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Battlefield Landscapes: Geographic
Information Science as a Method of
Integrating History and Archaeology for
Battlefield Interpretation

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BATTLEFIELD LANDSCAPES: GEOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SCIENCE
AS A METHOD OF INTEGRATING HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY
FOR BATTLEFIELD INTERPRETATION

DISSERTATION

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BATTLEFIELD LANDSCAPES: GEOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SCIENCE
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FOR BATTLEFIELD INTERPRETATION

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DEDICATION

To my wife, Marjorie Penman Nolan, my father Dr. Carson Y. Nolan, and my mother Bess Gravitt Nolan (1922-2005) who encouraged me to pursue the goal of a Ph.D. when the only possible benefit would be my personal satisfaction. My mother was particularly proud that I would be another “Dr. Nolan,” and I regret she is not here to see it happen.

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ABSTRACT

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COMMITTEE CHAIR: ALBERTO GIORDANO

Geographic Information Science (GIS) and technology can be used to integrate history and archaeology for synthesis and interpretation. This study applies Geographic Information Science and technology to reconstructing the events related to a patrol from G Company, 2nd Battalion, 328th Infantry Regiment of the American Expeditionary Forces on October 8, 1918, outside the village of Châtel Chéhéry, France that resulted in the award of the Medal of Honor to Alvin C. York. Evidence from documentary records, historic maps, and artifacts from a metal

detector survey were incorporated in a spatial database. Spatial analysis of the database using GIS provided a more complete picture of events than either history or archaeology individually.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old:
Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn.
At the going down of the sun and in the morning
We will remember them.

Laurence Binyon, *For the Fallen*

Battlefields have always exerted a powerful attraction for serious scholars and tourists alike. The outcome of battle has long been a major determinate in the course of history. The conduct of individuals and nations on the battlefield has produced uncounted inspirational or cautionary tales. The huge cost of warfare in lives and property during the last two centuries has had a pervasive influence far beyond the physical limits of the scenes of struggle. Many battlefield sites have been preserved as parks to commemorate the people and events they represent. Others await study and preservation. One such site is an area west of the French village of Châtel-Chéhéry where Alvin C. York was transformed from an obscure, poorly educated, Tennessee mountaineer to a national hero.

This study will reexamine the historical record and the physical landscape of the York site using an interdisciplinary methodology combining geography, history, and archaeology. The purpose of this study is

to locate Alvin York's firing position during the action that won him the Medal of Honor. Geographic Information Systems (GIS) technology will be used to integrate historic maps, reports, and other documents in a spatial database that will model the landscape as it was in October 1918. Global Positioning Systems (GPS) technology will be used to navigate to York's most probable position based on historical spatial data. A metal detector will be used to locate artifacts related to the fight. The artifacts will be mapped using GPS and added to the spatial database. GIS will be used to analyze the spatial data to determine the most probable location of Alvin York's firing position.

The study of history attempts to recreate past events, such as battles, from documentary evidence. This evidence can come from a variety of sources such as reports, letters, diaries, memoirs, and participant accounts. Battlefield interpretation based on historic documents is subject to the vagaries of memory, personal ambition, and contemporary beliefs.

Archaeology is the study of the material remains of human activity and, while usually associated with prehistory, can deal with any time period (Fox 1993). Historical archaeology combines documentary evidence with material remains to recreate past events. U.S. National Park Service Archaeologist Douglas Scott describes historical archaeology as analogous to a crime scene investigation with witness testimony as the documentary evidence and material remains as the physical evidence (Scott et al. 1989). Material remains recovered from battlefields can also

contain information about the individual participant who is frequently overlooked in historical accounts (Fox 1993).

Geography has been described as a science of synthesis “linking humanity and environment and creating a bridge between the social and natural sciences (Holt-Jensen 1999).” Geography differs from other disciplines by looking at people and their environment from a spatial perspective. Geography’s power to integrate knowledge from history and archaeology and analyze that knowledge from a spatial perspective can paint a clearer picture of historic events than either history or archaeology individually. Within the discipline of Geography, Geographic Information Science examines research issues related to the characteristics of geographic data, geographic problem solving, and the resulting influences on society caused by the use of Geographic Information Systems. Geographic Information Systems provide the tools for applying spatial analysis to documentary and material evidence for reconstructing the sequence of battlefield events, creating a permanent spatial record, and producing interpretive materials for site preservation and heritage tourism development.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Alvin C. York, arguably one of the greatest American military heroes to emerge from World War I, was awarded his nation’s highest decoration, the Medal of Honor, for his actions outside the village of Châtel-Chéhéry on October 8, 1918, during the Meuse-Argonne Offen-

sive. His return from France was honored throughout his native state of Tennessee and he went on to become an influential state and national figure for the remainder of his life. The impressive statue of Alvin York in front of the Tennessee State Capitol building in Nashville attests to his enduring importance in Tennessee history.

The exact events and locations regarding York's exploits at Châtel-Chéhéry have long been the subject of controversy. Recollections of the German and American participants in the fight conflict on several key points and change over time. York's account of his movements is difficult to reconcile with major terrain features. The descriptions of York's actions in various biographies are conflicting and the maps included in two of the books have gross spatial errors. Maps compiled for the official history of the 82nd Division do not agree in some respects with modern topographic maps. In July 2005, the author was unsuccessful in an attempt to follow the movements of Alvin York at Châtel-Chéhéry based on documentary accounts and concluded that the true locations of those events are currently unknown.

Various attempts have been made to follow the steps of Alvin York at Châtel-Chéhéry, the most thorough one by Lt. Col. Taylor Beattie (Beattie and Bowman 2000). Beattie approached the problem by evaluating the terrain and documentary evidence from a tactical standpoint using the METT-T (Mission, Enemy, Terrain, Troops and Time) and OCOKA (Observation and fields of fire, Cover and concealment, Obstacles, Key terrain, and Avenues of approach) concepts. This methodology allowed the identification of the general area of engagement but

failed to pinpoint York's firing position or the location of the German participants. This study will further Beattie's investigation by using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) in conjunction with surface archaeology and historical documentary evidence to create an accurate, permanent spatial record of this engagement and answer the following questions:

1. How can GIS be used to integrate history and archaeology to create an accurate picture of Alvin York's activities on October 8, 1918?
2. Can GIS successfully resolve some of the controversies and contradictions in written accounts of the York fight?
3. Can GIS serve as the basis for preserving the spatial record of the York fight and creating interpretive materials for battlefield tourism?

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The First World War set a new standard for suffering and death and its questionable resolution sowed the seeds for another world conflict just twenty years later. It is no wonder that large numbers of tourists visit these battlefields to remember the dead and seek guidance from the lessons of history. As Valene Smith observed, “War is so deeply imbedded in human activity and memory that . . . the memorabilia of warfare and allied products . . . probably constitutes the largest single category of tourist attractions in the world” (Smith 1998). The growth of battlefield tourism paralleled the growth of travel in general. The last part of the nineteenth century saw a tremendous increase in the number of people traveling from England to the Continent (Lloyd 1998). The development of the railroad and steamship made travel from England to mainland Europe faster and less expensive. In the United States, railroads provided access and even encouraged battlefield tourism with guide books and inexpensive fares (Weeks 1998). The proliferation of the Model T Ford in the 1920s signaled the eventual dominance of the automobile for tourist travel (Smith 1998). Industrialization and capitalism increased the number of people who could afford to travel and increased leisure time gave them the opportunity (Lloyd 1998). During this period the wealthy traveled for luxury and excitement while the middle class

traveled for a higher moral purpose such as education or religious pilgrimage (Lloyd 1998).

The battle of Waterloo in 1815 created the first major battlefield tourist destination. The battle took place in an unanticipated location, placing a significant number of surprised tourists from England in close proximity to the fighting (Seaton 1999). Several of these tourists left written accounts that made Waterloo the first major battle observed and described by tourists. The next groups of tourists to visit Waterloo were relatives of the casualties and government officials. They were followed by people drawn to the site for historic or patriotic reasons (Seaton 1999). Waterloo was the most visited battlefield in Europe until the First World War and remains the second most important tourist site in Belgium (Seaton 1999). One of the first English travel agents, Henry Gaze, organized the first group tour to Waterloo in 1854 (Lloyd 1998). The American Civil War and the First World War vastly expanded the number of places to visit and provided motivation for battlefield tourism.

The motivation for battlefield tourism has been ascribed to various causes ranging from morbid curiosity to sacred pilgrimage. Seaton described battlefield tourism as one of the five types of travel activities that comprise dark tourism or thanatourism (Seaton 1996). Thanatopsis, the contemplation of death, has been common in Western culture since the Middle Ages. Death is a common element in life and was frequently depicted in religious and secular texts as something painful and terrifying, such as the death by torture of a religious martyr. Another popular medieval image of death was the figure depicted as the Dance of Death, a

rotting skeleton carrying away both rich and poor (Seaton 1996). Thanatopsis was a focal point for religion which encouraged dependence on the church as a source of consolation for death. Seaton describes thanatopsis as an element in pilgrimages made to religious shrines associated with the death of a saint or martyr. Thanatopsis could also function as a method of spiritual preparation for death. The emphasis of thanatoptic thought was not the method of death but the moral implications (Seaton 1996).

Seaton defined thanatourism as “. . . travel to a location wholly or partially motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death, which may, to a varying degree be activated by the person-specific features of those whose deaths are its focal objects.” He also described five types of travel activity that made up thanatourism. These were travel to witness public executions, a very popular activity while it existed; travel to see sites of mass or individual death such as battlefields or Fords Theater in Washington, D.C., where Lincoln was shot; travel to burial sites or monuments to the dead such as cemeteries and war memorials; travel to view material evidence or symbolic representations of death such as statues of murderers in wax museums, murder weapons or clothing of victims; and travel to battle reenactments or simulations of death such as passion plays (Seaton 1996).

The view of battlefield tourism as a form of thanatourism is not universal. In his analysis of Australian and New Zealand tourism to Gallipoli, Peter Slade attributes much of the motivation to national pride.

Gallipoli marked the transition of both countries from colonial to independent status. When the 80 percent casualties suffered by the ANZAC (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) troops engaged at Gallipoli is compared to the 50 percent casualties sustained by the British and Turks it is clear that the ANZACs did more than their share of the fighting, of which their countrymen were justifiably proud (Slade 2003). In his discussion of thanatourism related to Gallipoli, Slade said

Very little of this theorizing offers much in the way of explanation as to the motivations of people touring old battle sites. However, it offers a process of implication, which is that if someone is to be found at or near a battle site, they must surely be a thanatourist. In contradistinction to this, most Australians and New Zealanders who visit Gallipoli are engaged, to some extent, in a journey of discovering who they are, where they came from, and what the meaning of their nations might be in the modern world (Slade 2003).

Perhaps the strongest motivation for battlefield tourism is commemoration and remembrance of the sacrifice and loss in battle. There is a strong need for people to find a positive outcome to such tragic events and believe that all of the pain and sacrifice was not in vain. Battlefield visits in the United States and Britain often have a religious quality and are frequently referred to as pilgrimages. Many Boy Scout hiking trails through American Civil War battlefields during the Civil War Centennial in the 1960s were referred to as pilgrimage trails.

The American Civil War battlefield at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, is probably one of the best examples of commemoration in the United States. The historical significance of Gettysburg was perceived early on. President Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address at the dedication of the

Gettysburg National Cemetery in November 1863 demonstrated that the battle was acknowledged as a watershed event. The large number of casualties, 51,000, and the fact that it was widely regarded as the turning point of the war ensured its place in history (Foote 1997). The battle's location, close to the large cities of the eastern coast, made it accessible to large numbers of people from both North and South (Hanink and Stutts 2002). The concept that the blood of so many Americans had rendered the fields surrounding Gettysburg sacred ground was a major theme in the Gettysburg Address, although at that point the reference was to only the Union casualties. The addition of memorials honoring Confederate dead would not happen until the years had dulled the animosities generated by war. Lincoln referred to pilgrimage, commemoration, and remembrance when he said:

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before

us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

The process of protecting and preserving the battlefield at Gettysburg began shortly after the battle. The Gettysburg Memorial Battlefield Association (GMBA) was formed in 1864 and began acquiring parts of the battlefield for preservation. The GMBA was responsible for preserving earthworks and erecting markers on the battlefield. The leadership of the group was eventually taken over by the Pennsylvania Department of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), a Union veterans group which wielded considerable political influence in 1879 (Weeks 1998). When the War Department took charge in 1894 the park had grown to 600 acres and contained 320 monuments to the Union volunteer units who served there (Weeks 1998). The week long encampment of Union and Confederate veterans at Gettysburg on the fiftieth anniversary of the battle was tangible evidence of the reconciliation which had taken place since the end of the war. By the time the Eternal Peace Light Memorial was dedicated in 1938, Confederate battlefield monuments were equal in number and placement to the Union monuments (Foote 1997).

The concept of the battlefield as sacred ground was not unique to the American Civil War. Many British veterans of the First World War described the places where their comrades died as sacred places (Lloyd 1998). The unprecedented number of casualties in the First World War,

the portrayal of the war as a spiritual struggle against evil, and interpretation of the soldiers' deaths as a sacrifice made for their country enhanced the significance of battlefield visits to that of a religious pilgrimage (Lloyd 1998).

Changing attitudes towards the dead in the late 19th century led to an increased sensitivity to the need to remember and commemorate the dead (Lloyd 1998). After the battle of Waterloo all the dead were buried in mass graves and no attempt made to preserve their identities. The skeletons of the Russian and Turkish dead from the battle of Plevna in 1877 were ground into bone meal and shipped to England as fertilizer (Skelton 1994). The American Civil War and the Boer War marked a turning point in the treatment of war dead. National cemeteries were established in the United States for the majority of war dead who were not claimed by relatives to be buried at home or remained unknown. In England, a private society, with royal support, was founded to locate and maintain the graves of individual soldiers who died in the Boer War (Lloyd 1998). The First World War, with the enormous increase in the number of casualties, required a broader approach. The British government maintained a policy of not repatriating the bodies of those killed in action but interred them on the battlefields where they fell. This policy created a large group of battlefield tourists whose goal after the war was to visit the graves of their relatives as part of the mourning process. The large number of missing also created problems for bereaved relatives. The Imperial War Graves Commission effectively addressed this problem by deciding that every fallen soldier would have his own personal memorial.

Those with no known grave would have their names inscribed on memorials to the missing to be constructed on the major British battlefields. The memorials to the missing located on the battlefields, as well as the Cenotaph and the grave of the Unknown Warrior in London, provided a physical mourning place for the bereaved who were denied the consolation of a funeral or grave (Lloyd 1998).

The need for those who lost family in the First World War to visit a relative's final resting place was, and still is, significant. In 2001, the author accompanied a group of English tourists to the annual July 1st memorial service commemorating the first day of the Battle of the Somme in 1916. The British suffered 60,000 casualties that first day, of which 20,000 were killed (Brown 1996). Before it was over, the battle had a personal effect on virtually everyone in the British Commonwealth. Among this group of tourists was Reg Burrough, an 82-year-old gentleman from Cheshire. Reg was the first member of his family with the opportunity to visit the place where his uncle, Rifleman James Gurney of the 17th Battalion Kings Royal Rifle Corps, was killed. Rifleman Gurney fell on October 14, 1916, during an attack on a German trench known as the Schwaben Redoubt. His body was never recovered and his name is inscribed on the Thiepval Memorial to the Missing along with the names of the 73,357 British and South African soldiers who perished on the Somme and have no known grave. With the aid of GIS and GPS technology, the group was able to visit the exact location of the segment of German trench where Rifleman Gurney was lost. Even after the passage of more than eighty years, the emotions associated with his pilgrimage

profoundly affected Reg and left the rest of the tour group wiping their eyes. The emotions associated with such a visit reflect the widely held and continuing belief that the spirits of the dead are present at these memorial sites. This belief is expressed in the following poem written by a tourist after a visit to a relative's grave on the Western Front.

I half awoke to a strange new calm,
In a sleep that would not clear,
For this was the sleep to cure all harm,
And which frees us from all fear

Shot had come from left and right,
With shrapnel shell and flame
Had turned my sunlit days to night
Where now none would call my name

Years passed me by as I waited
Missed the generations yet to come
Sadly knew I would not be fated
To be a Father, hold a son

I heard again the sounds of war
When twenty years of sleep had gone
For five long years, maybe more
Till peace once more, at last had come

More years passed, new voices came
The stones and trenches to explore
But no one ever called my name
So I wished and waited ever more

Each time I thought perhaps, perhaps
Perhaps this time they must call me
But they only called for other chaps
None ever called to set me free

Through years of lonely vigil kept
To look for me, they never came
None ever searched or even wept
Nobody stayed to speak my name

Until that summer day I heard some
 Voices soft and strained with tears
 Then I knew that THEY had come
 To roll away those wasted years

Their hearts felt out to hold me
 Made me whole like other men
 For they had come just me to see
 Drawing me back home with them

Now I am at peace and free to roam
 Where ere my Family speak my name
 That day my soul was called back home
 For on that day my Family came

Michael Edwards, "The Day My Family Came"

Ex-servicemen are another group that account for significant post-war battlefield visitation. Frequently, these visits were group activities of veterans associations such as the Grand Army of the Republic in the United States and British Legion in England (Lloyd 1998). The motivation for pilgrimage by these groups was a desire to recapture wartime camaraderie, renew old friendships, and remember fallen comrades. Other ex-servicemen chose not to participate in these battlefield visits, preferring to try to forget the war and the places of their torment (Lloyd 1998).

ALVIN YORK

The man who would be celebrated as the American hero of the First World War made a modest entry into the world on December 13, 1887. Alvin Cullom York was born in the Valley of Three Forks of the

Wolf River, a beautiful, isolated place on the Upper Cumberland Plateau in Fentress County, Tennessee. This sparsely settled, mountainous region was the scene of violent guerilla activity during the Civil War. The population suffered equally from the depredations of Union bushwhackers and Confederate guerillas (Lee 1985). York's family was directly impacted by this lawlessness. His paternal grandfather died as a result of a raid by Confederate guerillas and his maternal grandfather was murdered by Union bushwhackers (Skeyhill 1928). Alvin York grew up as the third oldest of eleven children. Educational opportunities were limited in the Wolf River Valley and Alvin attended school for about three weeks a year for five years and became literate but never advanced much beyond second grade (Skeyhill 1928). York's father, a blacksmith, died as the result of a mule kick to the head in 1911 and Alvin, as the oldest son remaining at home, became the primary breadwinner for his mother, younger brothers, and sisters (Lee 1985).

York inherited a keen interest in hunting and firearms from his father and was an accomplished outdoorsman. Hunting provided an important addition to the York family diet and the opportunity for Alvin to profit at the Saturday shooting matches that were popular in Fentress County (Lee 1985). His prowess with rifle and pistol made him a frequent winner at these weekly contests. York's skills as a woodsman and hunter would serve him well in the coming war.

Gracie Williams was one of thirteen children born to Mr. and Mrs. Frank Williams who owned the farm adjoining the York place (Lee 1985). Gracie and her parents strongly disapproved of Alvin's wild behavior and

reform was the only path that might lead him to a successful courtship. Alvin was thirteen years older than Gracie and her father considered him too old for her (Lee 1985). In spite of the obstacles, Alvin and Gracie's relationship grew until the fall of 1917 when the distant war in Europe intruded on the isolated valleys of the Cumberland Plateau and Alvin was summoned to report for induction by the Fentress County Draft Board in Jamestown on November 15. He departed for basic training at Camp Gordon, Georgia, the next day (Cowan 1922; Lee 1985). At their last meeting before his departure Gracie promised to marry him when his military service was over (Cowan 1922).

York suffered deep mental anguish about becoming a soldier. He had embraced his new religion completely and a central tenet of his church was the prohibition against violence (Lee 1985). He was also deeply patriotic and acknowledged an obligation to serve his country. With the urging and assistance of his Pastor, Rosier Pile, York applied for conscientious objector status based on his religion. The Fentress County Draft Board refused his application and dismissed subsequent appeals because the Church of Christ in Christian Union had no doctrine other than the Bible (Lee 1985). York reluctantly joined the army.

After basic training at Camp Gordon, York was assigned to Company G, Second Battalion, 328th Infantry, 82nd Division. He was stigmatized by his fellow soldiers as a conscientious objector and made few friends in his unit. However, he was extremely fortunate in having Capt. Edward Danforth as his company commander and George Buxton as his battalion commander. These men were both well educated, had

strong religious faith, and appreciated the sincerity of York's beliefs. Through a combination of pastoral counseling and education they helped him reconcile the conflict between patriotic and religious duty (Cowan 1922). York consoled himself with the belief that U.S. military intervention was the only hope for peace in Europe and his role was that of a "peacemaker" (Skeyhill 1928).

The 82nd Division arrived in France the latter part of May 1918 (Skeyhill 1928). After trench warfare training the division was placed on the line in the St. Mihiel sector in late June. The St. Mihiel Offensive began on September 12, 1918, and was the first completely American military operation in the war (American Battle Monuments Commission 1938). York emerged from the St. Mihiel Offensive in September promoted to corporal and squad leader. The St. Mihiel Offensive was followed by the Meuse-Argonne Offensive on September 25. The 82nd Division was initially kept in reserve and was not committed until October 6 (American Battle Monuments Commission 1938). It was ordered into action as part of an assault designed to rescue elements of the 308th infantry, the famous "Lost Battalion" that had been cut off and surrounded since October 2 (American Battle Monuments Commission 1938). The mission of the Second Battalion, 328th Infantry in this operation was to attack west from Hill 223 just outside the village of Châtel-Chéhéry and sever the narrow gauge railway that supplied German troops encircling the "Lost Battalion" (Lee 1985). Alvin York's Company G was assigned on the extreme left of the Second Battalion. The Second Battalion attacked a little after 0600 on October 8 and came under heavy

rifle and machine gun fire from the front and both flanks that stopped the advance at the bottom of Hill 223. Platoon Sergeant Harry Parsons realized the attack had stalled and ordered Sergeant Bernard Early to take three squads, including that commanded by Alvin York, and move to the left in an attempt to outflank and silence the machine guns.

Early's sixteen men made a wide circle to the south and west and had gone about a mile or so in the dense forest when they encountered two Germans wearing Red Cross armbands. The German medics fled down a path and Early deployed his men in a skirmish line and pursued them. The Americans broke into a clearing and surprised a group of Germans who soon surrendered. As the Americans were organizing the prisoners, a machine gun position on the hill above the clearing opened fire. The German prisoners dropped to the ground and in seconds Sergeant Early was hit multiple times in the lower body, Corporal Cutting was hit three times in the arm, Corporal Savage was killed as were five of the privates. This left Alvin York as the senior noncommissioned officer and seven unwounded privates. York was so close to the German prisoners that the machine gunners had to expose their heads to aim the gun and avoid hitting their comrades. York engaged the German gunners with rapid, accurate rifle fire and shot any who exposed themselves to aim their weapons. A German lieutenant tried to resolve the impasse by leading several enlisted men in a bayonet charge. The Germans realized that York's rifle had a maximum capacity of five rounds and would run out of ammunition before he could shoot them all. York killed all the enlisted men and wounded the lieutenant in the stomach with his .45 caliber Colt Automatic Pistol. He shot the attacking Germans sequentially from rear

to front to prevent the survivors from realizing their mounting losses and stopping to fire their rifles. At this point a German officer in the group of prisoners offered to surrender his remaining men. York and the surviving Americans lined the prisoners up and marched them toward the American lines. They encountered several groups of Germans on their way and captured them also. York conducted the prisoners to the 2nd Battalion command post where 132 were counted. Because there were so many prisoners, York was ordered to escort them back to Brigade Headquarters in Varennes more than 10 kilometers south of Châtel-Chéhéry. For his actions on October 8, Alvin C. York was promoted to sergeant and awarded the Medal of Honor. His citation reads:

Rank and organization: Corporal, U.S. Army, Company G, 328th Infantry, 82nd Division. Place and date: Near Châtel-Chéhéry, France, 8 October 1918. Entered service at: Pall Mall, Tenn. Born: 13 December 1887, Fentress County, Tenn. G.O. No.: 59, W.D., 1919. Citation: After his platoon had suffered heavy casualties and 3 other noncommissioned officers had become casualties, Corporal York assumed command. Fearlessly leading 7 men, he charged with great daring a machinegun nest which was pouring deadly and incessant fire upon his platoon. In this heroic feat the machinegun nest was taken, together with 4 officers and 128 men and several guns. (<http://www.army.mil/cmh/>)

An article in the *Saturday Evening Post* in April 1919 brought the exploits of Alvin York to the attention of the public (Lee 1985). Newspapers picked up the story and by the time York arrived in New York from France on May 22 he was famous. He was greeted by a ticker tape parade, cheering crowds, and a formal banquet hosted by the Tennessee Society of New York. From New York he traveled to Washington, D.C., where he was the guest of Cordell Hull, his congressman from Tennes-

see. Hull would later serve as FDR's Secretary of State for eleven years (West 1998). York received a standing ovation from the House of Representatives, met with Secretary of War Newton Baker and visited the White House. By May 28 he was on his way to Fort Oglethorpe to be discharged and return home. His trip was prolonged by throngs of people who gathered at every train stop along the way to honor him. Once home, his first priority was to arrange his marriage to Gracie Williams. They were married June 7 in an outdoor ceremony with Tennessee Governor Albert Roberts officiating (Lee 1985). The next day the wedding party traveled to Nashville as guests of the Governor where York received a special medal from the State of Tennessee.

Attempting to settle down in Fentress County with his new wife, York found himself the recipient of countless offers in return for his endorsement. Newspapers, the entertainment industry, and manufacturers were willing to pay him hundreds of thousands of dollars for his cooperation (Lee 1985). York was adamant in his refusal to capitalize on his wartime experiences. The only gift he did accept was an offer of a house and farm in Pall Mall as a tribute from the Nashville Rotary Club (Lee 1985). Instead of personal profit, York chose to devote himself to the service of his community.

York's military experience made him painfully aware of his lack of education and the disadvantages children in the Upper Cumberland labored under from the lack of good schools. He concluded that the most beneficial educational project for the region would be a vocational school to provide job skills for local students. He formed the Alvin C. York

Foundation and embarked on a national speaking tour to raise money. He also lobbied state government for support. By 1929 the York Agricultural Institute was established in Jamestown and York named as the first President. Unfortunately, York lacked the background and management skills to make a success of running the school. Conflicts with local political leaders, the Fentress County School Board, and the State Board of Education led to his resignation as President of the York Institute in 1936, although he still retained the honorary title of president emeritus (Lee 1985). York was forced to turn his energies elsewhere.

York dreamed of creating a Bible school to instruct students on the skills necessary to live a Christian life. He lacked the financial resources for such a project and when Jesse Laskey renewed his offer to make a film of York's life story he was tempted for the first time to profit from his fame (Lee 1985). Laskey first became interested in a film on York when he witnessed York's 1919 reception in New York from his office window (Birdwell 1999). Laskey had tried repeatedly to interest York in the project but it was not until 1940 that York at last relented and gave Laskey permission for the film to be made under the condition that it cover his whole life and not concentrate on his combat experiences (Lee 1985) York planned to use his proceeds from the movie to fund his Bible school (Birdwell 1999).

Laskey considered Warner Bros. the best studio to produce the movie (Birdwell 1999). Laskey chose Warner Bros. for several reasons. Harry Warner had helped him financially when he lost his job and house during the depression (Birdwell 1999). Warner Bros. was one of the few

studios to use their films to alert the American people about the risks posed by Nazi Germany (Birdwell 1999). Laskey knew the patriotic theme of the movie would appeal to the Warner brothers politics (Birdwell 1999). York's association with Laskey and the Warner brothers while filming the movie caused him to reevaluate his position on military intervention in Europe.

By the mid 1930s, York had concluded that American sacrifices in the Great War had accomplished little of lasting value (Lee 1985). He advocated preparedness but favored isolation over intervention as Europe once again drifted toward war (Lee 1985). During the filming of *Sergeant York* he came to believe that Hitler was not only a military threat to the United State but an evil that threatened the entire world (Birdwell 1999). York became the spokesman for the Fight For Freedom Committee which advocated interventionism and was formed to counter the influence of the isolationist, anti-Roosevelt, anti-Semitic America First Committee represented by Charles Lindbergh (Birdwell 1999). York and Lindbergh debated on the radio, in the newspapers, and in public speeches until the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor settled the issue. The movie premiered in July 1941 but was withdrawn in August due to a Senate investigation of Hollywood instigated by Senator Gerald Nye of North Dakota and Bennet Clark of Missouri. The two Senators, strong supporters of the America First Committee, believed that movies like *Sergeant York* violated the official neutrality of the United States and amounted to prowar propaganda (Birdwell 1999). The investigation ended with America's entry into the war in December 1941 and the movie was re-released in 1942 (Birdwell 1999).

Another consequence of the making of *Sergeant York* was a revision of the original stories by the surviving members of York's patrol. Shortly after the battle the participants made sworn statements describing their individual actions during the engagement. These statements formed the basis for subsequent descriptions of the event (Lee 1985). Since the movie depicted people who were still living, it was necessary for the studio to obtain their permission before including them in the film. All seven survivors eventually gave their permission in return for payment but Corporal Cutting used the occasion to launch a personal effort to discredit Alvin York (Birdwell 1999). Cutting maintained it was he who captured the prisoners and he and the rest of the members of the patrol should be recognized for their heroism (Birdwell 1999). The survivors even went so far as to publish a letter in the Boston Globe on July 14, 1941, disputing the movie version of events and impugning York's courage under fire (Birdwell 1999). Their efforts were largely ignored but it does muddy the water for students of the battle.

York opened his Bible school with the movie proceeds but it closed within a year when World War II absorbed all of the potential students. York remained active in Fentress County after the war but his final years were marred by a battle with the Internal Revenue Service over his accounting of the movie profits and declining health. A major stroke in 1954 left him bedridden (Lee 1985). He died in August 1964. Over 8,000 people attended his funeral at the small, white frame church in Pall Mall where he had once taught Sunday School (Lee 1985). The State of Tennessee acquired the York house, farm, and adjacent grist mill after the

death of Gracie York as a park and it serves as a lasting memorial to Alvin York's life and works.

GIS FOR BATTLEFIELD LANDSCAPE INTERPRETATION

The use of Geographic Information Science (GIS) for the study and analysis of battlefields is a relatively recent phenomenon. Historical applications of GIS, sometimes referred to as Historical GIS, resulted in a convergence of geographers, historians and archaeologists in a virtual academic no-man's-land (Knowles 2002). The boundary separating the disciplines of history and geography has long been obscure and subject to debate. Baker defines the fundamental difference in terms of focus; history focuses on periods and geography focuses on places (Baker 2003). The study of history by geographers resulted in the emergence of historical geography as a subdiscipline of geography during the 20th century. Historical GIS is the application of GIS to historical geography.

The difference between history and archaeology is better defined. History studies the past based on documentary evidence while archaeology studies the past based on material remains (Fox 1993). There is a strong spatial component to both history and archaeology, and GIS can exploit that commonality to provide a whole that is a great deal more than the sum of its parts. The shared objective, regardless of academic discipline, is well expressed by Keegan as the propagation of an understanding of the past (Keegan 1976).

Historical Geographic Information Systems have been used primarily as an inventory and interpretive tool. GIS provides a framework for compiling spatial and documentary data relating to past events in a single organizational entity that serves as a permanent data library, a platform for analysis, and a visualization window.

