

THE BATTLE OF MESSINES 1914

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Introduction¹

The Battle of Messines 1914 cast a long shadow over the Messines Ridge. The actions in that battle in late autumn of 1914 determined the front line configuration that held until the late spring 1917 Battle of Messines. The first battle, expensive to both sides, gave the low ridge to the Germans and with it the view over the British front lines and into their back areas. Fighting at the end of the ridge that was to determine the fate of Messines itself and in the valley and plain below in 1914 gives an insight into the challenges the British in turn would face in their efforts to retake the ridge in that second battle. And many of the ruined farmhouses fortified to form strongpoints in that first battle would prove similarly expensive to take in the second.



Figure 1: Town Square looking to west end, Messines.

Prelude: Messines in late summer 1914

Although the First World War began in early August 1914, Flanders remained untouched until mid-September and the so-called Race for the Sea (17 September – 19 October 1914) when each side tried to outflank the other. In this lead up to the Battle of Messines, Messines, its men

¹ An abridged version of this paper is given in McNeill, J. *Taking the Ridge: Anzacs & Germans at the Battle of Messines 1917*. Titipounamu Press. Palmerston North. 2022.

already called up for military duty at the end of July, was repeatedly occupied and abandoned by contingents of the different belligerents. The first to arrive were French soldiers who had entered Messines in **September**, uncertain whether the Flemish villagers' sympathies lay with the Germans and to find any spies. At least one villager was arrested for speaking his mind before they left. Quiet resumed, until **3 October** when some 300 Belgian volunteers – half in uniform, the other half without weapons – arrived to camp in the marketplace. The villagers helped feed the men and the brewer in the market provided three half-barrels of beer. Suddenly a rumour circulated that the Germans were at de Linde, near Wytschaete. An orderly retreat seemed prudent. The volunteers were given the order to make their way at midnight to Neuve Eglise (Nieuwkerke) to the west without arousing attention to themselves. The next day about 400 German cavalry rode into the village on their way to Neuve Eglise without stopping. The following day, **5 October**, a phone-call from Comines told that more German cavalry were on their way.

On the morning of **7 October**, some 2000 Uhlans rode into Messines and set up camp in the marketplace. Their commander promptly warned the mayor, Eudoxe Victoor, that the village would be held responsible for any damage or injury to the Germans while they were there. The villagers were ordered to hand over all weapons they held and took Victoor hostage for surety. They then entered the post-office and took all mail and the safe away. They also destroyed the telephone system – the village was now cut off from the outside. The Uhlans, too, left down the Wulverghem road towards Neuve Eglise. On **9 October** the long line of a German baggage train and artillery column arrived before it, too, left for Neuve Eglise.

Early in the morning of Sunday **11 October** the villagers could hear artillery firing in the direction of Hazebrouck, 30 kilometres to the west. The next day, it was louder again, but died down by Tuesday. The Germans were slowly being driven back, avoiding Messines, instead taking up positions around Warneton across the Lys.¹ They were close, only eight kilometres away, but perhaps the village could escape being caught up in the fighting?

The Battle of Messines 1914

This was the situation for Messines's villagers as the belligerents set to break through the other's lines in the Battle of the Yser (16 October – 2 November 1914) north of Ypres, and the First Battle of Ypres (19 October – 22 November 1914), in which the Germans were to occupy the Passchendaele ridge, resulting in the Ypres salient. Simultaneously, the Battle of Armentières (13 October – 2 November), fought between Estaires on the Lys and the Douve rivers, and the Battle of Messines (12 October – 2 November), from the Douve north to the Ypres-Comines Canal cutting, resulted in the Germans capturing the Messines ridge and the destruction of Messines. They really form a single battle of two parts,² fought in mid-autumn, with foggy mornings and shortening days, in drizzle and mud.

The German cavalry had already ridden through Ypres as far as Mont de Cats, but had withdrawn, its supplies overstretched. In this first week of the battle (12-18 October), General Allenby's British III Corps and the Cavalry Corps sought to advance eastwards towards Menin. The advancing *6th Army* halted, forming a defensive line along the east bank of the Lys from La Bassée-Armentières-Menin while it consolidated for an offensive further north. The British took advantage of this withdrawal to occupy what was to become their back area, including Bailleul, then Armentières on **17 October**, their line extending along the Lys to Le Gheer on the south-eastern corner of Ploegsteert Wood. The Messines ridge slope down to the Comines-Ypres Canal remained unoccupied and British cavalry tried to advance down it, but could not advance beyond

Comines, though forcing the Germans to the far side of the Comines canal. The cavalry held the boundary along the Lys to Warneton and then the Comines canal up to Ypres and the furthestmost east British forces were to advance here until late 1918.

