Berner in uniform. Both Ed and Linda wanted to know more about their granduncle, so I emailed each several documents from his IDPF, his company's morning report recording his death, and a map of the area. I also forwarded the photos Ed sent me to Linda.



Sgt. Herbert J. Berner

After a while, having received no response about PFC Henry Wise's IDPF from either Sue Kilianski or the FOIA Office, I tried to phone her, finally getting through on October 28. She'd never received my email requesting PFC Henry B. Wise's IDPF, so I re-sent it. She replied with two "tracking numbers," but the letter she said would explain how to use them never arrived. She didn't respond to an email; however, I finally reached her by phone 10 days later. She then sent me an email saying she hoped to receive Wise's IDPF in a couple of weeks; the letter explaining how to use the tracking numbers was attached. Two weeks later I went to the FOIA Office website to see what the status of my request was, but the website wouldn't accept these tracking numbers. On November 30, I again phoned Sue. She told me they'd been having trouble with that site. She couldn't check the status of my request because her internet connection was down and Wise's IDPF hadn't reached her office yet, but she'd contact me when it did.

Over a month passed with no further word, so on January 10, 2017, I yet again called Sue at Human Resources Command's FOIA Office. Using my request's tracking numbers, she determined that Wise's IDPF had arrived at her office a few days earlier. She told me she'd scan it and get it out to me. Two days later she emailed me directions and a password for accessing the IDPF, now a pdf file.

PFC Henry B. Wise's Report of Burial (dated 17 Nov 44) lists his cause of death as "KIA Sv Abdomen Wds" meaning "killed in action, severe abdomen wounds."¹⁵ It says he died in the 114th Evacuation Hospital in Nancy, France on 11 Nov 44. "14 Nov 44 estimated" was first typed in, but the "14" was crossed out and "11" written in (see detail of Wise's Report of Burial below).

mb

U-7-76

RESTRICTED

52625

17 Nov 44

Date

35392920

Rank

101st Inf Regt

WISE

Last Name

Henry

First

B

Initial

Unknown

Unit

114 Evac Hosp Nancy, France

Place of Death

11 Nov 44 estimated

Date of Death

0900 17 Nov 44

Time and Date of Burial

162

Grave Number

7

Row Number

U S Military Cemetery

Name of Cemetery

Lamey, France

Name or Coordinates of Location

Cross

Type of Marker

Plot Number

A Disinterment Directive (dated 15 Feb 48)—Wise's remains were apparently moved from a temporary cemetery at Limey to the permanent one at St. Avold—records the condition of his remains as, "Skeletal state complete. Fractured: Pelvis Ischium." The ischium is the bottom part of the pelvis, the hip bone. A fractured hip and severe abdominal wounds seems consistent with being machine-gunned nearly in two, as S/Sgt. Johnnie Stevens had described his rescuer (see page 3).

I wasn't able to follow up on this information immediately due to a visit by cousins Ann and Geoff Galluzzo. However, Geoff read my manuscript, offered a couple of changes, and told me how several French town names are pronounced. Ann suggested that young soldiers could have grown a few inches after their enlistments. I'd never thought of that. So, for example, Sgt. James McDonnell, who was just 19 when he joined the army in early 1943, might have grown beyond his "enlistment height" of 6 feet before he was killed (see pages 36 and 54). On the other hand, since Sgt. Anthony Stanevich was 26 when he joined the army, this wouldn't account for the difference between the height listed on his "enlistment record" and his apparent height in the photo recalled by his son (see pages 20 and 26).

Along with pursuing further details about the deaths of Sergeant Berner and Private First Class Wise, I continued to work on this memoir. In addition to writing and editing, I'd been obtaining permissions to use several photos. In particular, for six months I'd been trying to contact Allison Lockwood, author of *Touched with Fire*, to ask permission to use the photo of First Sergeant Daley that appears in her book (see page 21). She'd never answered several phone calls or a letter I'd sent her in July 2016. Finally, in late January 2017, I called the Forbes Library's reference desk to ask about her. A librarian told me Lockwood had moved. I explained why I wanted to contact her. A week later, a different librarian called me back to say the rights to the photo belonged to the family of the other soldier in the picture, but the library had a different photo of Daley that they'd give me permission to use. I thanked him, then emailed Michael Rifanburg, publisher of the *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, which had printed Lockwood's book, to ask for permission to use the photo. After waiting two weeks for a reply, I telephoned him. He apologized saying he'd thought my request had been taken care of, and promised to follow it up. Two hours later an email arrived from the newspaper's executive editor, Jeff Good, approving my request.

After my cousins left, I visited Len Kondratiuk at the Massachusetts National Guard Museum and Archives to look up Wise on the company rosters of 26th Infantry Division soldiers compiled when they landed in France.¹⁶ His name was in 2nd Battalion's Headquarters Company. So, unless he was transferred into a 3rd Battalion infantry company, he'd have had no reason to be involved in the fighting at Hill 309—of course, neither did Sergeant Berner.

To find out whether Wise had been transferred to 3rd Battalion and try to clear up the question of whether he was killed in action or died of his wounds, on January 25, I emailed Norm Richards. I asked him to search through the morning reports of Headquarters Company, 2nd Battalion, 101st Infantry Regiment, from when it arrived in France on 7 Sep 44 looking for any mention of Wise and, if he was transferred to another company, to search that company's reports until his death or wounding was mentioned. I also asked Norm to see if he could find a document giving Wise's height and to send me copies of the 14-20 Nov 44 morning reports of Companies I and L, 101st Infantry Regiment.

Two weeks later, these morning reports arrived in the mail. They show that Wise was still in the 2nd Battalion's Headquarters Company when he was wounded. He was "SWA near Nancy France lost 60 Evac Hosp as of 10 Nov/44 BC shell fragment right shoulder."¹⁷ According to Norm, this translates to mean Wise was seriously wounded near Nancy, France, and sent to the 60th Evacuation Hospital on 10 Nov 44, a battle casualty due to a shell fragment in his right shoulder. Both the hospital he was sent to and the description of his wound differ from those given in his Report of Burial. As usual, nothing is simple!

Norm also sent a copy of “Information from Hospital Admission Cards Created by the Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army,” which he found in Wise’s personnel file. This document says Wise was “[n]ot in a medical installation prior to death” and the first diagnosis of his wound was “penetrating (point of entrance only: includes incised, puncture or stab wound) with no nerve or artery involvement” in his “abdomen, generally.” The second diagnosis agrees with this except says his wound was in his “arm.”¹⁸ Not even close to simple!

Was Wise wounded in the abdomen or the shoulder? Was he killed in action on 11 Nov or severely wounded on 10 Nov? Was he sent to the 114th Evacuation Hospital or the 60th? And was he ever admitted to either? Two years earlier, Marilyn Jensen had told me about Admission & Disposition Reports that medical battalions compiled daily.¹⁹ A friend of hers, Roberta Russo, thought such reports were available from the National Archives branch in College Park, MD. On January 27, even before seeing the report from the Surgeon General, I’d emailed them a request for a copy of the 114th Evacuation Hospital’s admission records from 10 Nov through 15 Nov 44. Now I also requested the 60th Evacuation Hospital’s records for the same period. An automatic email reply said they’d respond in about 3 weeks. When no response had come after 5 weeks, I called their research office. Marie, their secretary, found the requests were listed as “overdue.” She suggested calling back in a week. Three phone calls and one phone message later, I received an email saying National Archives didn’t have such records for the 114th. A couple of days later on March 30, Eric Vanslander called from National Archives.²⁰ He was responding to my second request. He said evacuation hospital admission records weren’t permanent records. National Archives would have them only if they’d been attached to their parent unit’s records. He also told me (as had Norm) that IDPFs were being transferred from the army to National Archives, St. Louis, MO, from which they can be requested by email. He said though this facility has the same mailing address as National Personnel Records Center, it is separate.

Private First Class Wise’s Report of Burial and Disinterment Directive list his parents as living in Atwater, Ohio, about 50 miles southeast of Cleveland. None of the documents in his IDPF mention any siblings, but relatives still living in the area might have heard something about the circumstances of his death. Norm also ran across a copy of the reply to a 2005 request for Henry B. Wise’s personnel records from Randy Ellis, including his address. Presuming he was a relative of Wise, I mailed him a letter explaining my search, offering to share what information I had, and asking whether his family knew Wise’s height or just how he died. I also left him a couple of phone messages. Randy called me back a few weeks later in early March—he’d sent me an email, but I never received it. Randy is married to Henry Wise’s grandniece. Their family knew little about Wise’s army service but was interested in learning more. So, I emailed him scans of several documents, a couple of book excerpts, and a World War II topographical map of the Lorraine region.

My research finally petered out in late April 2017. I asked Norm for copies of Surgeon General reports for Sergeants Berner, Daley, and Stanevich; and of all morning reports from the 101st Field Artillery Battalion for 10 Nov 44 through 18 Nov 44—Colonel Peale wrote that a liaison team from the 101st FA was with his battalion on 11 Nov 44 (see page 42). Nothing useful came from these. Mike Samberg had told me that most original members of Company I, 101st Infantry Regiment were from Attleboro, MA (see page 39). Given the success of my letter to Sgt. Berner’s local newspaper (see page 55), I sent a similar letter to Attleboro’s the *Sun Chronicle* asking veterans who might know the identity of the “tall sergeant” or recall details of the battle on 11 Nov 44 to contact me. None did.

Chapter 11 - Conclusions

So, what did my nine-year search accomplish? Certainly, I had no more success identifying Johnnie Stevens's rescuer than Johnnie did. Yet I did find enough evidence to settle a small dispute and also "rewrite" a bit of history. Furthermore, I hope my experience will be useful to future researchers.

On November 11, 1944, the day Stevens was wounded and rescued, was his platoon working with the 101st Infantry Regiment or the 104th Infantry Regiment? In their histories of the 761st Tank Battalion, Trezzvant Anderson, Joe Wilson, Jr., Kareem Abdul-Jabbar and Anthony Walton, and Gina DiNicolo all agree that during the first few days of the Lorraine offensive, which began November 8, while the rest of the 761st's Company A was attached to the 104th, Lieutenant Barbour's and Johnnie Stevens's platoon was attached to the 101st. So does David Williams in his account of his time with the 761st and as commander of its Company A. However, in his history of the 761st, Charles Sasser says these assignments were reversed: The rest of Company A worked with the 101st while Barbour's platoon worked with the 104th. Sasser based this on notes from interviews he had in the early 2000s with members of the 761st including Johnnie Stevens.

Records from the time seem to answer this question. The 761st Tank Battalion's After-Action Report (see page 18) makes clear that on 7 November, 1944, Company A was split up as follows: While two platoons under the command of Captain Williams remained attached to the 104th Infantry Regiment, the third platoon, Lieutenant Barbour's platoon, was attached to the 101st Infantry Regiment. Over the next few days those two platoons under Williams's command supported infantry in taking Vic-sur-Seille on 8 November; helped infantry capture Chateau-Salins on 9 November; advanced with infantry through Morville, Hampont, and on to Obreck on 10 November; supported infantry through Obreck to Dedeline and Chateau-Voue on 11 November; and repulsed a counterattack at Wuisse on 12 November. No mention is made of what Barbour's platoon was doing during this time except that it "supported infantry in attack and taking of Moyenvic" on 8 November.¹

Records from the 101st Infantry Regiment also indicate that Barbour's and Stevens's platoon was working with the 101st: "War Diary Commanding Officer 101st Infantry" mentions Lieutenant Barbour's platoon in its entry for 0700 6 Nov to 0700 7 Nov 44, saying, "1st Plat Co 'A' 761st Tank Bn—Normal missions."² On 10 November at 1405 "Journal of HQ 3d Bn 101st Inf." reports, "Recon troops of tanks going forward at this time. In 1½ hours tanks will go forward (Lt Barbor [*sic*]—10 tanks) to help in any way Bn Cmdr sees fit to use them."³ Also, "Journal of C.O. 101st Infantry" says in its 1510 entry for 10 November, "Barber's [*sic*] men up with Peale and have helped him some already."⁴

Why, then, did Sasser insist that tankers from the 761st, and even Stevens himself, told him they were working with the 104th Infantry? I can only speculate that some of those tankers were members of the other tank platoons of Company A who were fighting in and near Wuisse at that time. Also, the Hill 309 near Hill 310 is only about 5 miles southwest of Wuisse, and the entire company was back together near there a few days later. Some of the enlisted men may not even have known at the time with which infantry regiment they were working. Of course, to which regiment Stevens's platoon was attached is a minor point in the history of the 761st Tank Battalion, but it is of great importance in determining where Johnnie Stevens's "Hill 309" was located and, perhaps, in identifying his rescuer.