The facility of GIS to serve as a permanent data library provides continuity for historic studies that is lacking in a strictly narrative product. A historian may spend a lifetime amassing knowledge about a particular place and time. A battlefield historian would study records and reports describing a particular battle, become familiar with the physical landscape through maps and personal observation, then reconcile description with location to arrive at a conclusion regarding what had actually occurred in space and time. The synthesis of spatial and documentary information occurs in the mind of the historian and the conclusions are expressed as a descriptive narrative supplemented with spatial analysis in the form of maps. The historian's mind serves as both the data repository and the analytic engine for the finished product and functions only as long as the mortal container survives. At that point, a later historian would be forced to repeat the whole exploratory process to arrive at the same end. GIS provides a more durable container for information and analysis and provides continuity for historic studies beyond the human life-span.

GIS has the ability to incorporate historic map documents into a digital database for comparison with other spatial data. Scanned, georeferenced historic maps can be used to reconstruct and visualize

historic landscapes. This aspect of GIS requires the cartographic knowledge of map projections, coordinate systems and scale to produce useful results (Rumsey and Williams 2002). Comparing maps of the same event from different sources can provide a quantitative measure of map accuracy and build a collection of spatial details that may appear on one map and not another.

Historical GIS has been applied at a wide range of cartographic scales. The Electronic Cultural Atlas Initiative (ECAI) is an example at the global scale. The ECIA was created to collect, standardize, and catalog on-line digital datasets useful for cultural studies (Lancaster and Bodenhamer 2002). The Great Britain Historical GIS Project and National Historic Geographic Information System (NHGIS) are examples at national scales. The purpose of the Great Britain Historical GIS project is to provide a comprehensive spatial database of administrative units used to collect population statistics since the mid 1800s (Gregory et al. 2002). The boundaries of these administrative units changed over time making accurate comparisons between time periods impossible. The GIS database records the administrative boundary changes and makes it possible to accurately map statistical data for any particular time. The NHGIS performs a similar function for census of population data for the United States.

GIS has been applied to the study of battlefields at a variety of scales. At the campaign level, a GIS database was used to create maps illustrating troop movements and military actions before, during, and after the Battle of Monmouth during the American Revolutionary War

(Berardo and Mawby 2003). Pearson used GIS to evaluate the accuracy of Union and Confederate maps of the Shenandoah Valley and determine if one side enjoyed a cartographic advantage (Pearson 2005). GIS was used to analyze Civil War earthworks along the railroad between Charleston to Savannah in Jasper and Beaufort County, South Carolina. By examining the situation and orientation of the earthworks in conjunction with the documentary record it was possible to identify the purpose of each work and the side responsible for construction (Smith, Clement, and Wise 2003).

The National Park Service has pioneered the use of GIS at the battlefield level. GIS was used to create a cultural resources inventory at Fredericksburg-Spotsylvania National Military Park (Lowe 2002). The inventory recorded cultural features in the park and also led to the discovery of additional features. GIS was used to create a map of the historic landscape as it appeared during the war on 88,000 acres surrounding Petersburg National Battlefield (Lowe 2002). GIS was used at the Chickamauga National Military Park to map monuments, markers, and descriptive tablets. The database allowed park staff to answer questions posed by visitors in search of specific sites where their ancestors fought in the battle (Lowe 2002).

GIS is employed by archaeologists to map artifacts, analyze their distribution at a range of cartographic scales, and predict the location of undiscovered sites (Harris 2002). An example of spatial analysis of artifact distributions for battlefield interpretation is a study done at the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument in Montana in the 1980s.

Although computer applications of GIS were just beginning, the procedures and purposes used at the Little Bighorn have much in common with the research project at Châtel-Chéhéry.

In 1983, a grass fire swept across the Little Bighorn battlefield. The fire removed vegetation, exposed relics, and provided a unique opportunity for archaeological exploration (Fox 1993). The entire battlefield was surveyed using metal detectors and each relic was mapped and photographed (Scott et al. 1989). The patterns that emerged from the relative locations of bullets, cartridge cases, bone fragments, and bits of equipment gave researchers historical insight unavailable from documentary records alone. These physical records provided information about individual combatants overlooked in the written accounts of the battle (Fox 1993).

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The validity of GIS for integrating history and archaeology is demonstrated using the site of Alvin York's exploits on October 8, 1918, in the Meuse-Argonne region of France. It is reasonable to expect that a physical record of events at the Alvin York site still exists. The study area was forested during World War I and remains in that state today. There is evidence of timber harvesting but no large scale mechanical or environmental modification of the site. Deep ravines, steep slopes, and shallow, stony soils have all contributed to a lack of development and population in the region (Johnson 1921). The absence of row crop agriculture, sparse population, and limited tourism have combined to preserve the physical remains of the battle. Spent cartridge cases and fragments of equipment are of little value to military collectors and are likely to remain undisturbed.

The application of Historical GIS in this study differs significantly from previous studies in several ways. The Alvin York study is conducted at a very large cartographic scale and seeks to clarify a small unit action at the individual level. The application of scientific archaeology to World War I is also in its infancy and has been confused with looting by collectors (Saunders 2002). By confining the search for physical evidence to the soil surface, the possibility of disturbing human remains or unexploded ordinance is minimized. This eliminates the two major

objections to World War I archaeology. This study makes a contribution to the historical geography of the Argonne region and tells the story of the American role in liberating Châtel-Chéhéry in World War I. The study area is a 4-kilometer square roughly 400 meters west of the village of Châtel-Chéhéry in the Argonne forest (figure 1). The study area is primarily communal forest with some privately owned woodland and pasture.

A spatial database was created to map artifacts recovered during field work. The spatial data base consists of data extracted from 1:25,000 topographic maps produced by the French Institut Geographique National (IGN), aerial photographs taken during 1918, large scale German and French trench maps derived from aerial photography and ground survey conducted during the war, and other historic maps. The spatial database shows historic and modern landscape features. Artifacts recovered by the surface archaeological survey can be superimposed and interpreted in relation to the current and wartime landscape.

BASE MAP CONSTRUCTION

Information concerning the modern landscape was obtained from the IGN 1:25,000 paper topographic quadrangle sheet titled Varennes-En-Argonne. The paper map was scanned in 24 bit color at 600 dots per inch (dpi) and saved as a TIF image. The TIF image was imported into ArcGIS and georeferenced to UTM Zone 31 North WGS 84 datum, using control points from the UTM grid printed on the map. Four control points were used and the total RMS error was 4.84 meters. The image was

rectified and saved in the TIF format. The rectified image was used to digitize contour lines, roads, streams, and general outlines of villages in the UTM Zone 31 North coordinate system.

The spatial extent of forest cover in 1918 was obtained by synthesizing information from aerial photos, German maps, and the modern forest cover represented on the IGN map. The 12th Squadron serving with the 1st Corps flew a photo mission over Châtel Chéhéry on October 1, 1918 (figures 2 and 3). The photos have some cloud cover but the edge of the wood line can be seen in the study area. The German trench map symbolizes the wood line for most of the area (figure 4). The IGN map also indicates open and wooded areas. By comparing all of these sources, a composite was created showing the wood line in the area of interest. This is significant since the German accounts repeatedly refer to the boundary of the woods in spatial descriptions.

The location of the German narrow-gauge field railways were obtained from the German trench maps. These maps were georeferenced using control points derived from road intersections, church steeples, etc. that could be located on the German map and the modern French IGN map. The RMS error for the German map was 10.64 meters. The French trench map was georeferenced using similar control points (figure 5). The RMS error for the French map was 7.01 meters.

Testimony of eyewitnesses was recorded by American officials to document and justify the award of the Medal of Honor to Alvin York. The German government collected eyewitness accounts from the German participants in an effort to dispel the impression of poor performance by

German troops on that day. These personal accounts were examined for spatial references and those references tested against the artifactual evidence for accuracy. There was also extensive correspondence between the American Battle Monuments Commission, Captain Swindler of the Army War College, Captain Danforth, and Major Buxton related to the details of the York fight. Burial records of the six men killed in the fight contain map coordinates describing the location of their original burials near where they fell.

A permit is required to conduct an archaeological survey in France. The author met with Yves Desfossés, the Champagne-Ardenne regional archaeologist, at the study site in July 2005, to discuss the permit process. Monsieur Desfossés expressed his willingness to issue the required permit upon receipt of information regarding the scope of the project, the research team, methodology, and affected landowners. A draft copy of the permit application was sent to Monsieur Desfossés in September 2005, and the final draft in December 2005. The required written landowner permissions were obtained by Michael Kelly with Bartlett's Battlefield Journeys and Frederic Castier, the Operations Officer for the European Mission of the McCormick Tribune Foundation.

A surface archaeological survey was conducted using a metal detector in the field. The method was similar to that used by Scott for the Battle of the Little Bighorn (Scott et al. 1989). In that study, bullets, spent cartridge cases, and remains of equipment from the Battle of the Little Bighorn were located using metal detectors. The distribution, orientation, and type of artifacts were used to map firing positions and

troop movements during the battle. At Châtel-Chéhéry, metallic artifacts located by metal detector were marked with wire flags. The surface leaf litter was removed to expose the artifact. The artifacts were issued a unique identification number and mapped using GPS. Relevant artifacts included cartridge cases, spent bullets, live small arms, ammunition and military accouterments. Artifacts were removed to a field laboratory where they were cleaned, identified, photographed, and cataloged.

A White Spectrum XLT metal detector was used to locate metallic artifacts covered with leaf litter. The x-y coordinate of the artifact was recorded using a Trimble Pro XPS Global Positioning System receiver using real time differential correction to provide accuracy of less than 15 cm. Arrangements were made with the European Division of OmniSTAR, with the help of John Pointon, sales director of North American division, OmniSTAR, Inc., for real-time differential correction services. The project coordinate system was Universal Transverse Mercator Zone 31 using the WGS 84 datum with units in meters. Coordinate and attribute data collected in the field were downloaded to a high-end laptop computer in a shape file (*.shp) format and analyzed using ArcGIS software from Environmental Research Systems Institute. The spatial distribution of the artifacts was analyzed in conjunction with historic documentary and cartographic information to reveal the movements and firing positions of participants in the engagement that resulted in the award of the Medal of Honor to Alvin York. The research team consisted of a multidisciplinary group of scholars. The author supervised the GIS/GPS work on the project and helped conduct the metal detector search. Dr. Michael

Birdwell, Department of History, Tennessee Technological University and the curator of the Alvin York papers, helped with historic interpretation. David Currey, Executive Director of Travelers Rest Plantation and Museum, Nashville, Tennessee, gathered material to make a documentary film recording the project. Michael Kelly, a historian and battlefield guide with Bartlett's Battlefield Journeys provided transportation and logistic support in the field. Frederic Castier, historian and official representative for the First Division Museum in Wheaton Illinois, and Damien Georges, Technicien Forestier with the French Office National des Forêts and Mayor of Fleville, provided language assistance and liaison with local residents and French authorities.

EXPECTED RESULTS

This study will have three results. First, it will demonstrate the ability of Geographic Information Science to integrate written documentary records, historic maps and material cultural artifacts into a comprehensive archive for site preservation and historical interpretation. Second, the study will serve as a model for recreating World War I landscapes for battlefield tourism and the production of interpretive cartographic materials. Third, the study will demonstrate the strengths of a multidisciplinary methodology over a discipline specific approach.

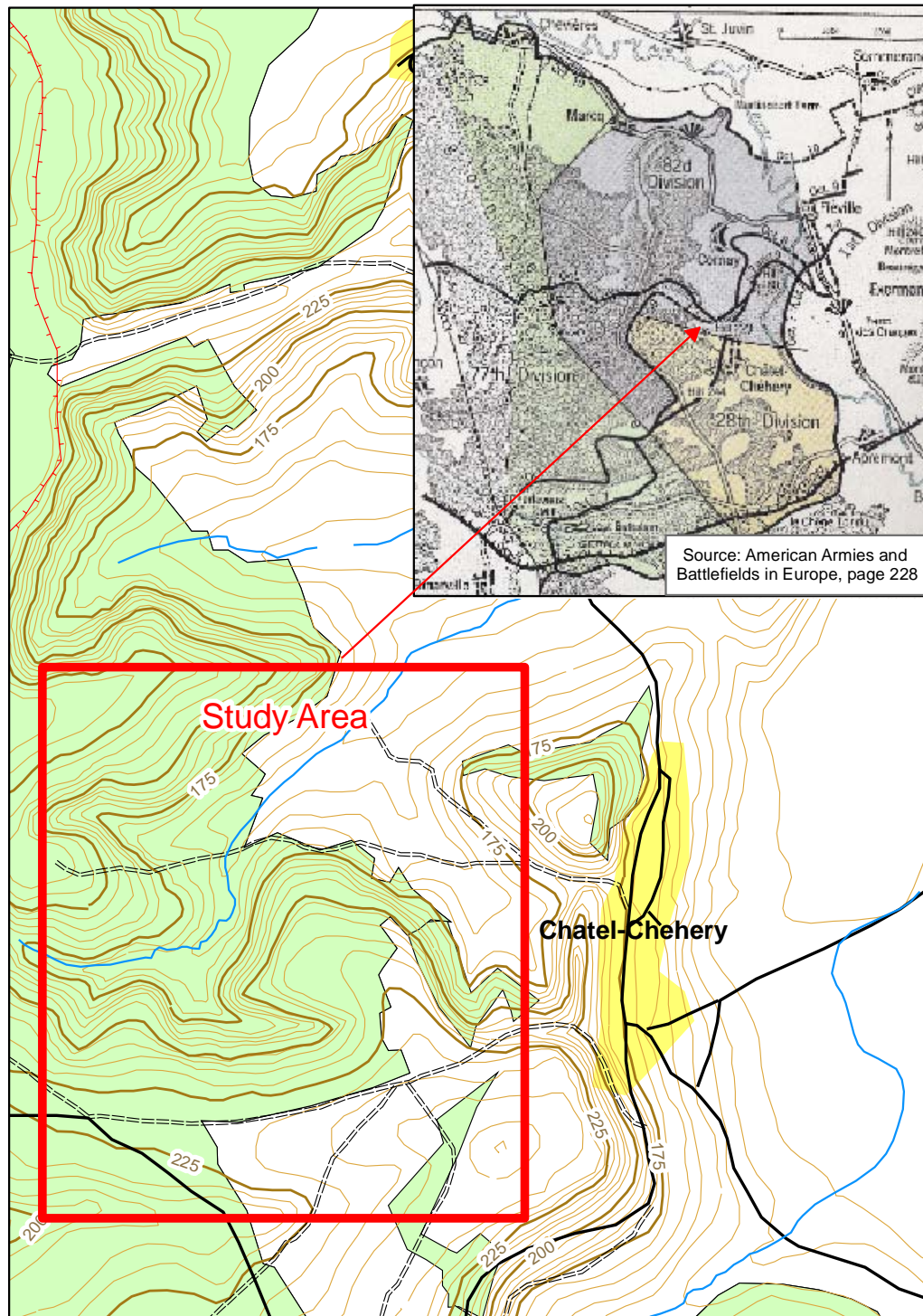


Figure 1, Study area for Alvin York Project



Figure 2, 12th Squadron reconnaissance photo mosaic



Figure 3, Photo 1370 from October 1, 1918

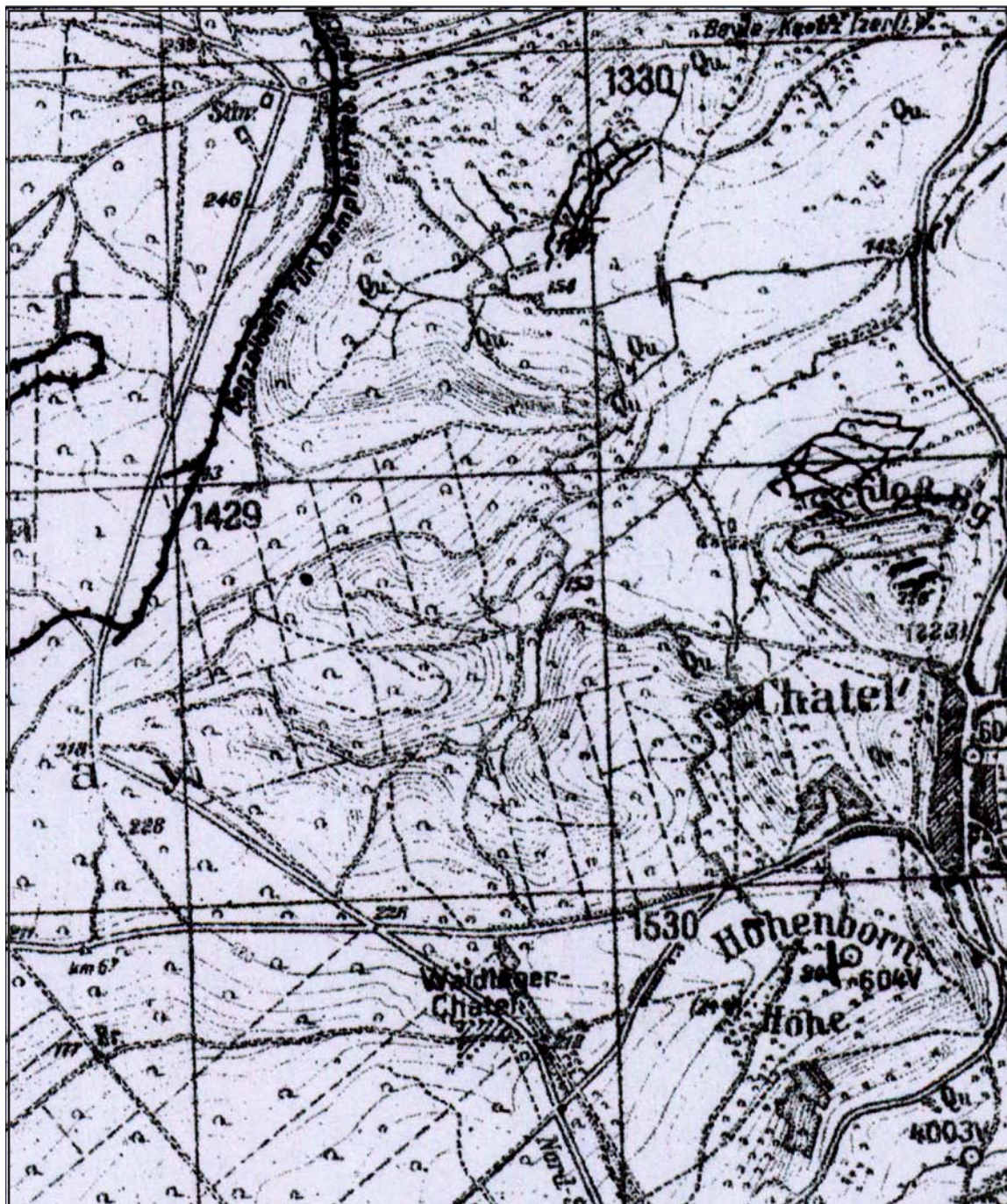


Figure 4, Part of German 1:25000 map showing area around Châtel-Chéhéry

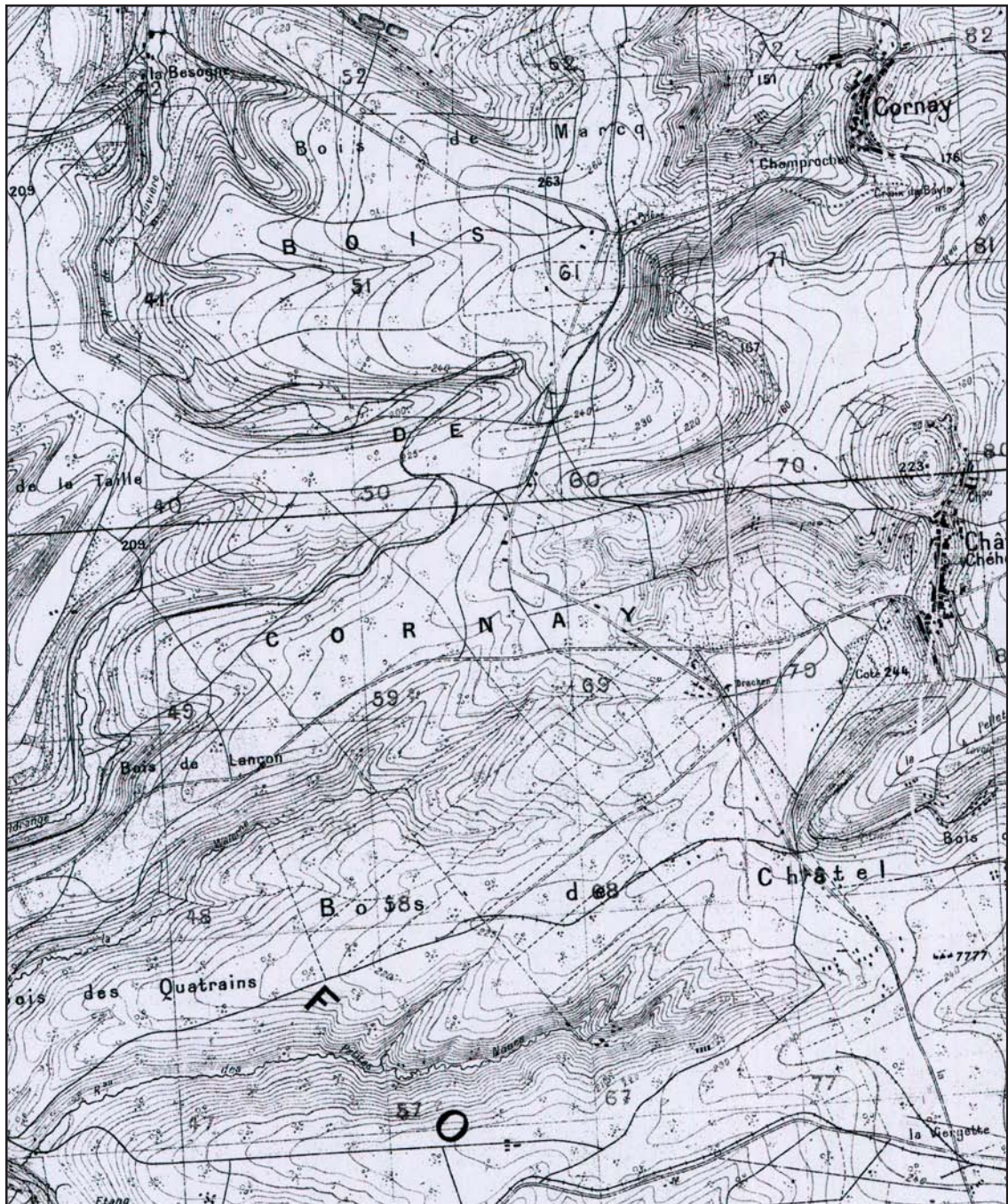


Figure 5, Part of French 1:20000 map showing area around Châtel-Chéhéry

CHAPTER IV

DOCUMENTARY RECORDS

Many of the documents related to Alvin York's exploits have never been published. These documents are extensively quoted in the following account to accurately portray the content of each source. Spatial references in the documents are underlined.

York's exploits were first brought to the attention of higher authorities when he reported back to G Company on the Decauville Railroad at about ten o'clock on the morning of October 9. York related the details of his activities to his commanding officer, Captain Danforth. Danforth resolved to fully investigate the matter when the battalion came out of the line. The result was that Danforth recommended York for the Distinguished Service Cross and later upgraded his recommendation to the Medal of Honor (Skeyhill 1928). York was awarded the Medal of Honor on April 11, 1919 (Swindler York of Tennessee 1929).

General George B. Duncan took command of the 82nd Division on October 4, 1918, just before the division was committed in the Meuse-Argonne offensive (Buxton 1919). After the Armistice, General Duncan held weekly conferences to gather information concerning the history of the division. In December 1918 Duncan appointed G. Edward Buxton as Historical Officer for the 82nd division. In a letter to the American Battle Monuments Commission Duncan explained how the division history was

“prepared with most unusual care and under exceptionally favorable conditions” (Duncan 1927). He described the process as follows:

Company and battalion commanders were directed to prepare the history of their operations and, when they were completed, a group of officers and men from each battalion was sent back to the battle field to correct their maps and check their data on the actual ground. The officers and men so selected were those who had a principal part in the operations and were personally familiar with all the details. The regimental histories were then prepared, and the regimental commander was sent back to check his history on the ground, and also to smooth out moot points between his battalions. He took with him officers and men who were personally familiar with the facts. In like manner, the brigade commanders were sent back to the battle field, and, finally, the Division sent the historian with the necessary officers and men to check up and correct all doubtful points. By frequent discussions and the examination of reports and all data available, the history was finally completed (Duncan 1927).

G. Edward Buxton, as division historian, was author and editor of the resulting division history. “When I was charged with writing the 82nd Division History . . . I went back into the Argonne with one officer from each combat battalion and spent nearly a month checking up on the operations of each day step by step” (Buxton 1930). Buxton was the original commander of the 2nd Battalion, 328th Infantry until promoted to Division Inspector on October 1, 1918, and was well acquainted with Alvin York. While compiling the division history he had the opportunity to examine the site of the York’s fight with both York and his company commander, Capt. Danforth, and was uniquely acquainted with the facts of the engagement. The *History of the 82nd Division A.E.F.* contains the

following account of the attack of the 2nd Battalion, 328th Infantry on October 8, 1918, and the actions of Alvin York.

In the 328th Infantry, the 2nd Battalion had moved west across the Aire River with orders to pass the lines of the 1st Battalion on Hill 223 and jump off at 6 hours, October 8, 1918, with a compass direction ten degrees north of west. Their objective was the Decauville railroad, two kilometers away. The 328th Infantry Machine Gun Company and the one-pounder and trench mortar platoons, also of the 328th Infantry were moved to Hill 223 and Châtel-Chéhéry for the purpose of supporting the attack.

The 2nd Battalion of the 328th Infantry assaulted with E Company on the right and G Company on the left, and with F and H Companies in support respectively at six hundred meters. The record of this battalion on that day constitutes a very splendid page in the history of the division. Under steady and intense machine gun fire from the northwest and southwest, this battalion maneuvered down the long western slope of Hill 223, crossed the five hundred yards of open valley, fought its way through a kilometer of heavy woods which covered the precipitous spur protruding into the center of the valley from the west and dug in along the Corps objective, the Decauville Railroad, at 17 hours that afternoon. It had on liaison with the troops attacking to the north of Hill 180, over a kilometer away. For most of the day it was without contact with units of the 28th Division, also attacking in a westerly direction from Châtel-Chéhéry. By nightfall this battalion had taken some 270 prisoners and left more than one hundred dead Germans on the ground. It had captured the astonishing total of 123 machine guns, a battery of four field pieces, two trench mortars, a set of electrical field signal equipment complete, four anti-tank guns and a quantity of German small arms and ammunition of several varieties.

One exploit in this day's work will always be retold in the military tradition of the country. It is entitled to a place among the famous deeds in arms of legendary or modern warfare. Early in the attack of this battalion, the progress of G Company on the left was seriously impeded by heavy machine gun fire from a hill directly south-west across the valley from Hill 223. Although this territory was south of the

zone of action assigned to the 82nd Division, it was necessary to reduce this fire or suffer disastrous consequences.

A force of four noncommissioned officers and thirteen privates was sent from the left support platoon of G Company to encircle the hill and silence the enemy guns. This detachment, under Acting Sergeant Early, encircled the hill from the southeast and by a very skilful reconnaissance passed through the heavy woods of the east crest and descended to the wooded ravine on the west side of the hill. The detachment in working through the underbrush came upon a German battalion estimated to contain about 250 men, a considerable number of whom were machine gunners. Orders taken later from the pocket of the German battalion commander proved that the mission of this battalion was to launch a counter-attack against the left flank of our attack at 10 hours 30 minutes. About seventy-five Germans were crowded around their battalion commander, apparently engaged in receiving final instructions. A force of machine gunners and infantrymen, however, were lying in fox holes fifty yards away on the western slope of the hill. Other machine gun detachments were located on the north and northeast slopes of this same wooded hill.

The handful of Americans, led by Corporal Early, appeared as a complete surprise to this German battalion. The large body of Germans surrounding the German battalion commander began surrendering to our men, whom the enemy supposed to be a leading element of a large American force which had enveloped their position.

German machine gunners on the hillside, however, quickly reversed their guns and poured a hail of bullets into the bottom of the ravine, killing six and wounding three of the American detachment. All of the noncommissioned officers were killed or seriously wounded except Corp. Alvin C. York of Pall Mall, Tenn. With Corporal York were seven privates, four of whom were mostly occupied in covering with their rifles the large group of German infantrymen who had thrown down their arms at the first surprise. A few shots were fired by the remaining three Americans, but the chief burden of initiative and achievement fell upon Corporal York.

Crouching close to the huddle of German prisoners, he engaged in a rapid fire action with the machine gunners and infantrymen on the hillside. The return fire struck just behind him, due to the fact that careful shooting from the

hillside was necessary by the Germans to avoid injuring their own men a few feet in front of Corporal York. The American fired all the rifle ammunition clips on the front of his belt and then three complete clips from his automatic pistol. In days past, he had won many a turkey shoot with the rifle and pistol in the Tennessee mountains, and it is believed he wasted no ammunition this day. Once a lieutenant on the hillside led a counter-attack of a dozen gunners and infantrymen against this extraordinary marksman, who shot the lieutenant through the stomach and killed the other before the survivors took cover. German morale gave way entirely and the battalion commander surrendered his command. Corporal York placed himself between two German officers at the head of the column and distributed the seven Americans on guard along the flanks and in the rear of the hastily formed column of prisoners. On his way back over the hill he picked up a considerable number of additional prisoners from the north and northeast slopes of the hill. When he reported at the Battalion P. C., Lieutenant Woods, the Battalion Adjutant, 2nd Battalion, 329th Infantry counted the prisoners and found they totaled three officers and 129 enlisted men. The prisoners proved to be part of the 45th Reserve Division. The three wounded Americans were brought in with the column. The six dead Americans were buried later where they had fallen. During the forenoon Lieutenant Cox passed the scene of this fight with a portion of F Company. He estimates that approximately twenty dead Germans lay on the hillside. (Buxton 1919)

The general public first learned about York's exploits from an article titled "The Second Elder Gives Battle" by George Pattullo that appeared in the April 26, 1919, edition of the *Saturday Evening Post* (Lee 1985). The newspapers picked it up and by the time York returned to the U.S. on May 22, 1919, he was famous.

In 1922 a book length biography *Sergeant York and His People* by Sam K. Cowan was published. Excerpts from several of the affidavits

taken G. Edward Buxton in 1919 were published for the first time in this book.

In 1928 another biography of York, *Sergeant York; the Story of His Life*, by Thomas Skeyhill appeared in print. This book contained a more detailed account of the fight along with documents from the War Department and from the papers of G. Edward Buxton. These documents were affidavits taken by Buxton and other officers of the 82nd Division relating to the York fight.

Major G. Edward Buxton, Jr., 82nd Division Historical Officer collected affidavits from Privates Beardsley, Saccina, Wills, and Donohue on January 26, 1919 (Skeyhill 1928). The first paragraph of all four affidavits is almost identical and is as follows:

On the 8th day of October 1918, I was a member of Corporal (York's or Cutting's) squad in G Company, 328th Infantry. When we were sent under acting-Sergeant Bernard Early to clean out machine guns on our left I was following behind Corporal (York or Cutting). I saw two Red Cross Germans and when they started to run, we fired at them. One of them stopped and gave himself up. We followed after the other German and about twenty paces from where we had first sighted these two Red Cross Germans, we ran into a bunch of Germans all together in an underbrush on the slope of a hill. When we appeared, Germans came running out of the brush and machine-gun trenches in every direction. There seemed to be about one hundred of these Germans. Some of them held up their hands and shouted "Kamerad" and gave themselves up. A few shots were fired at us and a few men on our side fired back. After this, all the Germans in sight stopped firing and came in around us, having thrown down their arms and equipment. Before we could line them up in column and move them out, German machines gunners, whom we had not seen before this, commenced firing down the hill at our men. This fire came

mostly from opposite our own right flank. We had six men killed and three wounded in a very short time.

