FORTITUDINE

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DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ, SPAIN'S 'AMPHIBIOUS CONQUISTADOR,' AFFECTED COURSE OF AMERICAN HISTORY . . . LONGTIME JAPANESE ARMY STRAGGLER SGT ITOH RETURNS TO GUAM . . . MARINE ACE 'PAPPY' BOYINGTON HAILED AS COMBAT LEADER . . . OKINAWA GETS BACK GOKOKU BELL . . . FLIGHT LINES: HO_3S-1 DRAGONFLY

FORTITUDINE

Motto of the United States Marine Corps in the 1812 era.

Historical Bulletin Volume XVII **Winter 1987-1988** **No. 3**

This quarterly bulletin of the Marine Corps historical program is published to educate and train Marines in the uses of military and Marine Corps history.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Memorandum from the Director: Bernardo de Gálvez: The Amphibious Conquistador 3

Marines Heroism Honored in New Facilities' Namings 10

New Books: A Detailed Analysis of Three Years of War in Korea 11

Historical Quiz: Marines in Vietnam 11

A Guam Diary, Part II: Plans Set to Meet Sgt Itoh, Found Living in Tokyo 13

History and Museums Division Publications: Grenada, Lebanon Operations Topics of New Histories 15

Answers to Historical Quiz: Marines in Vietnam 16

'One-of-a-Kind' Marine Aviator 'Pappy' Boyington Dies 17

Mentioned in Passing: DI Who Later Wore Three Stars, LtGen Fields Interred 20

Flight Lines: HO3S-1 Dragonfly 21

Marine Corps Chronology: The Tet Offensive of 1968 in Vietnam 22

Okinawa Regains Gokoku Bell Shipped Out by Perry 24

THE COVER

This equestrian portrait of a Spanish major general in service in the New World near the end of the 18th century represents Don Bernardo de Gálvez, characterized by BGen Simmons as "The Amphibious Conquistador" in his "Memorandum from the Director," beginning on page 3. The study is one in a set of original uniform illustrations by Francisco Ferrer Llull, others of which appear with the story, and all of which are in the personal collection of Col Brooke Nihart, USMC (Ret). Another, much more recent, larger-than-life personality is the subject of a remembrance by Col Charles J. Quilter II, USMCR, beginning on page 17. Col Quilter recalls Col Gregory "Pappy" Boyington, the World War II Marine ace, as a rebellious but gifted pilot and a brilliant combat leader. Personal fortitude is also at the heart of Dr. Craig B. Smith's description, beginning on page 13, of his meeting with former Japanese Army Sgt Masashi Itoh, who survived as a straggler on Guam from December 1946 to May 1960. Lasting effects of World War II figure prominently also in Col Nihart's article on the Okinawan Gokoku Bell, beginning on page 24.

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Memorandum from the Director

Bernardo De Gálvez: The Amphibious Conquistador

BGen Simmons

The following article is adapted from a dinner talk given to the American Revolution Round Table at the Fort McNair Officers Club, Washington, D.C., on 2 March 1988.

In 1785 in Mexico City there was a satirical rhyme that went:

¿Quien mando en este mundo?	Who commands on this globe?
José, el primero,	Jose, the first,
Matias, el segundo,	Matias, the second,
y Bernardo, el tercero.	and Bernardo, the third.

This slightly blasphemous poem goes on:

El Padre, aqui,	The Father here,
el Hijo, en La Habana,	The Son in Havana,
y el Espiritu en España.	and the Holy Ghost in Spain

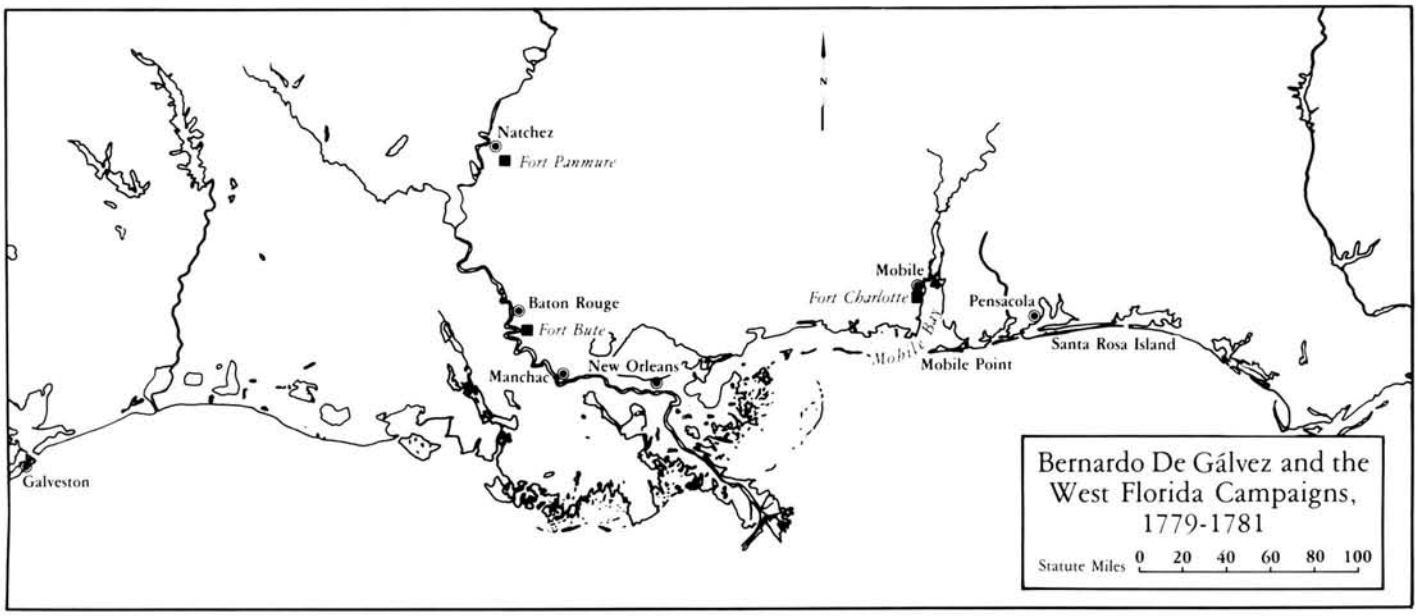
The father in question was Matias de Gálvez, who was Viceroy of New Spain, which is to say Mexico. The son in Havana was Bernardo de Gálvez, who was captain-general of Cuba, the Floridas, and Louisiana. The Holy Ghost was Jose de Gálvez, who as Minister of the Indies in Madrid, was second only to Carlos III in his power over Spain's colonies in the New World.

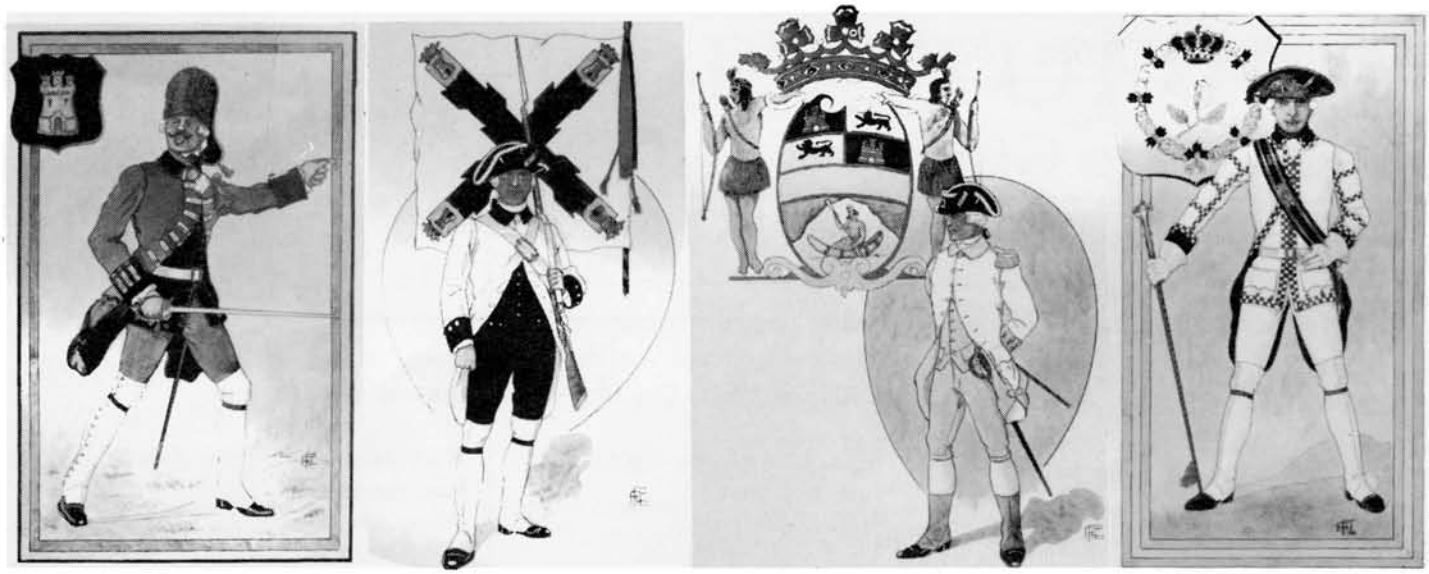
Bernardo De Gálvez enjoys a certain fame along the rim of the Gulf of Mexico, but seldom gets a mention in most histories of the American Revolution. Yet it can be argued that his brilliant West Florida campaign (1779-1781) against the British was as decisive in its way as Yorktown. And later Gálvez was linked with the United States Marines in a curious way.

The seeds for his West Florida campaign were sown by the outcome of the Seven Years War—the war we call the French and Indian War. In settling up after that war, which ended in 1763, the victorious British had insisted on possession of Spanish Florida, which they then promptly divided into East and West Florida. This put British outposts as far west as the east bank of the Mississippi. France, in turn, gave Spain its troublesome colony of Louisiana, all west of the Mississippi except for the Isle of Orleans east of the river.

The first Spanish governor did not arrive in New Orleans until 1766. He proved ineffectual and in 1769 was kicked out in a comic opera insurrection by the predominantly French settlers.

LtGen Alejandro O'Reilly, one of those Irish expatriate soldier-adventurers who were found in most 18th Century European armies—at least the Catholic ones—was given the task of reasserting Spanish control. He arrived in New Orleans in August 1769 with 2,000 soldiers and faced down the rebels, hanging some of them and gaining the nickname, "Bloody O'Reilly." He had three objectives: to bring order to Louisiana, to make it prosperous, and to keep out the English. Before he left for Havana in March 1770, O'Reilly had a sound Spanish colonial administration in place. The next governor was Luis de





del Rey **Soria** **Louisiana** **Principe**

Bernardo de Gálvez' force at Pensacola included many of Spain's most famous regiments. The highly colored originals of these uniform plates by noted Spanish military artist, Francisco Ferrer Llull, are from the personal collection of Col Brooke Nihart.

Unzaga y Amezaga, also a soldier, but an older and milder man than O'Reilly.

In the late summer of 1776 two American officers, Capt George Gibson and a Lt Linn arrived in New Orleans with a letter from MajGen Charles Lee, commander of American forces in the South, which asked for Spanish aid, pointing out that if Great Britain subjugated the colonies, the Spanish West Indies and perhaps Mexico itself would be at the mercy of the British.

Gibson stressed the need for powder and paid for 9,000 pounds of it with a draft on the "Grand Council of Virginia" in the amount of 1,850 Spanish dollars. Linn took three-quarters of the powder up-river, getting it to Forts Pitt and Wheeling just in time to prevent them from being taken by the British. Gibson took the remainder by sea to Philadelphia.

It was at about this time that Bernardo de Gálvez arrived in New Orleans with orders which read in part:

> Lieutenant Colonel Don Bernardo de Gálvez, Captain of Grenadiers in the Regiment of Infantry of Seville, has been named by the King Colonel of the permanent Battalion of your city [New Orleans].

En route to New Orleans, Gálvez had stopped at Havana, and O'Reilly, now in command there, added a postscript. Gálvez, he said, "is an individual whom I esteem highly, and his uncle, the minister of the Indies, is my particular friend . . . ."

Unzaga undoubtedly was much relieved to receive an almost concurrent set of orders to the post of captain-general of Venezuela. On 1 January 1777, just before leaving for Caracas, he swore in Gálvez as acting governor of Louisiana.

The 30-year-old Gálvez' qualifications were a reputation for flamboyant heroics and extremely good family connections. He was born in the province of Málaga. His family was an ancient one, full of honors and very poor, much as many other Spanish noble families. He entered the army as a cadet at age 16. In that year, 1762, Spain invaded Britain's ally, Portugal, and we find him fighting in the war as a lieutenant. This is probably where he first came to O'Reilly's attention.

When his uncle José came to New Spain, as Mexico was then called, in 1765 in the capacity of *visitador*, a kind of royal inspector general, Bernardo came with him as a captain of infantry.

In the fall of 1770 Bernardo was given command of an expedition going against the Apaches on the northern frontier. With a mixed force of 135 soldiers and Indians he crossed the Pecos River and attacked an Apache village, exhorting his troops with the ancient battle cry of "*Santiago y a ellos.*" At a cost of one soldier slightly wounded, he killed 28 Apaches and took 36 prisoners, counting, as was the custom, both men and women.

Six months later he led a second successful expedition against the Apaches. In turn, the Apaches now raided Chihuahua, severely wounding Gálvez in the process—an arrow in the arm and two lance thrusts in the chest. By then Uncle José was ready to return to Spain, taking his nephew with him. Before departing, Bernardo ended his Indian-fighting with a flourish by bringing in 14 Apache prisoners to Mexico City.