The battle at Hill 309 described in 761st Tank Battalion histories by Joe Wilson, Jr., and Charles Sasser was said to be near Wuisse. But was it? Army 1:25,000-scale maps from 1944 show TWO Hill 309s in the region, both at road junctions, about 5 miles apart. One is a mile northeast of Wuisse. The other is along the ridge a mile northeast of Hill 310, itself about a mile northeast of Moyenvic.

A message memo from the commander of the 26th Infantry Division to the commander of the 101st Infantry Regiment that was tucked between two pages of the "Journal of C.O. 101st Infantry" refers to a "Hill 309 Q159239" (see page 33). These grid coordinates match the location of the second above-mentioned Hill 309 (see map on page 41). No companies of the 104th Infantry Regiment were operating near this hill on 11 November. According to their morning reports, the headquarters of these companies had all already moved up near Obreck or beyond, and headquarters are usually located behind the front lines. However, all the 101st's company headquarters were located on or near Hill 310. Furthermore, Johnnie Stevens remembered that there were no buildings on Hill 309 in 1944. Maps from that time show this was true of the Hill 309 near Moyenvic but not of the one near Wuisse. The modern map Jerome sent me and the photos Yann took at both hills show this was still true recently.

Further, the "Journal of HQ 3rd Bn 101st Inf" (see page 43), the "Journal of C.O. 101st Inf" (page 43), the "War Diary Commanding Officer 101st Infantry" (page 30), 3rd Battalion Commander Colonel Peale's 1994 memoir in *Yankee Doings* (page 42), and Cole's *The Lorraine Campaign* (page 29) all contain evidence to support the following conclusion: Stevens's platoon, Lieutenant Barbour's platoon, helped the 3rd Battalion, 101st Infantry, fight northward along the road through the Bois de la Geline on November 10 and then attack back down the ridge toward Hill 309 on the morning of November 11, 1944. If so, 3rd Battalion's Companies I and L with their five supporting tanks from Barbour's platoon approached the Hill 309 clearing along the road from the north. Also, Yann Rouvrais says people living in the area recall their parents and grandparents telling them that the American soldiers arrived there from the north. However, Peale did contradict some of this in an interview given in June 1945 (pages 50-51).

This clearing may also be where Sergeant Egger of G Company, 328th Infantry Regiment, saw two dead GI's beside an American tank with a hole blown in its turret (see pages 8 and 52).

If one of those five tanks aiding the attack by Companies I and L on the morning of November 11 was Johnnie Stevens's tank, then it seems likely his "tall sergeant" rescuer was a member of one of those companies. However, none of those listed as killed in action on 11 Nov 44 in either Company I or L morning reports seems to be the "tall sergeant." Of course, if Peale's 19 Jun 45 interview is more accurate than his memoir in *Yankee Doings* 25 years later, Barbour's tanks were accompanied by only a "combat patrol" of infantry, not by those two companies. Peale's memoir says that his infantry had a liaison team with them from the 101st Field Artillery Battalion and was being attached to the 328th Infantry Regiment on that day. Maybe the "tall sergeant" was a liaison from one of those units. Also, soldiers can get separated from their assigned unit during combat and end up fighting as part of a different unit until they have the chance to find their own unit again. All companies of the 101st Infantry Battalion were operating within a mile of one another from the start of the offensive. Perhaps the "tall sergeant" was from another battalion of the 101st. But none of those soldiers I've checked seems to be the "tall sergeant" either.

Or could he even have been from another regiment? According to the Company I, 104th Infantry Regiment, morning report for 13 Nov, Sgt. Herbert Berner was "seriously wounded in action 13 Nov 44 near Lidrezing France." This is two days too late, and Lidrezing is near the wrong Hill 309. But his Report of Burial says he died of severe chest wounds near Morville-les-Vic (see page 31). That description of his wounds sounds not unlike what Stevens had said about his rescuer: that machine-gun bullets had "cut him half in two" (see pages 3 and 19). Morville is near the "right" Hill 309. Berner was 5'11" tall, 3 inches taller than the average American World War II soldier. Could Sergeant Berner, like S/Sgt. Raymond Mungo, have actually been killed two days earlier than his company's morning report states? Could his Report of Death be more accurate than his company's morning report about where he died? Unlikely, but possible. And why would he have been with the wrong regiment that day?

Having read several first-hand accounts of the Battle of Gettysburg,⁵ I wasn't surprised by differing descriptions of the same incidents during the Lorraine campaign. Having also read Robert Kurson's *Shadow Divers*, the book that inspired me to begin this research in 2008, I wasn't amazed by contradictions in even "official" histories and journals. The discrepancies between Peale's 1945 interview and his 1995 memoir, however, did perplex me. Had he needed more time to discuss these events with colleagues who'd also experienced them in order to get them clear in his mind, or had his recollections become confused over the years, as can happen to even the most astute observers?

You might be wondering what happened to the 26th Infantry Division and the 761st Tank Battalion after mid-November 1944. For the next month, as part of Third Army's offensive, together both units gradually fought their way across Lorraine and Alsace Provinces toward Germany. Then, in mid-December, the Germans attacked through the Ardennes Forest of Belgium and Luxembourg—what became known as "The Battle of the Bulge." Patton sent several units north including the 26th and the 761st, no longer working together, to break the siege of Bastogne and drive the Germans back. As that operation wound down, the 26th returned to Alsace to resume the push into Germany and to the Rhine River. After helping out in Holland, so did the 761st. Once across the Rhine, both units sped across southwestern Germany, into Austria, and, in the case of the 26th, on into Czechoslovakia. During the seven months the 761st was in combat, it had been attached successively to seven different divisions.⁶

I hope this account brings some recognition to a few heroes who risked and lost their lives trying to rescue fellow GIs, sometimes those they didn't even know: T/Sgt. James R. Martin, Tom Scholler's buddy, was fatally wounded attempting to rescue a badly wounded tanker. His colleagues, PFC Harvey R. Battersby and S/Sgt. Wendell Smith were killed trying to save Martin. Dave Markoff's First Sergeant, John J. Daley, died coordinating the withdrawal of his company from a dangerously exposed position. No doubt there were many others whose heroic deaths are remembered by their colleagues, and all too many others like the unidentified "tall sergeant" whose colleagues and families never knew of their heroism.

I also hope this account will be helpful to other amateur researchers, perhaps those investigating their father's or grandfather's World War II service. For that reason, I've included contact information on the next page for those facilities that were helpful to me in my search.

If you're disappointed, as I am, that this account has no satisfying ending, perhaps you can help remedy that. If you have any information that might help identify Johnnie Stevens's rescuer, please contact me by email at linda.novak2@verizon.net or by letter at 20 Old Farm Road, Needham, MA, 02492, or continue this search yourself. Good hunting!

* * * * *

Useful Contact Information

Archival Research International / Double Delta Industries, Inc.

address: 1920 Daisy Rd., Woodbine, MD 21797-8410

email: DoubDelta@aol.com, phone: orders 1-800-499-7468, customer service 301-854-5135

Donovan Research Library

address: 7533 Holtz St., Building 70, Suite 1025, Fort Benning, GA 31905

email: usarmy.benning.mcoe.mbx.donovan-ref-desk@mail.mil, phone: 706-545-5661

Forbes Library (Northampton's public library)

address: 20 West St., Northampton, MA 01060

phone: 413-587-1011

Massachusetts National Guard Museum & Archives

address: 91 Everett St., Concord, MA 01742

email: ng.ma.maarng.mbx.museum@mail.mil, phone: 978-369-4807

National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Archives II

address: National Archives at College Park, 8601 Adelphi Rd., College Park, MD 20740-6001

phone: 301-837-2000, customer service phone: 866-272-6272

Reference Section

email: archives2reference@nara.gov, phone: 301-837-3510

Cartographic Division, Daryl Bottoms, email: daryl.bottoms@nara.gov

National Archives at St. Louis

address: 1 Archives Dr., St. Louis, MO 63138

email: stl.archives@nara.gov, phone: 314-801-0850

National Personnel Records Center (NPRC)

address: National Personnel Records Center, Military Personnel Records,

1 Archives Dr., St. Louis, MO 63138

phone: 314-801-0800

(They require all requests for documents to be in writing—won't take requests over the phone.)

Norm Richards (professional researcher near NPRC)

address: #2 River Ridge Ct., St. Charles, MO 63303-6065

email: normrichards9@gmail.com, phone: 636-244-4697

United States Army Heritage and Education Center (USAHEC)

address: 950 Soldiers Dr., Carlisle, PA 17013

phone: 717-245-3972

U.S. Army Human Resources Command

address: 1600 Spearhead Division Ave., Dept 420, Fort Knox, KY 40122-5402

phone (customer service): 1-888-276-9472

Awards and Decorations Branch, phone: 502-613-9126

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) Office, email: usarmy.knox.hrc.mbx.foia@mail.mil

Yankee Doings (26th Infantry Division veterans magazine), editor Shirley Bogdan

email: shirlpete@juno.com, phone: 781-233-1677

Epilogue

It's been four years since this book was first printed and posted online in 2017. Most of the printed copies went to people who'd helped me with my research. A few copies went to military archives and a library. When the first run of this book was printed, the type came out a bit too large so that the page numbers didn't fit on the pages. Though that was partly my fault, the printer generously reprinted the whole run for free and let me keep the defective copies. After handwriting in the page numbers, I was able to send these to many other friends. Increasing the readership has been of benefit even though some of the "useful contact information" is probably now outdated—it was changing even while I was doing my research.

After I sent George Kessel, a veteran of Company I/101st Infantry Regiment [see pages 39-41], a copy of my book in late summer 2017, he reciprocated by sending me a copy of his memoir, *Dear Folks: Excerpts from letters home of an infantryman in training and in combat March 13, 1944 to January 6, 1946*. While much of this memoir describes Kessel's social life across Europe—presumably any accounts of combat would have been censored—one event especially caught my attention:

This was the last letter I was able to write for three weeks; the reason being that the Twenty-sixth went on the Offensive on November 8.

During this period, it was discovered that our mess sergeant was active in the black market, selling some of our company's supplies and food to the French. He was immediately demoted to private and put in an infantry squad; justice was served when he was killed a few days later.¹

Was it possible that this man was the "tall sergeant"? Could he have been rushed into combat so quickly that he hadn't yet removed the sergeant stripes from his jacket?

I asked George if he could remember that sergeant's name or whether he was tall. He couldn't recall. I also asked another veteran of Company I/101st Infantry Regiment, Mike Samberg, whether he remembered this incident. He vaguely recalled hearing about it, but having joined the unit as a replacement on 13 Nov 44, he had no personal recollection of this mess sergeant.

Len Kondratiuk was scandalized by the suggestion that this soldier could still have been wearing his sergeant stripes. Len insisted that for such a crime those stripes would have been stripped off immediately. However, he did help me check all the sergeants listed on the company's roster from their landing in France against privates in that regiment who were killed in action around 11 November 1944. None matched.

Len is retiring in June 2022, but the Massachusetts National Guard Museum and Archives, which he has headed for 23 years, will remain open under a new director.

A story about my book was published in *Yankee Doings* and, thanks to librarian Genoa Stanford of Fort Benning's Donovan Library, my book became available online.² As a result, over the last few years I've heard from several guys who were researching their fathers' or other relatives' World War II service with the Yankee Division. I was able to provide them with copies of morning reports and other documents relating to their relatives' service. However, none of them had any information relating to the "tall sergeant."