Beardsley, of York's squad took cover behind a tree fifteen paces behind York with Dymowski and Wareing on each side of him. Both were killed by machine gun fire. When the machine gun fire stopped, Beardsley fired several rounds from his pistol. He could see York in front of him firing his pistol and hitting several Germans.

Saccina was a member of Corporal Cutting's squad. Machine gun fire from opposite the patrol's right flank killed six Americans and wounded three. Saccina was standing guard on the right flank of the group of prisoners when this occurred and credits his proximity to the prisoners as the reason he was not hit. He could not see any other members of the patrol from his position, continued to guard the prisoners and could not return fire. He was near the end of the column of prisoners when they moved out. A number of Germans who were not captured fired on the column as it left.

Wills was also in Corporal Cutting's squad. He was guarding the prisoners when the firing started and could see Donohue, Saccina, Beardsley, and Muzzi. He was close to Swanson when he was shot. He could not see Corporal York from his position but heard him shouting to the Germans to surrender.

Private Patrick Donohue was also in Corporal Cutting's squad. He fired one round when they first encountered the Germans. He could see Wills, Saccina, and Sok from his position guarding the prisoners. He states that each member of Cutting's squad fired at least one round

when they first saw the Germans. Private Donohue was slightly wounded in the shoulder.

Captain E.C.B. Danforth provided Skeyhill with this account of the action. The following is a summary of the description of the York fight provided by Captain E. C. B. Danforth, Jr. (Skeyhill 1928)

The 2nd Battalion, 328th Infantry attacked from Hill 223 in a direction 10 degrees north of west at 6:00 a.m. October 8, 1918. Danforth, in command of G Company, reached the jump off line at 5:50 and deployed his company in two waves with two platoons in the assault wave and two platoons in support. The left supporting platoon was commanded by Sergeant Harry Parsons and contained the squad commanded by Corporal Alvin York. E Company 2nd Battalion deployed to the right of G Company and there was no contact with the 28th Division on the left flank. The attack was directed toward a wooded slope across a 500-yard wide open valley. The attack stalled in the middle of the valley due to heavy machine gun fire from the front, from Champrocher ridge to the right, and from a heavily wooded hill to the left. Danforth accompanied the assault wave and when the machine gun fire from the left slackened at some time during the morning, the assault wave captured the hill to their front. At about noon, Danforth left the assault wave to bring up the support platoons which had been ordered to follow the assault wave at 300 yards. He and his runner encountered a group of 44 Germans at the edge of the woods to their left flank who surrendered. He sent the prisoners to the rear, brought the support platoons to the front and continued the assault with the other companies of the 2nd Battalion.

At about five o'clock the attack reached the Decauville railroad, the battalion objective, and dug in for the night. Danforth knew nothing about York's activities until the following morning when York reported back to the company at the Decauville railroad.

Sergeant Harry Parsons, Platoon Sergeant 1st Platoon, G Company gave a sworn statement about the fight in Kings County, New York on May 1, 1928 (Skeyhill 1928). The following is a summary of his account. The 1st platoon was on the far left flank in the second wave about 100 yards behind the assault wave. Machine gun fire from the front and left flank killed Lieutenant Stewart and forced the survivors to dig in. Captain Danforth was on the other side of the hill on the right of the company and out of contact with the left flank. Parsons ordered the left half of the platoon to deploy to the left flank and silence the machine guns. Sergeant Early was in charge with Corporal York, Corporal Cutting and Corporal Savage commanding the three squads. Some minutes later, he heard heavy firing from the direction the patrol had taken and "shortly after the German machine gun fire ceased."

This is a summary of the account of Bernard Early taken on April 11, 1928, in New Haven, Connecticut. Sergeant Early led the patrol from the valley under Hill 223 around the left flank about half a mile to attack the German guns from the rear. When they were well behind the German lines they surprised a German stretcher team. They pursued the Germans across a small stream where they surprised another group of at least 100 Germans eating breakfast. Early's men fired several rounds and charged the Germans with fixed bayonets at which point they

surrendered. Early ordered his men to cease fire and while issuing orders to line the Germans up for the march back to the Battalion P. C., Early was hit by one machine gun bullet in the arm and five through the lower body. He turned the command over to Corporal Cutting who was wounded shortly thereafter and Corporal York took command. Early was carried back to a dressing station with the German prisoners and later sent to the hospital.

First Lieutenant Edwin A. Burkhalter, the 2nd Battalion Adjutant, 328th Infantry collected affidavits from some of the survivors of the patrol in February 1919 (Skeyhill 1928). Private Percy Beardsley and Private George Wills gave sworn affidavits to Burkhalter in Frettes, France on February 21, 1919. Both men signed an identical affidavit and were members of the squad commanded by Corporal York. They described how the patrol was sent by Sergeant Parsons under Acting Sergeant Early to silence heavy machine gun fire from a hill on the left flank. They circled Hill 223 in a southerly then in southwesterly direction until sound of machine gun fire was between the patrol and the pinned down 2nd Battalion. The patrol descended the west slope of the hill into a ravine filled with heavy underbrush where they encountered two German stretcher bearers. The patrol shot at one of the Germans and pursued the other who ran away. The patrol encountered a battalion of Germans at the bottom and slope of the hill. The nearest Germans started to surrender but German machine gunners halfway up the hill opened fire killing six and wounding three men of the patrol. Survivors took cover in the brush and three or four fired two to three rounds at Germans on the

hillside. Heavy fire was maintained on the patrol by German machine gunners and supporting riflemen on the hillside. Corporal York was nearest the enemy and close to the bottom of the hill. He engaged the Germans with rifle and pistol fire. York shot a German officer and many of his men when they charged down the hill with fixed bayonets. The German battalion commander surrendered and York ordered the remaining Americans to position themselves at the center and rear of the prisoners who were formed in a column. York was at the front of the column behind two German officers. Germans on a nearby hill continued to fire at the column as it moved out. "A considerable number of prisoners were taken on our way back over the hill." York compelled the German battalion commander to order the Germans they encountered to surrender.

Private Joseph Knotski, Private Patrick Donohue, Private Theodore Sok, and Private Michael Saccina all swore to identical affidavits given to First Lieutenant Edwin A. Burkhalter, 2nd Battalion Adjutant, 328th Infantry at Frettes, France, on February 6, 1919 (Skeyhill 1928). This is a brief document without spatial references. The document states that York killed and wounded no less than fifteen Germans. The document also states that York formed the prisoners so that the Americans could not be fired on without hitting Germans and a number of Germans were made prisoner on the way to the Battalion P. C.

Captain Bertrand Cox, Platoon Commander, F Company, 2nd Battalion, 328th Infantry swore an affidavit to First Lieutenant Edwin A. Burkhalter, 2nd Battalion Adjutant, 328th Infantry at Frettes, France, on February 6, 1919 (Skeyhill 1928). Cox commanded a support platoon of

F Company and advanced over the area of the York fight after it was over. Captain Cox states that the ground was covered with German equipment and between 20 and 25 dead Germans.

The affidavit of First Lieutenant Joseph Woods, Adjutant, 2nd Battalion, 328th Infantry was taken at Frettes, France, February 21, 1919, by Major R. L. Boyd, Adjutant 82nd Division (Skeyhill 1928). Woods states that the Battalion P.C. was moved from Hill 223 to a hillside across the valley. He heard heavy and continuous firing on the other side of the hill. He later saw Corporal York and seven privates returning down the hillside to the P.C. with prisoners. He counted 132 prisoners including three officers, one of whom was a battalion commander.

This is a summary of the official record of the fight given by York at Divisional Headquarters as presented in Skeyhill's book (Skeyhill 1928). G Company was the left assault company of 2nd Battalion in the attack launched from the crest of Hill 223. Their objective was a Decauville Railroad two kilometers west. York's squad was the left-most squad of the left support platoon of G Company (the extreme left flank of the battalion attack) commanded by Sergeant Parsons. Parsons was ordered to advance with his platoon to cover the left flank. The platoon skirted the foot of the hill to their left to gain some shelter from machine gun fire from the right flank, front, and left front. When the attack was stalled by machine gun fire from left front, Parsons ordered Sergeant Early to take two squads and silence the machine guns. The patrol advanced in single file through thick undergrowth that limited visibility to a few yards. The patrol went to the right flank and rear of machine guns. At a point to the

rear of the machine guns the patrol turned “sharply to the right oblique” and followed a path directly in the rear of the machine guns. The patrol encountered two Germans with Red Cross arm bands. When they refused to surrender, the patrol opened fire. Early was leading and York was third. The patrol chased the Germans down the path and crossed a stream when the Germans turned to the right and ran in the direction from which they came. The patrol formed a skirmish line at the point where the Germans turned right and continued to advance and “were upon the Germans before we knew it.” On either side of the stream there was level ground about twenty feet wide covered with dense brush. A steep hill rose from the east bank of the stream and machine guns on top of the hill were firing across the valley at Americans. The patrol encountered about 75 Germans sitting around a small shack. Some of the Germans attempted to surrender; others resisted. The patrol opened fire hitting two or three Germans. Sergeant Early ordered cease fire to allow the Germans to surrender. York shot one German who was still firing at the patrol. The machine guns on the hill swung to the left oblique and opened fire on the Americans. York was a few paces from the German prisoners. The Americans and Germans hit the ground. Americans who did not take cover were killed or wounded. The survivors of York’s squad took cover behind trees and fired several rounds apiece. Lacking cover, York assumed a sitting position and engaged the German machine gunners with rifle fire until he had used all the ammunition clips that were easily accessible, and then switched to his .45 pistol. Machine gun fire was passing a few inches over York’s head but he was so close to the

German prisoners that the German machine gunners could not shoot him without hitting their own men. A German officer and eight or ten men with rifles attacked down the hill from the machine gun positions, one of whom threw a small grenade which wounded one of the German prisoners. York shot the attackers with his pistol and the machine gun fire ceased. During this action the German officer among the prisoners fired at York with his pistol but missed. York states the officer's pistol magazines were empty when he checked later. After the machine gun fire ceased this officer spoke to York in English and offered to make the remaining Germans surrender if he held his fire. The German soldiers with the machine guns removed their belts and arms and came down the hill. The surviving Americans formed the prisoners in a column of twos. The German officer wanted to face the column north and move out along the road that ran along the foot of the hill but York said the column would travel in the direction from which the American patrol had come. York used the German officers as a screen and captured another "machine gun nest" on the way to the Battalion P. C. where 132 prisoners were counted. York was ordered to take the prisoners to Brigade HQ in Varennes, a distance of more than ten kilometers, and returned to his company the next morning. In a supplementary statement York describes how Private Donohue helped Sergeant Early, who was wounded in the lower body, to the edge of the woods where they met a stretcher team from G Company that transported Early to the dressing station. Donohue was wounded slightly in the shoulder. Private Muzzi was wounded in the shoulder, and Corporal Cutting, wounded in the arm, walked out with the other members of the patrol. York thinks that some

of the German prisoners went back and brought out wounded German Lieutenant Endriss. York escorted the prisoners he captured plus another group of prisoners to the Brigade HQ in Varennes for a total of 208.

Patrol Roster

Corporal (acting Sergeant) Bernard Early (wounded)

Savage's Squad

Corporal Murray Savage (killed)
Private Maryan Dymowski (killed)
Private Ralph Weiler (killed)

Cutting's Squad

Corporal William Cutting (wounded)
Private Fred Wareing (killed)
Private William Wine (killed)
Private Feodor Sok
Private Michael Saccina
Private Patrick Donohue
Private George Wills

York's Squad

Corporal Alvin York
Private Carl Swanson (killed)
Private Marie Muzzi (wounded)
Private Percy Beardsley
Private Joe Konotski
Private Thomas Johnson

G Company spent October 9 in position along the Decauville Railroad proving flank protection for the 2nd Battalion attack north toward Champrocher ridge (Buxton 1919).

In 1929, the Army War College staged a military carnival for the benefit of the Army Relief Society. Part of the entertainment was a reenactment of the York fight. Capt Henry Swindler was tasked with writing an account of the action to guide the reenactment. Swindler was unable

to reconstruct the fight from the sources available and in July of 1929 wrote to Colonel G. Edward Buxton seeking to clarify some of the details (Swindler Letter to Colonel G. Edward Buxton on July 17, 1929). Buxton had been York's battalion commander and later wrote the history of the 82nd Division in World War I and was a logical choice for help. Swindler included a copy of the 1:20000 French "Foret D'Argonne" map sheet in his letter and asked Buxton to sketch on the map the position of G Company when the attack stalled, the route of York's patrol, location of the German machine guns, and the position of York, the German prisoners and other members of the patrol during the fight. Buxton replied on July 23, 1929, with a detailed letter and the annotated 1:20000 map (Buxton 1929) (figure 6).

Buxton said the attack was stopped not from fire coming from the front, which was expected, but machine gun fire from the hill southwest of Hill 223 which he indicated on the map (figure 6) by writing the number "2." He indicated the route of the patrol with a red line labeled "3-a" that circled south west to the crest of a hill due west of the hostile fire. Buxton showed the position of the Germans by an "X" and the number "4." The patrol attacked down the hill and surprised about 60 Germans in a small clearing who surrendered and threw down their weapons and ammunition belts. In response to a command in German from the steep hill to the east and north east, the German prisoners threw themselves prone on the ground. A burst of machine gun fire struck the Americans in "the outer ring" killing six and wounding three. York engaged the enemy "50 to 60 yards above him" firing three clips from his rifle and

three magazines from his pistol. Buxton states that only two of the other seven members of the patrol engaged the enemy during this time. Buxton states that additional machine gunners were captured at “3-b” and “2.” Buxton suggested that Swindler contact Major E. C. B. Danforth, Jr., who was York’s company commander and “very carefully checked this fight with Sergeant York and went over the terrain with him personally as I did myself.”

On July 29, 1929, Swindler wrote to Major Danforth enclosing Buxton’s letter and the 1:20000 map with Buxton’s annotations (Swindler 1929). Swindler also enclosed a 1:10 000 map of the same area (figure 7 and figure 8) and asked Danforth to sketch the details of the fight on both maps. Danforth replied on August 5, 1929, saying his knowledge of the fight was based on investigations “. . . I made on the ground shortly after the armistice and from a subsequent study in which I have been interested in making during the past year or two. I am afraid that no one, not even York himself, can give you a very accurate lay-out of the fight, but my sketch contains what I believe to have been the situation.” (Danforth 1929)

In response to specific questions from Swindler, Danforth stated that the route of the battalion advance “passed over and slightly to the south of the slope 150 meters south of the figure 220 in square 60” referring to the 1:20000 map (figure 6). He notes that this was in territory assigned to the 28th Division attacking from Hill 244 but his company had no contact with any American troops on the left flank until later in the afternoon. Danforth also sketched the area covered by the

2nd battalion during the attack on this map. Danforth confirmed that the location of the 2nd Battalion command post given in a field message sent by Wood at 8:55 a.m. as 97.4–79.8 was correct. This was the point where the patrol returned and the prisoners were first counted.

A German investigation into the York fight was triggered by an article in a Swedish journal in November 1928 (Merten 1936). A German citizen living in Stockholm was offended by the article describing York's exploits and requested that the German Minister of War investigate. This is a translation of that investigation by F.W. Merten from a copy sent to Lieutenant Colonel Muller in the Historical Section at the Army War College. Merten's translation included a sketch map of the German Positions (figure 9). To assist the Germans in their investigation, the U.S. War Department provided the Germans copies of reports for the American units involved and a roster of Germans prisoners captured at Châtel-Chéhéry totaling six officers and 207 men.

The German investigation contained testimony from several officers including First Lieutenant Vollmer commander, 1st Battalion, 120th Landwehr Infantry (captured), Lieutenant Glass, Battalion Adjutant, 1st Battalion, 120th Landwehr Infantry (captured), Lieutenant Endriss, commanded 4th Company, 1st Battalion, 120th Landwehr Infantry (Abdominal wound, taken to dressing station in Châtel-Chéhéry by other prisoners: possibly the lieutenant wounded by York in the bayonet charge), Lieutenant Kuebler commanded a platoon of 4th Company, 1st Battalion, 120th Landwehr Infantry (captured), Lt. Thoma, 7th Bavarian

Sapper Company (captured), and Captain von Sick Commanded 3rd Battalion, 120 Landwehr Infantry (not captured).

The following time line is taken from the 2nd Landwehr Division daily journal:

6:00 a.m. – Capt. v. Sick on Hohenborn Hill reported two officers and fifteen men from the 210th Reserve Inf. reported to him at 6:00 a.m.

10:15 a.m. – American attack, Sick reported Hill 223 strongly occupied and attempted penetration through the valley west of Hill 223 towards the edge of the woods at figure 153 (figure 4).

12:30 p.m. – Sick sends message from position 1.5 km south of Humser Hill reports enemy penetration north of his position and at 11:30 he had withdrawn the 3rd Battalion to the North-South Road with his front facing east.

This is the report of Captain v. Sick:

On October 8, 1918, my battalion (3d Battalion, 120th Landwehr Infantry) was occupying HOHENBORN HILL west of Châtel. On the right flank, I joined the 2d Battalion, 120th Landwehr Infantry; while my left flank had contact with the 125 Landwehr Infantry. A heavy fog prevailed; we could barely see 30 meters ahead of us. Early in the morning, I heard lively rifle fire to the rear of my command post, that is, in the valley north of HOHENBORN HILL. Shortly thereafter, several men of the 4th Company reached us with the message that strong hostile elements had broken through their lines and captured a number of their men, including First Lieutenant Vollmer. At first I did not believe this, as I thought that an enemy patrol might have penetrated the lines. Consequently, I dispatched a patrol to the north; after a while this patrol returned with the information that no trace of the 4th company could be found, but that strong

hostile elements were pushing on through the valley in the direction of the observation tower on HUMSER HILL.

All this activity occurred prior to 11:30 when Captain v. Sick withdrew east to the North Road.

A report by Major Krimmel, 2nd Battalion, 120th Landwehr Infantry states that there were no trenches in the area but there was a ditch running through the woods. The ditch would be the boundary ditch separating the communal forest from private land.

This is the report from Lieutenant (Reserve) Kuebler commanding one of the platoons of the 4th Company, 120th Landwehr Infantry. This report was submitted on March 3, 1929, but was compiled from diary entries Kuebler made on October 29, 1918, while a prisoner of war.

At dusk of October 7, we took up a position west of HILL 223. I posted my men for the night and set out to make a final inspection of the company sector, when I saw that we had no contact on our right flank. Immediately I sent out patrols to establish this liaison. The patrols returned during the night with the information that the 2nd Machine company was located on our right. I regarded our situation as very dangerous, for the Americans could easily pass through the gaps in the sector of the 2d Machine Gun Company and gain our rear. I called the attention of my company commander to my apprehensions, whereupon he dispatched a message to the battalion commander with a warning of our critical situation and a request that our company be permitted to occupy HILL 2 (this hill was located south of the depression in which the 4th Company was established) (figure 9). Unfortunately, my proposal was not approved. After several fruitless attempts on my part to contact the 2nd Machine Gun Company, I tried once more to effect a change in our position, by sending a messenger to the battalion commander; I informed the later that, unless the gap was closed, I would, on my own responsibility, occupy HILL 2 with part of the 4th Company. I received the following reply:

“You will hold the position to which you have been assigned.”

At daybreak, we gained the support of one company of the 210th Reserve Infantry and some Bavarian sappers. The Americans meanwhile advanced on Cornay; we greeted the enemy with a lively fire.

At that hour, First Lieutenant Vollmer, the battalion commander, accompanied by his adjutant, Lieutenant Glass, called on us to inspect our position. Just at that moment a tremendous bedlam broke loose in the rear. The American artillery isolated us by delivering a heavy barrage on HILL 2. Showered with rifle grenades, our company lost a considerable number of dead and wounded. The battalion commander ordered me immediately to defend the edge of the woods with my shock troop; while he and my company commander intended to repulse the Americans with the other officers and men, that is, with the remainder of the 4th Company (some 25 men), the 210th Reserve Infantry (about 40 men), and the Bavarian Sappers (approximately 20 men). The noise and the firing lasted about a quarter of an hour, when everything became quiet. Even the artillery fire died down. Things did not look right to me; placing Warrant Officer Haegele in charge of my shock troop, I left with two men to reconnoiter the situation. We were barely 100 meters away from my shock troop, when, all of a sudden, we found ourselves surrounded by American soldiers with their fixed bayonets trained on us. The enemy challenged us to surrender. Realizing that resistance was of no avail, I accepted the bitter fate.

From this point on, I wish to contradict the description given in the Swedish newspaper. Three American soldiers accompanied us three prisoners to the rear; while other enemy soldiers continued to advance against my shock troop. On a stretch 20 meters long, I passed at least 20 Americans. I noticed at least one squad of American soldiers at the exit of the woods, standing in a trench formerly occupied by a light machine gun of my company; further I saw Lieutenant Vollmer and the other officers surrounded by eight Americans who, flourishing their pistols, were describing a regular Indian dance around their prisoners.

The Americans failed to recognize me as an officer, because I was wearing a trenchcoat without insignia over my uniform. And so I was led to the rear with the other men by

at least 12 American soldiers; the officers were removed separately. According to my estimate, there must have been employed here at least 100 Americans; judging by the artillery barrage, the envelopment and attack were systematically planned.

I met Lieutenant Vollmer again at Varennes and asked him how it happened that his men did not move up to support us. He replied that the 210th and the sappers were so demoralized that he had to threaten the men with his pistol before they would advance. Naturally, this confused also the men of the 4th Company.

This report was submitted by Lieutenant Glass on March 4, 1929, and was written from memory.

At daybreak, October 8, 1918, I received orders to report to the 1st Battalion, 120th Landwehr Infantry, and replace the Battalion Adjutant, Lieutenant Bayer, who was ill. The battalion was commanded by first Lieutenant Vollmer. The battalion was located in a wooded ravine. The 4th Company was placed at the exit of the ravine near the edge of the woods, as security element and first line; the company was facing the CORNAY-CHÂTEL ROAD and partly the hill near CHÂTEL (HILL 223). When the 4th Company reported the Americans were getting ready to attack, Lieutenant Vollmer, accompanied by me and two messengers went to the front. We inspected the position of the 4th Company. The company was dispersed over a wide area; there was no trench. While we did not meet the company commander, we saw Lieutenant Kuebler, the Platoon Commander. Contact with the adjoining elements was not established, nor was that practicable by night in the closed terrain. In rear of the 4th Company, we met several groups of men who belonged to another regiment, probably the 210th Reserve Infantry. Their arms and belts laid aside, these men were eating breakfast. It may be that these men were the 'staff whom Sergeant York surprised during their morning meal.' I do not recall whether there was an officer among these men. When we expressed our surprise over their carelessness, the men declared that they had 'hiked' all night and, first of all, needed 'something to eat.' We knew then that these were the first arrivals of the support division which was promised us.

At a point whence we could see beyond the undergrowth, we observed American troops appear to the right and in front of the 4th Company; the enemy disappeared quickly. The battalion commander then sent me forward to find out where the Americans had gone. It being difficult to advance through the thorny undergrowth, I returned to the edge of the woods, left the 4th Company and penetrated approximately 150 meters to the right front. There I found three belts and one dead German. I could see the Americans a short distance away from me crossing a small meadow at the edge of the woods. Advancing in single and double waves, the enemy was pushing deeper and deeper into the woods. The terrain rose again; so I had a good view of the enemy. I retraced my steps as quickly as possible. In passing, I warned the various groups and especially the machine gun crews that they were being attacked in the flank and rear. I then looked for the battalion commander and learned he had gone to the rear. Some 70 meters behind the line I noticed him standing near me. I rushed up to him and had hardly started to make my report when I was suddenly surrounded by a number of Americans. Not until then did I see that Lieutenant Vollmer had been captured. I am not definite whether there were still more prisoners, not how many Americans were present. On the other hand, I still have in my mind a fairly clear picture of the American soldier in charge; it was he who kept his pistol aimed at me. He was a large strong man with a red mustache, broad features and, I believe, freckle-faced.

The Americans did not recognize me as an officer. Having received my commission at the front, I had been unable to secure officers shoulder straps for the overcoat I was wearing. Nor did I wear officers boots. These first prisoners possibly included the two Corporals Willig and Kirchherr of the Light Machine Gun Company; these two noncommissioned officers preceded their machine guns for the purpose of reconnoitering suitable gun emplacements. Outside of these two men and Lieutenant Kuebler, whom I mention above, I knew none of the prisoners.

The Americans drove us up the hill. Suddenly a German officer and several men with fixed bayonets jumped up on our left, that is, from the direction of our lines. I recall only the words exchanged between the officer and Lieutenant Vollmer: 'I will not surrender!'—'It is useless!'—'I will do so

on your responsibility!’ The officer was Lieutenant Thoma of the Bavarian Sapper Company. It is possible that the American soldier ordered and threatened Lieutenant Vollmer. I did not see, however, that this American shot the companions of Lieutenant Thoma.

Either in the course of this incident or a few steps farther on, we saw a trench before us. Approximately one meter deep, this trench was crowded with American troops standing not only man to man but in double rank. I noticed also several machine guns. About 10 meters in front of the trench, a German was lying on the ground with an abdominal wound. The man was on his back; it looked as if he had been shot from the rear. Two Americans were taking care of him. While I failed to recognize the wounded man, Lieutenant Vollmer informed me later he was Lieutenant Endriss, the commanding officer of the 4th Company. We crossed the trench and reached the meadow which I had observed while on reconnaissance. Here we saw a group of some 20 or 30 American soldiers. Additional prisoners were brought up; it is not impossible that Corporal York gradually rolled up the 4th Company from the flank and rear. Like myself, the Americans failed to recognize Lieutenant Kuebler as an officer. I also recall an elderly officer, probably Lieutenant Link of the 125th Landwehr Infantry.

The prisoners—I estimated 80 of them at most—had to line up in double rank. Before taking up the march, the Americans placed the first four prisoners in front for the purpose of using them as a screen. These included Lieutenant Vollmer, myself, and as far as I recall, another officer, but not Lieutenant Kuebler. The column then took up the march. In this connection, I wish to add something which the Swedish newspaper evidently failed to mention. The Americans threatened to shoot us. Lieutenant Vollmer explained this to us; nobody else could understand a word. To the German question: ‘what do you want of us?’ we received the German reply: ‘you will be shot’. The Americans drew their pistols, stood us against a tree and carried on a lively conversation among themselves. Suddenly some other American appeared and addressed our guards in a highly excited tone of voice. He ordered us to sit down and commenced to interrogate Lieutenant Vollmer. Another American cut off the shoulder straps on Lieutenant Vollmer’s overcoat, opened his coat and took his Iron Cross, 1st Class.

To his protests and attempts to defend himself, Lieutenant Vollmer received as only reply the words 'hold still'. Later, Lieutenant Vollmer asked permission to take along the wounded commander of the 4th Company; we carried him to Chatel.

Lieutenant Thoma of the Bavarian Sapper Company sent in his report on May 16, 1929, the relevant part of which is quoted below.

During the night of October 7/8, two platoons of my company, including myself, were placed at the disposal of the 120th Wuerttemberg Landwehr Infantry and assigned to the command of First Lieutenant (Reserve) Vollmer. At about 8:00 a.m., October 8, Lieutenant Vollmer ordered me to fill a wide gap which existed in our firing line. I advanced with one platoon, while holding the other platoon in reserve behind a slope until I had reconnoitered the situation. We passed an infantry regiment with a high regimental number; I think it was the 210th Reserve Infantry. We were surprised at the indifference and lack of precaution exhibited by these troops; the men had taken off their belts and side-arms and were eating breakfast.

The firing line was located on a slope covered with beech trees and undergrowth. On the left flank, I met a machine gun, its crew, I believe consisted of only one man. This particular point afforded excellent observation. Instructing my platoon leader to send out a connecting patrol to the right and place his men into position, I decided to remain with the machine gun. We had brought along several boxes of ammunition and, so far as I recall, one or two light machine guns.

I gave orders to open fire on some Americans whom I saw walking about on an open slope to my left. It is possible that, at first, I fired also on American troops who were leading prisoners to the rear. Naturally, I ceased firing on such targets as soon as I recognized them. I regulated my fire once more; as yet I had received no message from my platoon leader, although I heard the sound of lively rifle fire from the direction of the platoon. And so I decided further to reconnoiter the firing line and convince myself that the platoon had taken up the designated position. I had advanced but a few steps when suddenly I heard shouting in the woods and the

command given in German 'take off your belts.'

Quickly I gathered a few of my men and hurried in that direction, all the while calling out loud 'don't remove your belts.'

We advanced with fixed bayonets. Suddenly we were face to face with some Americans and their German prisoners; I recognized only several men of my company and the battalion commander, Lieutenant Vollmer. I exchanged a few words with Lieutenant Vollmer, but cannot say exactly what those words were. In effect, I called out "I won't let them capture me.' Vollmer replied something like this: 'It is useless, we are surrounded.' It was too late to withdraw, for several Americans appeared in my rear. And so I was led off with the other prisoners.

On April 8, 1929, Lieutenant Vollmer brought his report to the German investigators. After reading the reports of Lieutenant Kuebler and Lieutenant Glass, Vollmer declined to present his report. He rewrote the report and turned it in on April 23, 1929. It was clear that Vollmer was embarrassed by the events on October 8, 1918, and attempted to present his actions in the best possible light.

In the morning of October 8, I called on Major v. Sick, 3d Battalion, 120th Landwehr Infantry, and expressed to him my grave concern for the small force occupying the left flank. Major v. Sick requested me to assume command of the left half of the regimental sector, inasmuch as the entire sector was too large for him to control. In addition to the 1st Battalion, 120th Landwehr Infantry, I thus assumed command over the 7th Bavarian Sapper Company and the remnants of the Prussian 210th Reserve Infantry; the later I did not see, however, for the present.

I went forward immediately to orient myself, crawled along part of the front from right to left and noted that the enemy apparently had moved up closer under the cover of darkness. Moving forward a short distance, I observed some German prisoners who were being removed for the hill south of Cornay; these prisoners I presumed belonged to our neighbors, the 125th Landwehr Infantry.

Concerned about our weak positions along the edge of the woods opposite PLEASANT VIEW HILL, and fearing that the enemy had penetrated the front of the 125th Landwehr Infantry, I ordered one of the company commanders to send out a platoon, under a lieutenant to establish contact with the adjoining regiment.

Failing to notice anything that would point toward an impending enemy attack, I decided to visit the new elements that were placed under my command. I was approximately 300-400 meters from the edge of the woods, when I heard loud shouting in the direction of Lieutenant Endriss's company. At the same time, I saw our men retreating eastward, pursued by American soldiers. Accompanied by my adjutant and a messenger, I hurried toward the point where I heard noise and met some 30 or 40 men, all that remained of the 210th Reserve Infantry. These men were about to remove their belts and side-arms; I had to force them at the point of my pistol to resume fighting. Without doubt, it was due to our flanking fire that the enemy turned south and southwest.