The capture of Messines

In the second part (19 October – 2 November), the Germans captured Messines and the ridge as part of a major two-part offensive by *4th* and *6th Armies* to break through to the channel ports. The first attempt, between 19 and 29 October, was part of the larger offensive intended to envelope the British by a simultaneous offensive north and south of Ypres. The first objectives were Zandvoorde and Messines Ridge in order to break through to the Kemmelberg and cut off all the Entente troops in and north of Ypres by forcing their way up the Ypres-Comines Canal.

The British now occupied Messines on **19 October** and placed artillery to the north and west of Messines. They were focused on the Pont Rouge, the nearest crossing of the Lys. They left Messines before nightfall, as the Germans were now threatening Messines, but returned in force the next day, **20 October**. The Germans now began bombarding the village. The first panic set in among the villagers and many fled westwards.³

From the start, the Germans made heavy work of their advance on Messines up the eastern slope. Their cavalry crossed the Lys at Warneton on and headed for Messines, but only advanced about a kilometre before artillery held it up. They attacked Le Gheer at the southern edge of Ploegsteert wood from noon onwards and in a rush at dusk established themselves 3000 metres from the British line, posing very real concerns for Messines. Against superior numbers, the two British cavalry divisions withdrew and by evening the 1st Cavalry Division was on the general line between St Yves (St Yvon) and Messines, while the 2nd Cavalry Division, still on the eastern slope, continued the line northwards through Garde Dieu, then along the Wambeek Stream to just north of Houthem where it joined the 7th Division.

Messines was to be held by the British at all costs, the 1st and 2nd Cavalry Divisions ordered to entrench there. The open country advantaged the defenders, as the *Garde-Kavallerie* Uhlans discovered as they pushed up the Douve valley. Attempting to take La Potterie farm, the British fire forced them to remain prone 600 metres from the farm.⁴ They also recognised that the Institution Royale tower sheltered a machine gun and an artillery observation post after being heavily shelled on **21 October**. The *Garde-Kavallerie* field artillery was accordingly directed onto it, promptly scored 12 direct hits to force the occupants out and wrecking the tower.⁵

The 1st Cavalry Division held its ground on the ridge despite being attacked by the *Garde*, *4* and *9 Kavallerie Divisions*, but further north, the Germans forced a way up both sides of the Comines Canal towards Ypres. By the end of the day, the British and German cavalries faced each other from the Douve to the Comines Canal, 1000 metres apart in the south and 2500 in the north.

The Messines' civilian population was now being directly affected. Shells set the cloisters on fire in the afternoon – the next night the Institution's personnel, too, abandoned Messines for Neuve Eglise. Many of the remaining villagers also left, taking only the basics with them, expecting to be gone only a few days, the British having told them that they could return once the attack was beaten off. Many first buried their gold and valuables in their gardens, afraid that they would be otherwise stolen – rich pickings for the German troops who, once Messines was taken, made straight for the gardens to loot the buried belongings.⁶

The Germans then began an unsuccessful two-day offensive to break through along the whole length of the front from opposite Messines to Bixschoote, 12 kilometres north of Ypres. The Germans explained they failed at Messines because the British positions were too strong, their

ammunition supply was about to fail, and further attack without heavy artillery was hopeless. Nevertheless, their ongoing bombardment had destroyed more and more buildings and set many others on fire, the village was being effectively destroyed. There was nothing for its inhabitants to return to.

Fighting continued back and forth. On **24 October**, the Germans bombarded Messines and unsuccessfully attacked in the evening. The next day, as part of a wider attack with the 7th Division opposite Ypres, British infantry and cavalry along the Messines ridge in turn attacked, taking Garde Dieu and Oosttaerne and capturing German front line trenches. The British, too, struggled attacking over the open ground. Ordered to capture the Gapaard trenches, the 1/Connaught Rifles, setting out from south east of Wytschaete, found the ground 'to be traversed was open, with little cover, comprising a series of low elevations, gradually falling away towards the Germans near Gapaard'.⁷ Only part of one company apparently engaged with the Germans, bayonet charging and capturing three trenches in succession, before retiring.