To polish up his military education, Bernardo took leave of absence to serve as a lieutenant in the French army. He returned to Spain in 1775 and, as a captain, went with O'Reilly on an ill-fated expedition against the Moors of Algiers, during which he received another severe wound.

By now Uncle José was the Minister of the Indies. Bernardo was promoted to lieutenant colonel, served briefly at the military school at Avila, and then, in 1776, came to Louisiana.

His uncle sent him detailed instructions as to what he was to accomplish, mostly to tighten up on the loose reins held by Governor Unzaga. Amongst many other things he was to organize a better disciplined militia. A census taken shortly after he became governor showed the colony's population was 17,926, roughly half white and half black, in other words, half free and half slave. The census estimated that 1,956 males were able to bear arms.

Capt Gibson had spoken to Governor Unzaga of a plan wherein an American force coming downriver would clear the British from the east bank of the Missis-

sippi and then take Mobile and Pensacola on the Gulf. Pensacola and the other captured English settlements would then be ceded to Spain. In return, the Americans wanted military supplies, including, most urgently, munitions, muskets, medicine, and blankets. Unzaga, who was dubious of revolutions by colonists against crowned heads of state, had said he could take no action without royal approval. On 7 September he forwarded the American proposition in a letter to José de Gálvez in Madrid.

A Royal Order signed by José de Gálvez on 24 December 1776 directed Unzaga to support the American plan, but with great secrecy. He could draw the required supplies from Havana, masking the transaction under the pretext that they were being sold to private merchants. If the Americans succeeded in capturing Pensacola and the other English settlements on the right bank of the Mississippi, Spain would accept them. These instructions did not reach New Orleans until February 1777, by which time Unzaga had departed for Caracas.

Another Irishman, Oliver Pollock, now comes into our story. In 1737, when he was 23 years old, he emigrated to Pennsylvania. Going into the West Indies trade he became connected with what is described as an "eminent house" in Havana. Here he and O'Reilly became close friends. In 1768 Pollock shifted his base from Havana to New Orleans. So he was there in New Orleans in 1769 when his old friend O'Reilly arrived to put down the insurrection.

By the end of 1777, Gálvez, working through Pollock, had set up a clandestine traffic with the Americans in arms and supplies. Pollock acted as banker for these transactions, making himself personally responsible for the debts incurred by the Americans.

Meanwhile, English and American refugees had established a settlement about 60 miles northwest of New Orleans which they flatteringly named "Galveztown." The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* will tell you that in 1777 Gálvez temporarily occupied an uninhabited narrow sand island lying along the coast of southeast Texas. Marked on the charts as "San Luis," he is supposed to have renamed it "Gálvez" or "Galveztown" which in due time got shortened to "Galveston." The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is quite wrong in this as we shall see.

By the beginning of 1778 an American invasion of sorts of the British-held east bank of the Mississippi was underway. A certain Capt James Willing left Fort Pitt on 10 January in an armed 10-oar row galley called the *Rattletrap* with 34 hastily recruited "marines" and came down the Ohio and Mississippi, burning and pillaging along the way in the name of Liberty. Willing reached New Orleans at the end of February, his force having grown to something more than a hundred men as volunteers joined in, inspired more by promises of plunder than patriotism.

The situation by the summer of 1778 was this: Gálvez had given the Americans secret but well-known assistance through Pollock, he had seized some English boats engaged in smuggling, and he had supported Willing and his expedition.

All of this had stirred up the British and reports began to reach Gálvez of the strengthening of Pensacola and reinforcements being sent to the British posts at Manchac and Baton Rouge.

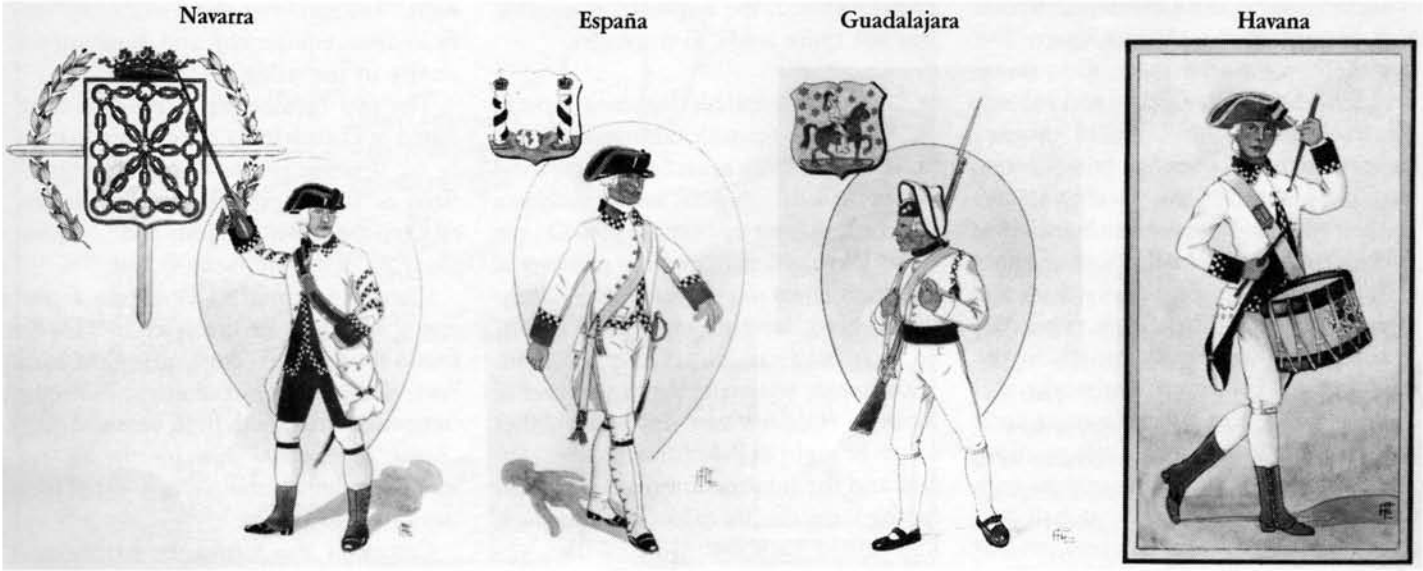
Gálvez, in turn, moved to improve the defenses on his side of the Mississippi. He received some reinforcements from the Canary Islands and Mexico so that by the year's end he had about 700 regular troops. By then there were also 17 militia companies with 1,478 men on their rolls, representing virtually every free, able-bodied man in the colony.

And in 1779 he married Felicite de St. Maxent d'Estrehan, a young widow and the daughter of a wealthy French Creole. In this year he was also promoted to brigadier general and confirmed as governor of Louisiana.

On 21 June 1779 Spain formally declared war against England. Havana had this information by 17 July and an order was sent to Gálvez "to drive the British forces out of Pensacola, Mobile, and the other posts they occupy on the Mississippi."

Anticipating the declaration of war, Gálvez had already convened a council of war. His officers urged a defensive strategy. Gálvez, of more audacious mind, thought that Louisiana could best be defended by an attack against the British forts.

He gathered together a flotilla of ships for the move up the river. A devastating hurricane struck on 18 August, destroying most of them, so on the 27th his little army moved out on foot, numbering 667 men "of all sorts, nationalities, and colors." The march to Manchac, 35 leagues away



Flandes

through rough country, without tentage, baggage, or engineers, was accomplished in 11 days. By that time, by picking up militia companies, volunteers, and Indians, Gálvez' force had grown to almost 1,500, although a third of these were sick or stragglers.

Earlier he had estimated the British strength at Fort Bute at Manchac at more than a thousand. On the night of 6 September, Gálvez put his regulars north of Fort Bute to prevent any reinforcement from Baton Rouge and at dawn swept into the fort with his militia and found it only lightly defended.

A month earlier the senior English officer present, LtCol Alexander Dickson, had decided that Fort Bute was indefensible. Leaving a screening force at Manchac he had fallen back to improve the defenses of Baton Rouge.

Gálvez gave his sick a few days to recover and then marched on Baton Rouge. The fort there, rushed to completion in six weeks, was a properly ditched and palisaded circular work mounting 18 cannon, eight more than Gálvez had brought with him. Inside the fort were 400 regulars and 150 assorted black and white volunteers.

Under cover of a small grove of trees, Gálvez moved his guns forward on the night of 20 September. Then, while the British guns blazed away futilely in the darkness, he threw up earthworks and chopped down trees. When morning came his guns were in a commanding position. The Spanish guns did better at their work than the British guns and, at half-past three, two English officers came out under a flag of truce to arrange a surrender. Gálvez required that Dickson also surrender the 80 grenadiers who were garrisoning Fort Panmure at Natchez further upstream.

Gálvez now controlled both banks of the Mississippi. His success brought him a promotion to major general. His next major objective would be Mobile. For this he would need reinforcements from Havana.

His old patron, Alejandro O'Reilly, was now gone and Don Diego Navarro was captain-general in Havana. Even before moving out against the lower Mississippi, Gálvez had asked Navarro for 7,000 men and a suitable fleet with which to move against Pensacola. Navarro at first thought Pensacola could be taken from the sea by a sufficient show of naval force. Gálvez reminded him that the harbor defenses were strong. As resolved, it was decided that Gálvez should be given not 7,000 troops, but something fewer than 600 troops; that he should take Mobile first and then march overland to Pensacola.

As the year 1780 began, Gálvez sailed from New Orleans with a mixed bag of 754 men with whom he established a camp at Mobile Point at the mouth of Mobile Bay. Here he was joined in February by the 567 reinforcements from Havana.

On 1 March he sent an officer into Fort Charlotte, Mobile's principal defense, a brickwork of some strength near the present-day municipal auditorium, to demand its surrender. It was all handled with exquisite courtesy. Gifts of wine, fresh meat and fruit, and Havana cigars as well as compliments were exchanged, but Capt Elias Durnford, the English commander, was not quite ready to surrender.

Gálvez moved his batteries forward and the Spanish cannonade began on 12 March. Once again Spanish guns did better than British guns and at sundown a white flag went up over the fort. On the 14th, Durnford marched his garrison of 269 men down to the beach and surrendered. Next day a scouting party reported that MajGen John Campbell, with 1,100 troops, was marching to the relief of Mobile. Happily, two days later other scouts brought in a captured English captain and the information that Campbell, having learned of the fall of Fort Charlotte, had turned back toward Pensacola.

Mallorca

John Campbell, a rather obscure member of that Scottish clan that has furnished so many officers to the British Army, had a habit of writing complaining letters to his commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Clinton.

Clinton had been directed by Lord George Germain, secretary of state for the colonies, to prepare, in the event of war with Spain, for a move against New Orleans.

Campbell, chosen to lead the campaign, was given local rank as major general and three dubious regiments—the 3d Waldeckers, the Maryland Loyalists, and the Pennsylvania Loyalists—for the purpose.

The Prince of Waldeck was one of those petty German princes with whom George III had signed a treaty to provide the mercenaries we know collectively as "Hessians." The regiment was described as "unfit in dress, equipment, and discipline for service in the wilds."

The two Loyalist regiments had been raised in Philadelphia after its occupation by Sir William Howe. They were stigmatized as "Irish vagabonds who had deserted from the American army and . . . quite ready to desert from the British."

Campbell arrived at Pensacola at the end of 1778 and was dismayed by what he found there: seven companies of the 16th Foot, chiefly worn-out veterans, and eight companies of the 60th Foot, nominally the "Royal Americans," but mostly, we are told, Germans, criminals, and "other species of gaol birds."

Campbell also found the harbor un-

protected. To cover the entrance to the bay he put a battery on Sigüenza Point at the western tip of Santa Rosa Island. Across the bay, on the inland side at Barrancas Coloradas or "Red Cliffs," he raised a fieldworks called the Naval Redoubt. Unfortunately, the cliffs placed the guns too high above the water and almost out of range of the harbor's entrance.

Campbell, fussing with his defenses, was not ready to march against New Orleans until September 1779, by which time, as we have seen, Gálvez had cleared the British from the Mississippi. Pensacola was next on Gálvez' agenda. His intelligence, which was very good, allowed him to report to Havana that Campbell was capable of defending Pensacola with 2,500 men of whom 1,302 were regulars and the rest local volunteers, sailors, or armed Negroes. Not counted were Campbell's Indian allies who were known to be numerous. Gálvez thought an assault from the sea was practicable. He had heard that Campbell had withdrawn the guns and troops from Barrancas Coloradas and that the defense of the harbor was limited to two frigates.

In Havana, Navarro in mid-February 1781 had actually embarked 2,065 men to give Gálvez his landing force. But on hearing that British reinforcements were being sent to Pensacola from Jamaica, Navarro had his troops return to their barracks. On 7 March he remounted this expedition, sending it across the Gulf toward Pensacola.

As Campbell reported to Clinton, the Spanish squadron stood off Pensacola and then, apparently confusing a convoy from Jamaica with a British fleet, moved off to the west.

Gálvez held a council of war on 4 May: because of the departure of the fleet from Havana, further operations were impracticable, so leaving a garrison at Mobile, he returned to New Orleans.

The summer passed. Gálvez, not being able to budge Navarro by correspondence, decided to plead his case in person. He sailed into Havana harbor on 2 August in his 20-gun brig *Galveztown.*

Two days later VAdm José Solano arrived from Cadiz with 17 warships escorting 140 transports containing 12,000 soldiers, probably the greatest concentration of Spanish power sent to the Americas up to that time.

The expedition that was to go against Pensacola, 49 transports filled with 164 officers, 3,829 men, and three months' provisions, escorted by seven ships-of-the-line and five frigates, sailed on 16 October and was promply struck by a hurricane which raged for five days, scattering the Spanish fleet around the rim of the Gulf. Solano's only consolation was that Adm George Rodney's fleet took an even worse pounding off Barbados.