Suddenly, we heard some yelling in the rear. As I turned and looked across the valley, I saw a line of American troops, with about five paces interval between men, located half-way up the east slope east of the NORTH-SOUTH ROAD. Possibly this was the same enemy who, I feared, had penetrated the front of the 125th Landwehr Infantry and gained our rear; then again, the Americans might have pushed back that part of our front which had faced south. I ordered the few men who were still with me to open fire on these targets. My men had hardly begun to fire, when someone called from the valley 'don't shoot; there are Germans here'. The situation was critical; I was a commander without troops; moreover, reconnaissance was impossible on account of the dense undergrowth.

There was little time to deliberate. Suddenly, several American soldiers came toward me constantly firing their rifles. I returned the fire as well as I could under the circumstances, until I was surrounded and alone. I had no choice but to surrender. One of the enemy, with his pistol aimed at me, directed me where to go; as to the others, I do not know where they went. Reaching the edge of the woods we encountered the Bavarian sappers with Lieutenant Thoma. I had no idea how strong they were; at any rate, I saw no more than

four or five men. As a matter of fact, I did not know that the sappers had gone into position in my sector. Realizing it was hopeless to put up a fight, and in order to prevent further useless bloodshed, I called out to Lieutenant Thoma that the enemy had enveloped our right flank and gained our rear. After some hesitation, the Bavarian Lieutenant surrendered.

We moved on, crossed the position formerly held by Lieutenant Endriss's company and saw Endriss lying on the ground with a serious abdominal wound. Finally, I, alone, guarded by the American soldier, reached the American advanced guard company which was established immediately in front of the former position of the 4th Company. There I met a large number of other German prisoners, including several officers; additional prisoners continued to come in. After the American Lieutenant tried to interrogate me, he motioned me and several other officers with his pistol to stand under a tree. Through an American soldier who spoke German, I reminded the Lieutenant of the fact that we were prisoners and expected to be treated as such as prescribed by International Law. I also asked the Officer to take care of the seriously wounded Endriss. This was done. We officers were then removed to CHÂTEL. There I was separated from the other officers, led into a former German dugout and interrogated by an American major.

If it was York who disarmed me and led me to the American advance guard company, it is very unlikely that he commanded those elements which gained our rear. The individual incidents followed each other so rapidly that he could not have made his way through the dense undergrowth and reached me in such a short time. As may be noted from my description, my entire staff consisted of three persons at most. I was in no mood for drinking coffee. As to the remainder of York's description—provided it applies to me at all—it is true only in that York constantly kept his pistol in the small of my back. Everything else is pure imagination, probably the product of a typically American megalomania. As to the machine guns, I recall having seen only one gun of the 4th Company; in the morning of October 8, this gun was still in action, despite the fact that it was located only a few paces from the American advance guard company. I observed no minenwerfer; nor did I know whether and where any were employed.

In addition to the testimony of the survivors, the burial records for the Americans killed in the action provide spatial information about the location of the York fight. Unfortunately, these records contain conflicting information. The initial burial of the dead was the duty of the combat organizations. Graves were marked with a peg and the one identification disk of the deceased. The other identification disk was attached to the body. The Graves Registration Service would then use the information recorded at the time of the original burial to find the grave, install a more durable temporary marker and record the location on a card placed in the burial file (Office of the Quartermaster General 1920).

All six of the American dead were buried on October 24, 1918, by Chaplain John O'Farrelly of the 303 Engineer Regiment attached to the 78th Division. This was over two weeks after their death. The bodies were buried close to where they fell (Buxton 1919). Each burial was recorded on duplicate grave location blanks.

. . . all burials of officers, soldiers, and attached personnel were to be reported at once on grave location blanks in duplicate, one copy being sent to the Chief of the Service and the duplicate to the Adjutant General's office.

Officers reporting burials were directed to retain a memorandum of each one sent in. Map references of grave locations were directed to be made on the map in use by the American Forces in the Area concerned. The edition, name and number of the map being used had to be stated in all cases. If giving map coordinates was impossible, the location had to be given in reference to prominent local landmarks. The report was expected to state how the grave was marked, whether by name peg,

cross, identification tag, record in bottle, or some other manner. It was enjoined that graves would be marked in such a way at the time of burial as to insure identification. (Office of the Quartermaster General 1920)

The Grave Location Blank completed by Chaplain O'Farrelly for all burials except Corporal Savage indicated Private Wareing, Private Dymowski, Private Weiler, and Private Swanson were buried in the order listed, side by side, in a linear grouping. This is confirmed by a newspaper photo of the four graves included in Private Waring's file (figure 10), grave location blank (figure 11), and GRS card (figure 12). There is no Grave Location Blank in Savage's file, but a letter written by the G Company commanding officer states that he was buried by a Chaplain of the 78th Division, undoubtedly Chaplain O'Farrelly (figure 13). The letter gives the grave location as 97.4-80.5 on the Foret D'Argonne map. Chaplain O'Farrelly recorded the location of the other five burials as 297.4-280.2 on the Foret D'Argonne map and presumably would have recorded the same coordinates for Savage. The discrepancy between the easting in the letter and the easting on the other five Grave Location Blanks is probably a typographic error in the letter. Another anomaly is O'Farrelly's use of the three digit grid coordinates and the letter's use of two digit coordinates referring to the same Foret D'Argonne map sheet. This can be explained by the 1000-meter Lambert Coordinate System grid used on the French maps. Grid lines on the 1:20000 series maps like the Foret 'D Argonne quadrangle use a 2-digit numbering system. The 1:10000 series map use the same grid numbering system but with

the number “2” added as a prefix to the 2-digit coordinate. Apparently the two grid systems were used interchangeably.

There are several other discrepancies between the Grave Location Blanks filled out by Chaplain O’Farrelly and the locations recorded on the G.R.S cards. O’Farrelly gave the same map coordinate, 280.2 north, 297.4 east for all six graves (figure 14). The following table compares the grave numbers given by Chaplain O’Farrelly and the G.R.S.

Soldier	Chaplain O’Farrelly	Graves Registration Service
Private Wareing	Grave Number I 280.2 N- 297.4 E	Grave 1, plot 1 279.8 N- 296.6 E
Private Dymowski	Grave Number III 280.2 N- 297.4 E	Grave 2, plot 1 279.8 N- 296.6 E
Private Swanson	Grave Number IV 280.2 N- 297.4 E	Grave 3, plot 1 279.8 N- 296.6 E
Private Weiler	Grave Number V 280.2 N- 297.4 E	Grave 4, plot 1 279.8 N- 296.6 E
Corporal Savage	Form missing 280.2 N- 297.4 E	Form missing 279.05 N- 297.18 E
Private Wine	Grave Number II 280.2 N- 297.4 E	Isolated Grave 279.9 N- 296.7 E

The first four soldiers were buried together as indicated by the newspaper photo and the G.R.S. grave and plot numbers. It would appear that Chaplain O’Farrelly skipped number two when recording the grave numbers for those four soldiers. O’Farrelly records Private Wine as being in Grave Number II and the G.R.S coordinates indicate his grave was 100 meters north and 100 meters east of the first four. The Grave

Location Blank filled out by O'Farrelly is missing from Corporal Savages file but it is logical that his would have been Grave Number I since the two sets of graves were separated by over 100 meters. The G.R.S. records indicate that the first four soldiers were buried 20 yards west of the creek and fifty yards east of the path at the foot of the hill. The G.R.S. record for Wine records his grave as being thirty yards west of the creek and twenty yards east of the path at the foot of the hill. Taken together, the records show that Savage and Wine were buried together thirty meters west of the creek and Wareing, Dymowski, Swanson, and Weiler were buried twenty meters west of the creek some 100 meters south and west of Savage and Wine.

The bodies of Swanson, Weiler, Dymowski and Wareing were disinterred on September 2, 1919, and reburied at the Meuse Argonne American Cemetery the same day (Office of the Quartermaster General). The disinterment records indicate the bodies were originally buried in their uniforms two and one half feet deep and were badly decomposed. Wareing was recorded as having a fractured skull at the time of casualty. Savage was not disinterred until May 25, 1921, was buried in his uniform and his body was badly decomposed. Wine was disinterred on November 2, 1921, from a grave one foot deep, buried in his uniform and had a fractured left scapula at the time of casualty.

The G.R.S cards for everyone but Savage give map coordinates close to the location of the fight according to Buxton and Danforth. The absence of records in Savages burial folder and map coordinates with two decimal places instead of the usual one decimal place recorded on

his disinterment records indicates some confusion on the part of the G.R.S. concerning his initial burial location (figure 15). Savage was disinterred in May 1921 but Wine was not disinterred until November 1921. The time lapse between the removal of the four graves on the same day in 1919 and the recovery of Savage and Wine on separate occasions over two years later suggests a problem locating the last two graves.

A further complication to locating the site of the original burials on the modern landscape is the discrepancy in the contours between the 1918 Foret D'Argonne map and the modern IGN topographic map. Map coordinates extracted from the Foret D'Argonne map relative to terrain features would not match the same location on the modern map. This creates another source of error when rectifying the G.R.S map coordinates to the project coordinate system (figure 16).



Figure 6, Map annotated by G. Edward Buxton and E.C.B. Danforth

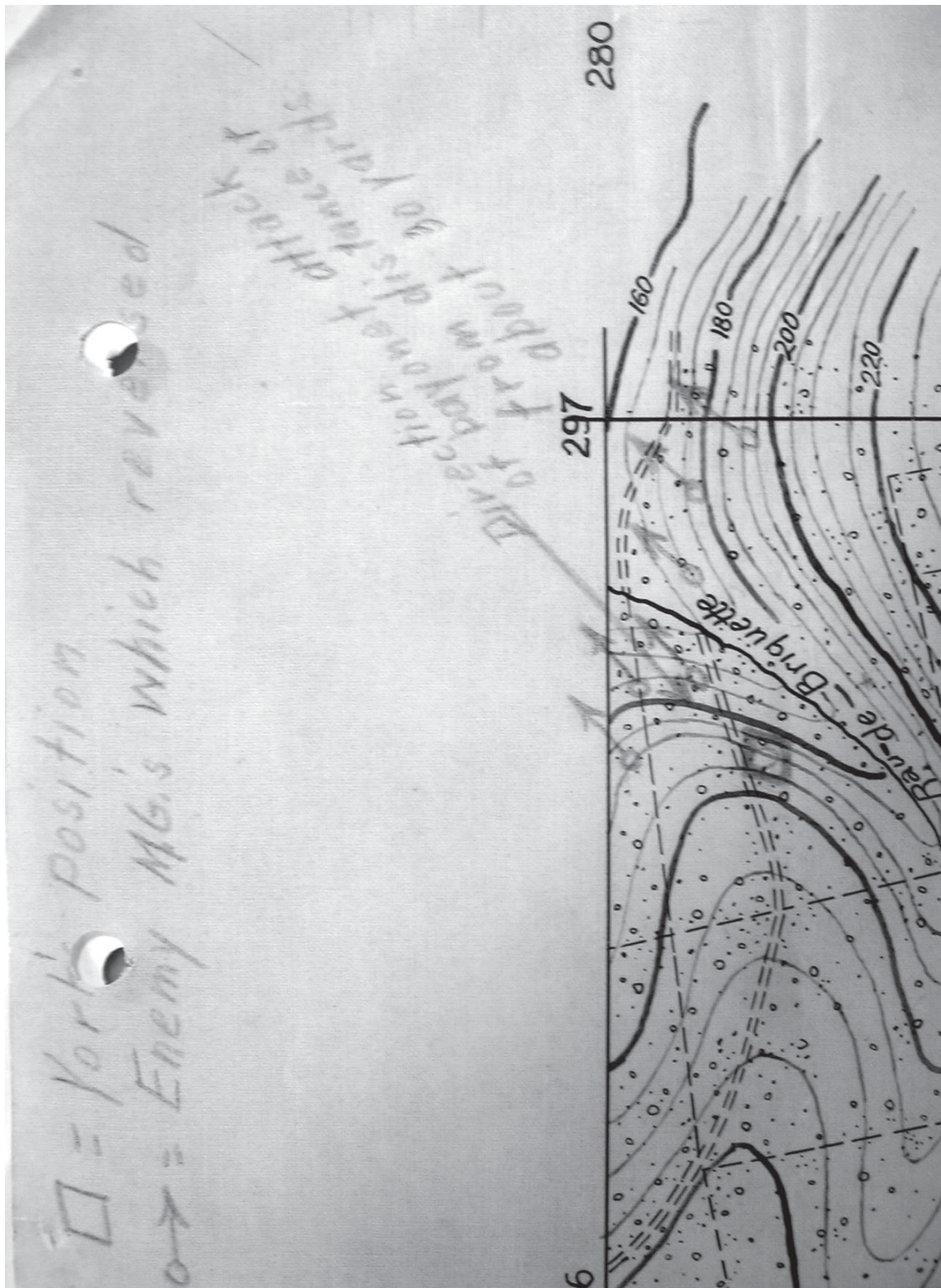


Figure 7, 1:10 000 map annotated by E.C.B. Danforth

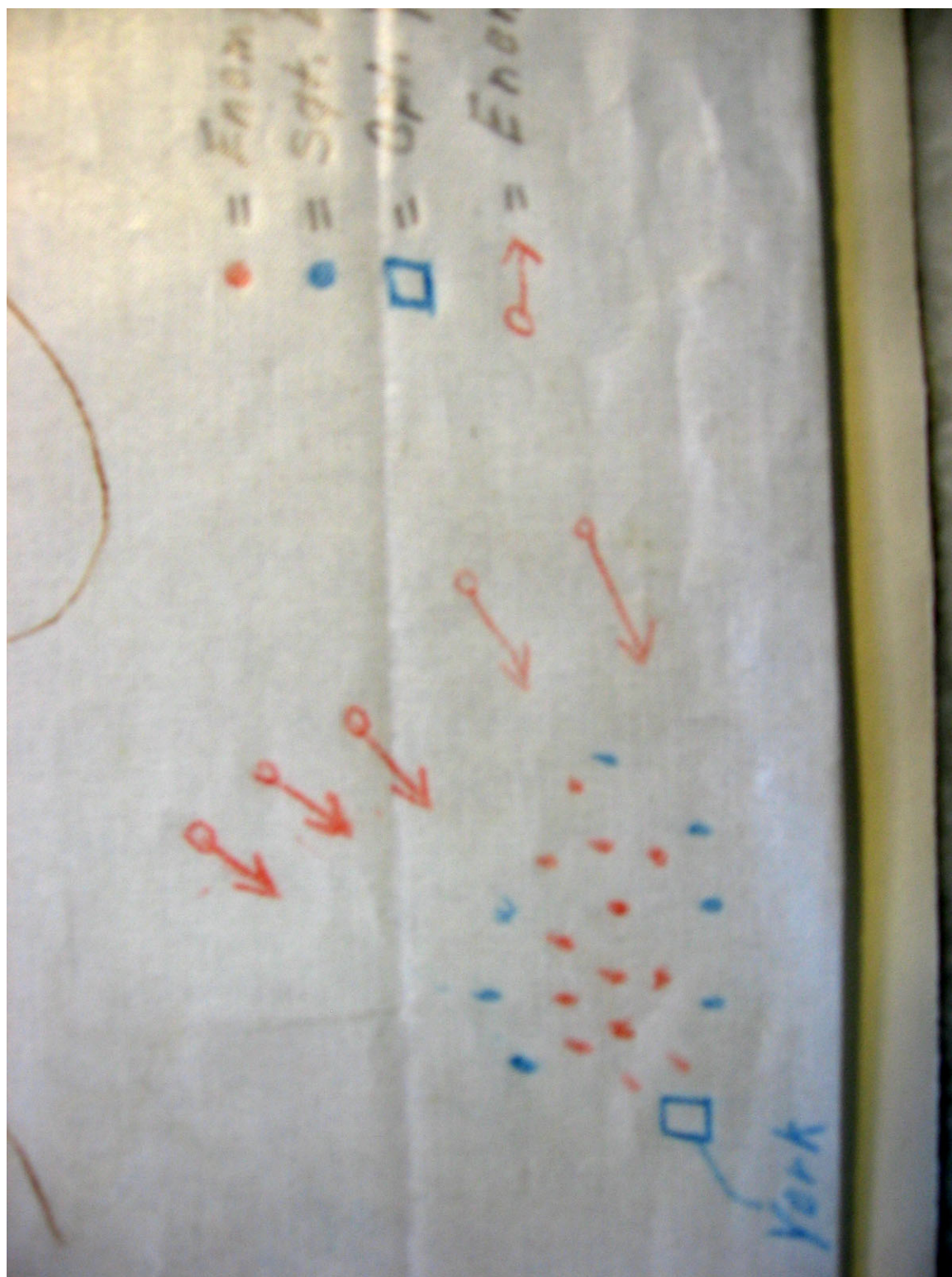


Figure 8, Sketch by E.C.B. Danforth at bottom of 1:10000 map (figure 7)

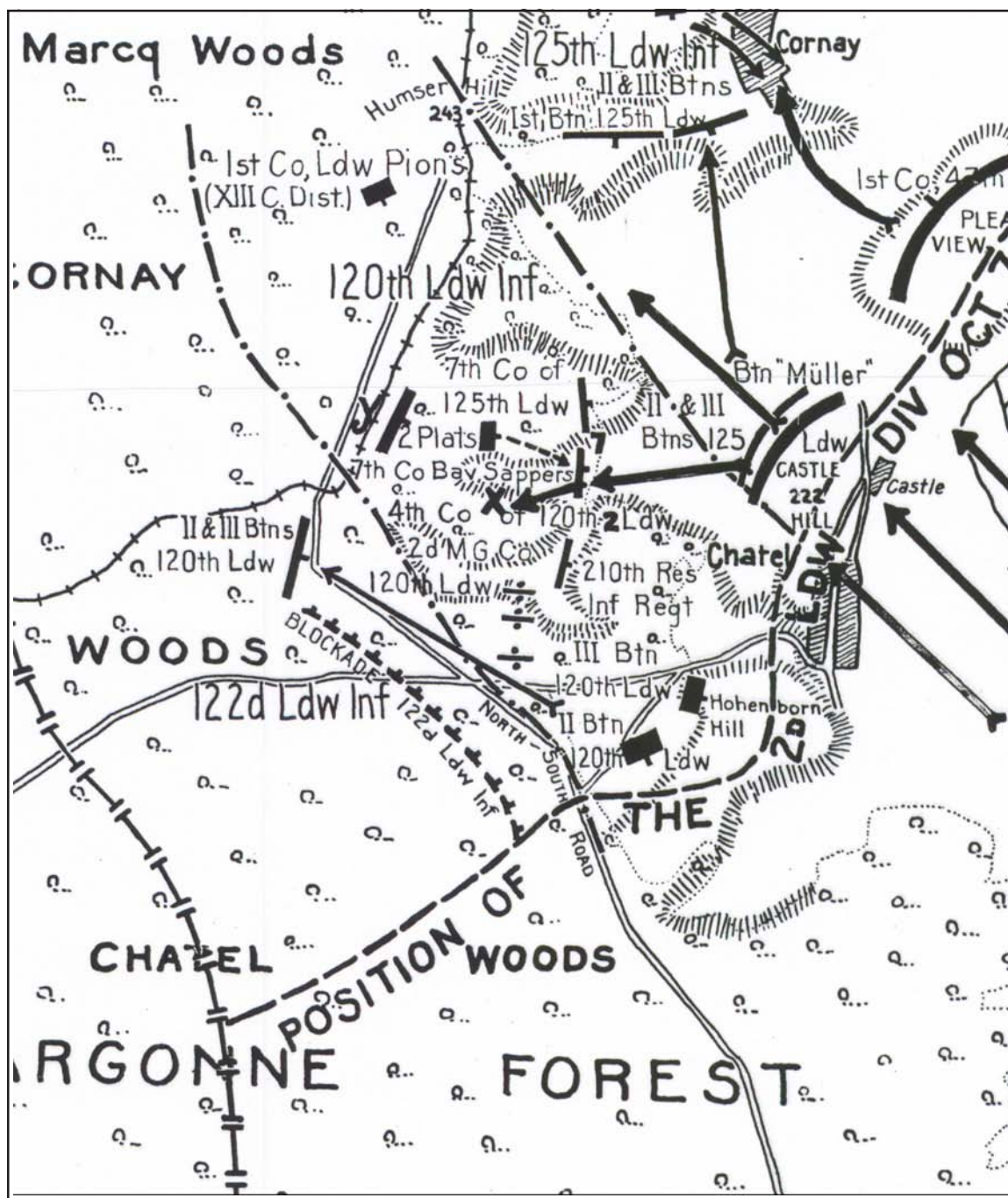
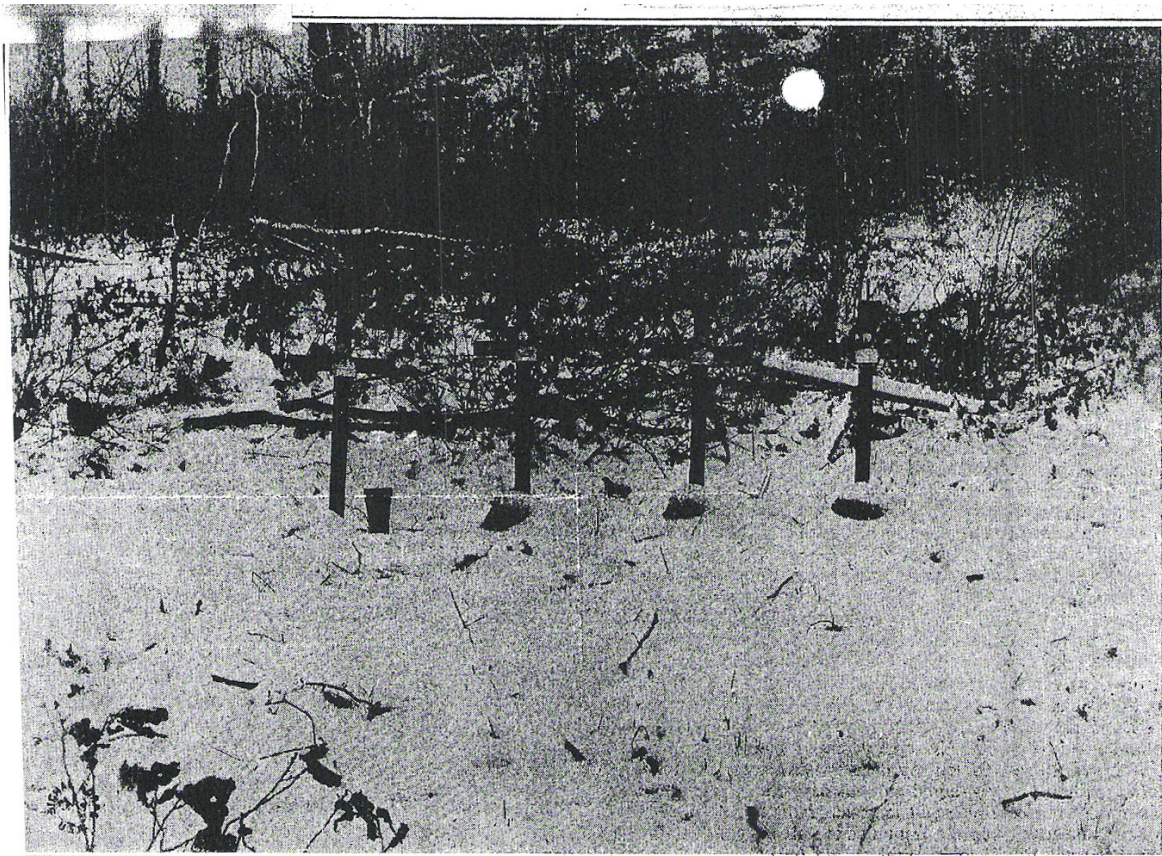


Figure 9, Map included with translation of testimony of German officers and Men Anent Sergeant York from translation by F.W. Merton



*American Graves Near the Scene of York's Fight. Here He Buried Privates Fred Wareing, M. Dymowski,
Carl Swanson and Ralph E. Weller*

*please please be sure you send the
right body back*

Figure 10, Newspaper photograph of graves

Ref: KLA 10/8/cc 3/1

GRAVE LOCATION BLANK

R LOCATION OF THE GRAVE OF
Lymowski, 1910254, Maryan
 (Surname.) (Number.) (First Name and Initials.)
Pvt - Co G - 328 Infantry
 (Rank.) (Organization.)

DATE OF BURIAL *Oct 24 - 1918*

PLACE OF BURIAL *Chateau Thierry*
 (Give Cemetery, Town and Department.) Map reference must specify clearly what map is used.
Genl Dugonne
2974 - 2802

GRAVE NUMBER *14*

HOW MARKED: Name Peg? *Yes* Cross? *Yes*
 Headboard? *Yes* Bottle? *Yes*

IDENTIFICATION TAGS:

Was one buried with body? *Yes*

Was one fastened to name peg or stake used as a grave marker? *Yes*

If name unknown and tags missing, description and marks should be given here:

REPORTED BY *Chaplain John O. Farrelly 3rd Lt*
 (Signature and Rank of Reporting Officer)

This portion to be forwarded to Adj. Gen'l. G. H. Q. A. E. F.

Figure 11, Grave Location Blank

DUCED
NATIONAL ARCHIVES

No, 1910254 Sketch No, 60

Name, MARYON DEMONWSKI

Rank, Pvt. Co, X Regt. X

Date of Death, Oct. 21st. 1918

Place, CHATEL CHEERY ARDENNES

Cause, Killed in action

Date of Burial, Oct. 24th. 1918

Grave No 2 Plot 1

Identified By Tags

Map Ref. 1.1 K.W. of Chatel Chehery, 20yd
W. of creek and 50yds. E. of path at foot
of hill.

S.O. Verdun 35,296.6 E x 279.8 N.

Field record made by, *Paul H. Harte*
Q.M. Sgt. Sr. Gr.

Group, 3 Unit, 305 G.R.S.

Roosh
803

C.M.M.E. CHATEL-CHEERY
C-246 S.H. 35 SW

Figure 12, GRS card

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Co. "G" 328th Infantry.
82nd Division.

SAVAGE, Murray L. Cpl. 1910273.
Home. Bristol Center, N.Y.

Cpl. Savage was advancing with his Squad on the morning of October 8th, 1918 just west of Chatel Chehery, in the Argonne Forest. He and his men had taken some 15 or 20 prisoners and were lining them up, when he was fired on from the flank, and shot through the stomach. He attempted to take shelter, but had only gone a few feet when he died. He was buried by the Chaplain of the 78th Division, at Chatel Chehery, Foret D'Argonne, 97.4-80-5.

Emergency Address.
Mrs. Belle McPherson
East Bloomfield, N.Y.

Informant. 1910393.
Macina, Michael A. PFC. ~~1910~~
Co. "G" 328th Infantry.
Home. 625 St. Anne St.
Bronx. N. Y.

Signed. Bertrand Cox.
Commanding Officer.

Feb. 18/
19.

Figure 13, Letter concerning burial of Corporal Murray Savage

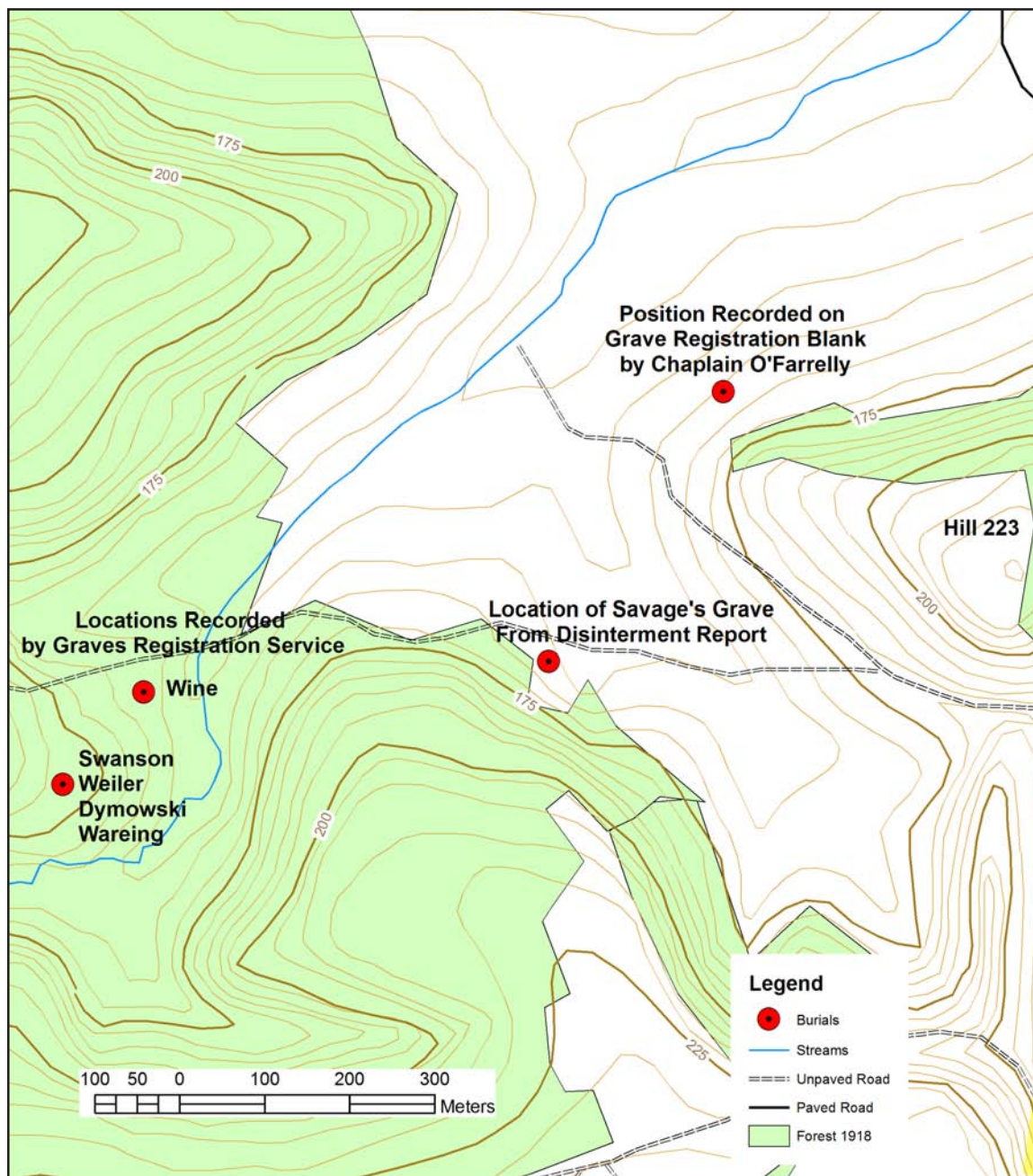


Figure 14, Location of American burials from Grave Location Blanks and Graves Registration Service

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

RG 92

(Folder 2) 293-SAVAGE, MURRAY

Box 4297

R. S. Form. No. 16-A

Place Romagne-sous-Montfaucon, Meuse.

REPORT OF DISINTERMENT AND REBURIAL

Date May 25, 1921.1. REMAINS OF MURRAY L. SAVAGE, SERIAL NUMBER 1910273.RANK Pvt., ORGANIZATION USA.2. Disinterred (date): May 25, 1921. From (give complete location):Isolated grave, Bois de Chatel, Chatel-Chéhery.Map 358W N279.05 E297.18.By: Group J. F. Richards, Unit Area #1.3. Reburied (date): May 25, 1921. In (give complete location):Grave #189, section 113, plot 4,Argonne American Cemetery #1232.By: Group G. T. Parker, Unit Cem. 1232, Area #1. Nature of reburial Regulation.4. Report as to nature of original burial and condition of body upon disinterment: Body was buried in uniform, shoes about size #8. Body badly decomposed. Temporary grave marker marked grave and had an identification tag attached.5. (a) Identification tags: Buried with body? Yes (1). On grave marker? Yes (1).(b) Other means of identification found upon disinterment, and general remarks: The identification tag found on temporary grave marker read MURRAY L. SAVAGE PVT USA other side 1910273. The identification plaque found on what read M. L. SAVAGE USA 1910273.