Around midday **26 October**, the Germans turned their artillery to the Messines church, wrecking and setting fire to it.⁸ Further north, neither German army could break through the British lines, and on **27 and 28 October** the Germans shifted their troops southwards. At the same time, the Belgians flooded the polderland between Yser and the Dixmude (Diksmuide) – Nieuport railway, making any advance across the plain impossible.

The German High Command now created *Armeegruppe Fabeck*⁹ to break through south of Ypres towards the Messines-Hollebeke-Zandvoorde line. A general offensive by the right flank of *6th Army*, *Armeegruppe Fabeck*, and the whole of the *4th Army* was ordered for **30 October**. The Pfälzer 3 bID and 4 bID were to thrust up the Comines Canal, the Württemberg 26 ID to take Messines, and XV *Korps* to advance along the Menin Road. It was a rushed operation with little time for reconnaissance and with insufficient supporting artillery. Early morning attacks at Gheluveld and Zonnebeke all failed, but *Armeegruppe Fabeck* forced the British to withdraw to a second line running near the top of the Messines Ridge, from about halfway between Messines and Wytschaete, in front of Wytschaete, then north-eastwards roughly along the 50 metre contour to the canal. In contrast, the XIX (Saxon) *Korps*, including 40 ID, at Ploegsteert was unable to make progress at St Yves.

At this stage, 1st Cavalry Brigade with 9th Lancers (2nd Cavalry Brigade) and two companies of the 57th Rifles held Messines. The 9th Lancers, with 150 men, had taken over defence of the eastern front of the village. On the right were two Indian companies (57th Rifles) and on the left the Queen's Bays. The 11th Hussars held second line in the village, while the 5th Dragoon Guards were split up and used as support and to fill gaps. They faced intermittent shelling from 21-cm howitzers and sniping from riflemen ensconced within 90 metres of the British trenches. With an attack imminent, 2/Inniskilling Fusiliers replaced the 57th Rifles and took over the line from Douve to Messines.

The 26 ID was to take Messines: the *Füsilier-Regiment 122* (Füs. 122) attacking the ridge north of Messines, advancing up the Wambeek, the IR 125 advancing against Messines itself, and the *Grenadier-Regiment 119* (Gren. 119) the British trenches immediately south of the town. The Germans shelled Messines from early morning, but IR 125 advancing up the Blauwepoortbeek came under heavy frontal as well as flanking fire from the Wambeek to the north as it advanced into position, requiring artillery preparation before attacking. Its first attack that evening was decisively repulsed, partly by heavy enfilading fire from the south around Ploegsteert, and a second assault at 10:00 p.m. failed.

The 26 ID intended to resupply and reorganise in the surprisingly quiet night but was ordered to undertake a night-attack. It launched its attack around 4:30 a.m. on **Saturday**

31 October, accompanied by cheering and bugle blowing. Unfortunately for the men of IR 125, the ‘treacherous’ near-full moon came out as they advanced, illuminating the threat for the British. Two troops of Dragoons manning a barricade in the village and in houses bayoneted or shot down the attacking Württembergers at close range. The surviving Württembergers retired as daylight broke, coming under fire from field guns on Hill 63.

At 8:00 a.m. as mist thinned, German heavy artillery fired on Messines and at 9:00 a.m. the IR 125 attacked again and by mid-morning had taken the northeast corner of Messines. The street fighting was bloody. The British had blockaded the Comines road at the village edge, with a second blockade a hundred metres further inside the village. They had also turned the village’s houses into a succession of strongholds that ‘were rapidly blown up’ by German sappers. With the streets choked with debris, and under heavy rifle and machine gun fire, the Württembergers forced their way ‘through or over the walls’. The Institution Royale appeared impregnable with its thick walls and ‘strong towers from which machine guns and rifles fired frantically’. The FAR 65 gunners manhandled a battery through the streets to deal to it, infantry carrying up the ammunition, and soon put it to flames, ‘burying its stubborn defenders under its ruins’.¹⁰