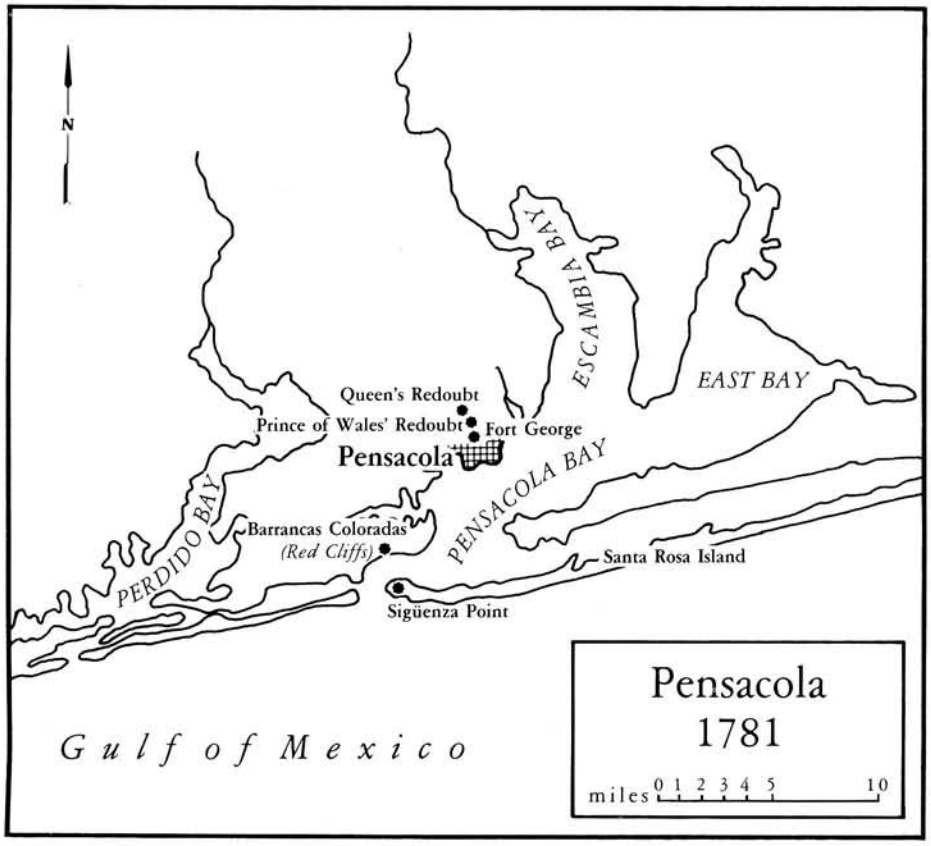
While Solano worked at reassembling his fleet, Gálvez limped back to Havana, arriving on 17 November. Undaunted by the hurricane, he marshalled his arguments for resumption of the attack against Pensacola.

Campbell at Pensacola, his efforts handicapped by the loss of his one trained engineer officer as a prisoner to Gálvez, meanwhile labored at strengthening his main work, Fort George, and its two outlying redoubts, the Queen's Redoubt and the Prince of Wales' Redoubt. The fort was about a half-mile in from the water's edge, marked in present-day downtown Pensacola by a small park. The two redoubts were on the higher ground to the north.

At the year's end, Campbell, now quite certain that Gálvez was not going to attack him, decided to move against Mobile. His plan was to send a column of about 300 soldiers and a like number of Indians under Col Von Hanxleden of the Waldeckers to the village across the bay from Fort Charlotte where it would be joined by the frigates *Mentor* and *Port Royal* for an assault to be made at daybreak on Sunday, 7 January 1781. Von Hanxleden got himself killed in the attack; command went to a Loyalist officer who decided to retreat.

In Havana, the Spanish fleet had been joined by a French squadron of four ships-of-the-line and four heavy frigates. A *Junta de Generales* on 28 January 1781 approved another expedition, it being agreed that Gálvez should have 1,315 troops, mostly light infantry and grenadiers, to strengthen the Spanish defenses in Louisiana and, if he could draw sufficient forces from New Orleans and Mobile and if prospects appeared suitable, he could proceed with his attack against Pensacola.

The convoy sailed from Havana on 28 February 1781. Gálvez himself was embarked in the 74-gun *San Ramon*, flagship of the naval commander, Capt Don José Calvo de Irazábal. Gálvez had already set into motion the movement of his forces from New Orleans and Mobile. While



these troops marched toward Pensacola, Gálvez, with his grenadiers and light infantry from Havana, landed at night on 9 March on Santa Rosa Island. At the western tip of Santa Rosa at Sigüenza Point was the English battery supposedly defending the entrance to the harbor. Gálvez and his landing force found only an abandoned breastworks and three dismounted cannon.

When morning came, the British discovered that the Spaniards had landed and began a lively but ineffective cannonade from the two British frigates, *Mentor* and *Port Royal*, which were in the harbor, and from the Naval Redoubt at Red Cliffs. Gálvez landed a pair of 24-pounders and some lighter guns on Santa Rosa, set up a battery, and forced the *Mentor* and *Port Royal* to pull back out of range.

On the afternoon of 11 March the Spanish fleet led by the *San Ramon* scraped bottom on a sandbar, worked free, and withdrew. Gálvez was left in a precarious position. A more cautious general would have withdrawn from Santa Rosa Island.

Here we see the typical inadequacies of command arrangements for what in the 18th Century were called "conjunct operations." Gálvez was overall commander-in-chief of the expedition, but Irazábal was responsible for the safety of his ship and his fleet and could refuse Gálvez's orders. Gálvez decided to make his own entrance into the bay using the few Louisiana ships that he had, including the brig *Galveztown* in which he embarked himself, flying a broad pennant indicating that he was now a rear admiral.

del Rey (Sapper)

Cataluña

He also sent a taunting message to Irazábal saying that he in the *Galveztown* would show the way for the *San Ramon*. A furious Irazábal replied that he would report this insult to the King and that he hoped to have the satisfaction of hanging Gálvez from a yardarm.

With the *Galveztown* leading the way, Gálvez on 18 March took his four ships into the bay, past the blazing but ineffectual guns of the Naval Redoubt on Red Cliffs, rounding Sigüenza Point, and coming to anchor under the guns of his own battery.

Irazábal's embarrassed captains now told their commander that honor demanded that they follow Gálvez. Next day all ships except the *San Ramon* did enter the bay.

The feud between Gálvez and Irazábal continued. They met ashore, Irazábal coming in by launch and saying that his job was done and that he was returning to Havana in the *San Ramon*. Some of the other ships' captains threatened to do the same. They were particularly offended by Gálvez' flying of a rear admiral's pennant. But the realities of the situation were that Galvez was now firmly ashore and he had most of the Spanish ships inside the bay.

Meanwhile the 905 men from Mobile and 1,348 from New Orleans had arrived to the west and north of Pensacola. On the 24th Gálvez moved his landing force from Santa Rosa to the mainland to join them and to begin the reduction of Fort George.

There was considerable harassment of the Spanish camp by Indians from such tribes as the Choctaws, Creeks, Seminoles, and Chickasaws. These war parties were led by whites or half-breeds with such good Scottish names as Alexander McGillvray, Alexander Frazer, and Alexander Cameron. A fair number of Spaniards had their hair lifted by these Indians.

In Havana there had been reports of a large English fleet sailing to Campbell's relief. On 7 April the *Junta de Generales* ordered Solano to sail immediately for Pensacola with the combined Spanish fleet and French squadron as escort for 1,600 reinforcements under MajGen Juan Manuel de Cagigal. Solano got to sea on 9 April and 10 days later was standing off Pensacola.

On 22 April, Solano's 15 ships-of-the-line and seven frigates arrayed themselves off Santa Rosa island and 40 launches began the ship-to-shore movement of Cagigal's 1,600 soldiers plus 1,500 Spanish and French sailors and marines.

Fort George really wasn't very impressive. It was about 35 yards long on each side and made up of double rows of pine logs filled in between with clay and sand. It mounted 18 cannon, the heaviest being two 24-pounders, and with no more than five cannon to any one side. It would hold only 50 or 60 soldiers, so that most of the garrison had to sleep in a tent camp outside.

The Prince of Wales' Redoubt had 10 small cannon and the more advanced Queen's Redoubt had 12 cannon, none heavier than 12-pounders. The two redoubts were also of log-and-sand construction.

Gálvez now had 8,000 men with which to oppose Campbell, who at most had 2,000. Gálvez organized his force into four brigades and moved his lines up to gun-

Toledo

Royal Armada

Spanish Marine

The plates by Francisco Ferrer Llull include portrayals of seagoing officer and marine.

shot range of the British. There was some testing of the British defenses in the course of which the well-scarred Gálvez received two more wounds, one in the left hand and one in the abdomen, which do not seem to have diminished his energy.

During the last three nights of April, Gálvez, in best-approved 18th Century siege style, had his men dig a trench forward from his lines to a small hill that would give him a good position from which to shell Fort George. On the night of 1 May he moved in a battery of six 24-pounders. Then, under cover of that fire, a second approach was dug forward to a second hill for another battery position. This was at Pine Hill, and Campbell, not liking the shelling, sent out his infantry to reduce the Spanish redoubt. The British were momentarily successful, spiking four guns, but then Gálvez recovered the position.

With both of his forward batteries back into action, Gálvez began shelling the Queen's Redoubt which, because of its shape, the Spanish called the "Half-Moon" or the "Crescent." On the morning of 8 May a Spanish howitzer, reportedly aimed by a Loyalist deserter, dropped a shell into its powder magazine, virtually destroying the redoubt. The Spanish said that 105 British were dead; the British admitted to 85.

The Spanish moved into the captured Queen's Redoubt, bringing forward more guns to bear on the Prince of Wales' Redoubt. The main work at Fort George was now so exposed to Spanish assault that at 3 p.m. Campbell ran up a white flag.

There was some haggling over terms. In the end Campbell surrendered the entire province of West Florida and Gálvez allowed him honors of war. The formal surrender took place on the afternoon of 10 May.

Gálvez found that he had taken 1,113 prisoners. Amongst the captured spoils were 143 cannon, 40 swivel guns, 6 howitzers, 4 mortars, 2,142 muskets, and 298 barrels of powder. The frigate *Port Royal* was captured; the *Mentor* was burned and scuttled. Gálvez' own losses were 74 killed and 198 wounded.

After Pensacola, Gálvez directed the capture of the Bahama islands and made elaborate plans for an assault against Jamaica. At that point the war ended. The 1783 Treaty of Paris returned both West and East Florida to Spain.

Carlos III was generously appreciative of Gálvez' services. Gálvez spent 1783 and 1784 in Madrid at the court. While there he was promoted to lieutenant general, given a salary of 10,000 pesos, and invested with two Castilian titles of nobility: Count de Gálvez and Viscount de Galveztown. The royal proclamation (*real cédula*) read:

> . . . to perpetuate for posterity the memory of the heroic action in which you alone forced the entrance of the bay, you may place as the crest of your coat of arms the brig *Galveztown* with the motto, "Yo Solo" ("I alone").

In 1785 the new Conde de Gálvez returned to the New World as captain-general of Louisiana and the Floridas, and, by special dispensation, also captain-general of Cuba. Meanwhile, his father, Matias de Gálvez, had become Viceroy of New Spain.

On arriving in Havana, Bernardo found his old friend Oliver Pollock being held in prison. By the end of the war, Pollock had bankrupted himself, with $300,000, a vast sum for those days, being owed to him either by the state of Virginia or the Congress. In 1783 Pollock had gone to Havana as commercial agent for the United States in an effort to recoup his losses. He was arrested and jailed for indebtedness. He had been locked up for 18 months when Gálvez arrived and set things right, arranging for Pollock's release and return to Philadelphia.

Gálvez was only briefly in Havana. In that same year, 1785, he succeeded his father as Viceroy of New Spain, remaining also the captain-general of Cuba and of Louisiana and the Floridas. He undertook his viceregal duties with characteristic vigor, his style too grand for some suspicious souls. He strengthened the frontier defenses and in Mexico City completed the cathedral, rebuilt the national theater, and started a botanical garden.

And it was in 1785 that Don José de Evia, who had served under him at Mobile and was now making a survey of the Gulf of Mexico, renamed the sand island of San Luis "Galveztown," which in due time would become the important port city of Galveston.

There was soon malicious gossip that he intended to make himself King of Mexico. These rumors of treason were fed by his rebuilding of the viceroy's summer palace outside the city. It was a vast pile of stone set on commanding ground, and, to those who whispered behind his back, it seemed, with its moated walls and the cannon projecting ominously from its bastions, more like a fortress than a summer palace. All of this came to an abrupt close with Gálvez' death of fever, perhaps yellow fever, in November 1786. The summer palace would become better known to history by its Aztec name—Chapultepec. □*1775*□

The writer wishes to acknowledge the substantial assistance of Dr. William S. Coker, Chairman, Department of History, University of West Florida at Pensacola, in the writing of this article.

Marines' Heroism Honored in New Facilities' Namings

by Robert V. Aquilina
Assistant Head, Reference Section

In recent months, a number of Marine Corps commands have honored the memories of notable and heroic Marines by requesting to name facilities in their honor. A diverse range of facilities at Marine Corps bases have been approved for naming by the Commandant of the Marine Corps.