Another, Tom Oliver, had a question about an event that he believed had involved Black tankers. His mother was born in Germany and lived there until 1952. She told him a story of when troops came through her town of Waldorf bei Heidelberg or, possibly, a nearby town where she had been visiting or shopping. Tom's email stated that when French Moroccan troops arrived, "All the women were hidden [from the Moroccans] but the raping started as soon as the first woman was found." When a Black American armored unit arrived, "They restored order in a short time," which shocked her "because under the Nazis they were told that these men were so inferior, but they saved a lot of women from mayhem that day."

Tom wrote, "I have been trying to find out where my mother could have been to encounter this situation. I was on-line trying to find a map of where the 761st traveled so I could identify a town with relatives or some other link. I didn't find anything but I found your article [*sic*], 'My Search for the Tall Sergeant.' Hoping there was a map in the article that I could use, I entered the article."³

Joe Wilson, Jr., was able to determine that these soldiers were not tankers from the 761st. Others suggested that they might have been from a Black artillery unit. Some self-propelled guns do look somewhat like tanks.

In 2018-2019 Hilda Banks and I again collaborated to edit the draft WWII memoir Bill Houle had written with Ray Torchen's help. Bill and Len helped in this. In 2019 Hilda and I re-edited her brother Dave Markoff's WWII memoir. Several copies of each were printed for their families and friends. Also, Genoa Stanford graciously posted these books online at the Donovan Library's website.⁴

Hall Duncan and several of the World War II veterans who helped me with my research have since passed, but a few, such as Bill Houle, still remain. No information about the identity of the "tall sergeant" has since come to my attention. But I still hope that someday this research will fall into the hands of someone who can unlock the mystery and bring this unknown hero the recognition he deserves.

* * * * *

26th Infantry Division Combat-Related Deaths of Sergeants

with dates of deaths, if known, and their sources *

HQ 26th Infantry Div

none

26th MP Platoon

3 Apr 45 - **T/4 Clyde S Quigley**
WWII Memorial website

26th Div Artillery

26 Dec 44 - **S/Sgt Julian J Howard**
ancestry.com - Application for Headstone

26th Recon Troop (Mec)

3 Jan 45 - **T/4 Milton L Carlisle**
National Archives

101st Engineer Combat Bn

25 Sep 44 - **S/Sgt John Evancheck**
National Archives

19 Nov 44 - **T/4 Fred P Leiss**
ABMC website

9 Apr 45 - **Sgt Harry M Pearce**
ancestry.com - Application for Headstone

1 Mar 45 - **S/Sgt Carlyn C Thompson**
ABMC website & National Archives

101st Field Artillery Bn

8 Nov 44 - **T/4 Albert F Buffington**
National Archives

27 Mar 45 - **T/4 Forrest E Landsman**
ABMC website

- **T/4 William G Schmid**

- **Sgt Edward R Snyder** - DOW

102nd Field Artillery Bn

13 Mar 45 - **T/4 Victor C Anderson**
National Archives, says middle initial is "G"

- **Sgt Ervin E Kietzman**

180th Field Artillery Bn

23 Mar 45 - **S/Sgt William M Odom** - DOW
ABMC website

263rd Field Artillery Bn

23 Dec 44 - **T/4 Harry B Cater, Jr**
National Archives

5 Jan 45 - **Sgt Lawrence E Chalk** - DOW
National Archives

- **1st Sgt George Maguire**

16 Nov 44 - **Sgt Israel Meyer**
ABMC website

101st Infantry Regt

21 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt George F Alexander, Jr**
ABMC website & National Archives

17 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt Frank J Alvino**
National Archives & Co I's 18 Nov 44
morning report

10 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Edsel C Anderson**
National Archives

31 Dec 44 - **Sgt Thomas D Anderson**
National Archives

23 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Ernest E Armes**
National Archives

24 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Robert A Baird** - DOW
National Archives

15 Mar 45 - **Sgt Shelby W Barriger**
ABMC website & National Archives

16 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Kenneth A Barthell**
National Archives

23 Nov 44 - **Sgt Arthur P Bechtold** - DOW
National Archives

14 Feb 45 - **Sgt Vyvion D Behrman** - DOW
National Archives

16 Nov 44 - **T/4 Leo S Benea**
National Archives

2 Jan 45 - **Sgt Elmer R Berry**
ABMC website & National Archives

28 Nov 44 - **Sgt Nicholas Bolich**
National Archives

21 Nov 44 - **Sgt Galen O Bolinger**
ABMC website & National Archives

27 Dec 44 - **Sgt Albert T Booher, Jr**
National Archives

18 Oct 44 - **Sgt Anthony J Bovino** - DOW
National Archives

26 Nov 44 - **Sgt John W Brannock**
National Archives

27 Jan 45 - **T/Sgt William F Brooks**
National Archives

14 Jan 45 - **Sgt Harold W Brown**
ABMC website & National Archives

23 Oct 44 - **Sgt John T Burns, III**
ABMC website & National Archives

29 Mar 45 - **S/Sgt William Butler**
National Archives

24 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt Joseph M Byrne**
ABMC website & National Archives

8 Oct 44 - **S/Sgt John P Carey**
ABMC website & National Archives

2 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Thomas J Carroll**
National Archives

21 Nov 44 - **Sgt Albert J Carter**
National Archives

24 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Leonard G Carter** - DOW
ABMC website & National Archives

19 Nov 44 - **Sgt Francis G Casey**
ABMC website & National Archives

21 Nov 44 - **Sgt Francis A Cassidy**
National Archives

18 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt Edwin F Cheleck**
National Archives

28 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Earl R Christenson**
ABMC website & National Archives

30 Dec 44 - **Sgt Donald C Cole**
ABMC website & National Archives

24 Dec 44 - **Sgt Eligardo Collaso**
National Archives

16 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Richard G Collins** - DOW
ABMC website & National Archives

5 Jan 45 - **Sgt Anthony Corsetti** - DOW
National Archives

28 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt James F Cozby**
ABMC website & National Archives

12 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt James R Cumming**
National Archives

16 Mar 45 - **Sgt Douglas R Darling**
National Archives

19 Nov 44 - **Sgt Edmund F De Stefano**
ABMC website & National Archives

12 Jan 45 - **Sgt Anton J Dick**
National Archives

18 Mar 45 - **Sgt Francis J Dietz**
ABMC website & National Archives

3 Jan 45 - **Sgt Michael J Di Geronimo** - DOW
National Archives

4 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Alfred D Di Nardo**
ABMC website & National Archives

21 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt Augustine A Di Pietro**
ABMC website & National Archives

16 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Owen A Duffy**
National Archives

10 Jan 45 - **Sgt George Durgin**
ABMC website & National Archives

31 Dec 44 - **Sgt Lawrence W Eaton**
National Archives

10 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Frank J Ellman**
National Archives

18 Mar 45 - **S/Sgt Lawrence Flinn**
ABMC website & National Archives

15 Mar 45 - **S/Sgt George H Fortune**
ABMC website & National Archives

24 Jan 45 - **Sgt John A French**
National Archives

2 Dec 44 - **Sgt Carl G Fulford**
ABMC website & National Archives

23 Oct 44 - **Sgt Carl Gagliardi**
National Archives

9 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt William J A Geary**
ABMC website & National Archives

15 Mar 45 - **S/Sgt Julius F Gentz**
National Archives

13 Feb 45 - **Sgt Roland J Giroux**
ABMC website & National Archives

19 Nov 44 - **Sgt Carroll E Goehringer**
National Archives

18 Mar 45 - **Sgt Dominic N Grimaldi**
National Archives

7 Dec 44 - **Sgt Henry W Gryncel**
National Archives

9 May 45 - **Sgt George W Guise**
National Archives

9 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Albert L Ham**
ABMC website & Co G's 12 Nov 44 morning rpt

16 Mar 45 - **T/Sgt George T Handford**
ABMC website

21 Nov 44 - **Sgt Billy L Heck**
ancestry.com - Application for Headstone

8 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Milton Helfand**
MA National Guard Museum

14 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Parker J Henley**
ABMC website

3 Jan 45 - **T/5 Joseph Hohol**
ABMC website ("Hol" in National Archives list)

22 Nov 44 - **Sgt William W Hopkins**
ABMC website

20 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt John M Houston**
ABMC website

- **Sgt Joseph S Hrusecky** - DOW

- **S/Sgt Stephen Hrymalak**

22 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt Kenneth L Hurtle** - DOW
ABMC website ("Hurtte" in Nat'l Archives list)

29 Dec 44 - **S/Sgt Robert Irwin**
ABMC website

23 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt Roland W James**
ABMC website

- **S/Sgt Howard J Jefferies** - DOW

- **S/Sgt Charles M Jenkins**

4 Jan 45 - **Sgt Robert E Jones**
ABMC website

31 Dec 44 - **Sgt William F Kadlec**
ABMC website

8 Nov 44 - **1st Sgt James A Keating**
MA Nat'l Gd Museum & Co G's 10 Nov 44 morning report

- **Sgt William Kielbasa**

8 Nov 44 - **Sgt Andrew N Klaric**
ABMC website

2 Jan 45 - **Sgt Michael S Kratzer**
ancestry.com - Application for Headstone

23 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt George T Kristnofe**
ABMC website

23 Nov 44 - **Sgt Clarence C Larson**
ABMC website

24 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt William A Leach**
ABMC website

9 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Ernest LeBlanc** - DOW
MA National Guard Museum

13 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Joseph F Lennon**
ABMC website & Co I's 15 Nov 44 morning report

16 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Pompeii J Leone**
MA National Guard Museum

2 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Sidney J Levine**
ABMC website

13 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Edward R Liberty**
MA Nat'l Gd Museum & Co I's 13 Nov 44 morning report

28 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt John H Lind**
MA National Guard Museum

- **S/Sgt John E Louden**

- **Sgt George Malizia, Jr**

22 Oct 44 - **S/Sgt Elmer F Mareschal**
ABMC website

9 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt James R Martin** - DOW
Tom Scholler

8 Nov 44 - **Sgt Marion J Martynowski** - DOW
MA National Guard Museum

1 April 45 - **S/Sgt Robert L Mason**
ABMC website

26 Nov 44 - **Sgt John D P McChesney**
ABMC website (National Archives says "PFC")

- **Sgt John W McClurg** -DOW

19 Nov 44 - **Sgt James P McDonnell**
Report of Burial in his IDPF

22 Nov 44 - **1st Sgt Peter J McErlane**
MA National Guard Museum

- **S/Sgt John McKillop**

16 Nov 44 - **Sgt John W McKinley**
ABMC website

23 Jan 45 - **Sgt Earl D McLamb**
ancestry.com - Application for Headstone

28 Oct 44 - **Sgt Patrick McLaughlin**
ABMC website

30 Dec 44 - **T/Sgt Vincent R McLean**
ABMC website

25 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Vincent J McMahon** - DOW
ABMC website

27 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Frank J McManus**
ABMC website

- **S/Sgt Fred A Miller**

3 Jan 45 - **Sgt Edmund Mills, Jr**
ancestry.com - Application for Headstone

- **S/Sgt Troy L Moore**

26 Dec 44 - **Sgt Arthur A Morin**
ABMC website

9 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Raymond A Mungo**
Company I colleagues--in battle for Salival
(Co I's 13 Nov morning report says "11 Nov")

8 Oct 44 - **T/Sgt John Nazaretian** - DOW
MA National Guard Museum

30 Dec 44 - **Sgt David O Neavitt**
ancestry.com - Application for Headstone

27 Dec 44 - **Sgt Henning C Neidig**
ancestry.com - Application for Headstone

26 Nov 44 - **Sgt John J O'Boyle, Jr**
ABMC website

16 Mar 45 - **S/Sgt Frank R Oliver, Jr**
ABMC website

28 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Daniel A O'Neil**
ABMC website

9 Nov 44 - **Sgt Michael J O'Shaughnessy**
MA Nat'l Gd Museum & Co E's 10 Nov 44 morning report

- **S/Sgt Robert Owens**

- **S/Sgt Paul B Patton**

21 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Roy J Peacock**
ABMC website