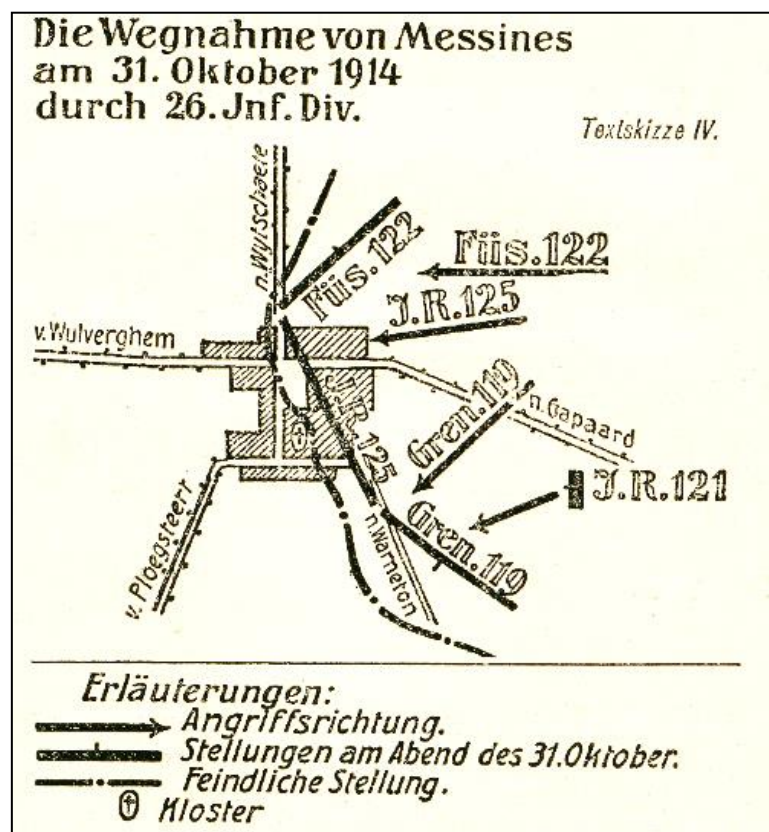


Figure 2: 26 Infanterie Division attack on Messines, 31 October¹¹

After the break-in on south-eastern side and then to the north, the defending 9th Lancers were authorised to withdraw from the eastern side of Messines, having lost three-quarters of their officers and over a third of other ranks. By noon, the main street on the western side of the town (Gentstraat) formed their line of defence. However, their position remained precarious, with isolated fighting throughout the night. Opposing troops were positioned in houses 50 metres apart, machine-gun fire swept the streets and the town was partly on fire. During the night, 2nd Cavalry relieved the 1st Cavalry, having lost 25 officers and 169 other ranks, but apart from loss of the

Messines salient the British line remained intact.¹² The IR 125, too, had suffered heavy casualties and was reinforced by part of Füs. 122. The day ended with the 26 ID holding the eastern half of Messines and the British 1st Cavalry Division and attached infantry the western half.

Earlier in the day, the British had sent 2/KOSB and 2/KOYLI (300 strong) reinforcements up to Messines under heavy shellfire. They counter-attacked Messines around 1 p.m. Outnumbered and facing too many machine guns, they took trenches but not the houses. The London Scottish (700 men and the first British territorial battalion to see action in the war) was also sent from Ypres to Messines but counter-attacked at the Wytschaete Road windmill¹³ just north of Messines, before attacking south-eastwards. The Füs. 122 left wing established itself on the Messines-Wytschaete road, but enfilading fire from Wytschaete prevented its right wing from capturing the high ground further along the ridge. Similarly, heavy enfilading fire from the south inflicted heavy losses on the Gren. 119 troops on the ridge shoulder so it could only secure the *Division's* left flank.¹⁴

The *Garde-Kavallerie* advance in the early morning to take La Douve Farm on the Douve was disastrous. The moated farm commanded all movement on the southern ridge slope and Douve valley, and the British had turned it into a small fortress with trenches and barbed wire. Unfortunately for the *Garde-Kavallerie*, the Kaiser, already in Lille for the anticipated triumphal parade into Ypres, ordered the entire line to renew its fight and storm Douve Farm. At 5 a.m., the artillery stopped and the first of the 1 *Garde-Drager Regiment* left their trenches, its temporary commander, *Major* von Zingler, waving a broadsword he had picked up from a dead British cavalry officer to lead them on:

After the fourth bound, as they had expected, they were struck by a murderous fire from about 100 metres, along with machine guns. Forwards or backwards – both were suicide, so that they had to remain prone, fully unprotected. [Von Zingler] then rose to order the commander of the 2 *Drager* to extend to the right. In the blink of an eye ... [he] received a shot in the abdomen... followed by a shot through the arm and sank headfirst into the beet-field, dead.¹⁵

Although two officers got within five paces of the enemy trenches before being killed, the attack failed, half the men being killed or wounded. They took the farm the next evening when the British abandoned it: 'whether from the violence of the 21-cm mortar, or the impression of the death-defying onslaught of the dragoons, the Kaiser's will fulfilled'. Other farm buildings, similarly converted to British strongpoints, proved as expensive to take.