From the Commanding Officer, 5th Marines, 1st Marine Division, Camp Pendleton: To name the Camp Margarita Medical Clinic in honor of Hospitalman Francis C. Hammond, USN:

A native of Alexandria, Virginia, Hospitalman Hammond was posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor for heroism while serving with the 1st Battalion, 5th Marines, 1st Marine Division, in Korea during March 1953. "As his platoon was subjected to a barrage of hostile mortar and artillery fire, Hammond moved among the garrison of Marines, and although critically wounded himself, valiantly continued to administer aid to the other wounded throughout an exhausting four-hour period. When the unit was ordered to withdraw, he skillfully directed the evacuation of casualties and remained in the fire-swept area to assist the corpsmen of the relieving unit until he was struck by a round of enemy mortar fire and fell, mortally wounded. By his exceptional fortitude and self-sacrificing efforts, Hammond undoubtedly saved the lives of many Marines."

From the Commanding Officer, 5th Marines, 1st Marine Division, Camp Pendleton: To name the Camp Margarita Gymnasium/Special Services building in honor of Cpl Jack A. Davenport, USMC:

A former Golden Gloves boxer and native of Kansas City, Missouri, Cpl Davenport was posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor for heroism while serving with the 3d Battalion, 5th Marines, 1st Marine Division, in Korea during September 1951. "In the early morning hours of 21 September 1951, he and another Marine were standing watch together when an enemy hand grenade landed in their foxhole. Without thought of his own safety, Cpl Davenport found the grenade in the dark and smothered its explosion with his own body in order to save the life of his fellow Marine."

From the Commanding Officer, Marine Air Traffic Control Squadron 18, Marine Air Control Group 18, 1st Marine Aircraft Wing: To name a new operations/maintenance facility in honor of 1stLt James E. Magel, USMCR:

A native of St. Louis, Missouri, 1stLt Magel was posthumously awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for heroism and extraordinary achievement in aerial flight with Marine Medium Helicopter Squadron 163 in the Republic of Vietnam during March 1965. As the copilot of a UH-34D helicopter participating in an airborne assault landing of Vietnamese troops, 1stLt Magel "pressed home the attack three times against intense and accurate antiaircraft fire and while in the landing zone protected debarking troops by delivering suppressive fire and coordinating the fire of his crewmen. On the third and final landing, his aircraft was disabled by hostile fire and he was mortally wounded. Lt Magel's heroic efforts were a significant contribution to the success of the operation and to the United States Military Assistance Program."

From the Commanding Officer, 5th Marines, 1st Marine Division, Camp Pendelton: To name the Camp Margarita Chapel in honor of Lt Vincent R. Capodanno, ChC, USNR:

A native of New York, Lt Capodanno was posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor for heroism while serving with the 3d Battalion, 5th Marines, 1st Marine Division, in the Republic of Vietnam during September 1967. "In response to reports that the Second Platoon of M Company was in danger of being overrun by a massed enemy assaulting force, Lt Capodanno left the relative safety of the Company Command Post and ran through an open area raked with fire, directly to the beleaguered platoon. When an exploding mortar round inflicted painful multiple wounds to his arms and legs, and severed a portion of his right hand, he steadfastly refused all medical aid. Instead, he directed the corpsmen to help their wounded comrades and, with calm vigor, continued to move about the battlefield as he provided encouragement by voice and example to the valiant Marines. He was killed shortly thereafter in the act of shielding a wounded fellow Marine."

From the Commanding Officer, 1st Remotely Piloted Vehicle (RPV) Company, 7th Marine Amphibious Brigade, Twentynine Palms, California: To name an RPV air facility in honor of Capt Jeb F. Seagle, USMCR:

Capt Seagle was posthumously awarded the Navy Cross for extraordinary heroism while serving as an AH-1T (TOW) Cobra attack helicopter pilot with Marine Medium Helicopter Squadron 261, 22d Marine Amphibious Unit, on the island of Grenada during October 1983. "After his aircraft was hit and forced down behind enemy lines, and faced with certain death or capture from approaching enemy troops, Capt Seagle ignored the danger and remained to attend the wounds of an injured pilot by wrapping a tourniquet around his severely bleeding arm. Realizing that enemy soldiers were approaching, Capt Seagle fearlessly distracted them away from the helpless pilot and ultimately sacrificed his own life in an effort to buy time for a rescue helicopter to arrive."

From Inspector-Instructor, Fourth Platoon, Company B, 4th Assault Amphibian Battalion, Galveston, Texas: To name the Marine Corps Reserve Training Center in that city in honor of Col Clarke W. Thompson, USMCR:

"A native of La Crosse, Wisconsin, Col Thompson's service to the Marine Corps, the citizens of Galveston, Texas, and to the United States, was both honorable and worthy of commemoration. He served as a U.S. Congressman for Texas' 9th District from 1947 to 1966, and was instrumental in bringing the Marine Corps Reserve to Galveston." □1775□

New Books

A Detailed Analysis of Three Years of War in Korea

by Evelyn A. Englander
Historical Center Librarian

The library of the Marine Corps Historical Center searches out recently published books of professional interest to Marines. These books are available from local bookstores or libraries:

The Forgotten War: America in Korea, 1950-1953. Clay Blair. Times Books. 1,083 pp. 1987. The book is a detailed study of the war in Korea with special emphasis given to the first year of the war from June 1950 to June 1951, and to the role of the U.S. Army infantry in the war. Throughout his book, along with details of troop movements and tactics, the author analyzes how the personalities of the commanders influenced the progress of the war. $29.95

U.S. Marine Corps Aviation. MajGen John P. Condon, USMC (Ret). Edited by John M. Elliott. Published by the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Air Warfare) and the Commander, Naval Air Systems Command. For sale by Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office. 41 pp. 1988. General Condon's history traces the first 75 years of Marine Aviation from Lt Alfred A. Cunningham and the early years through to the period of the Vietnam War, and discusses plans and projections for the future. Throughout he emphasizes the partnership between Marine and naval aviation and the basic objective of Marine aviation—to support Marine Corps operations on the ground. $2.50

Understanding War: History and Theory of Combat. Trevor N. Dupuy. Paragon House Publishers. 320 pp. 1987. In *Understanding War,* Col Dupuy, author of *The Encyclopedia of Military History* applies the discipline of quantitative analysis to military history. This leads to his conclusion that military planners, in this era of high military technology, need to draw upon historical experience to build a science of military combat. $24.95

Guadalcanal: The Carrier Battles. The Pivotal Aircraft Carrier Battles of the Eastern Solomons and Santa Cruz. Eric Hammel. Crown Publishers, Inc. 505 pp. 1987. This is the second in a series of books by the author that will focus on the Guadalcanal Campaign as a turning point of the war in the Pacific. The first in the series is *Guadalcanal: Starvation Island.*

This book traces the aircraft carrier battles of the Eastern Solomons and Santa Cruz. Along with his historical narrative of the Guadalcanal campaign, Hammel includes personal recollections of the participants. $24.95.

The Perfect Failure: Kennedy, Eisenhower, and the CIA at the Bay of Pigs. Trumbull Higgins. W. W. Norton & Co. 224 pp. 1987. In this history of the Bay of Pigs episode, the author examines the factors contributing to the failure of the operation. Includes a bibliography. The author, currently a professor of history at City University of New York, is a specialist in war planning with five previous books in the field. $17.95.

The Mask of Command. John Keegan. Viking. 368 pp. 1987. In his study of military leaders and "generalship," Mr. Keegan has chosen four military men to explain how their leadership meshed with the demands of their times. He uses examples of Alexander the Great, the Duke of Wellington, Ulysses S. Grant, and Adolph Hitler. He closes with a section on leadership in the nuclear age or post-heroic leadership, asking modern states to accept leaders who will not seek victory as a goal in their management of military power. $18.95.

U.S. Marine Corps Story. J. Robert Moskin. Revised and enlarged paperback edition. McGraw-Hill Book Company. 849 pp. 1987. A revision of the 1977 and 1982 editions, the latest has been updated to include information on the landing at Grenada and the Marines in Lebanon. $14.95. □1775□

Historical Quiz

Marines in Vietnam

by Lena Kaljot
Reference Historian

Identify the following:

1. How many Medals of Honor were awarded to Marines for actions in Vietnam?
2. He was the only Navy chaplain to receive the Medal of Honor for his heroic actions in Vietnam.
3. Name the program that was made up of Viet Cong defectors recruited to work with Marines on small unit tactical operations.
4. This rifle, first used by Marines during the Vietnam War, initially received mixed reports on its combat effectiveness.
5. Name the helicopter pilot who received the only Medal of Honor awarded a Marine pilot during the Vietnam War.
6. Name the technique devised to combat guerrillas, which involved cordon and search operations employing South Vietnamese troops and officials and U.S. Marines.
7. Who was the first Marine security guard killed in the line of duty in Vietnam?
8. What was the code name for the final U.S. evacuation of South Vietnam in 1975?
9. Who were the last two Marines killed by hostile fire on Vietnamese soil?
10. This novel of ground combat in Vietnam, by former Secretary of the Navy and former Marine Capt James H. Webb, Jr., was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize.

(Answers on page 16)

CMC, CNO Promote Gokoku Bell's Return

(Continued from page 24)

SecNav. He reported that the Japanese had offered an exact replica of the Gokoku Bell to replace the original at Annapolis. Armitage went on to recommend to SecNav that he authorize Commanding General Camp Butler to offer to swap bells with the Okinawans. He added that the Marines were in favor of the exchange and it would bring them immense good will in their largest overseas location. It seems that the reproduction bell had been cast in 1956 as part of an Okinawan campaign to reconstruct its past. It hung for some years and then was relegated to storage under the stairs at Ryukyus University where it was discovered by an Okinawan active in the movement to return the original.

At this point two more players entered the game. Former Marine, Mike Mansfield, U.S. Ambassador to Japan, addressed a cable to SecNav and CNO in which he reviewed the history of the bell and its importance to the Okinawans as well as the importance of Okinawa to the United States. He also noted that, "The details of the bell's acquisition are far from clear," and goes on to suggest that the bell may not have been an unsolicited diplomatic gift from the Okinawans. The other new player was the new Chief of Naval Operations, Adm Carlisle A. H. Trost, who memoed SecNav on 17 October 1986 recommending that the Gokoku Bell be returned, citing all the good reasons the reproduction bell be accepted, and pointing out that the Secretary had the legal authority under Section 2572, Title 10, USC, to do so. As a clincher he noted that Governor Nishime's request for the bell was strongly supported by Ambassador Mansfield, CMC, CinCPac, and OSD (ISA) officials.

Secretary John Lehman, in a three-line memo to CNO, said he had decided to accept the reproduction bell and to return the original.

Although the decision had been made and the wheels set in motion, the lawyers, as usual—and prudently—had to have their say. In a lengthy memo JAG pointed out that Section 2572, Title 10, USC might not be operative but that Section 7545 governed. Under 7545 Congress would have to be notified followed by a

Former Navy Secretary James H. Webb, Jr., returned the 530-year-old bronze temple bell, the Gokoku, to Okinawa last July.

30-day cooling-off period and the gift of "art" would have to go to a qualified museum with transportation being at no cost to the government.

In short order these injunctions were complied with; the Shuri Historical Museum was selected as the recipient; the Okinawans delivered the replica bell to Marines at Camp Butler and shortly afterwards it arrived at Annapolis; the Gokoku Bell was packed at the Naval Academy and was off to Japan via All Nippon Airways at Japanese expense.

By now there was a new SecNav, former Marine James H. Webb, Jr., and naturally he wished to visit CinCPac/CinCPacFlt's important domain early in his term of office. And he elected, while in WestPac, personally to return the Gokoku Bell to Okinawa. This he did in a ceremony on 22 July 1987.

One question remained, however, alluded to in Ambassador Mansfield's cable. How did Commodore Matthew Perry really get the Gokoku Bell?

Piecing together the story from reputable sources—Hawks' *Narrative of the* (Perry) *Expedition . . .*, Kerr's *Okinawa* history, and Teruya's doctoral dissertation on Bernard J. Bettelheim's Protestant mission to Okinawa, it appears that Ambassador Mansfield had better information than that initially available in Washington.

Okinawa, semi-independent from Japan, was also xenophobic and inhospitable to "barbarians" arriving by sea. Missionary and British subject Bettelheim was grudgingly tolerated because French and British warships had already visited Okinawa and overawed the regime with their power. Bettelheim received little cooperation from the regime which also resented his religious proselytizing. Bettelheim welcomed the arrival of Perry and acted as interpreter and go-between. The Okinawan regime was awed, as before, if not actually terrified of Perry's "black ships of evil mien," carrying many heavy guns, and one-third of the United States Marine Corps. Gifts, the products of American industry, were given by Perry—a small cotton gin and Colt revolvers among them. A sumptuous feast at Shuri Castle was offered in return. Before Perry set sail for Japan he asked for (some sources say he demanded) a bell which he had in mind to see hung in the apex of the Washington Monument then abuilding in the U.S. capital city. A bell was dutifully sent down from Shuri Castle to Perry's squadron at anchor in Naha harbor. It was cracked and Perry rejected it, demanding another bell. Enter the ever-helpful missionary. Bettelheim and his family had been living in a disused temple where hung the Gokoku Bell. The "house guest" offered the furnishing of his host as a substitute for the defective bell. The Okinawans, no doubt somewhat browbeaten and disgusted by this time, made no objections. Bettelheim was delighted to help Perry's sailor-riggers remove the bell as he wrote in his diary, "I was greatly rejoiced . . . and loudly expressed the comfort I felt at seeing a heathen temple breaking up now in real earnest . . . so let thy enemies perish, O Lord. Let their house be made desolate . . . ."

The bell made its way back to Washington but the Monument Commission rejected Perry's idea to have it hung in the Monument. In any event the Monument was not to be completed for another 30 years so the plan was moot at best. Although Perry's will is silent on disposition of the bell he had been on the five-member board which established the Naval Academy in 1845, so his widow presented the bell to the Academy shortly after his death in 1858.