6. What does examination of body show as regards the following identifying items?

- (a) Height (actual measurement) Impossible to determine. Gold crown. Gold flig.
- (b) Weight (estimated) Impossible to determine. Missing A/D.
- (c) Hair—Color None. Amalgam flig. Cavity. Amalgam flig. Amalgam flig. Missing A/D.
- Quantity None. Amalgam fligs.
- Characteristics None.
- (d) Hair on face—Color None. Diagram represents the mouth wide open.
- Location None.
- Quantity None. Amalgam flig.
- (e) Permanent marks on body (old scars, peculiarities, or missing parts) None.
- (f) Wounds or missing parts (received at time of casualty) None.

Body examined by Major H. C. Bierbower, M. C.

7. Disinterment supervised by J. F. RICHARDS, Civ. Empl., AGRS, QMC, in E.

8. Reburial supervised by H. C. BIERBOWER, Major, M. C.

Approved: L. O. MATHEWS, Major, Q.M.C.(Title) L. O. MATHEWS, Major, Q.M.C.

Approved: _____

(Title) _____

Figure 15, Report of Disinterment and Reburial

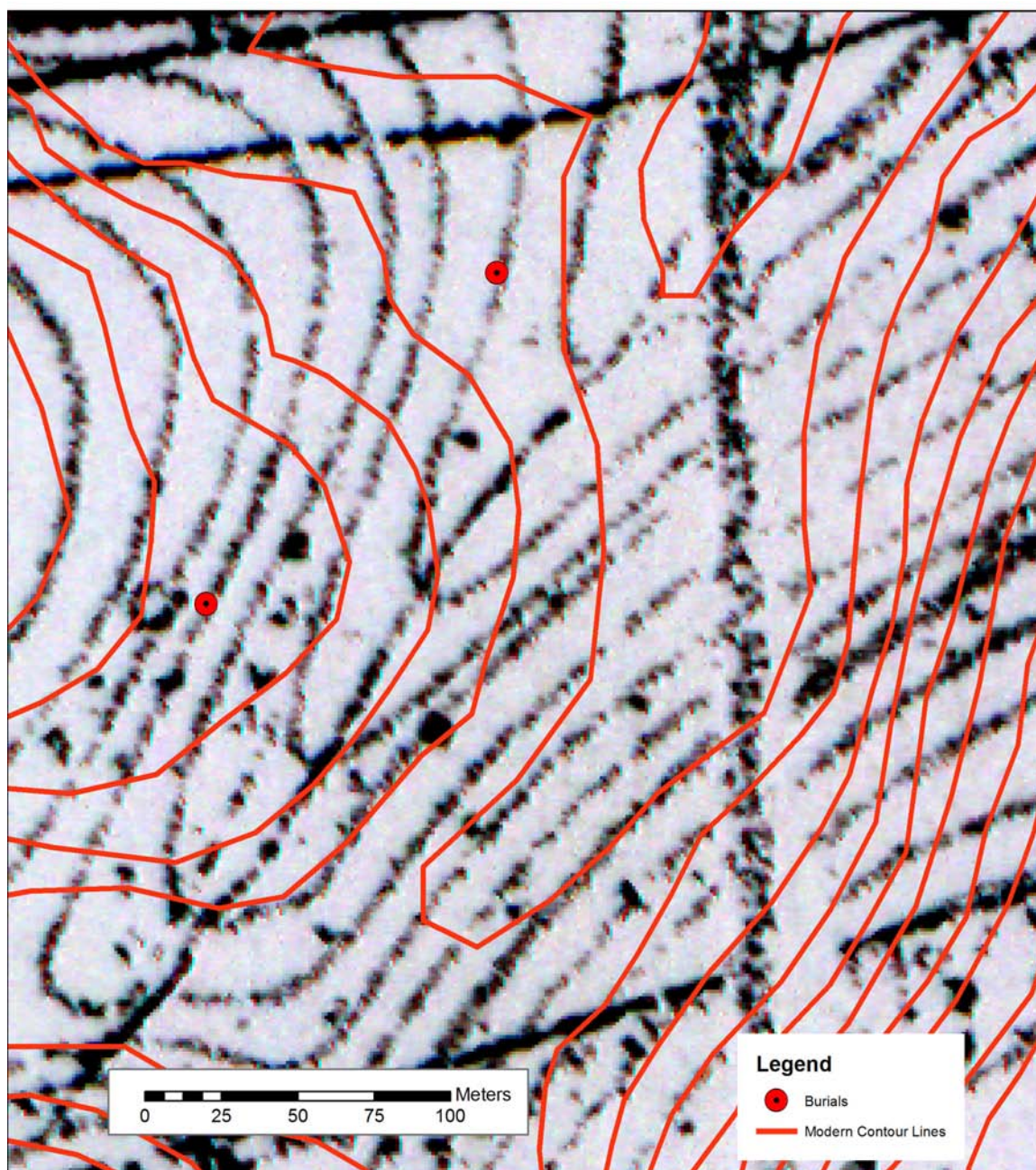


Figure 16, Comparison of contour lines from scanned georeferenced image of French 1:20000 map with contour lines digitized from IGN 1:250000 map

CHAPTER V

FIELD WORK AT CHÂTEL-CHÉHÉRY

The first trip to the field took place from March 3 to March 9, 2006. Michael Birdwell, David Currey, and I traveled from Nashville to Charles DeGaulle Airport outside Paris. We met Michael Kelly and Fred Castier in Paris and drove to Hotel d'Argonne in Vouziers, about two and one half hour's drive. The hotel served as our base of operations. One of the problems in this region is the lack of accommodation; it took about 45 minutes to travel to and from Vouziers to Châtel-Chéhéry each day. Our first day in the field was Sunday, March 5, and we were met on site by Champagne-Ardenne Regional Archaeologist Yves Desfossés who spoke excellent English. We had been granted a permit by the Champagne-Ardenne Service Regional de L'Archeologie giving us permission to do a surface metal detector study in the study area shown on the map in figure 1. The weather was cold and daytime temperatures hovered around the freezing mark. The ground was covered with about four inches of snow. It rained or snowed every day we were in the field.

We started our search in the flat area along the stream running north-south that matched Alvin York's description of the point of initial contact. Very little in the way of artifacts was recovered the first day. It required practice to accurately interpret the metal detector readings and we dug in several spots that yielded nothing. The snow also prevented

the sensing loop from being in close proximity to the ground surface. We were joined that day by Damien Georges, the regional forester and Mayor of Fleville, and Roland Destenay, the Mayor of Châtel-Chéhéry. Fred Castier served as our interpreter as no other member of the team spoke French. Damien pointed out some of the local landmarks, one of which was a ditch running up the side of the hill. We had mistaken this for the remains of a trench but Damien explained it was an ancient ditch constructed to mark the boundary between communal forest land and private property. This was roughly in the area indicated by Danforth as the location of several German machine guns so we metal-detected along the edge of the ditch facing Hill 223 the next day and began to uncover some artifacts. Here we recovered several 7.92mm expended cartridge cases, a muzzle protector for a Gew. 93 rifle, a German mess tin, and a pile of 161 7.92mm cases and several live rounds. The concentration of so many cartridge cases in a small area indicated the firing position of a German machine gun.

These artifacts were mapped using a Trimble Pathfinder Pro XRS GPS receiver with a TD-2 data collector. Previous arrangements had been made with John Pointon of Omnistar for access to real time differential correction broadcast from the Omnistar satellite in Europe, but the steep hills and thick timber prevented reception of the satellite signal and we had to be content with 3D uncorrected positions that were only accurate to about 10 meters. On Tuesday, our third day in the field, we searched along the boundary ditch and recovered several more 7.92mm cases and a concentration of French rifle grenades behind the German machine

gun position. Late in the afternoon we moved down the slope toward the creek where we recovered the first American artifacts. These consisted of two full clips of 30-06, some 30-06 fired cases and an empty American brass stripper clip. This was the first indication of an American soldier in action, firing and reloading his weapon.

Wednesday morning dawned cold and dreary and we began work in light rain that created an eerie fog as it fell on the snow. We found a few more 30-06 cases and a French tear gas grenade but no .45 cartridge cases that would indicate that Alvin York had fired his pistol. We left early the next morning to return home with the feeling we had made progress but needed more conclusive evidence. We immediately began planning a return visit.

The next trip was made in November 2006. Yves Desfossés renewed our archaeology permit and I again made arrangements to have real time differential correction through John Pointon of Omnistar. This time we planned to use the Trimble Pro XLS as a base station at our accommodation in Fleville where we could receive the real time differential correction satellite. Field GPS data would be collected with a Trimble Pathfinder Pocket GPS Receiver and a Trimble Recon running ArcPad as the data collector. This would allow post-processing differential correction of our field data to sub-meter accuracy. This time the team was composed of Michael Birdwell, Michael Kelly, and Jim Deppen, a historian from Nashville, and me. Our accommodation was a furnished house in the village of Fleville owned by the village and run by the mayor, Damien Georges, and his wife Dominique. This put us only a couple of

miles from the search site west of Châtel-Chéhéry and greatly reduced our travel time. We were joined in Fleville by Eddie Browne and Ian Cobb of Dorset, England. Eddie is a professional military collector and proprietor of Boscombe Militaries in Bournemouth, Dorset. Ian has been a military collector for 25 years, served in the Territorial Army with the 1st Battalion Wessex Regiment, and has made extensive study of the Dorset and Wessex Regiments in World War I and World War II. Eddie and Ian were both interested in the story of Alvin York and had made some finds in the Chatel area that were of potential relevance to our study. Eddie had also donated several items to the Alvin York Historic site in Pall Mall, Tennessee. Both Eddie and Ian brought their own metal detectors giving us three. We were also joined by Birger Stichelbaut, a Belgian archaeologist who had done extensive work with GIS and aerial photos for World War I battlefield interpretation and is currently working on his Ph.D. Berger also spoke excellent English and served as our interpreter since Fred Castier was unable to join us until the latter part of our trip. We arrived in Fleville on the afternoon of Tuesday, November 14, 2006, and began our field work the next day. In the morning we were once again joined by Yves Desfossés, the regional archaeologist, and we outlined our plans to him. The trip was planned for late fall when the leaves would be off the trees and not interfere with GPS satellite reception. However, this had been an unusually mild fall in the Ardenne and the leaves were still on the trees when we arrived on November 14. Most of them had fallen by the time we left on November 23. The temperature remained mild during our stay but frequent showers kept things wet and muddy.

The plan to do post-processing differential correction was thwarted by the immediate and permanent failure of the new battery on the Trimble Recon data collector. This forced us to use the Trimble Pathfinder Pro XRS unit for mapping artifacts in the field. However, through the generosity of Bertrand Despaquis with D3E Electronique-GPS Boutique we were able to access base station files that were used to post-process the data to sub-meter accuracy.

Fieldwork got off to a good start. Eddie and Ian were experienced World War I relic hunters and we were able to cover the ground much more quickly and thoroughly than in March. A French television news crew had joined us for the first day and, to avoid publicizing our primary search area, we decided to look for the position of four German 77mm field guns captured by the 2nd battalion on 8 October. A document provided by Jimmie Hallis from the archives of the 82nd Airborne Division Museum at Fort Bragg, North Carolina contained a transcript of a question and answer held between Major G. Edward Buxton and the 2nd Battalion Commander, Major Tillman concerning the battalion attack on October 8, 1918. Tillman described the position of the guns in his account of the attack.

The fog was clearing up then and up to the point of that Hill, just west of 223—167—we found there a battery of 77s—4 guns—and about 25 yards to the rear was a signal outfit and trench mortar outfit. 100 yards up the hill was a nest of 25 machine guns causing casualties in the left flank. The right flank got in behind them and cut them off from the rear and they were all captured—43 men, we took that day between 250 and 275 prisoners. About ten in the morning we got messages that the front line was held up by snipers and machine gun fire from the left flank. One platoon was

sent around to protect left flank and another platoon from support company brought up to replace it. This platoon went out and an hour and a half later they brought back 132 prisoners. The platoon was under the command of Sergeant Parsons. Corporal York however is the man who took these prisoners with his one squad. He had only to shoot one officer of the three captured before he took these men. We took 124 machine guns that day. The four 77s were here (pointing to map) I think caused Col. Blalock that trouble the day before and also cut up the advance Battalion of the 328th in the counter attack. These 132 men were gotten right here (pointing to map) (Tillman 1918).

The 1:20000 Foret D'Argonne map in use by the American forces indicates a spot elevation with the figure "167" in the general area Tillman described (figure 17). Finding the site of the gun position would help confirm the reliability of the 82nd Division records and locate the right flank of the 2nd Battalion attack.

We began searching in this area and immediately found three live 77mm shells with the copper driving bands chiseled off by post war salvagers. Further searching located twelve 77mm shell cases and seven protective shipping covers for 77mm shell fuses. This confirmed the location of the four 77mm guns captured by the 2nd Battalion and fixed the right flank of the battalion attack. Our confidence in the documentary evidence was materially increased.

After the media departed we decided to search in the area of highest probability of the York fight based on the division history and information from Buxton and Danforth. This was the area where we had begun our search in March without result.

On Thursday, due to the skill and energy of Eddie and Ian, we began to locate artifacts. The first indication of success was finding the remains of an American cartridge belt along the creek. It consisted of eight full clips of 30-06 ammunition, several loose live rounds and stripper clips, part of the brass cover for a field dressing container, and a pocket knife. A button from an American tunic and mess utensils were found nearby. This looked like an indication of an American casualty. Soon, artifacts were being recovered much faster than they could be mapped. It was sometimes necessary to occupy a point for twenty minutes or longer until enough satellites were visible and unobstructed by trees to record a point. We evolved a procedure to map and record the artifacts. When an artifact was located, it was marked by flagging tape or a metal flag. When the artifact was mapped it was given an identification number based on the date and a sequential number for that date. The identification number was entered in the GPS rover file comment field and the artifact was put in a bag with the identification number on the outside and a label with the identification number inside the bag. Artifacts too large to put in bags had a tag tied to them. At the end of each work day the artifacts were identified, photographed and cataloged.

Yves Desfossés and Alain Jacques, the Regional Archaeologist from Arras, France stopped to check on our progress on Saturday and helped identify some of the artifacts that we could not. We were very fortunate to have their help since they are the only French archaeologists specializing in World War I. Eddie and Ian had to leave on Friday and Birger left on Saturday. Eddie and Ian had been very productive and hard working

members of the team and we were sorry to see them go. Sunday was very rainy and was spent working on the spatial database and cataloging artifacts. We resumed field work on Monday but without Eddie and Ian our progress was a little slower. On Tuesday, Yves arranged for a back hoe to excavate trenches in the area where the American cartridge belts were found (figures 18, 19, and 20). We had burial information from the National Archives giving map coordinates from the Foret D'Argonne map where the six Americans were originally buried. We hoped to discover evidence of soil disturbance that would allow us to pinpoint the location of the graves. However, the large number of trees and the lack of open ground restricted the search area and we were unable to locate the grave sites. We did recover a bronze collar disk close to the site of the first cartridge belt inscribed with the number "328" crossed rifles and the letter "G" that confirmed the presence of members of York's company at the site and probably belonged to one of the American casualties.

Wednesday was occupied in metal detecting and mapping. We did find a pile of 7.92mm cartridge cases on the upper slope of the hill indicating the position of one of the German machine guns (figure 21). This find was critical in recreating the engagement. We also found a brass strip down the hill a few yards that was part of a canvas machine gun belt. The position of the gun in a flat area near the top of the hill gave a clear field of fire for the entire lower slope and stream bottom. The machine gun location provided the last piece of the puzzle. Our field work completed, we left early Thursday morning, November 23, to return home.

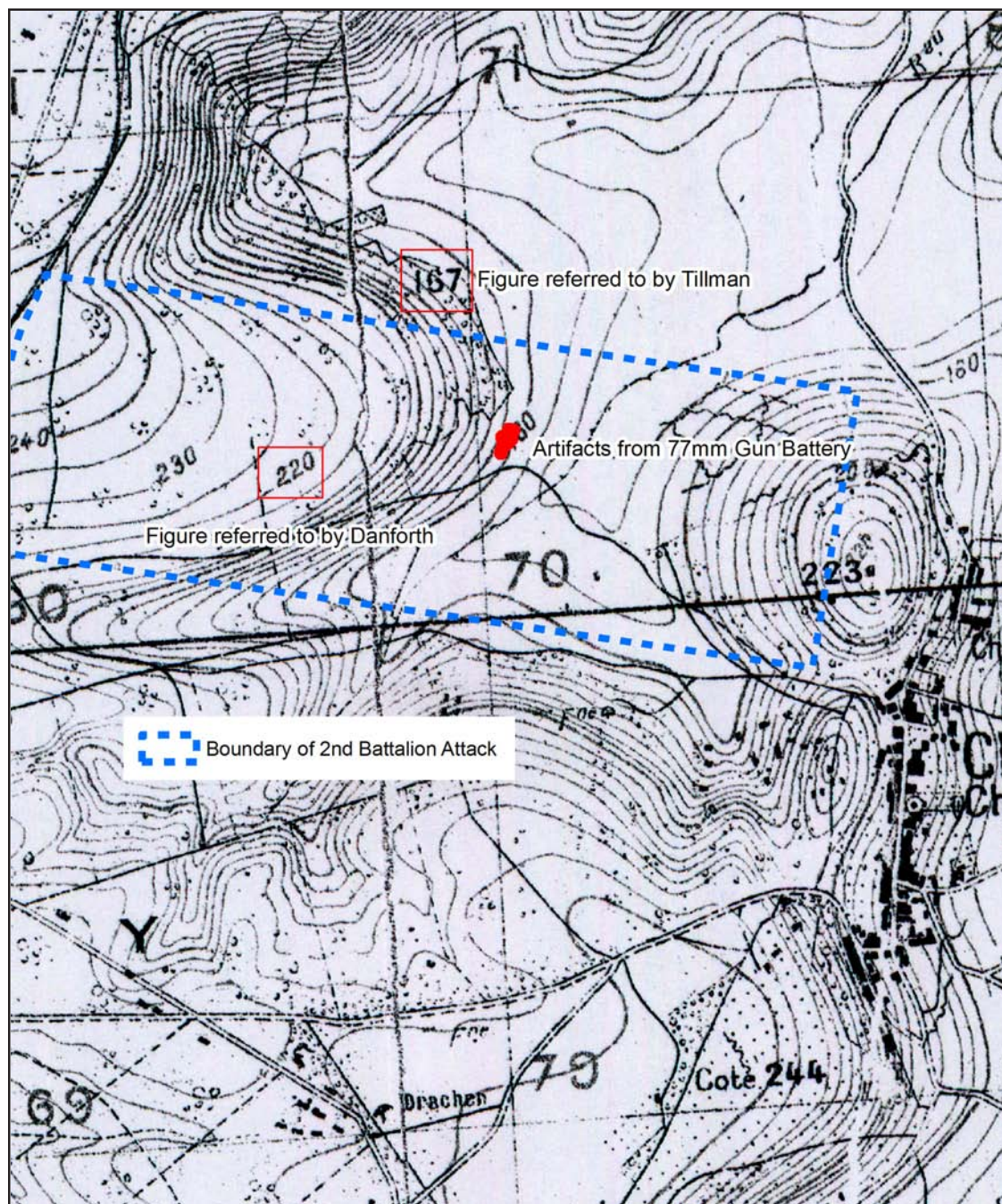


Figure 17, Map references given by Captain Danforth and Captain Tillman



Figure 18, Looking for burial sites with backhoe



Figure 19, Trenching with backhoe



Figure 20, Checking backhoe trench with metal detector



Figure 21, Expended and unexpended 7.92mm recovered at site of machine gun position

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Before analysis can begin, it is important to consider what the recovered artifacts represent and what kind of spatial relationships their locations symbolize. The artifacts recovered are the material remains of an engagement between a patrol from G Company, 2nd Battalion, 328th Infantry and elements of several German units on the morning of October 8, 1918. Discarded equipment, broken weapons, and dead soldiers mapped the course of the events at the end of that day. Later, salvage teams and burial parties would tidy up the hillside and remove most of the traces of battle. Time and weather would conceal the rest. The artifacts that remained were objects rejected or overlooked by battlefield salvage teams, burial parties, curious residents, souvenir hunters, and tourists for almost ninety years.

Battlefield salvage was highly organized by this period of the war in the A.E.F. and large quantities of clothing, ammunition, equipment and weapons were collected for repair and reissue (Thomas 1920, 415). General Orders No. 10 specified that “all abandoned equipment and material will be collected for salvage however worthless it may appear . . .” (United States Army Center of Military History 1992, 169). Occasionally, immediate salvage was required to support continued combat operations. On October 14, 1918, C Company, 307th Engineer

Regiment, 82nd Division was assigned to salvage operations to relieve an acute shortage of clips for the French 1914 Hotchkiss machine gun in use by American forces. "It was reported on the 14th that the last of the machine-gun clips available for the Division had been drawn. C Company was put on salvage and turned in 80,000 M.G. clips and 2,600,000 rounds of ammunition salvaged from the path of the advance (Buxton 1919, 262)." It is likely that the area of the York fight was salvaged at this time. Items that remained were either overlooked or considered too unsavory by salvage personnel.

Over 1,500 artifacts were recovered from the study area. The artifacts were classified into major categories to facilitate analysis. The categories are as follows:

1. Ordnance
 - a. Unexpended
 - i. Small Arms Ammunition
 - ii. Grenades
 - iii. Artillery projectiles
 - b. Expended
 - i. Small Arms Ammunition
 - ii. Grenades
 - iii. Artillery Projectiles

2. Field Equipment
 - a. Webbing, belts and pouches, scabbards
 - b. Canteens and mess gear
 - c. Entrenching tools
 - d. Protective equipment such as gas masks, ponchos, helmets, etc.
 - e. Maintenance items
3. Uniform Items
 - a. Buttons
 - b. Insignia
 - c. Personal items
4. Weapons or parts of weapons

The classification code and quantity for each artifact was entered in the spatial database attribute table. It was anticipated that several spatial patterns would be revealed by the arrangement, quantity, and class of artifacts:

- A concentration of artifacts in the area described by the documentary evidence would confirm the site of the engagement.
- Individual firing positions, weapons, and the intensity of combat would be revealed by the quantity and location of expended ordnance.

- The location, quantity and type of German equipment and weapons would indicate the surrender of German personnel.
- American uniform and equipment items would indicate the location of death or burial of Americans killed in action.

SITE OF ENGAGEMENT

The 82nd Division history states that the attack on October 8 was stopped “. . . by machine gun fire from a hill directly south-west across the valley from Hill 223” (Buxton 1919). These machine guns were the objective of a patrol from G Company on the left flank of the 2nd Battalion attack. The metal detector search was focused on the hill south west of Hill 223. A large concentration of artifacts was found on the south slope of this hill (figure 22). This is the area described by Buxton and Danforth in their written accounts and annotated maps (figure 23). The artifact concentration is south of the wood line in the vicinity of hill “2” described by Lieutenant Kuebler as the site of his surrender (figure 9). Lieutenant Glass described the location of Lieutenant Kubler’s 4th Company as at the exit of a wooded ravine at the edge of the woods. Glass states that to the rear of the 4th Company he saw several groups of soldiers eating breakfast with their equipment and weapons put aside. Glass states that when he returned to the rear from the 4th Company position at the edge of the woods he was captured as he reported to Lieutenant Vollmer. This is consistent with the pattern of expended

cartridges at the wood line and the concentration of German equipment on the steep slope to the rear.

Lieutenant Thoma of the Bavarian Sapper company reported occupying a position on the firing line with one platoon of his command. He records passing through a group of soldiers eating breakfast while moving into position and leaving one platoon in reserve on the slope behind the firing line. The position of the firing line described by Lieutenant Thoma agrees with the terrain at the crest of the slope above the artifact concentration. This position provides a clear field of fire toward the valley through which the 2nd Battalion 328th Infantry attacked. The area of the highest concentration of artifacts is hidden from the firing line position by a slight depression on the west side of the crest of the hill. Thoma would have been able to hear but not see activity on the lower slope. Later, Thoma recorded he went to check on his men when he heard the sound of firing and “shouting in the woods.” He was moving in that direction when he encountered American soldiers and surrendered. This is consistent with the spatial relationship of the firing line on the crest of the hill and the area on the west slope where a concentration of German equipment indicates the surrender of a number of German soldiers.

Lieutenant Vollmer’s account of the fight clearly indicates a lack of familiarity with the terrain that was only natural considering he occupied the position after dark on October 7. He said he took command of the left half of the regimental sector at the request of Major v. Sick who occupied Hohenborn Hill (Hill 244) with the 3rd Battalion of the regiment

(figures 9 and 24). Vollmer's description places his command on the hill north west of Hill 244 and southwest of Hill 223. The largest concentration of artifacts occurred on the western slope of this hill. Vollmer's account confuses Castle Hill (Hill 223) with Pleasant View Hill (Hill 180) which would have been hidden behind Hill 223 from his position. Vollmer's account is contradicted by the other German accounts on several points. Vollmer says he was captured alone when the other accounts put him in the company of a large number of prisoners. He implies that he did not speak English although Lieutenant Glass says that Vollmer explained the American commands to them because none of the other Germans spoke English. Vollmer's account indicates he was confused about his location, the number of troops under his command, and their dispositions. Taken as a whole, Vollmer's report lacks credibility. All of the German accounts exaggerate the number of American soldiers involved and accuse their American captors of misconduct. These officers obviously felt disgraced by their capture and desired to place their actions in the most favorable light.

In summary, the area with the highest concentration of artifacts is consistent with the documentary evidence describing the location of the York fight and confirms the site of the engagement.

INDIVIDUAL FIRING POSITIONS

Individual firing positions are indicated by location and quantity of expended small arms ammunition (figure 25). Expended cartridge cases from the bolt action rifles used by both sides are ejected to the right and

rear of the shooter. The point of impact of each ejected case creates a pattern pointing to the shooters position. In this case, the pattern of the ejected cases has been modified by the steep, forty percent slopes at the engagement site (figures 26 and 27). The ejected cases recovered in the metal detector survey have been displaced down slope from their point of initial impact by the momentum of their ejection from the weapon and subsequently by overland precipitation flow, freezing and thawing, and logging operations. Consequently, the patterns created by recovered expended small arms ammunition can only provide a general location of the firing position of individual combatants.

The pattern and quantity of expended German cartridge cases indicates that the majority of the German fire was directed toward the flat area along the stream at the base of the western slope of the hill. Since the attack of the 2nd Battalion 328th was to the north and not visible, the only targets that could have been engaged were members of the patrol from G Company approaching from the west. There are also indications of German rifle fire from the 4th Company along the road at the edge of the woods directed against the 2nd battalion attack to their front. That the majority of the German cartridge cases were scattered on the middle and upper western slope of the hill is consistent with statements from American survivors that they were fired on by Germans halfway up the hill when they crossed the stream from the west. The large quantity of expended 7.92mm cartridge cases concentrated in one spot on the upper slope of the hill confirms the location of one of the machine guns that fired on the Americans. This gun position is the first

point where the stream bottom is visible when moving down from the firing line on the crest and suggests that German machine gunners firing at the 2nd Battalion attack from the top of the hill heard firing to their rear and moved their gun to engage this new threat.

The distribution and quantity of 30-06 cartridge cases is consistent with American accounts that state all members of the patrol fired several rounds when they first encountered the Germans on the side of the hill before Sergeant Early issued the command to cease fire (figure 28). It appears that York's squad moved part of the way up the hill to gather prisoners when the German machine guns opened fire. Private Beardsley of York's squad stated he took cover behind a tree about fifteen paces to the rear of York with Private Dymowski on one side and Private Wareing on the other. Both men were killed by German machine gun fire. Beardsley saw York firing his pistol and hitting several Germans. Beardsley states he also fired his pistol at least three times indicating some privates as well as noncommissioned officers were armed with .45 caliber pistols. The forty-four .45 caliber cartridge cases and the four .45 caliber bullets recovered from the middle of the slope indicate the general positions of York and Beardsley. Documentary evidence indicates York fired 21 pistol rounds and Beardsley three rounds. Evidently one or both men fired more .45 caliber rounds than reported. The distance of about 60 meters between York and the machine gun position is consistent with written accounts. Buxton states York fired 21 rounds from his pistol and 15 rounds from his rifle. Only four 30-06 cartridge cases were recovered in this area. This suggests York used his pistol more and rifle less than

Buxton recorded. A total of eight 30-06 cartridge cases and two empty 30-06 stripper clips were recovered from the flat area beside the stream. This confirms the fact that few surviving members of the patrol beside York engaged the German machine gunners. A total of eight 9mm cartridge cases were recovered in the vicinity of York's firing position. York stated that a German officer among the prisoners fired a pistol at him but missed. When Lt. Vollmer later surrendered his pistol to York, the magazine was empty. The 9mm cartridge cases provide confirmation that Vollmer fired his pistol at York before he surrendered.

GERMAN EQUIPMENT ITEMS

The transition of a soldier from combatant to prisoner is not without risk. During the critical moment when a soldier stops resisting it is imperative for him to clearly demonstrate his intention to surrender. During World War I a soldier demonstrated his intention to surrender by putting down his weapon and removing his belt and equipment. A soldier might also remove the bolt from his rifle to visibly render it inoperable. Several of the German and American accounts of the engagement refer to soldiers removing their belts to indicate surrender.

A German soldier's field equipment consisted of three cartridge pouches worn on each side of the front of the belt containing a total of 90 cartridges (Lavissee 1994). A bayonet and scabbard, entrenching or other tool, canteen, mess tin, and eating utensils were also suspended from the belt or carried in a knapsack worn on the back. Another item of

equipment carried by German soldiers was a small can of weapon lubricating grease. In addition to his personal weapon, the German soldier was frequently equipped with several hand grenades. The surrender of 132 German soldiers would have left a large amount of weapons and equipment at the surrender site. In view of the amount of equipment and the distance to the nearest road it is not surprising that some items escaped salvage. Items of German equipment located during the metal detector survey provide tangible evidence of the surrender of a large number of German soldiers.

Figure 29 shows the distribution by type of the German artifacts. It is interesting to note that only the remains of one set of German cartridge pouches were recovered (figure 30). The metal straps surrounding each clip appear to be designed to prevent the sharp ends of the cartridges from puncturing the bottom of the cartridge pouch. This would indicate that the pouch was constructed of inferior materials late in the war after the British blockade had cut off the supply of leather.

Very few weapons were recovered. They consisted of two rifle bolts, three ersatz bayonets, and the remains of four stick grenades. One rifle bolt was from a Gewehr 98 and the other from the Gewehr 98b carbine carried by machine gunners and sappers. A total of four empty bayonet scabbards or parts of scabbards were recovered. A total of nine entrenching tools and one entrenching tool scabbard were recovered. One hundred entrenching tools were issued to a German infantry company in 1914. A German infantry company numbered a little over 250 officers and men by 1918. If the nine entrenching tools recovered are assumed to

represent ten percent of the total for an entire company then they would indicate the surrender of at least 25 German soldiers. It was surprising to recover over twenty artifacts associated with German gas masks. Three complete gas masks and eleven filter canisters were recovered. Considering the high quality of the German mask, it is curious so many were left behind. A total of eighteen items associated with eating and drinking were recovered. This is confirmation that some of the Germans were eating when they were captured. A total of nineteen small metal cans, most containing weapons grease were recovered. Evidently this item was of little interest to salvage crews.