9 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Conley C Pennington** - DOW
ABMC website

12 Jan 45 - **T/3 Anthony C Peters** - DOW
ABMC website

22 Oct 44 - **T/4 Guido Petrilli**
ABMC website

2 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Stephen J Petrosky**
ABMC website

1 Apr 45 - **Sgt William S Petrycki**
ABMC website

27 Dec 44 - **Sgt William D Rappleye**
ancestry.com - Application for Headstone

31 Dec 44 - **T/4 William W Reedy**
ABMC website

21 Nov 44 - **Sgt Clayton C Reeves**
ancestry.com - Application for Headstone

- **S/Sgt John Remo**
promoted to sergeant 16 Nov 44 according to
Co L's 17 Nov 44 morning report

10 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Stephen Rizzotti, Jr** - DOW
MA National Guard Museum

13 Nov 44 - **Sgt Theodore H Robinson**
Co F's 13 Nov 44 morning rpt & ancestry.com -
Appl for Headstone

29 Jan 45 - **Sgt Leonard J Roguski** - DOW
ABMC website

23 Nov 44 - **Sgt Daniel E Rogusz**
ancestry.com - data sheet

1 Apr 45 - **S/Sgt Howell R Rollins**
ABMC website

23 Nov 44 - **Sgt David H Romig**
ABMC website

- **S/Sgt Jack Rosen**
(promoted to S/Sgt 22 Nov 44)
MA Nat'l Gd Museum says died during
Battle of the Bulge

3 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Freeman Sam**
ABMC website

9 Jan 45 - **Sgt John E Santos**
ABMC website

- **S/Sgt Irvin S Schaeffer**

27 Nov 44 - **Sgt Bernard F Schell**
ancestry.com - Application for Headstone

21 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt Nicholas J Sciarappa**
MA National Guard Museum

24 Dec 44 - **T/4 Sidney V Self**
ABMC website

8 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt Vincent A Sernocky**
Co G's 10 Nov 44 morning report

8 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Kenneth G Shaffer**
ABMC website & Co G's 12 Nov 44 morning rpt

30 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt John F Shanley, Jr**
ABMC website

- **S/Sgt George K Shuttle**

15 Mar 45 - **T/Sgt Sidney H Simmons**
MA National Guard Museum

19 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt John A Simons**
MA National Guard Museum

- **Sgt Russell L Smith**

9 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Wendell Smith**
Co K's 11 Nov 44 morning report

17 Nov 44 - **Sgt Lee R Snyder**
ABMC website

- **T/Sgt Adam M Sokol**

14 Jan 45 - **Sgt John M Starr, Jr**
ABMC website

- **Sgt Delbert Strode** - DOW

28 Nov 44 - **Sgt Everett F Studley**
MA National Guard Museum

31 Dec 44 - **Sgt Andy A Sturgill**
ancestry.com - Application for Headstone

8 Nov 44 - **Sgt John Super**
ABMC website

23 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt James A Talbot**
National Archives

19 Nov 44 - **Sgt Marshall L Taylor**
National Archives

14 Jan 45 - **T/3 Wilbur F Tude**
National Archives

16 Mar 45 - **S/Sgt James A Van Hooser** - DOW
National Archives

19 Nov 44 - **Sgt Francis W Walsh**
MA National Guard Museum

23 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt John E Welsh**
National Archives

21 Mar 45 - **T/Sgt Felix J Wencis** - DOW
ABMC website & National Archives

1 May 45 - **Sgt Donald L Williams**
National Archives

6 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Chester Wojciechowski** - DOW
National Archives

23 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Tracy F Woodman, II**
ABMC website & National Archives

19 Nov 44 - **T/4 Lawrence P Young**
National Archives

19 Mar 45 - **Sgt Robert V Young**
ABMC website & National Archives

27 Mar 45 - **T/Sgt Wallace Zimka**
ABMC website & National Archives

14 Mar 45 - **S/Sgt Joseph R Zurenda**
ABMC website & National Archives

104th Infantry Regt

12 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Pasquale Addonizio** - DOW
National Archives

19 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt Walter J Aldrich**
ABMC website & National Archives

3 Jan 45 - **Sgt Paul A Anctil** - DOW
ABMC website & National Archives

21 Nov 44 - **Sgt Daniel R Ayers**
National Archives

(24 Oct 44 - **PFC Daniel R Ayers**
ABMC website)

17 Nov 44 - **Sgt Howard M Baker, Jr**
National Archives

20 Nov 44 - **Sgt Robert S Barnett** - DOI
ABMC website & National Archives

17 Oct 44 - **Sgt Charles F Barry**
National Archives

23 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Woodrow J Beasley**
National Archives

13 Nov 44 - **Sgt Herbert J Berner** - DOW
Nat'l Archives & Report of Burial in his IDPF

4 Nov 44 - **T/3 Stanley H Berry** - DOW
National Archives

31 Dec 44 - **T/4 Cornelius Bink**
National Archives

12 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt Alvin A Blackmon**
Nat'l Archives & Co A's 13 Nov 44 morning rpt

22 Nov 44 - **Sgt Raymond L Blanchard**
ABMC website & Co M's 27 Nov 44 morning rpt

6 Jan 45 - **Sgt Charles E Bradley**
National Archives

30 Nov 44 - **Sgt Roy E Buchanan**
ABMC website & National Archives

22 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Gene E Buffington**
ABMC website & National Archives

30 Dec 44 - **T/4 Robert G Burger**
National Archives

6 Jan 45 - **Sgt Harold E Carmon**
National Archives

6 Dec 44 - **S/Sgt Joseph D Catlin**
National Archives

13 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Edward V Caulfield**
ABMC website & Nat'l Archives says "12 Jan"

13 Mar 45 - **Sgt Edward J Chmura** - DOW
National Archives

20 Nov 44 - **Sgt Charles S Chovanec**
ABMC website & National Archives

28 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Samuel D Claypool**
Nat'l Archives & Co A's 28 Nov 44 morning rpt

11 Oct 44 - **Sgt Robert P Colliver**
Nat'l Archives & Co C's 17 Nov 44 morning rpt

14 Mar 45 - **S/Sgt James H Conrad**
National Archives

20 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Harry J Coppler**
Nat'l Archives & Co E's 21 Nov 44 morning rpt

8 Jan 45 - **Sgt Jack E Corbin** - DOW
National Archives

21 Jan 45 - **T/4 Robert F Couch**
National Archives

1 Apr 45 - **Sgt Donald F Cross**
National Archives

26 Oct 44 - **S/Sgt Michael Cymbala**
National Archives

11 Nov 44 - **1st Sgt John J Daley**
Nat'l Archives & Co G's 12 Nov 44 morning report

15 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Russell H Danielson**
ABMC website & National Archives

22 Oct 44 - **Sgt Donald R Davey**
ABMC website & National Archives

14 Mar 45 - **Sgt C C Digrugillers**
ABMC website ("Clement C") & Nat'l Archives

10 Feb 45 - **S/Sgt John F Dodds**
National Archives

3 Apr 45 - **S/Sgt Harold D Douglas**
National Archives

14 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Ralph E Eaton**
National Archives

4 Jan 45 - **Sgt Stanley C Fishman**
National Archives

19 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Edmund G Fitzgerald**
Nat'l Archives & Co G's 19 Nov 44 morning report

10 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Francis G Foody** - DOW
ABMC website, Nat'l Arch, Co K's 10 Nov 44 morning report

13 Mar 45 - **Sgt Walter F Gancarz**
National Archives

19 Nov 44 - **T/4 Alden R Gangloff**
National Archives

28 Nov 44 - **Sgt Mark H Griffith, Jr**
National Archives & Co I's 28 Nov 44 morning rpt

10 Nov 44 - **Sgt Joseph C Hajec**
ABMC website & Co D's 10 Nov 44 morning report

13 Jan 45 - **Sgt Donald E Hand**
ABMC website

8 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Stanley R Hawkins**
ABMC website

22 Nov 44 - **Sgt Arthur L Havens** - DOW
Co F morning report 27 Nov 44
(ABMC website & National Archives say "PFC")

- **S/Sgt Robert W Haynes**

- **Sgt Earlie F Henry**

9 Dec 44 - **T/Sgt Frank C Hill**
ABMC website

2 Jan 45 - **Sgt James C Hill**
ABMC website

- **S/Sgt George S Hillenbrand**
(joined Co E as replacement 21 Nov says morn rpt)

- **Sgt Herbert J Hunkele**
(MIA 9 Nov says Co F's 14 Nov 44 morning rpt)

10 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt Peter S Jozefczyk** - DOW
MA National Guard Museum

- **Sgt Stanley P Jurek** - DOI
(MIA 13 Nov says Co L's 21 Nov 44 morning rpt)

27 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Walter P Kachinsky**
MA National Guard Museum

- **S/Sgt Donald T Kanouse**

- Sgt Robert G Kellar

- T/3 Donald J Killeen

8 Oct 44 - **S/Sgt Joseph P Kominski**
MA National Guard Museum

12 Nov 44 - **Sgt John J Konopka**
ABMC website & Co I 12 Nov report

24 Nov 44 - **T/4 Louis R Labelle**
ABMC website & Co F morning rpt 24 Nov 44

10 Apr 45 - **Sgt Leo O Larrivee** - DOW
MA National Guard Museum

- T/Sgt John F Lee

19 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Edward Lesniak**
ABMC website & Co F morning rpt 19 Nov 44

- Sgt Claude D Lucas

15 Nov 44 - **Sgt Walter C Lundstrom**
ABMC website & Co A morning rpt 15 Nov 44

- Sgt Melvin B Lutz

12 Nov 44 - **Sgt John S McCollum**
Co E morning rpt 12 Nov 44 & ancestry.com -
photo of marker

26 Nov 44 - **Sgt Norman Miller**
ABMC website

1 Apr 45 - **Sgt Edward A Montanari** - DOW
MA National Guard Museum

19 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Howard E Morris**
Co E morning report 19 Nov 44

18 Nov 44 - **Sgt John J Mullen**

17 Nov 44 - **Sgt Jose D Neves**
ABMC website & Co C morning rpt 17 Nov 44

15 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Joseph J Nolting**
Co I morning report 15 & 19 Nov 44

22 Oct 44 - **S/Sgt John F Nutting**
ABMC website

8 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt Daniel F O'Connell**
ABMC website

15 Nov 44 - **Sgt John J O'Toole, Sr**
Co G morning report 15 Nov 44

- T/4 Edward W Pasek

3 Dec 44 - **Sgt Edward S Pash**
ABMC website

- Sgt Luther Pennington

- **T/4 Leeadoh R Phillips** - DOW
WWII Memorial website says he fought in
Battle of the Bulge

1945? - **Sgt Albert Polchlopek**
MA National Guard Museum

- **S/Sgt William P Prosser**
(promoted to S/Sgt 17 Nov 44)

21 Sep 44 - **T/4 Keith R Railsback**
ancestry.com - obituary

- Sgt Ernest L Remick, Jr

23 Oct 44 - **Sgt Walker D Roberts**
ABMC website

- S/Sgt George G Ryan

1 Apr 45 - **S/Sgt George F Sampsel**
ABMC website

20 Nov 44 - **Sgt Joseph Schaefer**
ABMC website

8 Jan 45 - **T/4 Joseph J Scheeler, Jr**
ABMC website

23 Oct 44 - **S/Sgt Karl E Schuhle**
MA National Guard Museum

- Sgt Joseph L Scocozza

13 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt Wasyl W Shaban**
ABMC website

- Sgt Kenneth N Shellum

22 Oct 44 - **S/Sgt Louis M Skaza**
MA National Guard Museum

22 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Donald C Smith**
Co L's 24 Nov 44 morning report

24 Nov 44 - **T/4 Joseph F Smith**
Co I's 24 Nov 44 morning report

24 Nov 44 - **T/4 Robert F Smithey**
ABMC website

8 Nov 44 - **Sgt John M Somers**
Co G's 9 Nov 44 morning report

19 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Frank D Soucy**
ABMC website & Co C's 19 Nov 44 morning rpt