With the judicious return of the Gokoku-ji Bell last July Bettelheim's imprecation that the Okinawan temple "be made desolate" was redressed and the greater physical desolation of 1945 was partially alleviated by the return of a piece of Okinawa's lost cultural heritage. □*1775*□

Plans Set to Meet Sgt Itoh, Found Living in Tokyo

by Craig B. Smith

With the assistance of the Guam legislature and the Japanese consulate on Guam, I learned that Sgt Masashi Itoh was living on the outskirts of Tokyo. Then followed a lengthy series of long-distance phone calls, which established that Sgt Itoh was willing to meet with me and the Marine Corps was willing to part with his diary.

Initially we attempted to meet in Guam on Christmas Day 1986, which would have been the fortieth anniversary of the capture of the diary, but this turned out to be impractical due to the lead time to make all the arrangements. Instead, 4 June 1987 was selected as the date to return the diary.

In April I returned once again to Guam, in part to conclude the arrangements for the ceremony, and in part to explore a number of caves in the jungle, in search of artifacts left behind by the stragglers. This effort was assisted by personnel from the U.S. Marine Barracks, Guam, under the direction of Capt Harold J. Schmidle. Using Sgt Itoh's diary and maps as a guide, and using World War II target maps, Combat Patrol reports, and information I'd gleaned from interviews, we were able to locate a number of caves and hideouts used by the stragglers. In these we found live M1 rounds; Japanese army paraphernalia, including medical kit supplies; and a number of objects made by the stragglers. These included shoes, cooking utensils, animal snares and traps, and water containers. We located the caves last occupied by Sgt Itoh just prior to his surrender. Remarkably, even though 27 years had elapsed, we could readily identify the site based on the old newspaper accounts. Careful excavation uncovered a number of the objects described above, many of which can now be examined in the Marine Corps Historical Center.

Unfortunately, no trace remains of Sgt Itoh's 1946 hideout. After the Christmas Day attack by the Combat Patrol, they burned the structure and its contents. Years later the site was bulldozed and a golf course was constructed. I decided that here, not far from hole number four, would be a fitting place to return the diary.

In June we met Itoh and his wife at the airport as they arrived in Japan. He was also greeted by the Governor of Guam and other dignitaries. Masashi Itoh was a tall man, nearly six feet, and in excellent health despite his long ordeal in the jungle. He patiently answered all our questions, described his jungle life in detail for us, and displayed the same sense of humor and positive outlook which had attracted me to the diary in the first place.

He was moved when we showed him some of the artifacts we'd found. He described the workings of a rat trap, how the door was closed by a rubber band made from old innertubes. Sections of the same innertubes were used as bladders to store rainwater for drinking purposes. Old tires were used to make Japanese-style sandals. These were carved from discarded truck or jeep tires and were given a unique shape. The bottoms were smoothed and rounded so as not to leave a distinctive footprint.

Former Japanese Army Sgt Masashi Itoh in 1987 peers out from the jungle near a cave he often occupied until May 1960.
Photo by John Lockwood

Itoh's description of his jungle life kept us all on the edges of our chairs. He said the surviving Japanese soldiers became extremely wary. They stayed under cover in remote parts of the jungle during the day. Night or early morning hours were used for foraging for food and cooking supplies. They moved frequently, never staying in one spot for more than a month or so, and using caves only as hiding places for their belongings, not as hideouts. They had caches of food and utensils at remote locations, so if surprised in one spot, they could flee to another. They attempted to leave no visible trace of their existence—food scraps and human wastes were buried. In spite of these precautions, Itoh had countless narrow escapes, and was wounded once.

The day of the ceremony was sunny and clear. Guam had been experiencing a drought, and the greens on the golf course were all brown. From our vantage point on the hillside, we could look out over the Pacific in one direction, and in the other, the Togcha river and the valley where the stragglers roamed.

Itoh was visibly moved to receive his diary, and expressed his gratitude to the U.S. Marine Corps for making such an occasion possible. The Honorable Franklin J. A. Quitugua, Speaker of the Nineteenth Guam Legislature, addressed Itoh with these words after reading the diary:

> I discovered a brave soldier who had complete loyalty to his country and its cause. For sixteen years he endured extreme hardship, hunger and pain, combined with the prevailing fear of being gunned down by superior forces.

December 26 (according to his calendar, which we know was approximate) was the last entry in Sgt Itoh's diary, although in his organized manner, he wrote down the date, December 27, in preparation for the next entry. That entry was never made.

This is the second and final part of an article by Dr. Smith, which began in the Fall 1987 issue of Fortitudine.

Unbeknownst to him, units of the Guam Police Combat Patrol had been keeping the area of his hideout under surveillance, following reports or observations of Japanese stragglers obtained during the first week of December. Undoubtedly the periodic loss of their cattle increased the Guamanian's antagonism towards the stragglers.

The following is excerpted from the Police report which was forwarded to the Commanding Officer of the Marine Barracks (Director of Island Security) at Agana:

> At approximately 1030, Christmas morning, 25 December 1946, after waiting several hours for any additional stragglers to appear at the Japanese bivouac area, the combat patrol walked in and demanded the straggler's surrender. When the straggler attempted to flee, he was shot and killed.
>
> The straggler had been preparing breakfast only for himself, but there is evidence that indicates perhaps more than one straggler has been living in the hideout.
>
> The hideout consisted of an improved hut with a corrugated iron roof and a wooden deck. The hut is located in very rugged terrain covered with thick underbrush. Besides a small stock of corn and taro root, there was evidence of a cow that had been slaughtered.
>
> The straggler was dressed in khaki shirt and trousers of G.I. issue, and was wearing a pair of Japanese type sandals when killed. Also found in the bivouac area were three sea bags containing nine pairs of G.I. field shoes, twelve khaki shirts, and ten pairs of khaki trousers. No identifying marks were found on the clothing. Eight diaries, ranging from good to very poor condition were found with scraps of paper which are badly weathered.
>
> The clothing on the straggler *revealed no evidence to identify the person*. Preliminary translation of the diaries and other printed materials reveals that only one diary is of value. This diary is the property of Sergeant M. Itoh.
>
> The Guam Police Combat Patrol are continuing operations in the above-mentioned area.

But it was not Sgt Itoh who was killed. When the Guam Police Combat Patrol moved in that bright Christmas morning, Itoh was crouched down, working on breakfast. His companion, Tokujiro Miyazawa, was standing near the water drum. The first volley of fire cut down Miyazawa, but missed Itoh. As Jesus Uncangco, a member of the Patrol that went out that Christmas day, was to tell me nearly 40 years later:

> I saw a figure move down the hill towards the taro patch, just a blurry figure, moving very quickly. I was with the group that tried to find him, but he got away. . . .

The Patrol captured Itoh's diary, and from it assumed that it was Itoh who had been killed, when in reality, it was Miyazawa.

Sgt Itoh stayed on in the jungle for 14 more years, surviving a number of additional close calls. He, Minagawa, and a third soldier named Unno formed a loose association, living close to each other, but not together. Then, in 1954, Unno became ill and died, and was buried by Itoh and Minagawa. At this point, Itoh and Minagawa continued their cooperative mode of existence.

In May 1960, two Guamanian crab hunters observed a long-haired man they suspected of being a Japanese straggler in a tree picking breadfruit. After a brief chase and struggle they captured the man, who turned out to be Minagawa. At first Minagawa said he lived alone, but later admitted to the presence of Itoh, and offered to go back into the jungle for the purpose of convincing him to surrender. On 23 May 1960, Sgt Itoh walked out of the jungle and encountered the search party and Minagawa. Both soldiers were taken to a U.S. naval hospital for a check-up. A week later Itoh and Minagawa were reunited with surviving family members in Japan.

For me, the other mystery surrounding the diary was the story of its origin—a notebook that once belonged to an American serviceman. The notebook has a few pages of trigonometric tables such as might be used for surveying or artillery. The front page bears the notation "1st Lt. P. N. Pierce, 155 howitzer battalion, Fifth Amphibious Corps." Other pages contain target coordinates and altitudes, coordinates for geodetic stations, and reference to Camp Tarawa, which was where the V Amphibious Corps trained prior to the invasion of the Marianas.

First Lieutenant Philip Nason Pierce took part in the battles of Roi and Namur, Kwajalein Atoll, then participated in the battles of Saipan and Tinian, and finally was in the landings on Iwo Jima. Afterwards, he came to Guam from March 1945 to October 1945, finally returning to San Diego in November 1945.

Pierce received the Bronze Star and several other awards for his military service. It is ironic that he did not write more in the notebook, since he survived the war, and indeed became a writer. It would have been interesting to have had his thoughts in 1944-45 set down in the same volume with Itoh's.

Pierce went on to become a writer of distinction and international reputation, the author of three books. He is best-known for his award-winning biography, *John Glenn: Astronaut*, a book club selection which has been translated into seven languages. He received the Combat Correspondents Association's Best Book Award in 1960 for his *Compact History of the United States Marine Corps*, also a book club selection.

Pierce retired as a Marine lieutenant colonel. He was a veteran of nine military campaigns in World War II and Korea, and held 13 personal combat decorations. To my great regret, he passed away in 1985. I would have loved to have shown the notebook to him personally, and to have heard his story of what happened to it, 40 years ago on Guam. □*1775*□

I am extremely grateful to the Marine Corps Historical Center for making many references and other research materials available to me, and especially to Danny J. Crawford, who patiently assisted me in many ways. Volunteers from the Marine Barracks, Guam, assisted in my several jungle expeditions.—CBS

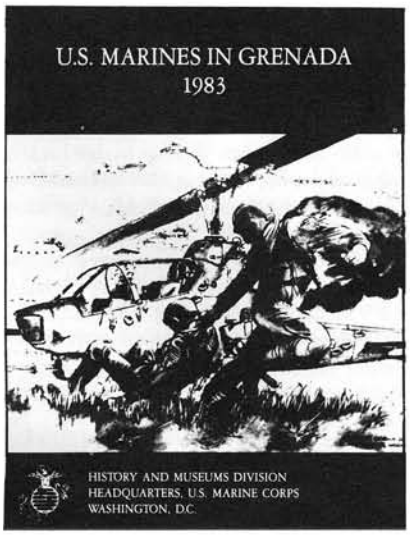
Grenada, Lebanon Operations Topics of New Histories

by Henry I. Shaw, Jr.
Chief Historian

During the past several months, the Government Printing Office has published four histories written for or by the History and Museums Division. Two were accounts of recent Marine operations, Grenada and Lebanon; one was a new addition to the regimental histories series; and the fourth was a squadron history.

U.S. Marines in Grenada, 1983, a 43-page, softcover monograph, was written by LtCol Ronald H. Spector, USMCR, a member of our MTU (Historical) DC-7, who was called to active duty for that purpose for several months in December 1983. Dr. Spector, who was then an Army historian, is now the Director of Naval History.

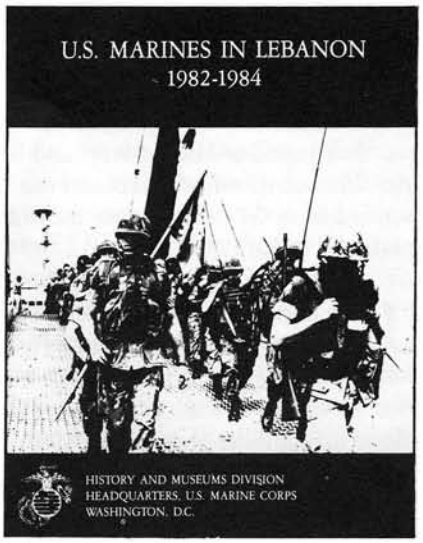
Aside from the official command chronologies and operation reports of the units involved, much of the valuable first-hand research material for the history was gathered by Benis M. Frank, head of our Oral History Section, who joined the Marines on board the amphibious group flagship *Guam*, three days after the initial landings (See *Fortitudine*, Fall 1983, p. 15). As the recently re-embarked Marines, slated to replace the men then in Lebanon, sailed on across the Atlantic and Mediterranean, Mr. Frank continued his interviews regarding Grenada actions and then turned to preparations for the Lebanon tour. Once the ships reached Beirut, his interviews were with the Marines returning to the States regarding their Lebanon experiences, which included the horrifying terrorist bombing of battalion landing team headquarters on 23 October.



The major units involved in the Grenada operation, all elements of Marine Amphibious Unit (MAU) 22 were Battalion Landing Team 2/8, reinforced Marine Medium Helicopter Squadron 261, and Service Support Group 22. In all, there were about 1,500 Marines.

The 22d MAU made its initial landings by helicopter from Navy amphibious ships on 25 October 1983 in the northeastern part of Grenada. The Marines seized Pearls Airport and over the course of three days took possession of three-quarters of the island, including its capital, St. George's. U.S. Army rangers and airborne troops had meanwhile seized, after considerable fighting, the Cuban-built airfield at Point Salines in the southern part of Grenada, and moved north. Several joint service actions are described, including the rescue of American medical students at Grand Anse campus, but in general this history is concerned solely with Marine activities. It is illustrated by reproductions of paintings of incidents during the campaign made by LtCol A. M. "Mike" Leahy, a retired Marine Reservist and combat artist (See *Fortitudine*, Spring 1984, pp. 10-15). Copies of the Grenada history have been distributed to Marine Corps units and institutional libraries. Individual copies may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402-9325. The order number is 008-055-00170-6 and the price is $2.25.

The interviews that Mr. Frank conducted with key officers and enlisted men of the 22d MAU after Grenada were just a part of a much more extensive effort to capture on tape the experiences of Marines who served in Lebanon from 1982-1984. During several visits to Camp Lejeune and New River, home bases to all ground and air units employed in Lebanon, and in two visits to Beirut itself, Mr. Frank interviewed men of the 32d, 22d, and 24th MAUs regarding their roles as "peacekeepers."