The final type of German artifact relating to surrender was unexpended small arms ammunition (figure 31). A total of 310 rounds of unexpended 7.92mm ammunition were recovered. Added to the 380 expended 7.92mm cartridge cases this gives a total of 690 rounds recovered from the area of the engagement. If each German soldier entered the engagement with full pouches the minimum total number of rounds present during the fight would be 11,880. That is excluding machine gun ammunition. The amount of ammunition recovered represents less than six percent of the minimum amount of 7.92mm ammunition present on the field during the engagement. There is abundant evidence to conclude a large number of German surrendered on the side of the hill and it is also safe to say that an enormous quantity of arms, ammunition and equipment was removed during battlefield salvage.

LOCATION OF AMERICAN CASUALTIES

The only items of American equipment remaining on the field after the engagement would have been associated with the Americans wounded or killed in action. No mention is made by the survivors of the patrol about the equipment of the wounded Americans evacuated with the column of prisoners. It is possible that the severely wounded Sergeant Early and Corporal Cutting would have left some equipment on the field. However, considering the stress of combat, it is unlikely that the equipment of the dead Americans was removed at this time. Very few items of American origin were recovered during the metal detector survey and they represent items that were missed or rejected during an apparently through salvage operation (figure 32). The American artifacts occurred in two groups. The group on the west side of the stream consisted of forty unexpended 30-06 rounds in stripper clips and two loose rounds, part of the brass cover for a first aid dressing (figure 33), pocket knife (figure 34), tunic button (figure 35), knife and fork (figure 36), and collar insignia inscribed with 328, crossed rifles and the letter G (figure 37). The group of artifacts on the east side of the stream consisted of the remains of the right side and back of a 1910 model cartridge belt manufactured by the Mills Company (figures 38 and 39), remains of a first aid pouch and dressing (figures 40, 41, and 42), remains of a canteen cover (figures 43), and seventy 30-06 rounds in stripper clips (figure 44). A few meters away was the crown of an American helmet with a hole in the upper portion indicating penetration by a bullet or shell fragment (figures 45 and 46). It is possible that the site east of the creek is where Private

Wareing was killed. His disinterment records indicate that he suffered a fractured skull at the time of casualty. The canteen and canteen cup were missing from the remains of the canteen cover. The 1910 model cartridge belt consisted of a right and left side containing five pouches per side. Each pouch had a capacity of two 5-round clips and was closed by lift-the-dot fasteners (Henry 2003). The complete remains of the five right-side pouches and the stud to one additional lift-the-dot fastener were recovered. The ammunition recovered with the belt was the equivalent of seven full cartridge pouches. It is possible that the right side of the cartridge belt and helmet were rejected for salvage because they were saturated with blood and only the left side pouches, canteen, canteen cup, and bayonet scabbard were removed during salvage. Live ammunition in the left side pouches could have been discarded as unsuitable for reissue due to exposure to the elements. If salvage operations did take place around October 14 and burial did not occur until October 24, the equipment would have still been attached to the unburied bodies.

The group of American artifacts on the west side of the stream tells a similar story. The tunic button and collar insignia indicate the site of another American casualty. Disinterment records for all six Americans killed state they were buried in their uniforms. The tunic button and collar disk were either separated from the tunic at the time of casualty or overlooked when the body was disinterred for reburial in the Meuse-Argonne American Cemetery. The eight clips of 30-06 ammunition (figure 47) may have been removed from the cartridge belt during salvage. There were no remnants of cartridge pouches, canteen cover or first aid pouch

found in the area indicating that all the equipment had been salvaged. The brass top to the first aid dressing may indicate dressing was opened to bandage a wound. The pocket knife and eating utensils were overlooked by the salvage and burial details.

CONCLUSION

The application of GIS to the York fight provides an accurate spatial interpretation of the action unobtainable by historic or archaeological methods. GIS provides the tools to classify, display, and analyze the spatial arrangement of artifacts. The spatial relationship of artifact patterns to terrain features revealed by GIS can be used to interpret spatial references from documentary evidence with more objectivity. GIS can confirm or refute documentary spatial references and fill in the information gaps that participants omit from their recollections. For example, several survivors of the patrol described York's firing position as close to the bottom of the slope in their affidavits. GIS analysis indicates that York was on the middle slope when he engaged the Germans. Of course, it is impossible to confirm or refute every statement by every participant in the documentary accounts based on the type and distribution of artifacts. However, the degree of correlation between the documentary and physical evidence revealed by GIS can validate the interpretation of events.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the western side of the hill south west of Hill 223 is the site of the engagement that resulted in Alvin

York being awarded the Medal of Honor. The high degree of correlation between the documentary and physical evidence confirms the location beyond a reasonable doubt. The concentration of German artifacts in the area identified on the map by Buxton and Danforth as the site of the engagement, the collar insignia from a member of G Company, 328th Infantry at the bottom of the hill, and the pattern of .45 cartridge cases in relation to the German machine gun that could only have fired to the rear of the German position combine to confirm this conclusion. The location of the original burials of the American dead as recorded by the Graves Registration Service in relation to the hill provides further proof and demonstrates the unique power of GIS to recreate historic events on the modern landscape.

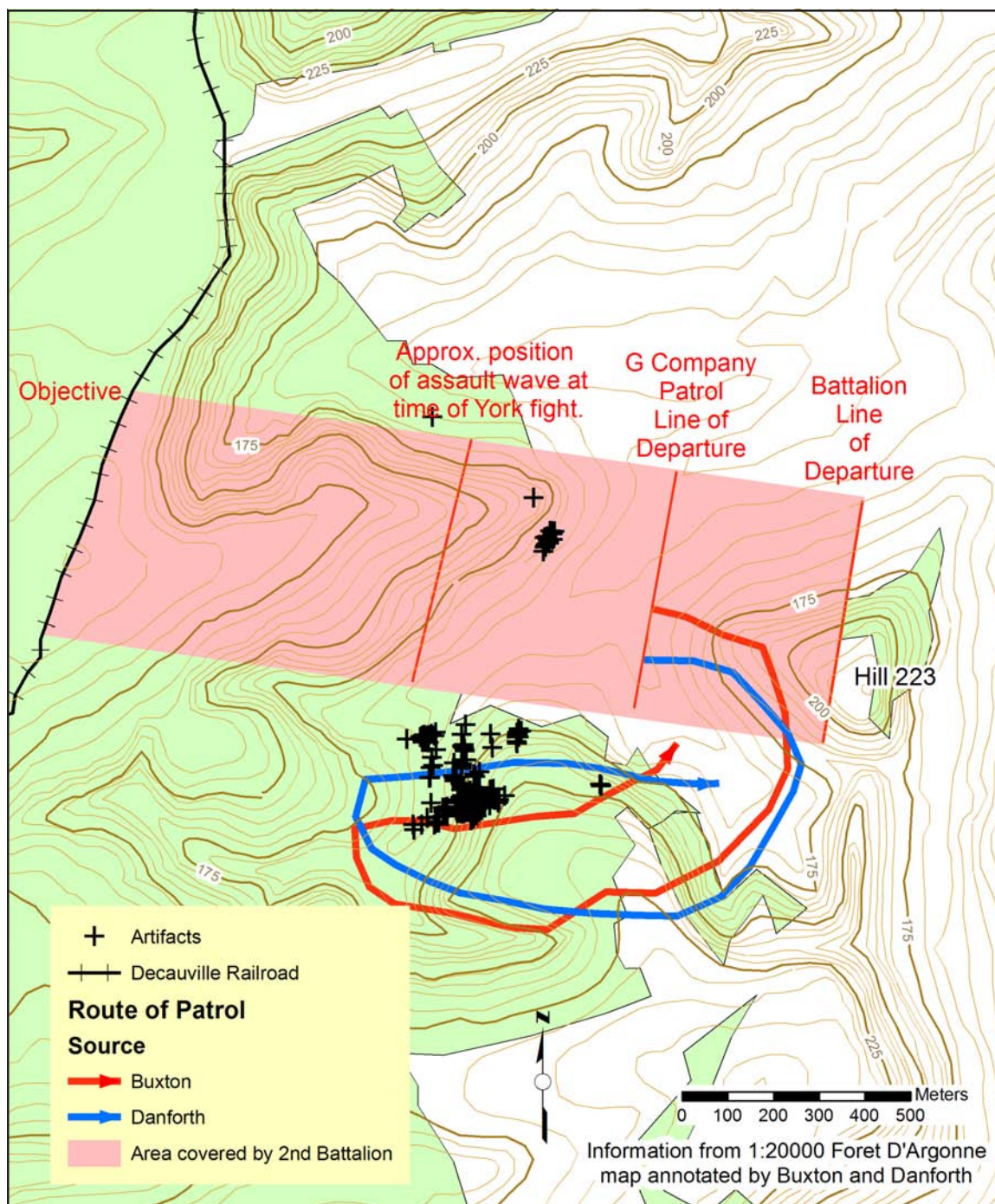


Figure 22, Artifact distribution in relation to route of patrol from Buxton and Danforth

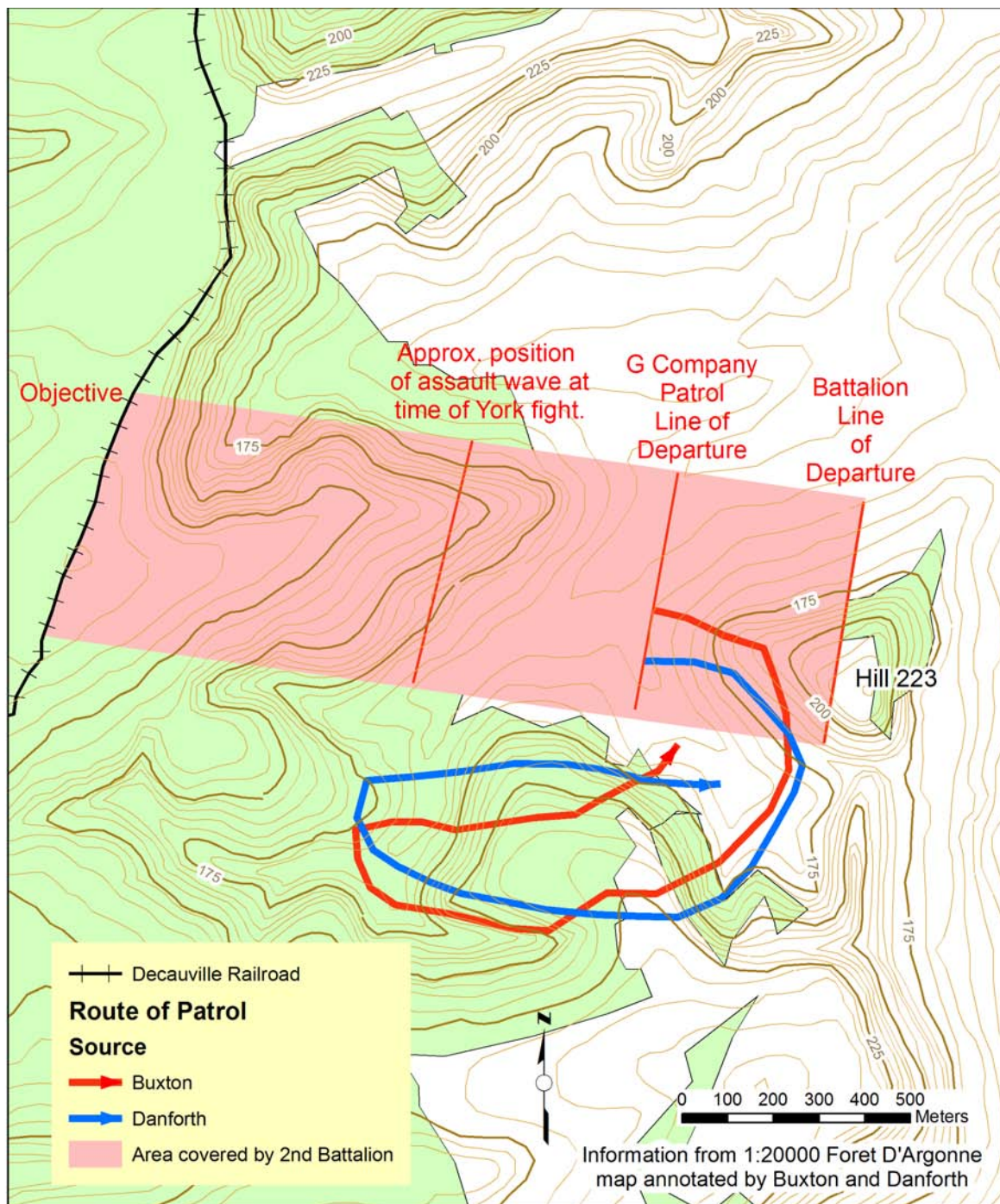


Figure 23, Attack of 2nd Battalion 328th Infantry

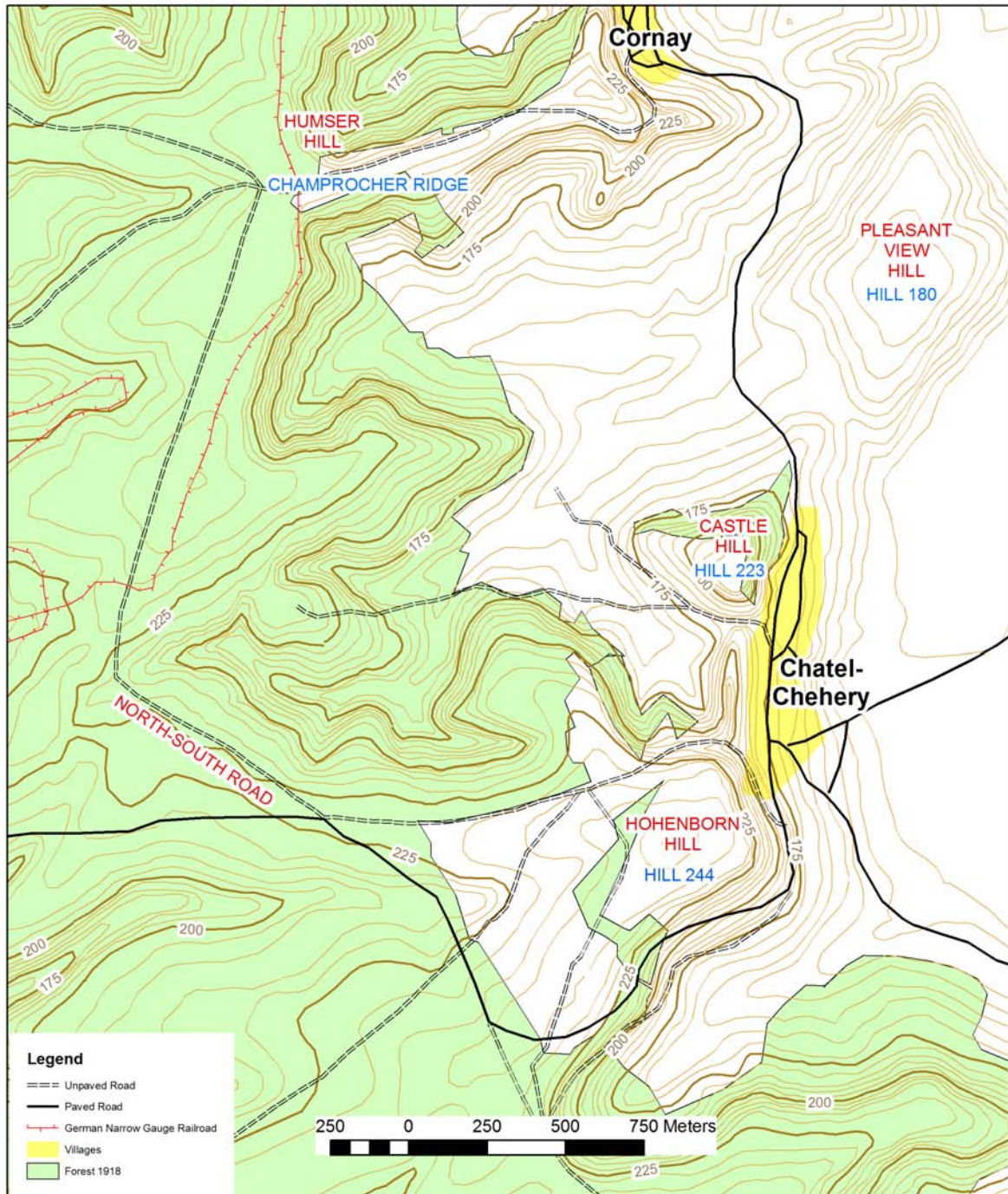


Figure 24, Prominent landmarks—German names in red; American names in blue

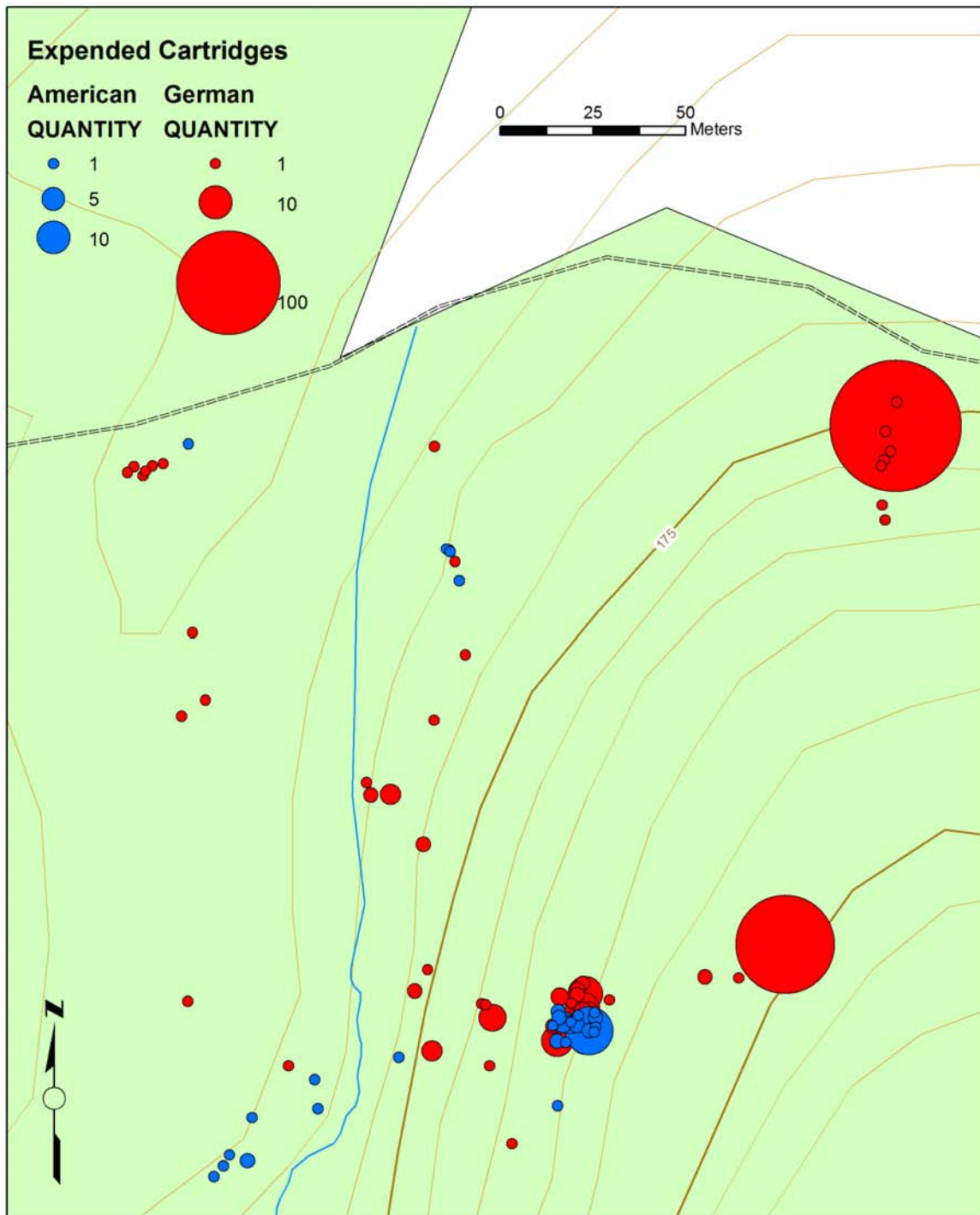


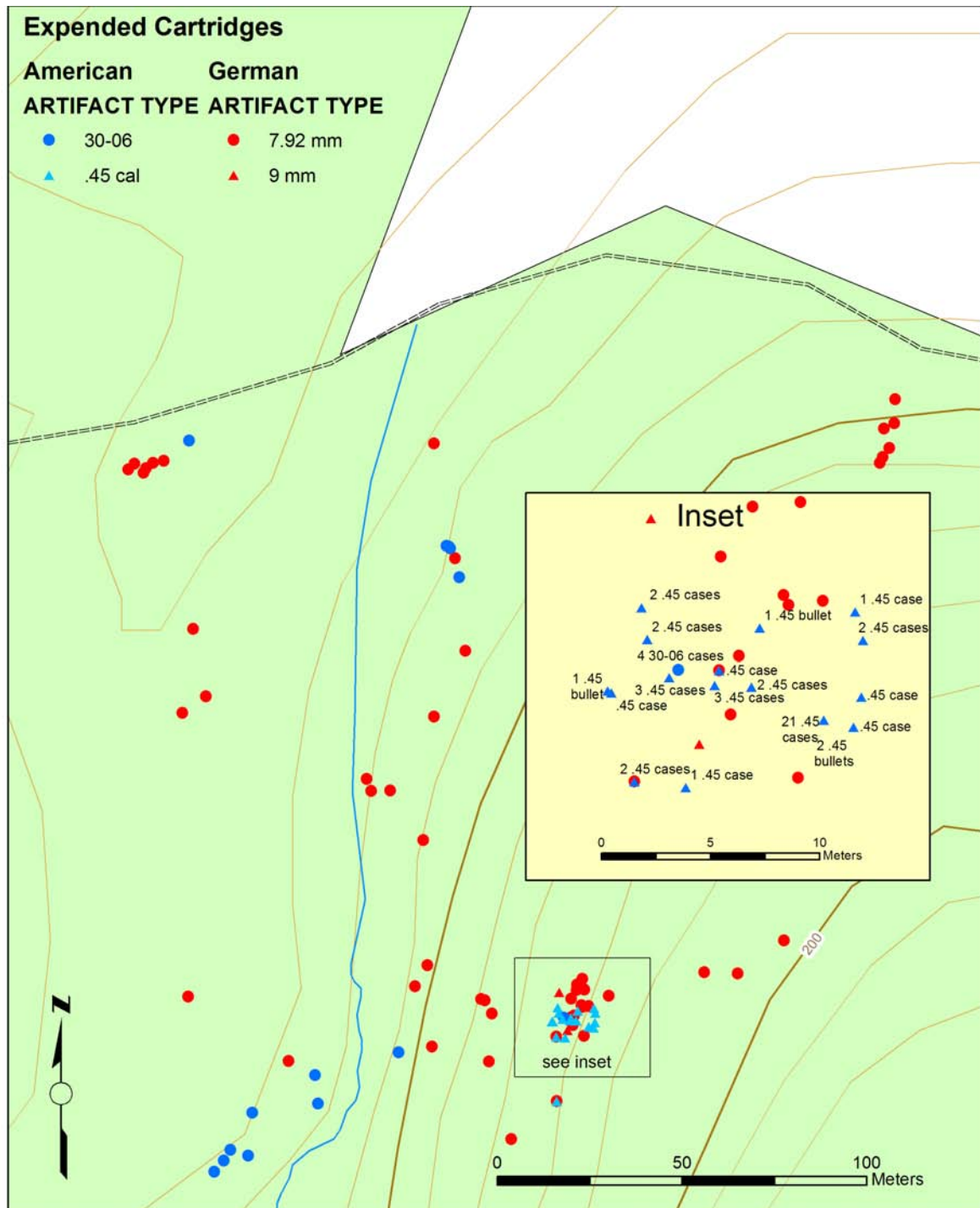
Figure 25, Distribution of small arms ammunition