11 Nov 44 - **Sgt Anthony J Stanevich**
ABMC website & Co L's 28 Nov 44 morning rpt

27 Mar 45 - **Sgt Kenneth L Stevens**
ABMC website

22 Nov 44 - **Sgt Frank E Stewart**
ABMC website & Co F's 23 Nov 44 morning rpt

16 Nov 44 - **Sgt Walter A Swol**
MA National Guard Museum

22 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt William Szeszowicki**
MA National Guard Museum

11 Jan 45 - **T/Sgt John A Talarico** - DOW
ABMC website; Nat'l Archives says 10 Jan 45

8 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Finey E Towery, Jr** - DOW
National Archives

22 Oct 44 - **S/Sgt John Valliant**
MA National Archives

19 Dec 44 - **S/Sgt Edward D Wallace**
ABMC website

7 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt John M Weaver**
Co C 9 Nov 44 morning report

10 Mar 45 - **S/Sgt Jack J Williams**
National Archives

22 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Joseph J Wlotkowski**
MA National Guard Museum

24 Dec 44 - **S/Sgt Mitchell J Wozniak**
National Archives

8 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Charles J Yestramski**
ABMC website & National Archives

22 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt Maurice E Young**
ABMC website, Nat'l Archives & Co M's
27 Nov 44 morning report

328th Infantry Regt

28 Nov 44 - **Sgt Robert D Ainsley**
National Archives

24 Dec 44 - **Sgt Alexander Akers**
National Archives

18 Feb 45 - **1st Sgt Joseph P Armstrong**
National Archives

26 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Joseph Arroyo**
National Archives

26 Nov 44 - **Sgt Lee Baker**
ABMC website & National Archives

26 Dec 44 - **S/Sgt William P Bereza** - DOW
National Archives

11 Jan 45 - **T/Sgt Marino D Bifolchini**
ABMC website & National Archives

10 Dec 44 - **Sgt Henry D Bilendy**
ABMC website & National Archives

18 Feb 45 - **Sgt Henry Blyskal**
National Archives

10 Dec 44 - **S/Sgt John F Bradeen** - DOW
ABMC website & National Archives

30 Oct 44 - **Sgt Walter D Bridger**
ABMC website & National Archives

10 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Wallis M Brinley**
ABMC website & National Archives

29 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Joseph G Briscejn, Jr**
National Archives

11 Jan 45 - **Sgt Steve D Brucker** - DOW
National Archives

28 Mar 45 - **S/Sgt Edward J Brunner**
National Archives

7 Jan 45 - **Sgt George F Bruno**
ABMC website & National Archives

2 Nov 44 - **T/4 Joseph D Cabral, Jr**
National Archives

19 Feb 45 - **Sgt Paul W Campbell**
National Archives

26 Dec 44 - **Sgt Donald S Candlyn**
National Archives

19 Feb 45 - **S/Sgt Eugene R Checchi**
National Archives

12 Dec 44 - **S/Sgt David J Collum**
ABMC website & National Archives

18 Feb 45 - **Sgt Ray Combs**
ABMC website & National Archives

30 Apr 45 - **S/Sgt William W Connell**
ABMC website & National Archives

29 Mar 45 - **S/Sgt Robert E Connolly**
National Archives

29 Jan 45 - **Sgt Henry F Czech** - DOW
ABMC website & National Archives

11 Mar 45 - **S/Sgt William L Dallas** - DOW
National Archives

29 Nov 44 - **Sgt Stanley A Davis**
National Archives

26 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt Ollen E Delaney**
ABMC website & National Archives

14 Mar 45 - **S/Sgt Anton Dettling**
National Archives

4 Jan 45 - **Sgt Benjamin C Dheron**
National Archives

8 Dec 44 - **Sgt Roy E Dodson** - DOW
National Archives

25 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Andrew Dorwart**
ABMC website & National Archives

26 Dec 44 - **Sgt Robert M Evans**
ABMC website & National Archives

19 Feb 45 - **S/Sgt Joseph G Feiley**
ABMC website & National Archives

7 Dec 44 - **S/Sgt Alvin S Fischvogt**
National Archives

15 Mar 45 - **T/Sgt William E Flavell**
ABMC website & National Archives

9 Nov 44 - **Sgt James L Followell**
National Archives

11 Dec 44 - **Sgt Wilbur H Forbes**
National Archives

25 Dec 44 - **Sgt Ralph A Gage**
ABMC website & National Archives

17 Feb 45 - **T/Sgt John P Gannon**
ABMC website & National Archives

16 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Anthony L Gansis**
National Archives

11 Apr 45 - **Sgt Leon C Gold**
ABMC website & National Archives

14 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Stanley J Gorczyca**
ABMC website & National Archives

20 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Mitchell R Gottman**
National Archives

13 Mar 45 - **Sgt Richard B Green** - DOW
National Archives

13 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt Norman E Grondin**
National Archives

12 Dec 44 - **S/Sgt Ralph R Hall**
ABMC website

- **S/Sgt Robert C Hansen**

13 Feb 45 - **T/4 Walter D Hansen**
WWII Memorial website (& listed in Nat'l Archives)

12 Dec 44 - **Sgt Harry D Hedges**
ABMC website

- **S/Sgt Birch C Hinckley**

- **Sgt Chester T Hoskinson**

25 Dec 44 - **S/Sgt Kenneth V Hotaling**
ABMC website

25 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Wallace G Houck** - DOW
ABMC website

- **S/Sgt Franklin M Humphrey**

11 Nov 44 - **Sgt Francis J Hyde**
ABMC website

- **S/Sgt Gaetano A Iovanni**

- **Sgt Cal T Johnson**

14 Mar 45 - **Sgt Chester Kappedal**
ABMC website

- **S/Sgt Alfred Kelly**

25 Dec 44 - **T/Sgt John W Kern**
ABMC website

16 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt James N Kerr**
ABMC website

1 Nov 44 - **Sgt William J Kiernan**
ABMC website

27 Dec 44 - **Sgt Charles W King**
ABMC website

29 Nov 44 - **Sgt Harvey A Koolpe** - DOW
ABMC website

7 Mar 45 - **S/Sgt Alexander Krzeminski** - DOW
nephew T Wolinski in *Yankee Doings* March 2015

13 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Leon Layzon**
ABMC website

- **Sgt Porter E Leavitt**

22 Mar 45 - **Sgt Leo P LeDuke**
ABMC website

- **T/Sgt Manuel C Lema**

- **S/Sgt Albert L Letourneau**

25 Jan 45 - **Sgt Lawrence E Lind**
ABMC website

30 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Sisto R Lombardi** - DOW
ABMC website

- **Sgt Allen E Long**

27 Dec 44 - **S/Sgt Joseph F Mackin**
ABMC website

- **S/Sgt Theodore W Madding**

4 Jan 45 - **T/4 William F Malone**
ancestry.com - Application for Headstone

- **Sgt Honus F Mansfield**

- **S/Sgt John B Martello**

- **Sgt Merlin M Martin**

24 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Walter A Marx**
ABMC website

- **Sgt Perry E Mautz**

10 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Michael J May**
ABMC website

- **S/Sgt Carl E Miller**

- **Sgt James R Moreland**

17 Feb 45 - **S/Sgt Wayne E Morris**
ABMC website

26 Dec 44 - **S/Sgt Thomas J Neary, Jr**
ABMC website

- **Sgt Henry B Nelson**

- **T/Sgt Martin J Novinski**

25 Apr 45 - **S/Sgt Leonard F Olson** - DOW
ABMC website

27 Dec 44 - **T/Sgt Stanford C Parisian**
ABMC website

- **Sgt Joseph V Pavliak** - DOW

- **Sgt Paul W Phillips**

- **S/Sgt Walter J Piechal**

- **Sgt Perry W Piper**

- **T/Sgt Anthony F Pisano**

26 Feb 45 - **Sgt William F Potts** - DOW
ABMC website

12 Dec 44 - **Sgt Cosimo A Quaglia**
ABMC website

14 Mar 45 - **S/Sgt Kenneth N Quick**
ABMC website

- **Sgt Robert J Raftery**

- **Sgt John E Rames**

9 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Taori G Raupe** - DOW
ABMC website

- **S/Sgt Walter C Reedy**

9 Nov 44 - **Sgt Donald Reichenbaugh**
ABMC website

22 Feb 45 - **S/Sgt Allan R Robertson** - DOW
ABMC website

- **Sgt Norman A Robertson**

20 Feb 45 - **Sgt Harry C Roebuck**
ABMC website

19 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt John M Saulenas**
ABMC website

18 Feb 45 - **S/Sgt Howard B Sharp**
ABMC website

- **S/Sgt Howard A Shoop**

- **Sgt Donald B Slenker** - DOW

- **S/Sgt George F Smith, Jr**

22 Dec 44 - **S/Sgt Paul H Soroka**
ABMC website

- **Sgt William R Souza**

20 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Walter H St Amand**
ABMC website

26 Dec 44 - **Sgt Calvin C Staples**
ABMC website

16 Nov 44 - **T/Sgt Willard S Straw**
ABMC website

26 Dec 44 - **Sgt Paul A Sturgis**
ABMC website

25 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Alfredo A Subia**
ABMC website

- **T/Sgt Joseph M Sztorc**

16 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Douglas S Taisey**
National Archives

14 Jan 45 - **Sgt Otto E Teel**
National Archives

11 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt William E Touchstone** - DOW
National Archives

28 Mar 45 - **Sgt Thomas L Traylor**
National Archives

16 Nov 44 - **T/4 Joseph A Tropea**
National Archives

11 Dec 44 - **T/Sgt Herbert W Uecker**
ABMC website & National Archives

19 Feb 45 - **Sgt George T Verespy**
National Archives

26 Dec 44 - **S/Sgt Albert W Vertner**
ABMC website & National Archives

9 Nov 44 - **S/Sgt Julien E Violon**
National Archives

12 Oct 44 - **Sgt James A Watson**
ABMC website & National Archives

7 Jan 45 - **Sgt Aaron Weiner**
ABMC website & National Archives

12 Jan 45 - **S/Sgt Howard W Wicks**
National Archives

16 Nov 44 - **Sgt George H Wilding, II**
ABMC website & National Archives

11 Apr 45 - **S/Sgt Bernard Willems**
ABMC website & National Archives

18 Jan 45 - **Sgt W W Wolfenbarger**
ABMC website ("Wendell") & National Archives

12 Jan 45 - **Sgt La Verne Wood**
National Archives

27 Mar 45 - **T/Sgt Clovis H Workman**
National Archives

14 Feb 45 - **Sgt Clifford I Yohe**
ABMC website & National Archives

9 Dec 44 - **Sgt William C Young**
ABMC website & National Archives

114th Medical Bn

22 Mar 45 - **T/4 Robert O Bowie**
National Archives

22 Mar 45 - **T/4 Anson J Hudson**
MA National Guard Museum

DOW = died of wounds
DOI = died of injuries
(Those not otherwise noted
were killed in action.)

* Sources for information in this table:

"Alphabetical Listing, Battle Deaths of the 26th Infantry Division by Organization," CFN-161, released 2 Jul 47. Copy from National Archives, College Park, MD

American Battle Monuments Commission website, www.abmc.gov/search, first accessed September 2008. ABMC's website has been revised since I used it in 2008. It used to be possible to request a list of the dead from a particular regiment in WWII that showed each soldier's date of death. The new version of the website doesn't seem to have this ability.

ancestry.com

The History of the 26th Yankee Division: 1917-1919, 1941-1945 (Boston, MA: Yankee Division Veterans Association, 1955), 249-260

Massachusetts National Guard Museum & Archives, Concord, MA

Morning reports of Headquarters Companies and Companies A through M of the 101st and 104th Infantry Regiments / 26th Infantry Division for various dates in November 1944. Copies from the National Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, MO

Jack Downes, squad-mate of S/Sgt Raymond A. Mungo

Tom Scholler, platoon-mate of T/Sgt James R. Martin

Yankee Doings, March 2015

The sources of those whose names are the only information given here are the list of 26th Division battle deaths from the National Archives and *The History of the 26th Yankee Division* casualty list. A very few appear in only one of these lists.