The result of this oral history effort, as well as extensive use of the operational records prepared by the deployed troop units, was a new history published this past fall, *U.S. Marines in Lebanon, 1982-1984*. Written by Mr. Frank, the projected author from the beginning of the oral history collection effort, the 196-page book is heavily illustrated with photographs as well as a number of contemporary political cartoons.

The history begins with the landing of the 32d MAU in Beirut in August 1982 at the request of the Lebanese government to assist, together with French and Italian military units, in supervising the evacuation of Palestine Liberation Organization units from Lebanon. The book ends in February 1984 with the withdrawal of the 22d MAU following the effective end of its mission and the nearly complete breakdown of order in Lebanon. In between is an 18-month ambiguous Marine mission of "presence." Together with the British, French, and Italian members of the Multi-National Force, the Marines attempted, as "peacekeepers," to support the Lebanese government's effort to achieve stability and end the factional fighting that was destroying the country.

As a history strictly of the Marines' role in Lebanon, this book does not deal with the major, high-level decisions of the administration which put and kept Marines

in that country. Nor does the book deal with American diplomatic efforts in the Middle East except in those instances where MAU Marines were directly involved. This is a straightforward account of Marine actions complemented by appendices: a chronology; a command and staff list; and pertinent excerpts from the report of the Long Commission which examined Marine operations.

Like the Grenada history, this book has been distributed to Marine units and libraries. Individual softbound copies can be obtained from GPO for $10.00; the order number is 008-055-00171-4.

Unlike these two almost contemporary accounts, *A History of Marine Fighter Attack Squadron 323* goes back to 1943 when the squadron was commissioned and follows its activities through to 1987. A member of MTU DC-7, Col Gerald R. Pitzel, who has more than 30 years of service in the Reserve, including eight years of active duty, researched and wrote the history. A professor at Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota, Pitzel earned his doctor of philosophy degree at the University of Minnesota.

VMFA-323, equipped with Corsair fighters, was heavily engaged in the aerial battles over Korea supporting the 1st Marine Division, and flew three tours with jet fighters in Vietnam. The men of the "Death Rattlers" have a colorful history both in and out of combat, and Col Pitzel has based his story of their activities not only on official accounts but also on personal papers and the recollections of many who served in the squadron's ranks and particularly of those who commanded it.

The 61-page, softcover history is well illustrated and is available to individuals from GPO for $5.00; the order number is 008-055-00173-1. Also newly available from GPO is the 181-page *A Brief History of the 6th Marines*. The order number is 008-055-00172-2; price (softbound) is $11.00.

This regimental history is the last of 12 written about the active-duty Fleet Marine Force regiments of today, a task that began in 1960. Its author is in many respects unique, for he served in the regiment's 1st Battalion from 1939 until 1945, eventually commanding 1/6 at Tarawa, Saipan, and Tinian. LtGen William K. Jones, USMC (Ret), who has been an accomplished writer throughout his long career, which included command of Fleet Marine Force, Pacific, in 1970-72, undertook the history of the 6th Marines as a Marine Corps Historical Foundation-sponsored project. The book, particularly the World War II pages, is full of anecdotes of participants and photographs from personal collections.

The history concentrates on the regiment's combat service in two world wars and its numerous tours of expeditionary duty in such diverse places as China and the Dominican Republic. While official records provided the backbone of the narrative, oral history, private papers, and comments from participants were also used extensively to lighten and embellish the story. *A Brief History of the 6th Marines* is to a large extent a personalized history and as such is highly readable.

Even more personal is the latest publication of our Occasional Papers series, *Leadership Lessons and Remembrances from Vietnam*, which consists of 40 articles written by LtGen Herman Nickerson, Jr., USMC (Ret), while he commanded III Marine Amphibious Force in Vietnam (1969-70). The articles first appeared in the *Sea Tiger*, the weekly newspaper which covered III MAF activities, and were intended to act as informative, lessons-learned messages from an experienced combat leader and as a practical substitute for "personally talking to newly arrived men and the 'tired and frustrated old hands in country.' " LtGen Nickerson's "object was to remind Americans of their obligations."

As are all publications in the Occasional Papers series, the new pamphlet was

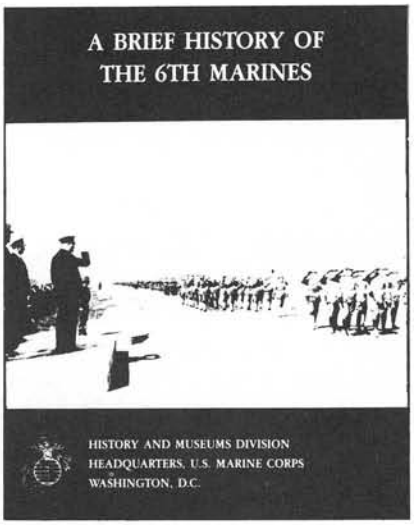


photo-reproduced from original copy, in this case a typescript personally prepared by MajGen Herbert Lloyd Wilkerson, USMC (Ret). Only enough copies for selective distribution to individuals and institutions were produced. There is no intent to give general distribution to any occasional paper. Those interested in reading this new publication may obtain a copy on inter-library loan from the Center's library.

The next two publications in this limited series will be reproductions of Col J. Angus MacDonald, Jr.'s, seminal master's thesis on Korean War Marine POWs and BGen Woodrow M. Kessler's memoirs of his experiences as a seacoast artillery battery commander in the defense of Wake Island and as a Japanese POW.□*1775*□

Answers to Historical Quiz

Marines in Vietnam

(Continued from page 11)

1. 57. **2.** Lt Vincent R. Capodanno, serving with the 5th Marines, was mortally wounded in 1967 while attending to men of his unit. **3.** "Kit Carson Scouts" were initiated in 1966 by 1st Marine Division Commanding General, MajGen Herman Nickerson, Jr. **4.** The lighter M16 rifle, firing the 5.56mm high-velocity bullet, replaced the M14 in 1967. **5.** On 19 August 1967, Maj Stephen W. Pless landed his UH-1E gunship under fire to rescue four soldiers. Despite the overload and difficult take-off, Maj Pless returned the men to safety. **6.** The "County Fair" concept, begun in 1966, was used to screen village inhabitants. **7.** Cpl James C. Marshall was killed by snipers during a Viet Cong attack on the American Embassy on 31 January 1968. **8.** Operation Frequent Wind was carried out 29-30 April 1975, as the 9th Marine Amphibious Brigade completed the helicopter evacuation in almost 20 hours. **9.** LCpl Darwin J. Judge and Cpl Charles McMahon, Jr., were killed on 29 April 1975 in a rocket attack on Tan Son Nhut airfield. **10.** *Fields of Fire*, published in 1978, was the author's first full-length novel.

'One-of-a-Kind' Marine Aviator 'Pappy' Boyington Dies

by Col Charles J. Quilter II, USMCR

Col Gregory "Pappy" Boyington, one of the Corps' most successful combat fighter pilots, died in Fresno, California, on 11 January. He was buried with full military honors near the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington National Cemetery. The famed recipient of both Medal of Honor and Navy Cross was generally credited with 28 aerial victories, six in China as a member of the American Volunteer Group (AVG, the "Flying Tigers") and 22 more as commanding officer of Marine Fighter Squadron 214, the renowned "Black Sheep." By far the most colorful Marine aviator of any era, he was pugnacious, witty, rebellious, fun-loving, a disaster as a peacetime officer, a gifted pilot in both dog-fighting and gunnery, and a brilliant combat leader.

Gregory Boyington was born at Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, of part-Indian ancestry, and received a degree in aeronautical engineering from the University of Washington in 1934. After brief service as a reserve officer in the Coast Artillery, he enlisted in the Volunteer Marine Corps Reserve on 13 June 1935, while working fulltime as an engineer for Boeing in Seattle. To fulfill a long-standing ambition to fly, he won an appointment in the newly formed aviation cadet program in February 1936 and received his wings at Pensacola on 11 March 1937. The aviators of his generation would make up the majority of squadron commanders in the forthcoming war.

After a year with Aircraft One, Fleet Marine Force, at Quantico, he attended Basic School at Philadelphia, 1938-1939, and then joined Marine Fighting Two (VMF-2) at Naval Air Station (NAS) North Island, California. It was here that he established a reputation as both an extraordinary pilot—and a notorious hell-raiser.

Col Charles J. Quilter II, USMCR, a Delta Airlines pilot who resides in Laguna Beach, California, is a member of MTU (Hist) DC-7. A former F-4 and A-4 pilot with 28 years' active and Reserve service, Col Quilter flew 252 missions in Vietnam from 1967-68. He was commander of VMFA-134 at MCAS El Toro, California, from March 1984-March 1985.

Then a major, Black Sheep squadron's Gregory "Pappy" Boyington seen in 1943.

As the best dogfighter in the unit, he was put up against the legendary CPO Louis "Cokey" Hoffman, then about 40 years old, of Fighting Two (VF-2) in the annual Navy-Marine gun camera competition. No one believed the young lieutenant had a chance against the tough chief aviation pilot, and there was surprise when Hoffman stalked away after landing. Hoffman's film shows nothing significant, and at first, neither did Boyington's. As the film rolled on, the judges were astonished to see tiny wings appear to grow from the aiming cross which developed into a head-on view of a Grumman F3F-2 fighter that rapidly filled the screen, with the cross remaining resolutely on its propeller hub. The ensuing shots showed close-ups of the cross resting on Hoffman's cloth-helmeted head. Ironically, Hoffman later would be killed in action with the Flying Tigers in Burma, witnessed by a horrified Boyington.

It was Boyington's extracurricular activities, however, that delighted his contemporaries and outraged his seniors. Much of this came out of monumental drinking sprees in an era when many of the Corps' 200 or so aviators' club bills were higher than their rents. But in later years, he would freely acknowledge his problem with alcohol.

One friend recalls an incident referred to as "Rats' Swim in the Hellespont." ("Rats" was the nickname given Boyington in the late 1930s due to his resemblance to a sinister cartoon character called General Ratoff.) After missing the last San Diego-Coronado ferry, Boyington leapt fully clothed into the bay and struck out for the far shore. After a long swim, he emerged about 50 yards from where he started. Resolving to navigate better, he dove in again and, after shedding his clothes, gradually became exhausted, nearly drowning until fetching up on—again—the San Diego side. The naked Boyington was nearly intercepted by the police while walking to the Shore Patrol station, and he finally persuaded a friend to drive him to his quarters on North Island wearing a USN blanket.

His friends marvelled at his complete disregard of his career in the then-quite-staid Marine Corps. One recalls: "He was over the brink all the time . . . but he was the funniest person I knew . . . not an iota of seriousness. His outlook was completely different from us." He was irresistably charming to women and would marry four times. And, contrary to regulations, he had been married throughout flight training and Basic School.

Such a lifestyle doomed his promotion to captain, he believed. Thus, when a recruiter for Claire L. Chennault's AVG showed up in Pensacola where he was a flight instructor in late summer 1941, he readily signed up under the impression he could resume his Marine career if war involved the United States. The generous AVG pay would also help solve a serious personal debt situation.

Chennault had hoped to get seasoned pilots with at least three years' experience, but only about a dozen of the first 85 met the criterion, including Boyington himself who was made a "Flight Leader" and later "Vice Squadron Commander," there being no rank in the all-civilian organization. There he was nicknamed "Pap-

py," as were several others of the older members.

The Flying Tigers were one of the few bright spots in the disastrous six months following Pearl Harbor. However, in his first combat engagement, in early February 1942 over Rangoon, Burma, Boyington was stunned with the turning performance of the Japanese Army's Nakajima Ki-97 fixed-gear fighter and was nearly shot down trying to stay in the fight. About 6 February, a chastened Pappy adopted tactics to deal with the more maneuverable Japanese fighters, and leading a flight, shot down two Ki-97s.

He claimed another victory over a straggler heading toward Moulmein a few days later. About 25 February, just before the evacuation of Rangoon, he shot down three more Ki-97s returning home, by diving down undetected out of the sun using "no-deflection" shooting from dead astern. The final victim continued flying on—apparently dead—and he "sent another burst into his plane and literally tore it up." He later wrote that this was the only "squeamish" moment of the war for him.

The AVG retreated to Kunming in southwest China for a brief period of inactivity where Boyington carried on non-flying exploits later to be recounted in an autobiographical novel, "Tonya." His last significant AVG mission was a pre-dawn fighter sweep of the large Japanese airfield at Chiang Mai, Thailand, on 24 March. Ten P-40s caught the defenses unaware and wreaked havoc with multiple strafing runs. One pilot, Charles Bond, wrote in his diary: "the entire airfield seemed to be in flames."

When it was announced that the Flying Tigers were to be inducted into the Army Air Corps over the wishes of some of its former Navy and Marine members, Boyington felt strongly that his place should be with the Marine Corps which was sorely lacking in experienced pilots. He paid his way back home and his departure caused some enmity with other AVGers, who felt he should have stayed on regardless. Of his abilities, Bond wrote earlier in his diary:

> Pappy Boyington is turning out to be a different man from what I had earlier thought. He is an ex-Marine flyer and an exceptionally fine fighter pilot from what I have seen. He has lots of experience in fighter aircraft, probably more than or as much as anyone in the AVG. And I am sure that was the major factor that led to his being selected as vice squadron leader. He has led a lot of flights, but he does not seem to care to do anything on the ground.

Arriving home in July, he found his reentry into the Corps thwarted. Evidently, he and nine other former Marine AVG pilots, in his words, had been classified as "deserters" for leaving the Marine Corps "in the time of national emergency." Patience wearing thin, he telegrammed his problem directly to the Secretary of the Navy, and after what appeared to Boyington to be an annoyingly long time, he was offered a commission as a Reserve (rather than a regular) major, the rank in which he served throughout his Marine combat career.