Figure 26, Hillside



Figure 27, Hillside looking down toward the stream



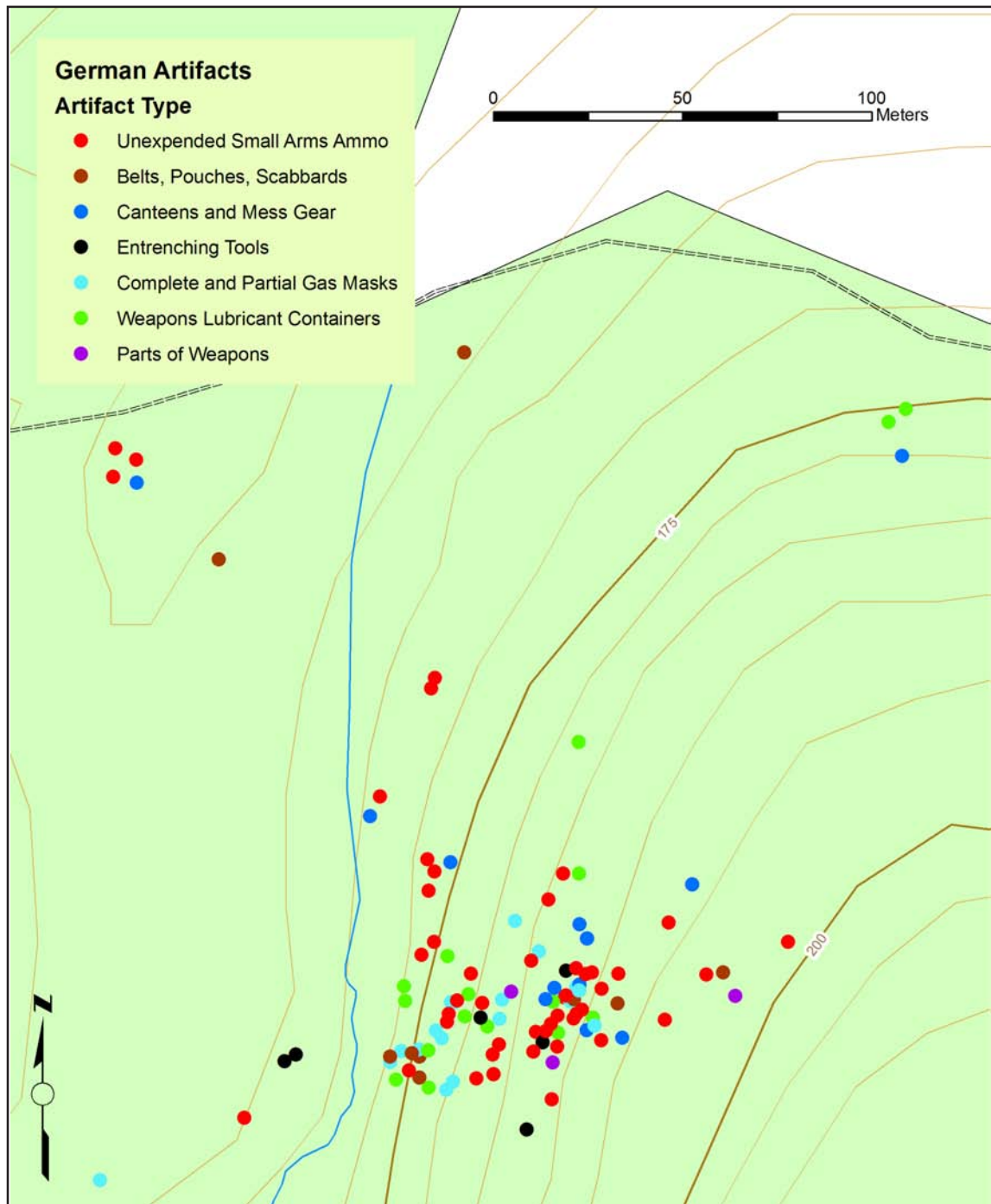


Figure 29, Distribution of German artifacts



Figure 30, Remains of German Model 87/88 cartridge pouch

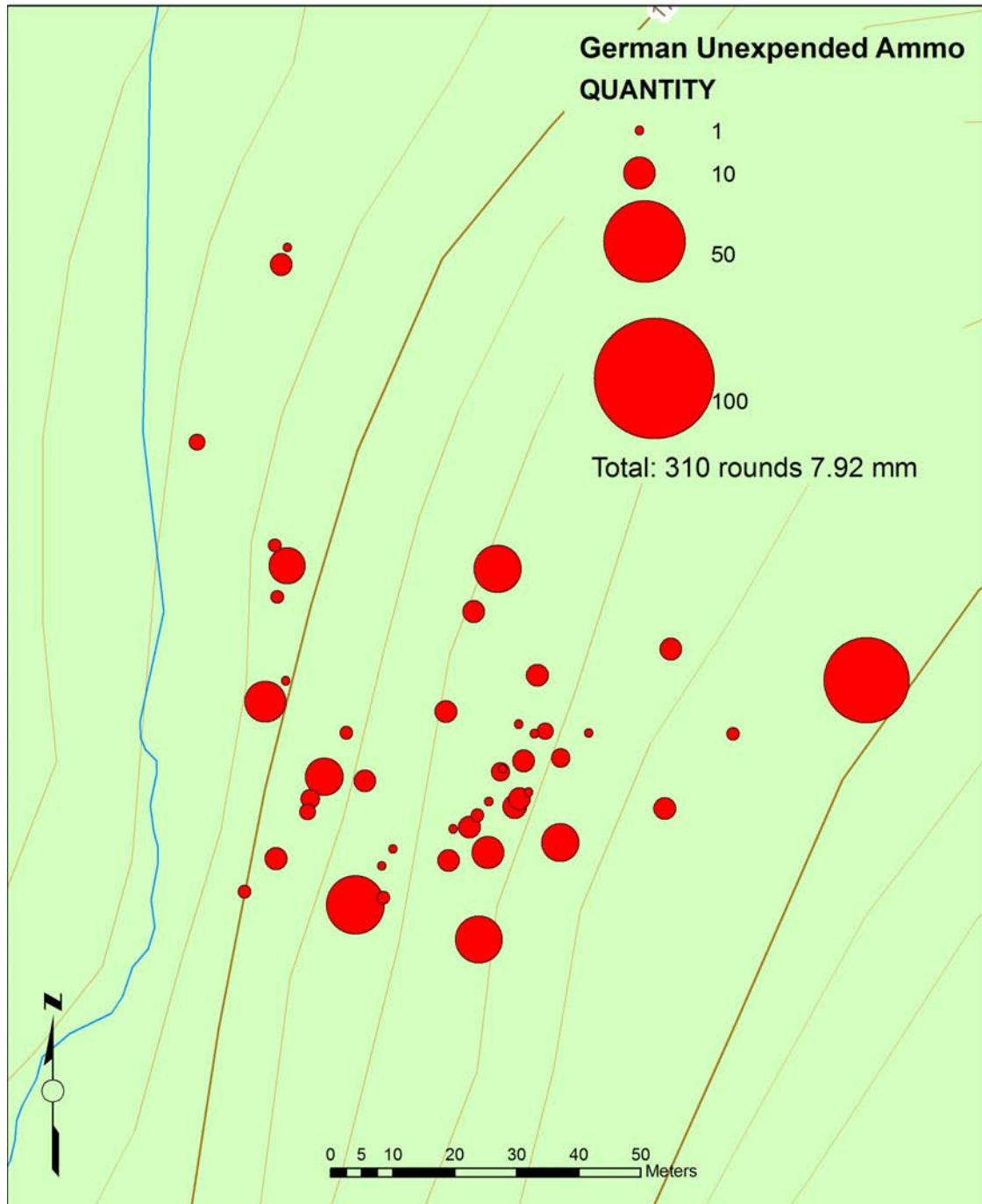


Figure 31, Distribution of German unexpended ammunition

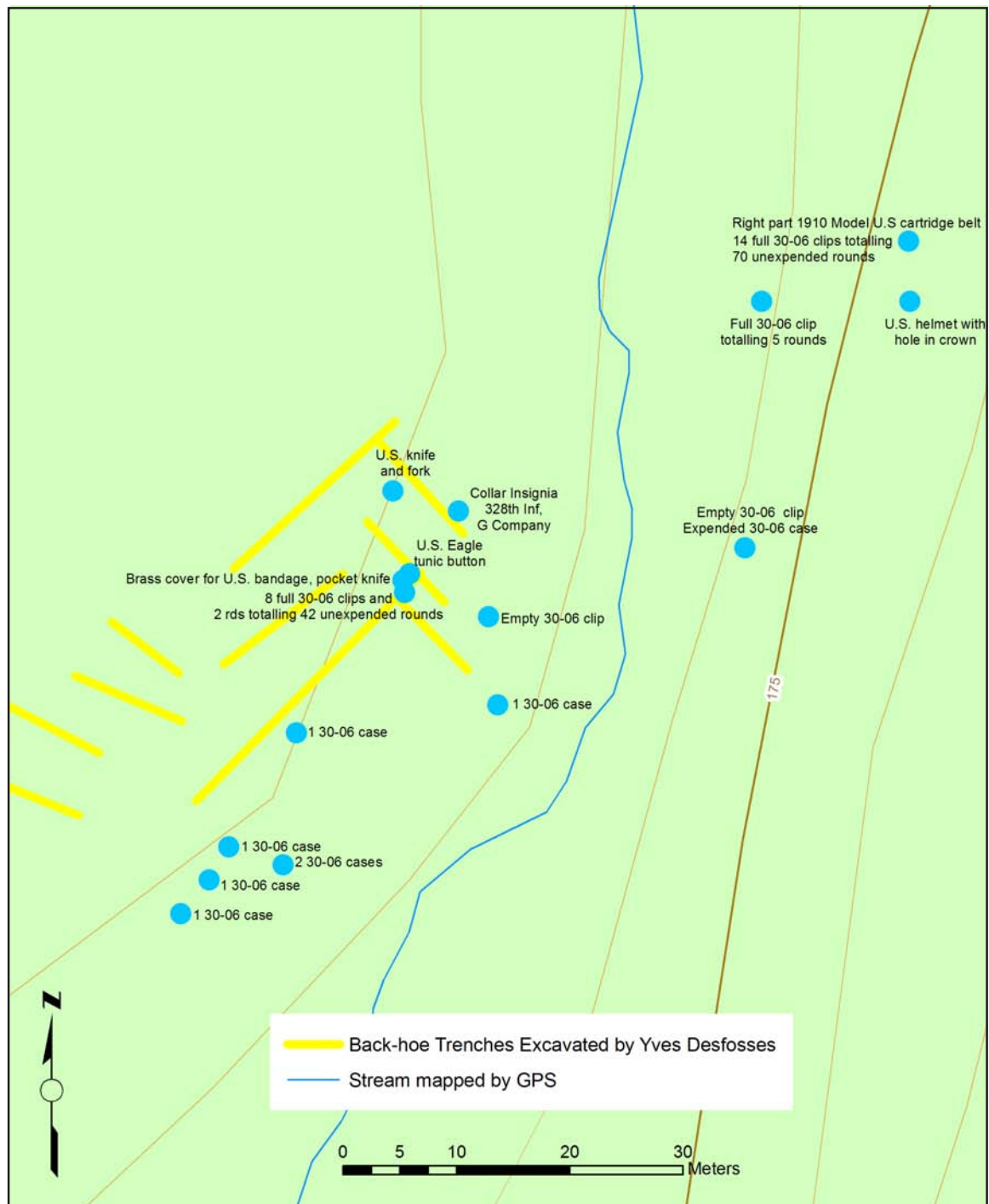


Figure 32, Artifacts suggesting American casualties



Figure 33, Top of first aid dressing cover



Figure 34, U.S. pocket knife



Figure 35, Tunic button from American uniform



Figure 36, U.S. knife and fork



Figure 37, Collar insignia, G Company, 328 Infantry

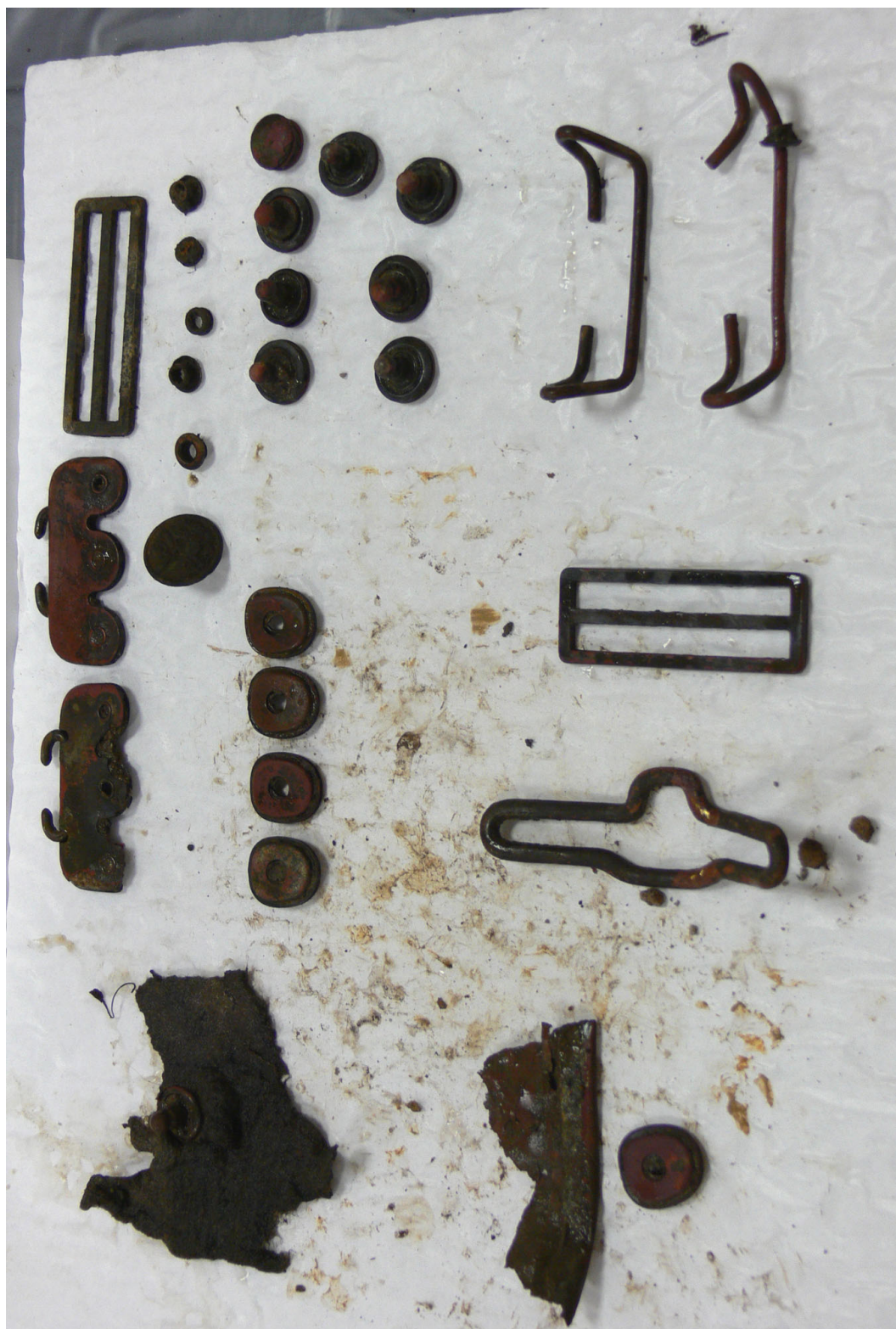


Figure 38, Remains of left half of 1910 model catridge belt

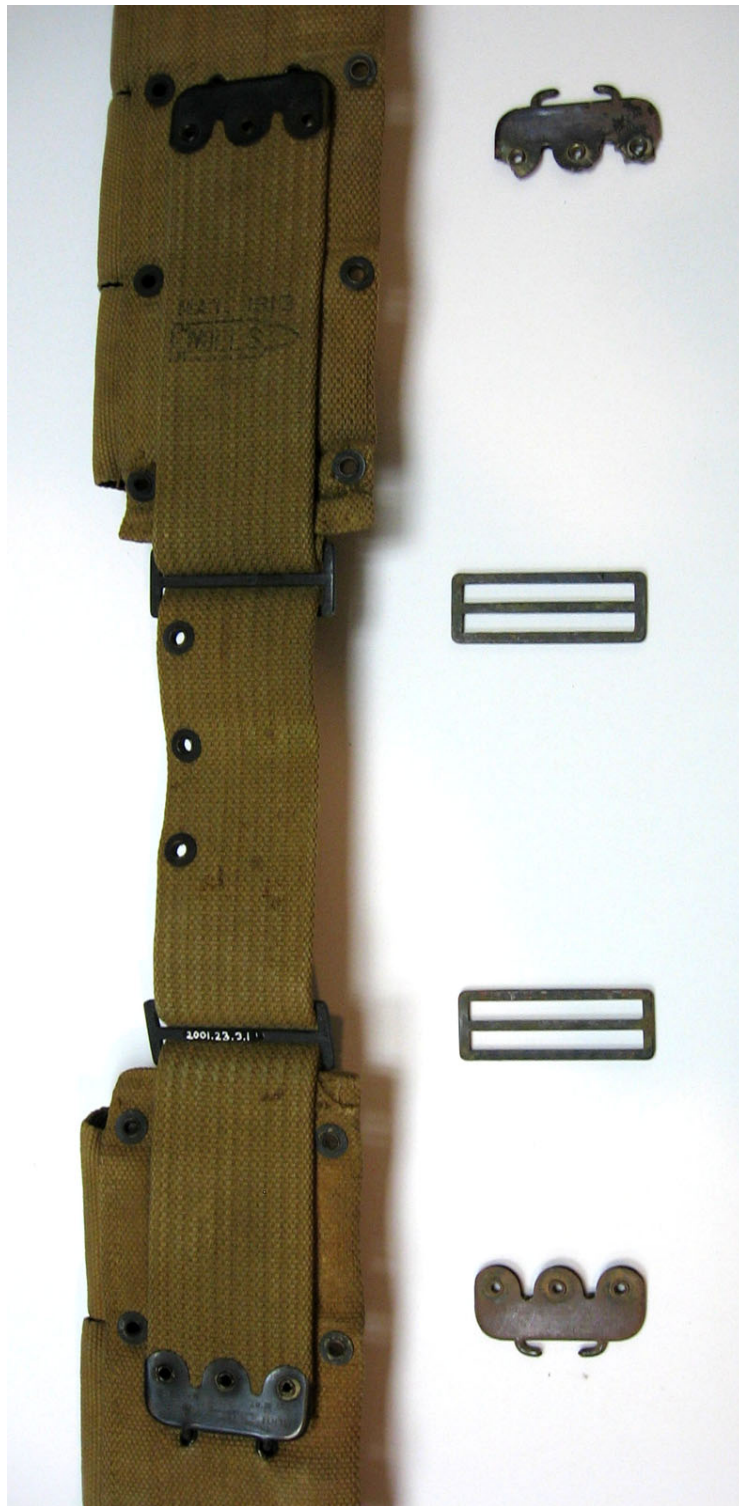


Figure 39, Intact waist adjustment belt compared with recovered parts



Figure 40, Intact first aid pouch and dressings compared with recovered parts



Figure 41, Recovered fasteners compared to intact belt



Figure 42, Intact canteen cover (front) compared to recovered parts



Figure 43, Intact canteen cover (back) compared to recovered parts



Figure 44, Ammunition recovered with left half of 1910 model cartridge belt



Figure 45, Helmet when first discovered



Figure 46, Remains of U.S. helmet



Figure 47, Ammunition recovered by pocket knife and top of dressing container

APPENDIX 1
PERMIT DOCUMENTS

1. Primary Investigator:

Name	:	Thomas J. Nolan	
Address:		Department of Geosciences	Phone: 615-898-5561
		Box 9	
		Middle Tennessee State University	
		Murfreesboro, TN 37132	
Position:		Director: Laboratory for Spatial Technology	
Organization:		Department of Geosciences	
		Middle Tennessee State University	

2. Dates for fieldwork: 3 March to 17 March 2006

7.1 Alvin York, arguably one the greatest American military heroes to emerge from WWI, was awarded his nation's highest decoration, the Medal of Honor, for his actions outside the village of Chatel-Chehery on 8 OCT 1918 during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive. His return from France was honored throughout his native state of Tennessee and he went on to become an influential state and national figure for the remainder of his life. The impressive statue of Alvin York in front of the State Capital in Nashville attests to his enduring importance in Tennessee history.

The exact events and locations regarding York's exploits at Chatel-Chehery action have long been the subject of controversy. Recollections of the German and American participants conflict on several key points. York's account of his movements is difficult to reconcile with major terrain features. The descriptions of York's actions by 2 of his biographers are conflicting and the maps included in both of the books have gross spatial errors. Maps compiled for official history of the 82nd Division history do not agree with terrain features on the ground. In July, 2005, the author was unsuccessful in an attempt to follow the movements of Alvin York at Chatel-Chehery based on documentary accounts and concluded that the true locations of those events are currently unknown.

The purpose of this study is to determine the locations and movements of participants in the action at Chatel-Chehery on 8 OCT 1918, to resolve the historical controversy surrounding those events, and create a permanent documentary and spatial record of those events for future reference and interpretation.

7.2 Preliminary Study and General Strategy

Various attempts have been made to follow the steps of Alvin York at Chatel-Chehery, the most recent by Lt. Col. Taylor Beattie (Beattie and Bowman 2000). Beattie approached the problem by evaluating the terrain and documentary evidence from a tactical standpoint using the METT-T (Mission, Enemy, Terrain, Troops and Time) and OCOKA (Observation, Fields of fire, Cover and concealment, Obstacles, Key terrain,

and Avenues of approach) concepts. This methodology allowed the identification of the general area of engagement but failed to pinpoint York's firing position or the location of the German participants. This study will further Beattie's investigation by using Geographic Information Science in conjunction with surface archaeology and historical documentary evidence to create an accurate, permanent spatial record of this engagement.

Prior to field work, a spatial data base will be constructed of the study area. This database will superimpose the historic landscape over the modern landscape and will be derived from current high resolution orthophotography, scanned aerial photographs taken during WWI, scanned, georeferenced German, French and American trench maps, and other historic cartographic and documentary material.

A surface archaeological survey will be conducted using metal detectors in the field. The methodology will be similar to that used by Scott for the Battle of the Little Bighorn (Scott et al. 1989). In that study, bullets, spent cartridge cases, and remains of equipment from the Battle of the Little Bighorn were located using metal detectors. The distribution, orientation, and type of artifacts were used to map firing positions and troop movements during the battle. At Chatel-Chehery, metallic artifacts located by metal detector will be marked with wire flags. The surface leaf litter will be removed to expose the artifact. If the artifact is relevant to the study, it will be photographed, issued a unique identification number and mapped. Relevant artifacts include cartridge cases, spent bullets, live small arms ammunition and military accouterments. The spatial location of the artifacts will be mapped using a sub-meter Global Positioning System receiver and data recorder and the referenced by the unique artifact identification number. Attributes such as orientation, etc will be recorded when the artifacts are mapped. Relevant artifacts will be removed to a field laboratory where they will be cleaned, identified and relevant information entered as attribute data into the spatial database.

7.3 Equipment and Techniques

A White's Spectrum XLT metal detector will be used to locate metallic artifacts covered with leaf litter. The x-y coordinate of the artifact will be recorded using a Trimble Pro XPS Global Positioning System receiver using real time differential correction to provide accuracy of less than 15 cm. The coordinate system will be Universal Transverse Mercator Zone 31 using the WGS 84 datum with units in meters. Coordinate and attribute data collected in the field will be downloaded to a high-end laptop computer in a shape file (*.shp) format and analyzed using ArcGIS software from Environmental Research Systems Institute. The spatial distribution of the artifacts will be analyzed in conjunction with historic documentary and cartographic information to reveal the movements and firing positions of participants in the engagement that resulted in the award of the Medal of Honor to Alvin York.

8.1 Research Team (resumes attached in pdf format)

The core research team will include 4 members:

- Thomas Nolan: Geographic Information Scientist
- Michael Kelly: Historian
- Michael Birdwell: Historian
- David Currey: Historian

9.0 Further Studies

The cartridge cases recovered in this study will aid in tracing the movements of individual soldiers. Forensic analysis of recovered cartridge cases will allow the identification of cartridges fired from the same weapon. The spatial distribution of cartridge cases fired from the same weapon can indicate the movements of that individual on the battlefield. Forensic analysis of recovered cartridge cases will be conducted after the research team returns to Tennessee.

- Beattie, Taylor and Ronald Bowman. 2000. In search of York: Man, myth, & legend. *Army History* 50, no. Summer-Fall 2000: 2-14.
- Scott, Douglas, Jr. Richard Fox, Melissa Connor, and Dick Harmon. 1989. *Archaeological perspectives on the battle of the little bighorn*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

MINISTERE DE LA CULTURE ET DE LA COMMUNICATION
PREFECTURE DE LA REGION CHAMPAGNE-ARDENNE

Direction régionale des affaires culturelles
Service régional de l'archéologie

3, faubourg Saint-Antoine
51037 CHALONS-EN-CHAMPAGNE CEDEX
Téléphone : 03 26 70 63 31
Télécopie : 03 26 70 63 49

SRA/06/EB/MD/000531

Châlons-en-Champagne, le 27 janvier 2006

DESTINATAIRE : M. Thomas J. NOELAN

Veuillez trouver ci-joint un exemplaire de la décision concernant :

- ☐ Sondage
- ☐ Diagnostic archéologique (évaluation)
- ☐ Fouille nécessitée par l'urgence absolue
- ☐ Fouille programmée
- ☐ Projet collectif de recherche
- ☐ Prospection aérienne
- ☐ Prospection au sol
- ☒ Prospection avec un détecteur de métaux
- ☐ Prospection inventaire
- ☐ Prospection thématique

N° 2006/033
5329

à

Département(s) : ARDENNES

Commune(s) : CHATEL CHEHERY
P.J. - copie pour information

N.B. : Pour les titulaires de l'autorisation, lors de la remise du D.F.S. au service régional de l'archéologie, prière de fournir une notice pour le bilan scientifique régional.

Pour le préfet de région et par délégation,
le directeur régional,


Georges POUILL.



PRÉFECTURE DE LA RÉGION CHAMPAGNE-ARDENNE
MINISTÈRE DE LA CULTURE ET DE LA COMMUNICATION
DIRECTION RÉGIONALE DES AFFAIRES CULTURELLES
SERVICE RÉGIONAL DE L'ARCHÉOLOGIE

N° 2006/033

Code Patriarche : 5329

LE PRÉFET DE LA RÉGION CHAMPAGNE-ARDENNE,
 CHEVALIER DE LA LÉGION D'HONNEUR

VU le code du Patrimoine, notamment son livre V titre III ;

VU le décret n° 94-422 du 27 mai 1994 modifiant la loi du 27 septembre 1941, portant réglementation des fouilles archéologiques et relatif à diverses dispositions concernant l'archéologie ;

VU le décret n° 94-423 du 27 mai 1994 portant création des organismes consultatifs en matière d'archéologie nationale ;

D É C I D E

Article premier :

Monsieur Thomas J. NOLAN est autorisé à procéder à une opération de de **prospection au détecteur de métaux** du 03 mars au 17 mars 2006.

concernant, en région **CHAMPAGNE-ARDENNE**,

le site de :

Département : ARDENNES

Commune : CHATEL CHEHERY

Aire d'étude d'une superficie d'environ 82 ha inscrite dans un quadrilatère défini par les coordonnées

Lambert (II étendu) suivantes :

X = 789.463 ; Y = 2479.972 et

X = 790.423 ; Y = 2479.103

Numéro d'entités archéologiques partiellement comprises dans l'aire d'étude : 08 109 0002 et 08 109 0007

Code de l'opération : 5329

Article 2 : prescriptions générales.

Les recherches sont effectuées sous la surveillance du conservateur régional de l'archéologie territorialement compétent, qui pourra imposer toutes prescriptions qu'il jugera utiles pour assurer le bon déroulement scientifique de l'opération.

L'opération devra être réalisée conformément aux normes de sécurité en vigueur, définies en particulier par le décret n° 65-48 du 8 janvier 1965 pour les opérations terrestres et le décret 90-277 du 28 mars 1990 et ses arrêtés d'application pour les opérations subaquatiques.

À la fin de l'opération, le responsable scientifique de l'opération adressera au conservateur régional de l'archéologie, en double exemplaire, un rapport accompagné de cartes et de photographies, ainsi que le

cas échéant, des fiches détaillées établies pour chacun des nouveaux sites identifiés au cours des recherches.

L'ensemble de la documentation relative à l'opération (notes, photographies, relevés, correspondances, etc.) sera remis au conservateur régional de l'archéologie.

En outre, dans le cas d'une **prospection thématique**, le rapport détaillera les actions menées, les résultats scientifiques obtenus et le nouvel état de la connaissance dans le domaine concerné ; dans le cas d'une **prospection avec relevés d'art rupestre**, le rapport comportera la localisation précise de chaque support d'art rupestre, accompagné de plans et de photographies ; un exemplaire supplémentaire de chacun des relevés réalisés lors de cette opération sera fourni pour archivage au centre national de la préhistoire quelle que soit la technique utilisée (dessin, photographie, moulage, base de données numériques, etc.).

Le responsable scientifique de l'opération tiendra régulièrement informé le conservateur régional de l'archéologie de ses travaux et découvertes. Il lui signalera immédiatement toute découverte importante de caractère mobilier ou immobilier et les mesures nécessaires à la conservation provisoire de ces vestiges devront être prises en accord avec lui.

Article 3 : destination du matériel archéologique découvert.

Le statut juridique et le lieu de dépôt du matériel archéologique découvert au cours de l'opération seront réglés conformément aux dispositions légales et réglementaires et aux termes des conventions passées avec les propriétaires des terrains concernés.

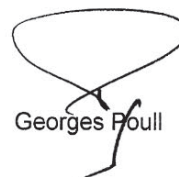
Article 4 : prescriptions particulières à l'opération.

L'opération de prospection au détecteur de métaux visant uniquement la recherche des traces du combat du 8 octobre 1918 (détection, puis localisation précise d'étuis de cartouches, de balles ou d'éléments métalliques de caisses de munitions), les terrassements manuels destinés à récupérer les éléments détectés ne dépasseront jamais une profondeur de 15 cm par rapport au niveau du sol actuel.

Article 5 : le directeur régional des affaires culturelles est chargé de l'exécution du présent arrêté.

Fait à Châlons-en-Champagne, le 27 janvier 2006

Pour le préfet et par délégation,
le directeur régional des affaires culturelles



Georges Poull

COPIE À :

- | | | | |
|---|---|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Intéressé(e) | <input type="checkbox"/> Préfet de région | <input type="checkbox"/> Mairie(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Direction régionale des affaires culturelles |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Organisme de rattachement | <input type="checkbox"/> Préfet(s) du(des) département(s) concerné(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Gendarmerie | <input type="checkbox"/> Sous-direction de l'archéologie |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Propriétaire(s) du(des) terrain(s) | | | |

MINISTERE DE LA CULTURE ET DE LA COMMUNICATION
PREFECTURE DE LA REGION CHAMPAGNE-ARDENNE

Direction régionale des affaires culturelles
Service régional de l'archéologie

3, faubourg Saint-Antoine
51037 CHALONS-EN-CHAMPAGNE CEDEX
Téléphone : 03 26 70 63 31
Télécopie : 03 26 70 63 49

SRA/06/VG/VD/004267

Châlons-en-Champagne, le 13 octobre 2006

DESTINATAIRE : Longuein Thomas J. Nolan

Veuillez trouver ci-joint un exemplaire de la décision concernant :

- ☐ Sondage
- ☐ Diagnostic archéologique (évaluation)
- ☐ Fouille nécessitée par l'urgence absolue
- ☐ Fouille programmée
- ☐ Projet collectif de recherche
- ☐ Prospection aérienne
- ☐ Prospection au sol
- ☒ Prospection avec un détecteur de métaux
- ☐ Prospection inventaire
- ☐ Prospection thématique

N° 2006/362
5530

à

Département(s) : Ardennes
Communes(s) : CHATEL CHEHERY

Région Champagne-Ardenne

N.B. : Pour les titulaires de l'autorisation, lors de la remise du D.F.S. au service régional de l'archéologie, prière de fournir une notice pour le bilan scientifique régional.

Pour le Préfet de Région et par délégation,
le Directeur Régional,

Marc NOUSCHI.





PRÉFECTURE DE LA RÉGION CHAMPAGNE-ARDENNE

DIRECTION RÉGIONALE DES AFFAIRES CULTURELLES
SERVICE RÉGIONAL DE L'ARCHÉOLOGIE

N° 2006/362

Code Patriarche : 5530

LE PRÉFET DE LA RÉGION CHAMPAGNE ARDENNE,
OFFICIER DE LA LÉGION D'HONNEUR

VU le code du Patrimoine, notamment son livre V titre III ;

VU le décret n° 94-422 du 27 mai 1994 modifiant la loi du 27 septembre 1941, portant réglementation des fouilles archéologiques et relatif à diverses dispositions concernant l'archéologie ;

VU le décret n° 94-423 du 27 mai 1994 portant création des organismes consultatifs en matière d'archéologie nationale ;

D É C I D E

Article premier :

Monsieur Thomas J. NOLAN est autorisé à procéder à une opération de **prospection au détecteur de métaux** du 12 novembre au 23 novembre 2006.

concernant, en région **CHAMPAGNE ARDENNE**,

le site de :

Département : ARDENNES

Commune : CHATEL CHEHERY

Aire d'étude d'une superficie d'environ 82 ha inscrite dans un quadrilatère défini par les coordonnées Lambert (II étendu) suivantes :

X = 789.463 ; Y = 2479.972 et

X = 790.423 ; Y = 2479.103

Numéro d'entités archéologiques partiellement comprises dans l'aire d'étude : 08 109 0002 et 08 109 0007

Code de l'opération à reporter sur le rapport de fin d'opération : 5530

Article 2 : prescriptions générales.

Les recherches sont effectuées sous la surveillance du conservateur régional de l'archéologie territorialement compétent, qui pourra imposer toutes prescriptions qu'il jugera utiles pour assurer le bon déroulement scientifique de l'opération.

L'opération devra être réalisée conformément aux normes de sécurité en vigueur, définies en particulier par le décret n° 65-48 du 8 janvier 1965 pour les opérations terrestres et le décret 90-277 du 28 mars 1990 et ses arrêtés d'application pour les opérations subaquatiques.

À la fin de l'opération, le responsable scientifique de l'opération adressera au conservateur régional de l'archéologie, en double exemplaire, un rapport accompagné de cartes et de photographies, ainsi que le

cas échéant, des fiches détaillées établies pour chacun des nouveaux sites identifiés au cours des recherches.

L'ensemble de la documentation relative à l'opération (notes, photographies, relevés, correspondances, etc.) sera remis au conservateur régional de l'archéologie.

En outre, dans le cas d'une **prospection thématique**, le rapport détaillera les actions menées, les résultats scientifiques obtenus et le nouvel état de la connaissance dans le domaine concerné ; dans le cas d'une **prospection avec relevés d'art rupestre**, le rapport comportera la localisation précise de chaque support d'art rupestre, accompagné de plans et de photographies ; un exemplaire supplémentaire de chacun des relevés réalisés lors de cette opération sera fourni pour archivage au centre national de la préhistoire quelle que soit la technique utilisée (dessin, photographie, moulage, base de données numériques, etc.).

Le responsable scientifique de l'opération tiendra régulièrement informé le conservateur régional de l'archéologie de ses travaux et découvertes. Il lui signalera immédiatement toute découverte importante de caractère mobilier ou immobilier et les mesures nécessaires à la conservation provisoire de ces vestiges devront être prises en accord avec lui.

Article 3 : destination du matériel archéologique découvert.

Le statut juridique et le lieu de dépôt du matériel archéologique découvert au cours de l'opération seront réglés conformément aux dispositions légales et réglementaires et aux termes des conventions passées avec les propriétaires des terrains concernés.

Article 4 : prescriptions particulières à l'opération.

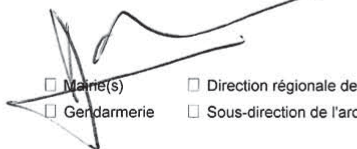
L'opération de prospection au détecteur de métaux visant uniquement la recherche des traces du combat du 8 octobre 1918 (détection, puis localisation précise d'étuis de cartouches, de balles ou d'éléments métalliques de caisses de munitions), les terrassements manuels destinés à récupérer les éléments détectés ne dépasseront jamais une profondeur de 15 cm par rapport au niveau du sol actuel.

Article 5 : le directeur régional des affaires culturelles est chargé de l'exécution du présent arrêté.