Image Credits

Front Cover - 761st Tank Battalion Patch, from cover of Anderson's *Come Out Fighting*.

- 26th Infantry Division Patch, from The Institute of Heraldry website, <https://www.tioh.hqda.pentagon.mil/Catalog/ViewImage.aspx?id=3980> .

Page 3 - Photo of Johnnie Stevens in 1944, from Wilson's *The 761st "Black Panther" Tank Battalion in World War II*, 77, used with permission.

Page 7 - Photos of Dave Markoff in 1945 and 2003, used with permission.

- Photos of Tom Scholler in 1944 and 2008, used with permission.

Page 9 - Various maps of the Lorraine Campaign, from Cole's *The Lorraine Campaign; The History of the 26th Yankee Division*; Palladino's *History of a Combat Regiment 1639 to 1945*; Anderson's *Come Out Fighting*; and Williams's *Hit Hard*.

Page 11 - Detail from Institut Geographique National's map 3514, Carte Topographique Serie Orange "Chateau-Salins," 1:50,000-scale, 2007 edition.

- Photos of Wuisse and Hill 309 region taken by Yannick Rouvrais, used with permission.

Page 13 - Photo of Joe Wilson, Jr., and Bruce Novak, taken by Linda Novak.

Page 21 - Photo of 1st Sgt. John J. Daley and colleague, from Lockwood's *Touched with Fire*, 112, used with permission from the *Daily Hampshire Gazette*.

Page 23 - Clippings from the *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, November 28, 1944, and January 5, 1945, from World War II clipping scrapbooks stored in Forbes Library, Northampton, MA. The photo in Daley's obituary was very poor. But the photo from which it apparently came is stored in a folder for Daley at the Coolidge Local History Room of the Forbes Library. I've reproduced the newspaper photo with a computer-enhanced detail from that photo.

Page 25 - Copy of 1st Sgt. John J. Daley's Silver Star citation, from the Awards and Decorations Branch of U.S. Army Human Resources Command, Ft. Knox, KY.

- Photo of Len Kondratiuk, Hall Duncan, Bruce Novak, and Peter Bogdan, taken by Keith Vezeau.

Page 28 - Chart of U.S. Army enlisted rank insignia from 1942-1948, from wikipedia site: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Army_enlisted_rank_insignia_of_World_War_II .

Page 33 - Message memo, 9 Nov 44 from "CG 26th Inf Div" to "CO 101 Inf," copy from National Archives, College Park, MD.

Page 34 - Detail from 1:50,000-scale World War II army topographical map: RG 77: AMS M761, sheet XXXV-14 (1944) "Chateau-Salins," copy from National Archives Cartographic Section, College Park, MD.

- Detail from 1:25,000-scale army topographical map: AMS M864, sheet XXXV-14 5 & 6 (1953) "Chateau-Salins 5 & 6," copy from National Archives Cartographic Section, College Park, MD.

Page 35 - Detail from 1:25,000-scale World War II army topographical map: RG 77: AMS M864, sheets XXXV-14-5&6 (1938) "Chateau-Salins Nos. 5-6," copy from National Archives Cartographic Section, College Park, MD. At the top of this map is printed, "Note: Emergency reproduction from French 1:20,000 map."

Page 38 - Detail from map on Morville-les-Vic's Facebook site.

Page 41 - Photo of George Kessel in 1945, used with permission.

- Detail from 1:50,000-scale World War II army topographical map: RG 77: AMS M761, sheet XXXV-14 (1944) "Chateau-Salins," copy from National Archives Cartographic Section, College Park, MD.

- Page 44 - Photo of M4 Sherman tank, from U.S. Army Ordnance Museum website, accessed March 26, 2016:
<http://www.williammaloney.com/aviation/AberdeenUSArmyOrdnanceMuseum/AmericanTanks/M4A2ShermanTank/pages/01M4A2Sherman.htm> .
(This site is no longer available since the museum was moved to Ft. Lee, VA.)
- Photo of M10 tank destroyer, from U.S. Army Ordnance Museum website, accessed March 26, 2016:
<http://www.williammaloney.com/aviation/AberdeenUSArmyOrdnanceMuseum/AmericanTanks/M10TankDestroyer/pages/03M10TankDestroyer.htm> .
(This site is no longer available since the museum was moved to Ft. Lee, VA.)
- Page 45 - Photo of Johnnie Stevens during 2004 interview with Kevin J. Williams, taken by author off TV screen by pausing video of interview.
- Photo of 26th Infantry Division Memorial near the base of Hill 310, from wikipedia site:
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/26th_Infantry_Division_\(United_States\)#/media/File:Moyenvicstelle.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/26th_Infantry_Division_(United_States)#/media/File:Moyenvicstelle.jpg) .
- Page 46 - Two details from Institut Geographique National's map 3514, Carte Topographique Serie Orange "Chateau-Salins," 1:50,000-scale, 2007 edition.
- Detail from 1:25,000-scale World War II army topographical map: RG 77: AMS M864, sheets XXXV-14-5&6 (1938) "Chateau-Salins Nos. 5-6," copy from National Archives Cartographic Section, College Park, MD.
 - Three aerial views of Hill 309s regions from Google Maps, accessed August 21, 2016:
<https://www.google.com:443/maps/@48.8105329,6.5884899,14z/data=!3m1!1e3?hl=en> ,
<https://www.google.com:443/maps/@48.8107307,6.5916442,16z/data=!3m1!1e3?hl=en> ,
<https://www.google.com:443/maps/@48.8672296,6.6648792,16z/data=!3m1!1e3?hl=en> .
- Page 48 - Detail from Morning Report of Company B, 328th Infantry Regiment, for November 15, 1944, from National Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, MO.
- Page 52 - Photo at junction of roads from Bois de la Geline and Hampont, taken by Yannick Rouvrais, used with permission.
- Page 53 - Details of Institut Geographique National's map 3514, Carte Topographique Serie Orange "Chateau-Salins," 1:50,000-scale, 2007 edition.
- Photos at Hill 309 and of Cote St. Jean (Hill 310) taken by Yannick Rouvrais, used with permission.
 - Photo of Yann Rouvrais with 26th Division Memorial, used with permission.
- Page 54 - Photo of Henry B. Wise and his parents, from ancestry.com.
- Page 55 - Photo of Sgt. Herbert J. Berner, used with permission.
- Detail of PFC Henry B. Wise's Report of Burial from his Individual Deceased Personnel File, pdf file from the FOIA Office of U.S Army Human Resources Command, Fort Knox, KY.
- Page 84 - Detail of modern political map showing Location of Region Shown in Foldout Map, from Google Maps at <https://www.google.com:443/maps/@50.1693623,4.1700386,6z?hl=en> , accessed August 28, 2016.
- Page 85 - Political Map of Region Shown in Foldout Map, from Google Maps at <https://www.google.com:443/maps/@48.856974,6.6090034,12z?hl=en> and <https://www.google.com:443/maps/@48.7864479,6.6086601,12z?hl=en> , accessed August 28, 2016.
- Following Page 85 - Foldout map showing details from RG 77: AMS M761, sheet XXXV-14 (1944) "Chateau-Salins," and RG 77: AMS M761, sheet XXXV-15 (1944) "Parroy." Copies from National Archives Cartographic Section. This map is a composite of four scans from the "Chateau-Salins" map, one scan from the "Parroy" map, plus scans of their legends. The original maps have a scale of 1:50,000.

Notes

Epigraph: Bill Mauldin, *Up Front* (New York: Henry Holt, 1945), 15.

Chapter 1: The Search Begins (Pages 1-2)

1. Kareem Abdul-Jabbar and Anthony Walton, *Brothers in Arms: The Epic Story of the 761st Tank Battalion, WWII's Forgotten Heroes* (New York: Broadway Books, 2004), 116.
2. Ibid., 115.
3. Robert Kurson, *Shadow Divers: The True Adventure of Two Americans Who Risked Everything to Solve One of the Last Mysteries of World War II* (New York: Random House, 2004).
4. Abdul-Jabbar and Walton, *Brothers in Arms*, 90, 113-116, 277.
5. Pronunciations of French village names provided by Geoff Galluzzo, Jerome Leclerc, Yann Rouvrais, and Barbara Williams.
6. Joe Wilson, Jr., *The 761st "Black Panther" Tank Battalion in World War II: An Illustrated History of the First African American Armored Unit to See Combat* (Jefferson, NC: MacFarland & Company, 1999).

Chapter 2: Reading (Pages 3-5)

1. George Ruhlen, Foreword to *Phantom Nine: The 9th Armored (Remagen) Division, 1942-1945*, by Walter E. Reichelt (Austin, TX: Presidial Press, 1987).
2. Wilson, *761st "Black Panther" Tank Battalion*.
3. Trezzvant W. Anderson, *Come Out Fighting: The Epic Tale of The 761st. Tank Battalion, 1942-1945* (Salzburger Druckerei und Verlag, 1945). This book is also available online at <http://www.761st.com/j25/index.php/history/come-out-fighting>.
4. David J. Williams, *Hit Hard* (New York: Bantam Books, 1983).
5. Charles W. Sasser, *Patton's Panthers: The African-American 761st Tank Battalion in World War II* (New York: Pocket Books, 2004).

Chapter 3: The Search Widens (Pages 6-11)

1. Joe Wilson, Jr., email message to author, September 7, 2008.
2. "American Battle Monuments Commission" website, www.abmc.gov/search, first accessed September 2008. ABMC's website has been revised since I used it in 2008. It used to be possible to request a list of the dead from a particular regiment in WWII that showed each soldier's date of death. The new version of the website doesn't seem to have this ability.
3. Ibid. (again from the old site), and *The History of the 26th Yankee Division: 1917-1919, 1941-1945* (Boston, MA: Yankee Division Veterans Association, 1955), 249-257.
4. Charles W. Sasser, letter to author, dated October 20, 2008.
5. _____, email message to author, August 23, 2010.
6. David A. Markoff, phone conversation with author, September 24, 2008.
7. Thomas E. Scholler, phone conversation with author, October 3, 2008.
8. Anderson, *Come Out Fighting*, 31, 35.

9. Sasser, *Patton's Panthers*, 112-113.
10. Wilson, *761st "Black Panther" Tank Battalion*, 70.
11. Morning report of Company B, 761st Tank Battalion, for 10 Nov 44. Copy from NPRC, St. Louis, MO.
12. Morning reports of Company C, 761st Tank Battalion, for 9-12 Nov 44. Copy from NPRC, St. Louis, MO.
13. Bruce E. Egger and Lee MacMillan Otts, *G Company's War: Two Personal Accounts of the Campaigns in Europe, 1944-1945* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1998).
14. Institut Geographique National, Carte de Promenade 11 "Nancy, Metz, Luxemburg," 1:100,000 scale, 2004.
15. Hugh M. Cole, *United States Army in World War II: The European Theatre of Operations; The Lorraine Campaign* (Washington: Historical Division, Department of the Army, 1950), Map No. XXVII "Advance in 26th Division Zone, 8-17 November 1944." This book is also available online at http://www.history.army.mil/html/books/007/7-6-1/CMH_Pub_7-6-1.pdf.
16. *History of the 26th Yankee Division*, 38-39.
17. Ralph A. Palladino, ed., *History of a Combat Regiment 1639-1945: 104th Infantry Regiment* (Baton Rouge, LA: Army and Navy Publishing Company, 1960), 63. ["1639" is not a misprint. This regiment traced its history back to a military band formed in western Massachusetts during colonial times.] A 1945 edition of this book is available at National Archives in College Park, MD. The 1960 edition edited by Palladino is very similar to the earlier version but contains some changes.
18. Thomas E. Scholler, Sr., *Howard Street: A Pittsburgh Story* (Pittsburgh, PA: Computer Laboratory of the Lutheran Service Society Bellevue Office, 1998).
19. David J. Williams, *Eleanor Roosevelt's Niggers* (Winter Haven, FL: Neptune Books, 1976).
20. Wilson, email messages to author, November 22, 2008.
21. Charles Ashby, phone conversation with author, October 20, 2008.
22. Jeff Shaara, *No Less Than Victory* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2009), 444-445.
23. Paula Baker, email message to author, March 31, 2009. Paula referred to these as "DI aid station reports." I never searched for any, since the Individual Deceased Personnel Files (IDPFs) contained a Burial Report which often described the cause of death. Years later, Marilyn Jensen told me she thought what Paula meant were Admission and Disposition Reports. She gave me a link to some from the 134th Infantry Regiment: http://www.coulthart.com/134/110ad_report_index.htm.