Finally arriving in the South Pacific in January 1943 after the epic Guadalcanal campaign was over, he carried out administrative work—which he thoroughly detested. He flew desultory missions as commanding officer of VMF-122, April-June 1943, without seeing an enemy plane, until breaking an ankle in roughhouse play sent him to New Zealand. Worried that his combat days might be over, he engineered himself into the commanding officer slot of VMF-214, then in reorganization.

Contrary to later popular belief that the "Black Sheep" were a bunch of misfits, Boyington put together a group of replacement and unassigned pilots and worked them into a close-knit fighting force in only a few weeks. The "Black Sheep" nickname itself had been toned down from "Boyington's Bastards" at the request of reporters. Their aircraft was the gull-wing F4U-1 Corsair of 2,000 horsepower, which had come to the Marines due to its unsuitability on carriers.

Unlike the earlier fighter campaigns which had been largely defensive in nature, beginning 16 September 1943 from a new airstrip in the Russells, the Black Sheep undertook a series of long-range fighter escort missions. The first was some 300 miles northwest to the Ballale Island airbase near Bougainville. On this flight, Boyington—now known as "Pappy" or "Gramps" to his pilots—splashed an incredible five of the maneuverable Mitsubishi A6M Zero fighters. As in China, he discovered that the Zero could outturn the Corsair except at very high speeds and altitudes.

In the next 32 days, he would account for nine more enemy aircraft, many during escort of some of the largest offensive missions yet of the war. The ultimate result was the reduction by airpower of the huge Japanese naval base at Rabaul, New Britain, and its surrounding island airfields, an effective strategy to avoid a costly direct assault.

Always aggressive, on one escort run to Kahili on 17 October, after shepherding the bombers to safety, Boyington turned back with his squadron. An HF radio call in too-perfect English requested his position and altitude. The quick-thinking Boyington faked a reply and was greeted with "the most beautiful sight a fighter pilot can dream of . . . thirty Nippon Zeros" down sun and below. It was a perfect "bounce" and he accounted for the leader and two others. Altogether 20 were shot down without loss to the Black Sheep.

After a break from combat in November, his group commander—whom he called "Colonel Lard" in his 1958 autobiography, *Baa Baa Black Sheep*—attempted to relieve him, but Boyington's leadership and tactics were admired by more senior officers and he was retained.

Perhaps mindful of the success of the Chiang Mai mission, Boyington now argued effectively for use of fighter sweep tactics against enemy airfields. He led the first sweep over Rabaul itself on 17 December, taunting the Japanese by radio to come up and fight, to which he heard a reply: "Come on down sucker!"

On 3 January 1944, he led a mission of new pilots from another unit to the Rabaul area and saw two Zeros emerging from an undercast. He shot down one and dove through the cloud deck with Capt George Ashmun, the only other Black Sheep in the flight. The rest stayed above apparently due to inexperience or hesitancy about flying in a cloud. Underneath, the greatly outnumbered pair became engaged in a melee where Boyington shot down two more Zeros in an unsuccessful effort to save Ashmun. He himself was then shot down over St. George Channel, escaping death by catapulting himself out of his flaming F4U-1A at an altitude of 100 feet at 400 knots.

Pilots of VMF-214, the Black Sheep Squadron, gather on a Vella Lavella airstrip for a December 1943 photograph in St. Louis Cardinals baseball caps sent by the team.

Japanese records confirm Boyington's last three victories, raising his total to 28 and making him the ranking American "ace" of that time. He was almost certainly shot down by Naval Warrant Officer Takeo Tanimizu, a veteran himself with 32 victories. Another Japanese pilot made claim to the victory years later with some publicity. Boyington generously accepted this without question until it was proven false by others

Boyington survived 20 months of harsh imprisonment despite injuries and beatings. He never lost his spirit, and during one prolonged interrogation, he mischievously pointed out "Colonel Lard's" bunkered quarters as a good bombing target, knowing full well it was beyond the effective capability of Japanese aircraft to reach. His courage was greatly admired by his fellow POWs, who once watched him publicly beaten with a baseball bat without a murmur.

Boyington's tactics were set down after his loss and were a combination of hard-won practical knowledge, common sense, and tricks-of-the-trade for a variety of missions. The linchpin, however, was his remarkable leadership in combat. His abilities as a pilot and his disdain for authority and "peacetime"-type regulations while demanding total flight discipline made him revered by his pilots. His conduct otherwise did not endear him to the Colonel Lards of the Corps, and he was not recommended for a decoration in the Pacific Theater except by the Army, and that was quickly squelched.

The Medal of Honor came as a result of an Ed Sullivan radio broadcast which noted the unsung merits of two missing soldiers and a Marine (Boyington). The White House award prompted the Marine Corps to "posthumously" award the Navy Cross as well.

Boyington's later life was anticlimactic. He was released from active duty on 1 August 1947 and retired without regular pension except for the small stipend given to Medal of Honor holders. He was promoted to colonel under a law then in effect which raised bearers of personal combat decorations one grade honorarily upon retirement.

He worked at assorted jobs such as liquor salesman and wrestling referee, all the time battling his not-so-private demon of alcoholism, which he overcame in later life. *Baa Baa Black Sheep* was a bestseller in the late 1950s and was a candid and honest account of his flying life. He was a competent and meticulous painter—mainly of desert landscapes sold under the name of "Gregg"—although of low production. He remained close to many of his pre-war friends, and when he was near death from emphysema in 1966, they rallied round and auctioned several of his paintings, clearing up persisting debts.

He recovered and moved to Clovis, in rural California, to be near a VA hospital for cancer treatment. In the mid-1970s, he was living simply and soberly, painting in a farm shack, when a television series inspired by him and the Black Sheep became popular. He tried to disabuse any who would listen that the television exploits had no basis in reality, but the attendant publicity brought him into the limelight again. He republished *Baa Baa Black Sheep* and became a familiar figure on the speaking and air-show circuit. He acquired a single-seat amateur-built aircraft and resumed flying in the late 1970s, to his great pleasure. Although his family life was disastrous, he took quiet pride in his three children, one of whom was an Air Force Phantom pilot in the Vietnam War. He married happily for the last time to Josephine Wilson Moseman, who survives him.

He was one of a kind in Marine aviation, and one Marine was heard to remark after the war: "You know, the only other one like him in the Marine Corps—who has his contempt of authority and rules and who engenders such admiration by his subordinates—is Lewie Puller (LtGen Lewis B. "Chesty" Puller, USMC, who was Boyington's Basic School tactics instructor). In fact, they even *look* alike." It was a comparison Boyington would have relished. □1775□

Sources

1. Gregory "Pappy" Boyington, *Baa Baa Black Sheep*, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1958.
2. Gregory "Pappy" Boyington, remarks to the writer, 1974-1978.
3. Gregory "Pappy" Boyington ltr to Col T. M. D'Andrea, MCDEC, Quantico, Virginia, dtd 9Jan78, re awards and last mission.
4. MajGen Charles R. Bond, Jr., USAF (Ret) and Terry H. Anderson, *A Flying Tiger's Diary*, College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1984 (Dates of AVG missions.).
5. Robert Sherrod, *History of Marine Corps Aviation in World War II*, Washington, D.C.: Combat Forces Press, 1952 (Preface of later edition has discussion of the number of Boyington's aerial victories. The six AVG claims do not include aircraft destroyed on the ground at Chiang Mai, nor do his USMC credits include aircraft destroyed on the ground. The last three AVG claims occurred just before the evacuation of Rangoon and AVG records were probably incomplete. Bond's diary confirms the date of the large action over Rangoon on 25Feb42 when the AVG claimed 19 confirmed and 8 probable, "the best day yet for the AVG." Boyington's account is consistent with Bond's.).
6. Publicity file of Col Boyington located at USMC Air-Ground Museum, Quantico, Virginia. Includes correspondence from the Zero Fighter Pilot Association, Tanimizu's account, and Japanese confirmation of Boyington's three victories on his last mission.
7. Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Air Intelligence Group, Division of Naval Intelligence, *The Combat Strategy and Tactics of Major Gregory Boyington, USMCR*, OPNAV-16V No. S42, Washington, D.C., 15Feb44.
8. ComAirNorSols Fighter Command Mission Report dtd 17Dec43.
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10. Mrs. George H. Flinn, Jr., interview with writer dtd 16Jan88, re: "Hellespont" incident. Also agrees with writer's mother's (Elizabeth H. Quilter) account of the incident in *Laguna Beach News-Post* of 16Jan88.
11. Dr. V. Keith Fleming, Jr., MCHC, Boyington file, re: Flying Tiger activity.
12. See also Dr. Frank Olynyk's compendium of Navy/Marine aerial fighter victories.

DI Who Later Wore Three Stars, LtGen Fields Interred

Edited by Benis M. Frank
Head, Oral History Section

LtGen Lewis J. Fields

A Marine who rose through the ranks of the Marine Corps to wear the three stars of a lieutenant general died on 5 March 1988. LtGen Lewis J. Fields passed away at the age of 78 and was buried with full military honors in Arlington National Cemetery on 9 March. At the time of his retirement in 1970 as commanding general of the Marine Corps Development and Education Command at Quantico, he had accumulated more than 38 years of active Marine Corps duty, more than any other serving officer in the Corps at that time. Gen Fields spent seven years in the Maryland National Guard before enlisting in the Marine Corps. He joined the guard in 1925, before he entered St. John's University in Annapolis, Maryland. Because there were no jobs available when he graduated in 1932 during the Depression, he enlisted in the Marine Corps with a view towards eventually obtaining a commission. As he related in his interview for the Marine Corps Oral History Program, when he enlisted, he filled in his enlistment papers with his given name, "L. Jefferson Fields." The recruiting sergeant insisted that he write his first name, middle initial, and last name, and so Gen Fields became "Lewis J. Fields." By 1935, after recruit training and consecutive tours as a DI and with the Marine Detachment in the *Langley*, then-Sgt Fields was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Meritorious Non-Commissioned Officers Program. His Basic School class became famous in Marine Corps History not only because it was the largest class to that date, but also because it produced two Commandants and 14 others who served as general officers on active duty. For a good part of his combat service in three wars, Gen Fields was an artilleryman and commanded an artillery battalion in the Guadalcanal and Cape Gloucester operations, was 1st Division G-3 in the Peleliu landing, and commanded the division in Vietnam from August 1965 to September 1966. During his career, Gen Fields held a number of interesting assignments, such as aide to Generals Ralph O. Williams, William P. Upshur, and Alexander A. Vandegrift, and on the staffs of SACLant, NATO, FMFLant, and the JCS. Gen Fields was a member of the Marine Corps Historical Foundation and for many years co-chaired the U.S. Marine Corps Retired Officers Luncheon Committee in the Washington, D.C. area.—BMF

Col Gerald Fink

A former head of the Historical Branch (1959-60), Col Gerald Fink, died on 10 November 1987. A fighter pilot in the Philippines in World War II and again over Korea, he was shot down and captured in 1951 and spent a tumultuous two years as a POW, frequently punished by his captors for his pugnacity and lack of cooperation. His courage under adversity was frequently remarked on by his fellow prisoners.

Col Fink was a talented artist and artisan throughout his life, well known for the end of tour "Presentos" he created for many friends. A skilled pilot with a flair for electronics and logistics, he commanded VMCJ-3 in 1965-66 and MCCRTG-10 in 1969-70, following both command tours with Vietnam and WestPac assignments. He was a man of intense feelings, great likings and dislikes, and once a friend, a friend for life.—HIS

Herbert H. Laidman

Word was recently received of the death of World War II Marine Combat Artist Herbert H. "Hugh" Laidman at his home in South Wales, New York, on 31 May 1987. He was one of the first artists to join BGen Robert L. Denig's Combat Correspondent Program in 1942 and before he was hospitalized for malaria, he produced more than 60 watercolors and dozens of pencil and wash drawings of Marine aviation activities on Guadalcanal. Later in the war, he was commissioned. Many of his Guadalcanal works were shown at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., and the Museum of Modern Art in New York. The Marine Corps Art Collection holds many of his works, one of the most notable of which is "Henderson Field, Night," which, together with three others of his works were included in the Museum's 41-piece exhibit, "75 Years of Marine Corps Aviation—A Tribute."—JTD

MajGen Joseph O. Butcher

MajGen Joseph O. Butcher, USMC (Ret), 75, one of the few Marine officers to experience the frustrations inherent in negotiating with Chinese and North Korean Communists at truce talks in Panmunjom, Korea, died 15 February in Indianapolis, Indiana. At the time of his death he was special projects coordinator for the Indiana University Alumni Association, with which he had been associated since his retirement in 1968 as commanding general of Marine Corps Base, Camp Lejeune. During his career, which spanned 32 years, Gen Butcher was closely involved with Marine Corps supply activities, and participated in the Iwo Jima and Okinawa operations on the staff of the Service Command, FMFPac. In the Korean War, Gen Butcher served as the 1st Marine Aircraft Wing supply officer. Upon promotion to general officer rank, he was successively Assistant Quartermaster General of the Marine Corps, commanding general of the Marine Corps Supply Center in Albany, Georgia, and of the Supply Activity in Philadelphia. Gen Butcher was buried in Bloomington, Indiana.—BMF

Col Donald J. Kendall

Nonagenarian Col Donald J. Kendall, USMC (Ret), who died 24 November 1987 at the age of 93 in Stafford, Virginia, was commissioned a Marine second lieutenant shortly after the United States entered World War I. Much of his career before World War II was spent in the Caribbean area. Prior to his retirement in 1947, Col Kendall commanded Marine Barracks, 8th and Eye in Washington, D.C. Col Kendall was buried in the cemetery of Aquia Episcopal Church in Stafford on 27 November.—BMF □*1775*□

HO3S-1 Dragonfly

by Jody Y. Ullmann
Aviation Curator

In December 1946, the Navy took delivery of the first HO3S-1 Dragonfly helicopters. Nine of these helicopters were used by the Marine Corps from 1948-1955, the first to be flown by the Marine Corps.