Fait à Châlons-en-Champagne, le 13 octobre 2006

Pour le préfet et par délégation,
le directeur régional des affaires culturelles,

Marc Nouschi



COPIE À :

- ☐ Intéressé(e)
- ☐ Organisme de rattachement
- ☐ Propriétaire(s) du(des) terrain(s)

- ☐ Préfet de région
- ☐ Préfet(s) du(des) département(s) concerné(s)

- ☐ Mairie(s)
- ☐ Direction régionale des affaires culturelles
- ☐ Gendarmerie
- ☐ Sous-direction de l'archéologie

APPENDIX 2
LIST OF ARTIFACTS

DATA DICTIONARY

Field Name	Definition	Code	Value
ART_TYPE	Artifact Type	11	unexpended small arms ammunition
		12	unexpended grenade
		13	unexpended artillery projectile
		141	expended rifle ammunition
		142	expended pistol ammunition
		15	expended grenade
		16	expended artillery projectile
		21	belts, pouches, scabbards
		22	canteens and mess gear
		23	entrenching tool
		24	gas masks, helmets, and other field equipment
		25	grease tin
		31	uniform buttons
		32	uniform insignia
		33	first aid and personal items
		40	weapons or parts of
QUANTITY	Number of items collected at GPS point		
NATION	Nationality	1	American
		2	German
		3	French
		4	Unknown

LIST OF ARTIFACTS

RELIC_ID	COMMENT	ART_TYPE	QUANTITY	NATION
306001	8mm	110	1	3
306002	ger buckle	21	1	2
306003	7.92 case	141	1	2
306004	G 98 muzzle cover	25	1	2
306005	7.92 case	141	1	2
306006	7.92 case	141	1	2
306007	7.92 case	141	1	2
306008	7.92 round	141	1	2
306009	ger mess tin	22	1	2
306010	7.92 case	141	1	2
306011	metal bands	0	1	4
306012	grease tin	25	1	2
306013	7.92 case	141	1	2
306014	7.92 case	141	1	2
306015	7.92 case	141	1	2
306016	7.92 case	141	1	2
306017	7.92 case	141	1	2
306018	buckle	21	1	2
306019	30-06 full clip	11	5	1
306020	30-06 full clip + 1round	11	6	1
306021	30-06 strpper clip	141	1	1
306022	30-06 case	141	1	1
306023	30-06 case	141	1	1
306024	30-06	11	1	1
306025	30-06	11	1	1
306026	30-06	11	1	1
306027	fr grenade	12	1	3
306028	gr egg grenades	12	6	3
1000001	mg position by eddie	0	0	2
1000002	dressing,5 full 3006 clips, belt	0	0	1
1115001	5 7.92mm cases	141	5	2
1115002	2 77mm projectiles	13	2	2
1115003		16	1	2
1115004	mg parts 11/10	40	1	2
1115005	tin	25	1	2
1115006	buckle	21	1	2
1115007	plug	0	0	4
1115008	tube	0	0	4

RELIC_ID	COMMENT	ART_TYPE	QUANTITY	NATION
1115009	77 shell case	16	1	2
1115010	lead fasteners	31	4	2
1115011	30-06 bullet	141	1	1
1115012	77mm fuse covers	16	2	2
1115013	5 77mm shell cases	16	5	2
1115014	9 7.92 cases	141	9	2
1115016	hinge	0	0	4
1115017	grommets	24	4	2
1115018	full 30-06 clip	11	5	1
1115019	spoon/fork	22	2	2
1115020	knife	22	1	2
1115021	77mm shell case	16	1	2
1116001	8 full 30-06 clips, 2 rds	11	42	1
1116001.01	pt dressing cover, knife	33	2	1
1116002	tunic button	31	1	1
1116003	knife and fork	22	2	1
1116004	37mm dud	16	1	3
1116005	German E-tool and fork	23	2	2
1116006	pencil,buckle, tube top	33	3	1
1117001	top of French grenade	15	1	3
1117002	2 30-06 cases	141	2	1
1117003	1 30-06 case	141	1	1
1117004	1 30-06 case	141	1	1
1117005	1 30-06 case	141	1	1
1117006	gas mask	24	1	2
1117008	1 30-06 case	141	1	1
1117008.01	1 30-06 empty clip	141	1	1
1117009	gas mask filter	24	1	2
1117009.01	2 .45 cases	142	2	1
1117010	1 .45 case	142	1	1
1117010.01	1 7.92 case	141	1	2
1117011	2 9mm cases	142	2	2
1117012	4 30-06 cases	141	4	1
1117012.01	1 live 30-06 round	11	1	1
1117013	2 .45 cases	142	2	1
1117013.01	9 7.92 cases	141	9	2
1117014	4 7.92 live rounds	11	4	2

RELIC_ID	COMMENT	ART_TYPE	QUANTITY	NATION
1117015	1 gas mask filter	24	1	2
1117015.01	2 7.92 cases	141	2	2
1117016	grease tin, filter	24	2	2
1117016.01	2 7.92 cases	141	2	2
1117017	7.92 live clip	11	5	2
1117017.01	gas mask filter	24	1	2
1117018	brass box, grease tin	24	2	2
1117018	1 7.92 case	141	1	2
1117019	German e-tool scab.	21	1	2
1117021	11 7.92 cases	141	11	2
1117022	Gr. E-tool	23	1	2
1117022.01	7.92 live clip	11	5	2
1117023	11 7.92 cases	141	11	2
1117024	1 .45 bullet	142	1	1
1117025	1 .45 case	142	1	1
1117026	3 7.92 cases	141	3	2
1117027	2 .45 cases	142	2	1
1117028	.45 case	142	1	1
1117028.01	Gas mask filter	24	1	2
1117029	.45 case	142	1	1
1117030	7.92 case	141	1	2
1117031	bayonet scab	21	1	2
1117032	mess tin	22	1	2
1117033	metal box	25	1	2
1117034	German spoon	22	1	2
1117035	3" metal tin	25	1	2
1117036	2 7.92mm full clips	11	10	2
1117037	3 .45 cases, button	142	3	1
1117038	2 .45 cases	142	2	1
1117038.01	1 9mm case	142	1	2
1117038.02	1 7.92mm live rd	11	1	2
1117039	3 7.92mm cases	141	3	2
1117039.01	1 7.92mm live rd	11	1	2
1117040	7.92 live rd	11	1	2
1117041	pt grease tin, lid	25	2	2
1117042	part German canteen	22	1	2
1117043	German E-tool	23	1	2
1117043.01	7.92 rd	11	1	2
1117044	7.92 rd, leather strap	11	1	2
1117045	4 7.92 rds	11	4	2

RELIC_ID	COMMENT	ART_TYPE	QUANTITY	NATION
1117046	1 7.92 full clip, 8 7.92 rds	11	13	2
1117047	1 .45 case	142	1	1
1117048	Gew 98 bolt	40	1	2
1117050	3 7.92 full clips, 4 live rds	11	19	2
1117051	1 .45 case	142	1	1
1117051.01	1 7.92 case	141	1	2
1117052	German brush hook	23	1	2
1117053	1 7.92 case	141	1	2
1117054	28 7.92 live rds, 2 strippers	11	28	2
1117055	1 7.92 case	141	1	2
1117056	Ger E-tool	23	1	2
1117056.01	2 7.92 live rds	11	2	2
1117057	1 7.92 live rd	11	1	2
1117058	gas mask filter	14	1	2
1117060	M-1 carbine case	0	0	4
1117061	7.92 rd	11	1	2
1117062	Gas mask eye piece	24	1	2
1117063	7 7.92 cases	141	7	2
1117064	7.92 clip	11	5	2
1117064.01	7.92 case	141	1	2
1117064.02	grenade end cap	12	1	2
1117065	2 7.92rds in clip	11	2	2
1117066	piece of metal	0	0	4
1117067	Gas mask eye piece	24	1	2
1117068	German bayonet	40	1	2
1117069	grenade end cap	12	1	2
1117070	German mess tin bottom	22	1	2
1117071	2 7.92 rds	11	2	2
1117072	1 7.92 rd	11	1	2
1117073	1 .45 cases	142	1	1
1117073.01	2 9mm cases	142	2	2
1117074	3 9mm cases	142	3	2
1117075	1 .45 bullet	142	1	1
1117076	German E-tool	23	1	2
1117077	partial 7.92 clip	11	5	2
1117078	3 .45 cases, unk bullet	142	3	1

RELIC_ID	COMMENT	ART_TYPE	QUANTITY	NATION
1117079	2 .45 cases	142	2	1
1117079.01	brass mg belt part	142	1	2
1117080	7.92 stripper, 6 live rds	11	6	2
1117080.01	4 7.92 cases	141	4	2
1117081	21 .45 cases	142	21	1
1117081.01	2 .45 bullets	142	2	1
1117081.02	2 tin buttons	31	2	4
1117082	Rexall shaving stick	33	1	1
1117083	2 gas filters	24	2	2
1117084	1 7.92 clip	11	5	2
1117084.01	German E-tool	23	1	2
1117084.01	2 7.92 cases	0	0	2
1117084.02	GEW 98 bolt	40	1	2
1117084.03	Ger mess tin, box	22	2	2
1117086	bayonet scab	21	1	2
1117086.01	Ger canteen w/strap	22	1	2
1117090	helmet crown w/hole	24	1	1
1118001	grenade detonators	40	12	2
1118002	7.92 full clip	11	5	2
1118003	77 mm shell fuse	16	1	2
1118004	7.92 full clip	11	5	2
1118005	grease tin	25	1	2
1118006	part Ger cartridge belt	21	1	2
1118006.01	20 7.92 rds	11	20	2
1118007	shell frag	16	1	4
1118008	tree step	25	1	2
1118009	unknown piece of metal	0	0	4
1118010	gas mask eye pieces	24	1	2
1118011	shell frag	16	1	4
1118012	full 7.92 clip	11	5	2
1118013	Mess tin	22	1	2
1118014	metal top	0	0	4
1118015	1 8mm case	141	1	3
1118016	3 7.92 rds	11	3	2
1118018	2 7.92mm cases	141	2	2
1118019	7 7.92mm cases	141	7	2
1118020	part canteen	22	1	2
1118021	1 7.92mm case	141	1	2

RELIC_ID	COMMENT	ART_TYPE	QUANTITY	NATION
1118022	1 full 7.92 clip	11	5	2
1118022	1 30-06 round	11	5	1
1118023	1 full 7.92 clip	11	5	2
1118024	gas mask	24	1	2
1118024.01	E-tool	23	1	2
1118025	fuse tin	25	1	2
1118027	1 7.92 case	141	1	2
1118028	grease tin	25	1	2
1118029	3 gas mask filters	24	3	2
1118030	pt gas mask	24	1	2
1118031	como wire spool	25	1	2
1118032	13 7.92 rds, grease tin	11	13	2
1118033	gas mask filter	24	1	2
1118034	4 7.92 rds, gas mask filter	11	4	2
1118035	metal tube	0	0	4
1118036	gas mask	24	1	2
1118037	gas mask, button	24	1	2
1118038	grease tin	25	1	2
1118039	pt bayonet scab	21	1	2
1118040	77mm live shell	13	1	2
1118041	4 7.92 cases	141	4	2
1118041.01	fuze box	25	1	2
1118041.02	5 7.92 live rounds	11	5	2
1118041.03	grease tin	25	1	2
1118042	pt bayonet scab	21	1	2
1118043	pt gas mask	24	1	2
1118044	pt gas mask	24	1	2
1118045	2 live 7.92 rounds	11	2	2
1118046	pt grease tin	25	1	2
1118047	pt bayonet scab	21	1	2
1118048	ammo pouch stud	21	1	2
1118050	grenade cap w/button	12	1	2
1118051	2 live 7.92 rds	11	2	2
1118052	12 7.92 rds, stripper	11	12	2
1118053	2 7.92 rds	11	2	2
1118054	2 7.92mm cases	141	2	2
1118055	pt canteen, cup,spoon	22	3	2
1118056	pt canteen	22	1	2
1118057	3 7.92mm cases	11	3	2
1118058	4 7.92 cases	141	4	2

RELIC_ID	COMMENT	ART_TYPE	QUANTITY	NATION
1118059	2 7.92 cases	141	2	2
1118060	1 7.92mm case	141	1	2
1118061	stripper	141	1	2
1118062	5 7.92 rds, pt stripper clip	11	5	2
1118063	1 7.92 round	11	1	2
1118064	13mm AT case	141	1	2
1118065	pt tin box	25	1	4
1118066	piece tin	0	0	4
1118067	container base/bullet holes	0	0	2
1118068	1 7.92 rd, padlock	11	1	2
1118069	3 full 7.92 clips	11	15	2
1118070	grease tin	25	1	2
1118071	1 7.92mm case	141	1	2
1118072	full 30-06 clip	11	5	1
1118072.01	grenade cap	12	1	2
1118073	2 7.92mm cases	141	2	2
1118074	pt grease tin	25	1	2
1118075	pt grease tin	25	1	2
1118076	2 8mm rounds	11	2	3
1118077	stripper clip	141	1	1
1118078	1 7.92 case	141	1	2
1118078.01	unknown	0	0	4
1118079	small chain	0	0	4
1118080	Louis VI coin	0	0	3
1118081	20mm AP bullet	0	0	0
1118082	cow shoe	0	0	4
1120001	5 tunic buttons w/crest	31	5	2
1120002	unknown	0	0	4
1120003	metal rod	0	0	4
1120004	full 7.92 clip	11	5	2
1120005	unknown	0	0	4
1120006	1 7.92 case	141	1	2
1120007	unknown	0	0	4
1120008	empty stripper clip	141	1	2
1120009	2 7.92 rds	11	2	2
1120010	8mm case	141	1	3
1120011	2 7.72 case, 8mm rd	141	1	2
1120012	empty stripper clip	141	1	2

RELIC_ID	COMMENT	ART_TYPE	QUANTITY	NATION
1120013	7.92 rd	11	1	2
1120014	7.92 case	141	1	2
1120015	metal strap	0	0	4
1120016	pt mess tin	22	1	2
1120017	2 grenades	12	2	3
1120018	broken wine bottles	0	0	4
1120019	empty stipper clip, button	141	1	2
1120020	8mm round	11	1	3
1120021	8mm round	11	1	3
1120022	2 metal pieces	0	0	4
1120023	1 30-06 bullet	141	1	1
1120024	1 8mm case	141	1	3
1120025	metal top w/hole	0	0	4
1122001	button-328g	32	1	1
1122002	1 30-06 case	141	1	1
1122003	german e-tool	23	1	2
1122004	1 30-06 case	141	1	1
1122004.01	5 7.92 rounds in clip	11	5	2
1122005	gas mask can	24	1	2
1122006	3 7.92 rounds	11	3	2
1122007	right half us belt	21	1	1
1122007.01	14 full 30-06 clips	11	70	1
1122008	8mm round	11	1	3
1122009	7.92 round	11	1	2
1122010	b box	25	1	4
1122011	2 7.92 rounds	11	2	2
1122011	2 7.92 cases	141	2	2
1122012	baynet scab	21	1	2
1122013	7.92 case	141	1	2
1122014	mg position	141	91	2
1122014.01	mg position	11	55	2
1122015	7.92 case	141	1	2
1122016	7.92 case	141	1	2
1122017	2 30-06 full clips	11	10	1
1122018	30-06 case	141	1	1
1122019	7.92 case	141	1	2
1122020	7.92 case	141	1	2
1122021	7.92 case	141	1	2
1122022	7.92 case	141	1	2
1122023	30-06 full clip	11	5	1

RELIC_ID	COMMENT	ART_TYPE	QUANTITY	NATION
1122024	2 30-06 full clips	11	10	1

APPENDIX 3
LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS

HOS:NEE

HISTORICAL SEC
THE ARMY WAR COL

465

July 29, 1929.

Major E. C. B. Danforth, Jr.,
Southern Finance Building,
Augusta, Georgia.

My dear Major Danforth:

I have been detailed to write a short account of the exploit of Sergeant York. This account is to be used to reenact his heroic fight during the Army Relief Carnival to be held in the grounds of the Army War College.

In order to make this reenactment as accurate as possible, I am trying to make up two maps, one showing the general situation, and one showing the details of the fight. There are no maps among the records. The statements of participants are too general to allow the preparation of accurate maps from them. In these circumstances, I am asking the cooperation of yourself and Major Bruxton.

I am enclosing Major Bruxton's letter and the map which I sent him and upon which he has sketched in the route of the patrol and the scene of the fight as he recalls them.

The following questions suggest themselves:

1. Did the route of advance of the battalion lead north or south of the almost perpendicular slope 150 meters south of the figure 820, in square 407?

The position of the Battalion as indicated by Major Bruxton indicates that it went over or north of it.

From the records, I am of the opinion that the Battalion went south of this point and well within the area of the 26th Division. I have been lead to this conclusion by the following records:

- 2 -

a. Field Message from 2d Battalion, 8.55 a. m., signed Wood, states Battalion P.O. opened at point 97.4-79.8.

b. Field Message from C.O. 328th Inf., to C.O., 164th Brig., 11.00 a.m., states that Co. G reported their arrival at 9.30 a. m. at the point 96.4-79.8.

c. During the morning the C.O., 328th Inf., reported his right at 97.5-81.8 and his left at 96.5-79.8. The indications, however, are that the weight of the attack was on the left under cover of the wooded ravine. The point given as the right is evidently a point which had been reached by patrols. Is this correct?

2. Is the position of the 2d Battalion indicated by Major Buxton correct?

The records at my disposal indicate that the Battalion had advanced farther than he has indicated.

A field message from Wood, dated 8.55 a. m., to the C.O. 328th Inf., states "Co. H (right front) has progressed approximately 1000 yards from initial point. Co. G (left front) has progressed approximately 800 yards, held up by machine gun fire from left."

3. Is the location of the fight correct? The only other definite information I have is in a letter from an officer in the 1st Battalion (I do not have a note of his name here). He gives the point 96.2-79.7. This location, I think, is too far west.

It is requested that any changes in the information given by Major Buxton be placed on the 1/50000 map in a different color.

I have also enclosed a 1/10000 map of the area of the fight. Will you please indicate on this map the details of the fight, group of prisoners, Sergeant York's position, location of the other men of the patrol, German machine guns which reversed and fired on the patrol, starting point and direction of bayonet attack on York.

I am sorry to have to put you to any trouble in this matter but I am only prompted by a desire to make the reconstruction

- 3 -

as accurate as possible and to have on record the details
from men who have personal knowledge of the affair.

Thanking you in advance, I am

Sincerely yours,

3 encls.

HENRY O. SWINDLER
Captain, Infantry, (D.O.L.)

DIRECTORS:

E. C. STUART
G. V. TILLMAN
C. L. JOHNSON
B. K. BULLARD
J. M. TILLMAN



OFFICERS:

C. L. JOHNSON, Pres.
E. C. STUART, Vice-Pres.
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J. M. TILLMAN, Sec., Treas. & M.

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June 18th, 1936.

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2Bn/328

ACCEPTED

CONSIDERED IN
intermediate Revision
Comments on unrev.
M. and S.

Major Chas. D. Barrett. U.S.M.C.
American Battle Monuments Commission.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: Re. 82nd Division operation, Chatel Chehery.

Having had it called to my attention that several officers of the 328th Inf, are trying to get an error corrected as it appears on the map gotten out by the American Battle Monuments Commission regarding the advance of the 2nd. Bn. 328th Inf. on October 8th 1918. I have executed the enclosed affidavit and am mailing same.

Hoping that this error will be corrected, as that additional territory was very expensive to my Battalion in killed and wounded, and was gained and held by companies that were that were considerably weaker and more tired than when the attack started in the morning, in fact less than half as many in numbers.

Feeling assured that the matter will have the full consideration of the Commission, I remain,

Yours very truly,

James M. Tillman
James M. Tillman.

CONSIDERED IN FINAL
CHECK AUG 20 1936

CONSIDERED IN FINAL rev.
COMMENTS ON REVISED
M. and S.

Lake Wales, Polk County, Florida.

Personally appeared before me the undersigned attesting officer, James M. Tillman, the subscriber, who being duly sworn, on oath says that during the World War he held the rank of Captain and Major of Infantry and that he commanded the 2nd. Bn. 328th. Infantry throughout the entire operation of this regiment in the Meuse-Argonne offensive from October 6th 1918 to November 1st. 1918. That acting under orders of the 328th Inf. he made an attack on October 8th, 1918, from Hill 223 on the North edge of Chatel Chehery at 8:30 o'clock, compass direction 10 degrees North of West. That the Bn. attack with G-Company on the left, and E-Company on right of the assaulting wave, and with H-Company on the left and F-Company on the right in the support wave. That this Battalion advanced through the day fighting on three sides and being assisted in the latter part of the afternoon by D-Company 328th Infantry, until the Corps objective, the Decanville railroad, running North and South about 1 and 1/2 kilometers West of Chatel Chehery was reached at 17 hours of the same date. That the position along the railroad was then consolidated by the following troops in the order named, from left to right: D-Company; G-Company; F-Company and E-Company, in order to protect the right flank. E-Company and part of F-Company were faced in a northerly direction. H-Company was in support of the front line and about 200 yards to the rear. The above named companies, in positions indicated, were personally visited and verified by myself after dark. That the position held by G-Company and part of F-Company was the railroad, this position on the railroad being raided two or three times during the night, and these raids being beaten off during the night of October 8-9th. That no troops were withdrawn from the railroad during the night. D-Company protecting the left flank being removed during the night and part of H-Company replacing them in the position they held. That the first move from the railroad was made on the morning of the 9th between seven and eight hours, and attack was then due North at this time the left flank being on the railroad part of the way. That G-Company on the 9th. held the same position along the railroad and made no move when the attack was made.

That the undersigned further deposes and says that the position of the 2nd. Bn. 328th Infantry, as shown on the preliminary situation map of the American Battle Monuments Commission as about 400 yards East of the Decanville railroad is incorrect, and that the correct position should be as described above.

That all the statements contained herein, are made without doubt or reservation and the information was gained by personal observation on the ground on the dates of October 8th and 9th. 1918.

Sworn to and subscribed to before me this 17th day of June 1926.

W. F. Anderson
Justice of Peace

James M. Tillman
M. and S.

CONSIDERED IN FINAL
COMMENTS ON REVISION
M. and S.

CONSIDERED IN FINAL
CHECK AUG 3 1926

HOS:WHE

HISTORICAL SECTION
THE ARMY WAR COLLEGE

4658

July 17, 1929.

Colonel G. Edward Brunton, Jr.,
Providence, Rhode Island.

Dear Colonel Brunton:

I have been detailed to write a brief account of the exploits of Sgt. York. This account is to be used to reenact his heroic fight at the military carnival at the Army War College for the benefit of the Army Relief Society. In order to have the reproduction as accurate as possible, it is necessary to prepare a detailed map.

After an exhaustive search of all sources available, I have not been able to accurately place the different phases of the action. I can find no map prepared at the time and the statements of various people concerned are quite conflicting. I am therefore asking your assistance. I have enclosed a map of the general area. Will you please sketch in the following?

1. Position of Co. G when held up.
2. M. Guns which York's patrol was to capture.
3. Route of Sgt. York's patrol:
 - (a) going
 - (b) returning.
4. The details of the fight (Make rough sketch if scale is too small).
 - (a) York's position.
 - (b) The large group of German prisoners.
 - (c) Location of other members of patrol during the fight.
 - (d) Location of M. Guns which reversed and fired on York.

- 3 -

(3) Starting point and direction of German bayonet attack.

6. Location of M. Guns encountered during the return trip.

I have a copy of Sgt. York's book which indicates, page 861, that he made out a detailed account of his fight at Division Hq. and that this statement was forwarded to higher authority. This statement was evidently accompanied with a map. I have searched the records of the 82d Division and higher headquarters without finding this statement. Do you know anything about it?

I regret exceedingly to have to bother you with this request but I am prompted only by a desire to make as accurate a reproduction as possible.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY O. SWINDLER
Captain, Infantry, D.O.L.

1 encl.

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PROVIDENCE, R. I.

July 23rd, 19

Office of the President

Captain Henry O. Swindler
The Army War College
Office of the Commandant
Washington, D. C.

4658

Dear Captain Swindler:-

G Company, Second Battalion, 328th Infantry was the left flank of the battalion attack early morning October 8th launched from the crest of hill 223. The objective was the Narrow Gage railroad about a kilometer and a half a little north of west from hill 223. The advance of the battalion was stopped not only by heavy fire from the front which was expected, but chiefly by continuous bursts of machine gun fire from the nose southwest from hill 223 about where I have written the figure "2"; Lieutenant Kirby Stewart had just been killed leading the left flank. Sergeant Parsons, a New York vaudeville actor, directed Acting-Sergeant Early, an Irish-born American from New Haven, to take 3 squads to stop the fire from that nose on the left. One of the 3 squads was commanded by Corporal York. Early led a skilful reconnaissance in which the 3 squads crawled back under cover of the brush on hill 223 and circled southwest on the route shown as "3-A" gaining the crest of the hill due-west from the hostile fire. Early could hear voices from West and straight down the wooded hill in the direction of "4". He decided to attack - though all told, his force numbered 17 men, including himself. They ran down the hill in a skirmish line, pushed through the brush, crossed a little creek and came into a small clearing at the foot of the hill where they found about 60 of the enemy gathered around their Major and, apparently, receiving instructions as to a counter attack to be made shortly. The Americans fired two or three shots into this mass at close range. The others threatened the enemy with their bayonets. The Germans believed they were surprised by a large force of which this was only the advance party. They surrendered

JNAL ARCHIVES

Capt. Swindler.

July 23rd, 1929.

and started throwing down arms and ammunition belts. A command in German came from the steep hillside over their heads immediately east and northeast. The prisoners threw themselves on their faces. York and the others standing immediately beside the prisoners did the same thing. A burst of fire from the hillside overhead struck the Americans in the outer ring - killing six and wounding three, one of whom was Early who received three machine-gun bullets in his side. York was the only non-commissioned officer left and lying on the ground beside the prisoners carried on the fire fight against the forces scattered 50 to 60 yards above him. He emptied 3 clips from his rifle and 3 from his pistol. It is evident that he missed few targets (he does not think he missed any). Only two of the other seven survivors testified that they fired any shots during this fight. One soldier said he killed 2 or 3 men - Sergeant York told me that he saw him kill one. As you will see by the affidavits which I took, and which are published in Sergeant York's book, most of the survivors were busy covering the mass of prisoners huddled in front of them. Lieut. Cox of F Company, 2nd Battalion, came down this hill about an hour later with his platoon. He estimated that there were 20 to 25 dead Germans on the scene of the fight and the bodies of the 6 dead Americans. I never could satisfy myself that the German bayonet attack amounted to anything more than the isolated actions of groups - a squad or less - whose leaders made unrelated efforts to rush York since they could not hit him without firing into the prisoners who protected him by their close proximity. The machine-gunners picked up on the return route, about due East to the Valley (shown as 3 B) must have been survivors of the fight on the hillside and those still further to the West who had been flanking the battalion ^{and} whose position is shown as "2".

I presume you have nearly all the details you need to fill in this statement. If not, ask me any specific questions you like. If a further check seems desirable I suggest that you submit my replies to Major E. C. B. Danforth, Jr., Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia, who was Captain

-2- Capt. Swindler

July 23rd,

of G Company on that morning and led his company forward to its objective on the railroad during a day of stiff fighting. Major Danforth has very carefully checked this fight with Sergeant York and went over the terrain with him personally as I did myself.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edward Buxton

GEB.H

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AUGUSTA, GEORGIA

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August 5, 1929.

Captain Henry O. Swindler,
The Army War College,
Officer of the Commandant,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Captain Swindler:

I am enclosing two maps of the area of the York exploit which I have marked with the information requested in your favor of July 29th. My knowledge of the general situation is first hand and, I believe, accurate. The particulars of the actual fight of Sergeant York is, of course, ^{not} based on my own observation ^{but} which has been gained by investigations which I made on the ground shortly after the armistice and from a subsequent study in which I have been interested in making during the past year or two. I am afraid that no one, not even York himself, can give you a very accurate lay-out of the fight but my sketch contains what I believe to have been the situation.

Answering your questions specifically, please note the following:

1. The route of advance of the battalion passed over and slightly to the south of the slope 150 meters south of the figure 220 in square 60. This may have encroached upon the territory of the 28th Division but that division attacked from Cote 264 and my company had no contact with them until later in the afternoon. The position of the Battalion P. C. as given in the message of Lt. Wood is correct.

^a
2 I am at loss to account for the message that Company G reported their arrival at 9:30 A.M. at the point 96.4-79.9. I am sure that no elements of my Company reached this point unless it were some members of York's Patrol.

Point 97.5-81.0 which was reported as the right of the 328th Infantry was as, you believe, a point reached by Patrols of Company E. It is well to note that the direction of the

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-2-

attack of the 328th and 327th Infantry was not the same because the original direction - ten degrees north of west - was changed prior to zero hour and this change was not received by the 328th Infantry. This resulted in a considerable part of our front being left uncovered as indicated on the 1-20,000 map.

2. The position of the Battalion at the time of the York fight I have indicated on the map to the best of my knowledge and belief.

3. The location of the York fight as given by the officer of the 1st Battalion is incorrect.

I am very much interested in the plan to reenact this fight. Please ask me any further questions you may wish, I will be delighted to give you any possible assistance. Can you tell me when the reenactment is to take place and if it would be possible for me to witness it. I should also like very much to have you send me a copy of your account of the exploit when it is completed.

Sincerely yours,



D/c
3 incl.

P.S. The bayonet attack, as Major Buxton says, was not a concerted action by the whole of the enemy force but merely a rush by some five or six Germans that had succeeded in getting to within thirty or forty yards of York.

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THE AMERICAN BATTLE MONUMENTS COMMISSION

ESTABLISHED BY CONGRESS, MARCH 1923

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HISTORICAL SECTION

WASHINGTON

May 18, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR

The Executive Officer, Historical Section, Army War College.

1. The enclosed study of the York episode was brought to my attention in the course of an investigation now in progress in my office. This document, especially the statements of participants and conclusions pps. 19-38, is of great value when compared with documents in the W.D. files. It is believed that a translation of this study would constitute a valuable addition to the files of your office as well as giving us assistance in our present investigation.

2. No doubt the translation section of the Army War College would be glad to supply your office and mine with a translation.

Howard F. Cahill
 HOWARD F. CAHILL,
 Major, Infantry,
 Officer in Charge.

HOS:clm

*Transmitted for
 Maj. J. J. Hill
 2nd. Col. Hill
 R.D.*

PRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

TESTIMONY OF GERMAN OFFICERS AND MEN

ANENT SERGEANT YORK

A translation of

Die Entstehung von Kriegslegenden
Feststellungen ueber die angebliche Heldentat
des amerikanischen Sergeanten York am 8.10.18

(THE ORIGIN OF WAR LEGENDS

An investigation of the alleged feat of Sgt.
York, October 8, 1918)

Translated by

Sergeant F. W. Merten
The Army War College
Fort Humphreys, D. C.

June, 1936

W. C. KOENIG
Lieutenant Colonel, C. A. C.
Chief, Translation Section

PRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

-II-

Potsdam
July 2, 1929

Lieutenant Colonel Muller, U.S.A.

Dear Colonel Muller:

In compliance with your request, I am sending you herewith a carbon copy of my address. I wish to thank you for the generous assistance which you have given me in investigating this case.

Director Dr. Muesebeck and I have reached the following conclusion:

At present, we are not interested in releasing to the Press anything concerning this affair. Likewise, we have requested the sender of the Swedish newspaper to abstain from rectifying the article in question, in view of the fact that the same was published six months ago.

If the newspapers should print another article, however, which, in connection with the alleged feat of Sergeant York, might have the tendency of depreciating the name of the German army and, in particular, the German officer, we will immediately disprove this claim with the aid of the material on hand.

In Germany, such a rectification will be made by the Reichsarchiv. We would appreciate very much your seeing that similar steps be taken in the United States, in the event that this case receives further notice. Any publication on our part is to serve merely as a defense against unjustified accusations.

With best regards,

Devotedly yours,

(Signed) OTTO

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-I-

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

This article is the result of an investigation of Sergeant York's exploit. The German Government Archives made this investigation after a Swedish newspaper had published a description of York's exploit.

The author introduces his data with a German translation of the Swedish account of York's feat. In perusing the final English translation of this account, which contains numerous quotations from Sergeant York's war diary, the reader must bear in mind that this was translated from the original English into Swedish, then into German, and back into English.

Upon comparing the German text with the original English text, I found them to agree with two exceptions. On page 4 of our text, Sergeant York is quoted as saying: "There were almost a hundred Germans"; whereas page 230 of "Sergeant York, the Story of his Life", contains the words: "There must have been about fifty of them". Again York is quoted, on page 4 of our text, as follows: "We certainly had not gotten very far behind the German trenches". Either the Swedish translator or the German translator must have misinterpreted this remark of Sergeant York, for, on page 234 of his life story, the latter has this to say: "We sure did get a long way behind the German trenches".

In translating these quotations, I have adhered as closely as possible to the German text, for it was upon this version of the exploit that the German eye witnesses formulated their replies.

The names of the hills mentioned in this text and shown on the sketch are transliterations of their German names, with the exception of HILL 223. I preferred to give this terrain feature its American designation, inasmuch as, through the story of Sergeant York's exploit, the reader may be better acquainted with this name than with its German equivalent of SCHLOSSBERG or CASTLE HILL.

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