Chapter 4: Hassling with NPRC (Pages 12-13)

1. Morning report of Company K, 101st Infantry Regiment, for 11 Nov 44. Copy from National Personnel Record Center, St. Louis, MO.
2. Norm Richards, email message to author, February 13, 2017.
3. *History of the 26th Yankee Division*, 251.
4. "Alphabetical Listing, Battle Deaths of the 26th Infantry Division by Organization," CFN-161, released 2 Jul 47. Copy from National Archives, College Park, MD.
5. "First to Fight: The Black Tankers of World War II," a 1-hour show which aired on The History Channel, produced by Bill Brummel Productions, Inc., 2006.
6. "Inside Buffalo: The Story of unsung African American Heroes of the 92nd Division in World War II," produced by FKK Filmz, Italy, 2009.

Chapter 5: The Search Heats Up (Pages 14-19)

1. "National Archives: Research Our Records," <http://www.archives.gov/research/hire-help/>, Topic Specialty: Military Records, accessed August 2010.
Norm Richards, AAA Military Research, #2 River Ridge Ct., St. Charles, MO 63303-6065
Telephone: (636) 244-4697, email: normrichards9@gmail.com
Research Specialty: Morning Reports, Payroll Records, Unit Rosters, Research of Stolen Valor Individuals, Personnel & Medical Records.
2. Author's email message to Norm Richards, August 9, 2010.
3. "761st Tank Battalion" website: <http://www.761st.com/j25/index.php/news/stevens-loh> (following "Personal Messages to Johnnie Stevens"), accessed August 2010.
4. Norm Richards, email message to author, August 13, 2010.
5. Ibid., August 14, 2010.
6. Ibid., August 16, 2010.
7. Markoff, phone conversation with author, August 18, 2010.
8. Morning reports of Company L, 104th Infantry Regiment, for 10-14 Nov 44. Copy from NPRC, St. Louis, MO.
9. Ibid., for 17 Nov 44.
10. Ibid., for 28 Nov 44.
11. Sasser, email message to author, August 23, 2010.
12. *History of the 26th Yankee Division*, 249-260.
13. "Alphabetical Listing, Battle Deaths of the 26th Infantry Division by Organization," CFN-161, released 2 Jul 47. Copy from National Archives, College Park, MD.
14. I later found Staff Sergeant Mungo listed on the 13 Nov 44 morning report of Company I, 101st Infantry Regiment, as KIA on 11 Nov 44. I don't know how I missed this except that his rank is crossed off and rewritten.
15. "Journal of C.O. 101st Inf" for 9-11 Nov 44. Copy from National Archives, College Park, MD.
16. "Journal of HQ 3d Bn 101st Inf" for 10-12 Nov 44. Copy from National Archives, College Park, MD.
17. "761st Tank Battalion After-Action Report," for 7 Nov 44. Copy provided by Joe Wilson, Jr., who obtained it from the National Archives' former site at Suitland, MD.
18. Ibid., for 8-13 Nov 44.
19. Morning reports of Company A, 761st Tank Battalion, for 10-12 Nov 44. Copy from NPRC, St. Louis, MO.
20. "The Liberators: Fighting on Two Fronts in World War II," a 90-minute episode of PBS's "The American Experience," produced by Miles Educational Film Productions, Inc., 1992.

Chapter 6: Three Possibilities (Pages 20-26)

1. Marilyn Bowers Jensen, email message to author, January 16, 2011. Her source was army enlistment records accessed through ancestry.com.
2. Stephen E. Ambrose, *D-Day: June 6, 1944; The Climactic Battle of World War II* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 48.
3. Yannick Rouvrais, email message to author, January 18, 2011.

4. Mathew D. Rector, *The United States Army at Fort Knox* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2005). This book is part of Arcadia's Images of America series.
5. Tim Daley, phone conversation with author, March 19, 2011.
6. Allison McCrillis Lockwood, *Touched with Fire: An American Community in World War II* (Northampton, MA: *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, 1993), 112.
7. Jack Downes, phone conversation with author, March 19, 2011.
8. Jack Jones, letter to author received March 23, 2011.
9. Individual Deceased Personnel Files (IDPFs) of John J. Daley, Raymond A. Mungo, and Anthony J. Stanevich. Copies from US Army Human Resources Command, Fort Knox, KY.
10. "First Sgt. Daley Killed In Action on Armistice Day," *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, Nov. 28, 1944. Found in Forbes Library's World War II newspaper clipping scrapbook "Oct 1 - Dec 31, 1944."
11. "Silver Star Posthumously Awarded Daley," *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, Jan. 5, 1945. Found in Forbes Library's World War II newspaper clipping scrapbook "Jan 1 - Mar 31, 1945."
12. Morning report of G Company, 104th Infantry Regiment, for 12 Nov 44. Copy from NPRC, St. Louis, MO.
13. David Aaron Markoff, *The World War II Memoirs of PFC David A. Markoff*, published by his family in 2013, 23-24. Available at the Massachusetts National Guard Museum and Archives, 91 Everett St, Concord, MA 01742; and at the Library of Congress Veterans History Project, contact vohp@loc.gov or (202) 707-4916.
14. "Military Service Record, World War, 1939 - , Forbes Library, Northampton, Massachusetts," filled out by John Joseph Daley, July 25, 1942.
15. "John J. Daley," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_J._Daley , accessed August 2011.
16. "Headquarters 26th Infantry Division: Award of Silver Star (Posthumous Award)" to First Sergeant John J. Daley, 2 December 1944. Copy of poor carbon copy and transcription supplied by US Army Human Resources Command, Fort Knox, KY. [Author used a magnifying glass and computer-enhanced contrast to clarify some words and correct a few errors in the transcription supplied.]
17. John Stanevich, phone conversation with author, April 18, 2012.

Chapter 7: Writing and Research (Pages 27-32)

1. Markoff, *The World War II Memoirs*.
2. Individual Deceased Personnel File of Francis J. Hyde. Copy from US Army Human Resources Command, Fort Knox, KY.
3. Morning report of Company B, 328th Infantry Regiment, for 15 Nov 44. Copy from NPRC, St. Louis, MO.
4. Peter Caddick-Adams, *Snow & Steel: The Battle of the Bulge 1944-45* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 372.
5. Morning reports of all companies of the 101st Infantry Regiment for 10-12 Nov 44. Copies from NPRC, St. Louis, MO.
6. Morning reports of all companies of the 104th Infantry Regiment for 10-12 Nov 44. Copies from NPRC, St. Louis, MO.
7. Palladino, *History of a Combat Regiment*, 60-67 (1945 edition), 50-54 (1960 edition).
8. Hugh M. Cole, *United States Army in World War II: The European Theatre of Operations: The Lorraine Campaign* (Washington: Historical Division, Department of the Army, 1950).
9. Ibid., Map No. XXVII "Advance in 26th Division Zone, 8-17 November 1944."

10. History of the 26th Yankee Division, 42-45.

11. James Haahr, *The Command is Forward: The 101st Infantry in Lorraine* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, 2003). Haahr included the entire War Diary as Chapter I of this book. He says it "was compiled by Col. Albert McWade from the Regimental Journal kept by M/Sgt. Frank Brennan, S/Sgt. Carmen Carriero, and S/Sgt. James Walker. S/Sgts. Carriero and Walker typed the diary in mid-1945 (p. 19).

12. *101 Infantry: Northern France, Rhineland, Ardennes, Central Europe; World War II, September 7, 1944 - May 8, 1945*, 10. This unit history booklet, probably published in 1945, is available at U. S. Army Heritage and Education Center's library, 950 Soldiers Dr., Carlisle Barracks, PA 17013-5021 and the Massachusetts National Guard Museum & Archives, 91 Everett St., Concord, MA 01742.

13. "26th Infantry Div. in WW1 & II," *National Veterans News Network*, Rex, GA.
(Publication date unknown)

14. Wally Clarke, email message to author, February 11, 2014.

15. "Battle Deaths of the 26th Infantry Division." Copy from National Archives, College Park, MD.

16. Morning report of Company I, 104th Infantry Regiment, for 13 Nov 44. Copy from NPRC, St. Louis, MO.

17. Jensen, email messages to author, March 3 & 6, 2014. Her source was army enlistment records accessed through ancestry.com.

18. Individual Deceased Personnel File of Herbert J. Berner. Copy from US Army Human Resources Command, Fort Knox, KY.

19. William W. Houle, unpublished draft copy of his World War II memoirs, 24.

20. _____, phone conversation with author, April 19, 2014.

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22. Ibid., and morning report of Company E, 104th Infantry Regiment, for 12 Nov 44. Copy from NPRC, St. Louis, MO.

23. Jim Sudmeier, email message to author, April 8, 2014.

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25. Karl R. Lindquist, *Youth Interrupted: A Nantucket Boy at War in Europe* (Concord, NH: Town and Country Reprographics, 2010), 127.

Chapter 8: The Other Hill (Pages 33-37)

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2. NARA's Customer Service: 866-272-6272.

3. RG 77: AMS M761, sheet XXXV-14 (1944) "Chateau-Salins." Copy from National Archives Cartographic Section.

4. RG 77: AMS M864, sheets XXXV-14-5&6 (1938) "Chateau-Salins Nos. 5-6" for the Hill 309 near Moyenvic and XXXV-14-7&8 (1938, overprinted in 1944) "Chateau-Salins Nos. 7-8," for the Hill 309 near Wuisse. Copies from National Archives Cartographic Section.

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6. Charles Sasser, email message to author, September 8, 2014.

7. Ibid., September 9, 2014.

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9. ancestry.com printouts of "U.S. World War II Army Enlistment Records, 1938-1946," for James P. McDonnell and Stanley P. Jurek (and others, plus other documents from ancestry.com), mailed to the author by Marilyn Bowers Jensen, received September 20, 2014.
10. Morning report of Company L, 104th Infantry Regiment, for 21 Nov 44. Copy from NPRC, St. Louis, MO.
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12. "War Diary Commanding Officer 101st Infantry," 1945, copy of pages 24-38 (1 Nov 44 - 19 Nov 44) obtained from National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD. (James Haahr reproduced this entire war diary in Chapter 1 of his book, *The Command is Forward*.)
13. Gina M. DiNicolo, *The Black Panthers: A Story of Race, War, and Courage; The 761st Tank Battalion in World War II* (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, LLC, 2014).
14. The 761st Tank Battalion's website's booklist: <http://761st.com/j2/index.php/history/books>.
15. Wilson, *761st "Black Panther" Tank Battalion*, 77, 79.
16. Gina M. DiNicolo, email message to author, September 14, 2014.
17. Maj. John O. Dickerson, "The Operations of the 2nd Battalion, 101st Infantry (26th Infantry Division) in the Attack, Moyenvic, France, 8-10 November 1944 (Rhineland Campaign)," 1947-48. Available in the Fort Benning Donovan Research Library's online collection at <http://www.benning.army.mil/library/content/Virtual/Donovanpapers/wwii/STUP2/DickersonJohnO%20MAJ.pdf>.
18. Maj. Werner Holtz, "The Operations of Company C, 104th Infantry (26th Infantry Division) from Vic-sur-Seille to Albestroff, Eastern France, 8-21 Nov 1944 (Rhineland Campaign)," 1947-48, 11. Available in the Fort Benning Donovan Research Library's online collection at <http://www.benning.army.mil/library/content/Virtual/Donovanpapers/wwii/STUP2/HoltzWerner%20MAJ.pdf>.
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Chapter 9: Where Was the Battle? (Pages 38-47)

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2. Joe Wilson, Jr., told me this map came from the town of Morville-les-Vic's Facebook page.
3. Jerome LeClerc, email message to author, September 21, 2015.
4. George Kessel, email message to author, September 28, 2015.
5. Jack Downes, phone conversation with author, October 6, 2015.
6. Michael Samberg, phone conversation with author, October 8, 2015.
7. George Kessel, email message to author, October 9, 2015.
8. Edward R. Radzwich, *An American Soldier's Journey* (printed privately, 2007), 74.
9. Caddick-Adams, *Snow & Steel*, 432.
10. Report of Burial in Individual Deceased Personnel File (IDPF) of Raymond A. Mungo. Copy from US Army Human Resources Command, Fort Knox, KY.
11. Radzwich, *An American Soldier's Journey*, 71, is the source of S/Sgt. Herbert's quotation. Cole, *The Lorraine Campaign*, 323; Haahr, *The Command is Forward*, 74; *History of the 26th Yankee Division*, 43; "Journal of C.O. 101st Infantry," 9 Nov 44 1045 entry; and "War Diary Commanding Officer, 101st Infantry," 31, all indicate that Salival was seized 9 Nov 44.
12. James N. Peale, Jr, "Handglass Blue, Lorraine Offensive 1944," in *Yankee Doings: Special Issue - 50th Anniversary of Lorraine Campaign* (1994), 26-28. *Yankee Doings* is published by The Yankee Division Veterans Association in Boston, MA.