Built by Vought-Sikorsky, the HO3S-1 was a four-seat, observation-utility helicopter with a three-blade main rotor system. It could carry 1,250 pounds and cruise at 85 mph. The pilot sat in the front center and a bench-style seat aft of the pilot accommodated the three passengers. Despite its observation designation, the HO3S-1 was used for a variety of roles, although the helicopter lacked instrumentation and lighting for night flying.

On 3 February 1948, the first two HO3S-1s delivered to the Marine Corps were received by the newly commissioned Marine Helicopter Squadron One (HMX-1), Quantico, Virginia. Between 1948 and 1950 these helicopters of HMX-1 took part in a series of operations known as Packard II, III, and IV. As a result of these operations, the Marine Corps planners became more firmly committed to the new technique of vertical assault in amphibious warfare.

During the winter of 1950-51, due to the grounding of the new HRP helicopter with mechanical problems, HMX-1 used the HO3S-1s in night-flying experiments. Later that winter, during an amphibious landing on the Caribbean island of Vieques, an HO3S-1 directed the landing boats during their movement to the beach by means of an externally mounted speaker system.

The Korean War became the real proving ground for the HO3S-1 and Marine Corps helicopter aviation. At the outbreak of the war, HO3S-1s were assigned to VMO-6 and shipped to Camp Pendleton for ferrying to Korea. These helicopters along with the OY-1s were used for resupply operations and observation. On 20 September 1950, an HO3S-1 observation helicopter was struck while on a reconnaissance mission in the vicinity of Inchon, Korea. The pilot was able to land safely. This was the first incident recorded of a Marine helicopter receiving combat damage.

With rescue hoists mounted on the left side of the cabins and emergency landing lights added, these helicopters were used for casualty evacuation during the Korean War. It was not, however, well suited for this mission. In order to carry a nonambulatory patient in the HO3S-1, due to its interior configuration, the rear right hand window had to be removed and the stretcher case loaded head first through the window and across the passenger compartment. During the flight the patient's feet remained outside the helicopter. Despite these problems, on 25 September 1950, a VMO Dragonfly effected a rescue in record-breaking time, only six minutes from the time of notification until completion.

LtGen Lemuel C. Shepherd, Jr., Commanding General, Fleet Marine Force, Pacific, made the following comments regarding the HO3S after an inspection of the war zone:

> There are no superlatives adequate to describe the general reaction to the helicopter. Almost any individual questioned could offer some personal story to emphasize the valuable part played by the five HO3S-1 planes available. Reconnaissance, liaison, visual flank security, movement of security patrols from one key locality to the next, posting and supply of security detachments and many more. . . . No effort should be spared to get helicopters—larger than the HO3S-1 if possible—but the helicopters in any form, to the theater at once—and on a priority higher than any other weapon.

The HO3S-1, although performing a valuable service, ultimately was not a suitable military helicopter because of its deficiencies in payload, range, flight instrumentation, and communication equipment. It was eventually replaced by the HO5S-1.

The Marine Corps Air-Ground Museum acquired its HO3S-1 (BuNo: 124344) in a trade with the Len-Aire Corporation of Hubbard, Oregon. Once the Museum's Korean War hangar is completed, this helicopter will be prominently displayed as the helicopter that laid the groundwork for the future of helicopter aviation in the Marine Corps. □*1775*□

HO3S-1 Dragonfly (Bureau Number 124344) awaits completion of its display area in the Korean War hangar at the Marine Corps Air-Ground Museum at Quantico, Virginia.

The Tet Offensive of 1968 in Vietnam

by Robert V. Aquilina
Assistant Head, Reference Section

On **29 January 1968** an illusory nationwide truce in celebration of the Tet Lunar New Year was rudely shattered by North Vietnamese and Viet Cong rocket and mortar attacks against the MAG-11 area at Da Nang and MAG-16 area at Marble Mountain Air Facility. Enemy plans entailed the disruption of Marine Corps tactical mobility and close air support, while North Vietnamese and Viet Cong forces advanced against some 105 cities and towns throughout South Vietnam. Rocket attacks the following night **(30 January)** against Marble Mountain and Chu Lai were followed by enemy ground assaults against all five South Vietnamese provincial capitals in I Corps. At Khe Sanh, an increasing buildup of enemy forces would culminate in North Vietnamese attempts during February to overwhelm key Marine positions at the combat base.

Enemy assaults against Tam Ky in Quang Tin province on **30** and **31 January** were soundly repulsed by South Vietnamese Army units, assisted by U.S. Army defenders. At Quang Tri City to the north, North Vietnamese units were driven out of the city by forces of the 1st ARVN Division, assisted by the U.S. Army's 1st Brigade, 1st Cavalry Division (Airmobile). The main Communist efforts, however, were directed against the cities of Da Nang and Hue.

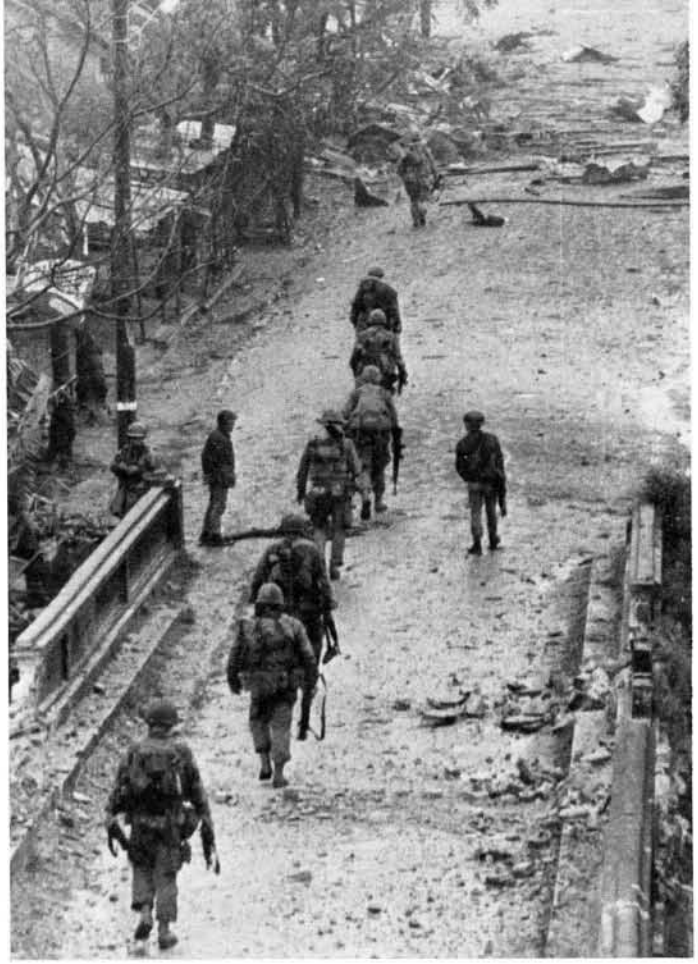
At Da Nang, enemy infiltrators planned to assault and occupy ARVN I Corps Headquarters, while the *2d North Vietnamese Division* would attack the city from the south and west.

Above right, LCpl C. D. Bradford, Company G, 2d Battalion, 5th Marines, keeps a wary eye in the streets of Hue on 5 February 1968, as the city is cleared of enemy. On the same day, below, other Marines take cover behind a vehicle during the house-to-house fighting in the south of the old imperial capital.

In the city of Da Nang, a mixed force of U.S. Marine military police and South Vietnamese military police and rangers "shot it out" with the enemy infiltrators and drove them out of the city. The planned North Vietnamese columns, advancing west of An Hoa, were struck by Marine air and artillery fire after their movements had been detected by reconnaissance elements of the 1st Marine Division.

South of Da Nang, bitter fighting in Hoi An pitted enemy forces against a stubborn Vietnamese engineer battalion, which was aided by the 1st Battalion, 51st ARVN Regiment. Although initially driven out of Hoi An, the enemy counterattacked on **5 February,** but was defeated once more. U.S. and South Vietnamese forces vigorously repulsed repeated Communist thrusts throughout the Da Nang area, and the fine showing of ARVN units was most satisfying. The 11th Marines, along with the 3d Battalion, 5th Marines; the 2d Battalion, 3d Marines; and the Army's 196th Light Infantry Brigade were units which, in particular, bore the brunt of the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong attacks in the Da Nang area, and succeeded in denying Communist forces the occupation of a single objective.

In Thua Thien Province, portions of the ancient imperial city of Hue quickly fell into enemy hands after a **30 January** mortar and rocket barrage from several enemy regiments which had infiltrated into the city. U.S. Marine units, including the 1st Marines, commanded by Col Stanley S. Hughes, and the 2d Battalion, 5th Marines, led by LtCol Ernest C. Cheatham, Jr., were assigned the task of clearing the portion of Hue south of the Perfume River. The resulting block-by-block, house-to-house battle with entrenched North Vietnamese and Viet Cong defenders paralleled the Marine Corps assault on Seoul, Korea, some 18 years earlier. The dogged Marine Corps units fought their way into the city, and by **9 February,** organized enemy resistance was extinguished. On the northern banks of the Perfume River, South Vietnamese units were joined on **12 February** by the 1st Battalion, 5th Marines, commanded by LtCol Robert H. Thompson, and advanced towards the Citadel and Imperial Palace. In bitter fighting, the combined U.S. Marine and South Vietnamese forces overcame enemy resistance, and by **2 March,** the Battle for Hue was declared officially over. From **31 January** to **2 March 1968,** three understrength U.S. Marine battalions and 13 South Vietnamese battalions inflicted more than 5,000 casualties on North Vietnamese and Viet Cong units in their attempt to seize Hue.



Company A, 1st Battalion, 5th Marines negotiates a war-ravaged bridge and street in Hue on 29 February 1968. After bitter fighting, by 2 March Tet Offensive operations had been countered.

The Communist Tet Offensive of 1968 failed miserably in the enemy's avowed efforts to seize the critical cities of Da Nang and Hue, along with their attempts to disrupt command and control in the South Vietnamese provincial capitals. U.S. Marine and Army units, along with South Vietnamese forces, reacted swiftly and bravely to inflict severe losses upon the Communist forces and deny them victory. □1775□

Men of the 1st Battalion, 5th Marines welcome tank support on 12 February 1968 for the fighting north of the Perfume River which eventually would lead the Marines and South Vietnamese troops to take the Citadel and Imperial Palace areas of Hue.

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Okinawa Regains Gokoku Bell Shipped Out by Perry

by Col Brooke Nihart, USMC (Ret)
Deputy Director for Museums

In the modern, forward-looking Marine Corps any matter over a year old is history. When a matter over a year old hits Headquarters for action it often ends up at the History and Museums Division. When the issue is 135 years old it absolutely comes to us.

On 12 July 1987 Secretary of the Navy James H. Webb, Jr., returned the famed 530-year-old Gokoku Bell to Governor Junji Nishime of the Okinawa Prefecture. The bell had been brought home by Commo Matthew C. Perry after his 1853-54 expedition to open Japan to the West. In 1858 Perry's widow gave it to the Naval Academy where it remained until 1987. From 1900 midshipmen have rung out the Army-Navy football game score on the bell after a Navy victory.

Its return was initiated by a three-way meeting in 1985 among the Okinawa Governor, then-Commandant Gen Paul X. Kelley, and then-Commanding General of Camp Butler, MajGen James L. Day.

After this fall 1985 visit to WestPac and the Governor's verbal request that Gen Kelley intercede in the matter of returning the bell, Governor Nishime followed up with a letter to the Commandant. At about the same time MajGen Day wrote the Commandant reiterating the request and pointing out the importance of the bell to the Okinawans.

Prior to the 1945 American invasion, Japanese authorities had confiscated all non-ferrous metals, including bronze bells, for war production. During our pre-D-day bombardments of Okinawa in March 1945 and the 1 April-15 June invasion and campaign most of Okinawa above ground was reduced to rubble. This devastation included cultural sites, shrines, and historic buildings such as Shuri Castle. The material aspects of the cultural heritage of the Okinawans were for the most part destroyed.

The Gokoku Bell enshrined at Annapolis was virtually the only important artifact of pre-1945 Okinawa extant. Its return was of vital interest to the Okinawans and would cement further good relations between the Marines and the locals.

When these letters arrived on the Commandant's desk Gen Kelley clipped his buck tag to the package and penned a brief "Help" and "Code HD" for History and Museums Division and signed it with his usual "PX." We hit the deck running.

Our first call was to Col John W. Ripley, Head of the History and English Department and Senior Marine at the Naval Academy. He verified that the bell was indeed at the Naval Academy and on outdoor display at the entrance to Bancroft Hall. According to Academy museum records, and contrary to the Okinawan belief, the bell was not "asked for" by Commo Perry, nor was it taken from Okinawa as booty, but was a diplomatic gift to the United States. More on this issue later.

Col Ripley determined further that the bell had been requested on at least one previous occasion, the last time possibly during the Carter administration. The answer given the Okinawans was, "No, we don't return diplomatic gifts."

These findings were returned to the Commandant with the recommendation that he approach top Navy officials on the matter. At this point we were no longer in the loop and only learned of the outcome when action was completed 18 months later.

By November 1986 the bell question had been worked out at a higher level—at least at that of the Assistant Secretary of Defense. It was then that Richard L. Armitage, ASD for International Security Affairs, replied in writing referring to an earlier conversation he had with

(Continued on page 12)