13. Anderson, *Come Out Fighting*, 30.
14. Gina DiNicolo, email message to author, November 12, 2015.
15. *Yankee Doings Special Issue - 50th Anniversary of Lorraine Campaign* (1994): 5.
16. Cole, *The Lorraine Campaign*, 324.
17. "War Diary Commanding Officer 101st Infantry," 1945, 31.
(Also Haahr, *The Command is Forward*, 76.)
18. "Journal of C.O. 101st Inf" and "Journal of HQ 3d Bn 101st Inf" for 10 Nov 44. Copies from National Archives, College Park, MD.
19. "Co K, 101st Infantry Regiment -- TF 'A,' 8-10 November 1944, LORRAINE CAMPAIGN," dated 18 June 1945, 1. This is the report of an interview by 2nd Lt Charles King Howard of Lt Edmund T. Tierney, Platoon Leader of 3rd Platoon, Company K, 101st Infantry Regiment, contained in "TWENTY-SIXTH INFANTRY DIVISION BRIEF DIARY, 8 Nov - 12 Dec 1944, LORRAINE CAMPAIGN/ by Interviewees from 26th Inf Div et al., 1945," Donovan Research Library, Fort Benning, GA, an online pdf accessed February 12, 2016, at http://www.benning.army.mil/library/content/Virtual/Documents/Hardcopy/paper/D769.3_26TH_A2.pdf.
20. "War Diary Commanding Officer 101st Infantry," 1945, 28.
(Also Haahr, *The Command is Forward*, 70.)
21. "Journal of C.O. 101st Inf" for 10 Nov 44. Copy from National Archives, College Park, MD.
22. "Journal of C.O. 101st Inf" for 11 Nov 44. Copy from National Archives, College Park, MD.
23. "Journal of HQ 3d Bn 101st Inf" for 11 Nov 44. Copy from National Archives, College Park, MD.
24. From 140-minute videotaped interview of Johnnie Stevens by Kevin J. Williams, February 2004. These segments begin about 71 to 76 minutes into the tape. Tape borrowed from Joe Wilson, Jr.; see also Wilson, *761st "Black Panther" Tank Battalion*, 76, 79.
25. Institut Geographique National, Carte Topographique Serie Orange 3514 "Chateau-Salins" 1:50,000 scale, 2007 map, and Goggle Map sites:
<https://www.google.com:443/maps/place/Moyenvic,+France/@48.8079698,6.5928045,16z/data=!3m1!1e3!4m2!3m1!1s0x47948a033264c259:0xc4dea7901de773cd?hl=en>; and
<https://www.google.com:443/maps/place/Wuisse,+France/@48.8670627,6.6675309,16z/data=!3m1!1e3!4m2!3m1!1s0x47945e2263783581:0x40a5fb99a3a8d10?hl=en>, both accessed January 23, 2016.
26. RG 77: AMS M864, sheets XXXV-14-5&6 (1938) "Chateau-Salins Nos. 5-6" for the Hill 309 near Hill 310 and XXXV-14-7&8 (1938, overprinted in 1944) "Chateau-Salins Nos. 7-8," for the Hill 309 near Wuisse. Copies from National Archives' Cartographic Section.

Chapter 10: Final Attempts (Pages 48-57)

1. Gina DiNicolo, email message to author, January 6, 2016.
2. Morning report of Company L, 101st Infantry Regiment, for 11 Nov 44. Copy from NPRC, St. Louis, MO.
3. ancestry.com printouts of "U.S. World War II Army Enlistment Records, 1938-1946," for Charles H. Long, mailed to the author by Marilyn Bowers Jensen, received January 22, 2016.
4. Morning report of Company I, 101st Infantry Regiment, for 13 Nov 44. Copy from NPRC, St. Louis, MO.
5. ancestry.com printouts of "U.S. World War II Army Enlistment Records, 1938-1946," and "Application for Headstone or Marker" for Harlan E. Rasmussen, mailed to the author by Marilyn Bowers Jensen, received January 22, 2016.
6. Human Resources Command's Freedom of Information and Privacy Act Office's email address is usarmy.knox.hrc.mbx.foia@mail.mil.

7. "TWENTY-SIXTH INFANTRY DIVISION BRIEF DIARY, 8 Nov - 12 Dec 1944, LORRAINE CAMPAIGN/ by Interviewees from 26th In Div et al 1945," Donovan Research Library, Fort Benning, GA, an online pdf accessed February 12, 2016, at http://www.benning.army.mil/library/content/Virtual/Documents/Hardcopy/paper/D769.3_26TH_A2.pdf .

8. "101st Infantry Regiment, 26th Infantry Division, 8 November to 12 December 1944, Lorraine Campaign," interview by 2nd Lt. Monroe Ludden with Capt. Thomas W. Ryan, Capt. William M. Howle, Maj. A. J. McWade, and Maj. E. C. Brown, dated 17 June 1945, 7-8. (See note 7 above for link address.)

9. "3d Battalion, 101st Infantry Regiment, 26th Infantry Division, 8 November - 12 December 1944, Lorraine Campaign," interview by 2nd Lt. Monroe Ludden with Lt. Col. James Nixon Peale, Jr., dated 19 June 1945, 4-8. (See note 7 above for link address.)

10. "2d Battalion, 328th Infantry Regiment, 26th Infantry Division, 8 November - 12 December 1944, Lorraine Campaign," interview by 2nd Lt. Monroe Ludden with Maj. Paul S. Carrier and Maj. E. Gardner Goldsmith, dated 18-19 June 1945, 4-5. (See note 7 above for link address.)

11. Yannick Rouvrais, email messages to author, May 14 and June 19, 2016.

12. Individual Deceased Personnel File of Harlan E. Rasmussen. Copy from US Army Human Resources Command's Freedom of Information and Privacy Act Office, Fort Knox, KY.

13. Individual Deceased Personnel File of James P. McDonnell. Copy from US Army Human Resources Command's Freedom of Information and Privacy Act Office, Fort Knox, KY.

14. Edward Berner, phone conversation with author, October 3, 2016.

15. Individual Deceased Personnel File of Henry B. Wise. Copy from US Army Human Resources Command's Freedom of Information and Privacy Act Office, Fort Knox, KY.

16. "Roster by Company of All Enlisted Men and Officers Who Landed in the ETO [European Theatre of Operations] with the [26th Infantry] Division on 7 September 1944, Book Nr 1," Roster of Headquarters Company, 2nd Battalion, 101st Infantry Regiment (which follows roster of Company D, 101st Infantry Regiment), 5. Available at the Massachusetts National Guard Museum & Archives, Concord, MA.

17. Morning report of Headquarters Company, 2nd Battalion, 101st Infantry Regiment, for 11 Nov 44 and 15 Nov 44.

18. Personnel file of Henry B. Wise. Copy from NPRC, St. Louis, MO.

19. For examples of such Admission & Disposition Reports, see note 23 on page 71.

20. Eric Vanslander, phone conversation, March 30, 2017.

Chapter 11: Conclusions (Pages 58-60)

1. "761st Tank Battalion After-Action Report," 8 Nov 44. Copy provided by Joe Wilson, Jr., who obtained it from the National Archives' former site at Suitland, MD.

2. "War Diary Commanding Officer 101st Infantry," 1945, 28.
(Also, Haahr, *The Command is Forward*, 70.)

3. "Journal of HQ 3d Bn 101st Inf" for 10 Nov 44. Copy from National Archives, College Park, MD.

4. "Journal of C.O. 101st Infantry" for 10 Nov 44. Copy from National Archives, College Park, MD.

5. Compare, for example, the accounts of the battle between Chamberlain's 20th Maine and Oates's 15th Alabama infantry regiments near the end of the day on July 2, 1863, in Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, *"Bayonet! Forward," My Civil War Reminiscences*, chap. 2, "Through Blood and Fire at Gettysburg" (Gettysburg, PA: Stan Clark Military Books, 1994); and Col. William C. Oates, *The Battle of Gettysburg*, chap. 2, "Second Day" published as part of Lt. Frank Haskell, U.S.A., and Col. William C. Oates, C.S.A., *Gettysburg* (New York: Bantam Books, 1992).

6. *History of the Yankee Division*, chapters 3-7, and Wilson, *761st "Black Panther" Tank Battalion*, chapters 11-21.

Epilogue (Pages 62-63)

1. George Kessel, *Dear Folks: Excerpts from letters home of an infantryman in training and in combat March 13, 1944 to January 6, 1946* (Xlibris Corporation, 2007), 52.
2. *My Search for the "Tall Sergeant"* can be found at <https://www.benning.army.mil/Library/E-resources.html> in "Other ebooks and eResource databases."
3. Tom Oliver, email message to author, July 31, 2019.
4. Bill Houle's and Dave Markoff's World War II memoirs can be found, respectively, at https://mcoepublic.blob.core.usgovcloudapi.net/library/ebooks/Bill_Houle_WWII_Memoir.pdf
https://mcoepublic.blob.core.usgovcloudapi.net/library/ebooks/David_Markoff_WWII_Memoirs.pdf

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Marilyn Jensen generously offered to search for information about "tall sergeant" possibilities on ancestry.com, starting with just three, but eventually researching dozens. Her help and patience are greatly appreciated.

Barbara Williams translated two letters into French for me. She also helped with French pronunciations, my purpose being to aid readers who may have heard these village names but not seen them in print.

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About the Author

Bruce Novak is a retired high-school physics teacher, not an historian or a writer. He served in Vietnam as a first lieutenant in the Army Signal Corps. His father served as a first lieutenant in the 9th Armored Division in Europe during World War II.

When Bruce started his research in 2008, his goal was simply to let the tall sergeant's family know of his heroism and let Johnnie Stevens know who'd rescued him. He didn't intend to write a book. A year or so into this project, Joe Wilson, Jr., Peter Bogdan, and others asked him to write up a short history of this research for the 761st Tank Battalion veterans website and for *Yankee Doings*. He already kept a daily journal and a record of his correspondence. He'd been saving all emails and letters related to this search. At this point he began also keeping a journal just related to this quest. These records were all extremely useful during the writing of this memoir. When he began writing, he envisioned this account to be under 20 pages with 2-page summary versions for the 761st website and *Yankee Doings*. However, the research kept leading him on year after year, as the hope for eventually identifying the heroic "tall sergeant" was strong, so this story continued to grow.

* * * * *

Maps of the Area of Operation