From midnight on **Sunday 1 November**, All Saints Day, the Germans steadily shelled the British trenches and buildings between Messines and Wytschaete, illuminated by the bright moonlight and from the flames of the many buildings on fire. Around 1 a.m., Germans attacked the fragmented British line from the windmill to Wytschaete and on the open ridge, penetrating it in large numbers to flank and attack the defenders from the rear. By 7:35 a.m., they possessed the middle part of the ridge. The British reformed on Spanbroekmolen, on the edge of the main ridge, separated from Messines by the Steenebeek valley.

General Allenby had given discretion for British evacuation, provided the defence of the ridge north of Messines was maintained. However, when he found that the Germans had driven off the 4th Cavalry Brigade and occupied not only the centre of the ridge but also the valley west of it, he ordered the village's defenders to retire at 9:00 a.m. to the Wulverghem ridge, marked by Kruisstraat Cabaret crossroads. The London Scottish dug in on Wulverghem Ridge to cover the withdrawal. The retirement was carried out deliberately and the Germans did not follow. After evacuating Messines, the British shelled the village and approaches to discourage further advance.

The Germans had taken Messines. The British line cresting the Wulverghem ridge now formed the British front line.

Consolidation

The British were now exhausted and short of munitions and men. The French moved to fill the line with the British on either side at Ypres and around the Douve. At night, the 1st Cavalry Division line ran about 1800 metres behind the morning line from the Douve to the Kruisstraat Cabaret, which was then continued by the French. Further north on the ridge, Wytschaete had been taken and retaken in fierce attacks and counter-attacks. In the evening, the Württembergers apparently bayoneted a New Zealander serving in the London Scottish, Surgeon-Captain Angus McNab, together with the two wounded men he was treating.¹⁶ The unarmed McNab, Red Cross on his arm, became New Zealand's first casualty at Messines. The Scotch, discovering his death, apparently ordered that no prisoners should be taken, 'giving no quarter and receiving none.'

Hard fighting continued over the next few days as the Germans reinforced their troops and attacked along the front and a French cavalry division came up to Spanbroekmolen to relieve the British 3rd Cavalry Brigade. The French now held five miles between the two wings of the British forces and on **2 November**, All Souls Day, its 2nd Cavalry Corps attacked along the Douve as part of a wider assault on Messines, stopping after incurring heavy losses. The Germans in turn pressed forward around St Yves but were repulsed with heavy loss. Over the next three days little changed, though the Germans increased shelling and brought up more troops for the decisive blow, attacking and counter-attacking without success. The French intended to take the ridge on **5 November**, with the British Cavalry Corps to attack Messines, but the morning attack was postponed. In the meantime the Germans took Spanbroekmolen and beyond for about a kilometre, a French counter-attack failing. The left of the British line was now exposed, so the Cavalry Corps line was readjusted to swing back to run west-north-west from Wulverghem towards Kemmel for 2700 metres, where it met the French front at right angles. The line now took on a very pronounced S-shape formed by the adjacent Ypres and Messines salients.

Subsequent action with heavy fighting in early to mid-November slowly consolidated the front line along the ridge south of Ypres, with attacks by the Germans around Ploegsteert Wood and near Wytschaete, the French at Spanbroekmolen, and the British at Le Gheer all failing to substantively move it. The Germans mounted a final and unsuccessful offensive on **11 November**, the morning mist shrouding initial advances. The weather had turned wintry, with cold and rain, snow, then frosts and more snow. Fighting wound down and then on **20 November** the British learnt that the German divisions were being shifted to the east. The frontline was now set.

Soldiers on both sides of No Man's Land now settled into trench warfare in a miserable winter of mud, cold and snow. The Cheshire's regimental history ruefully compared the situation faced by its 1st Battalion at the start of the war with that six months later in February 1915 when its 2nd Battalion arrived:

In place of the heat and drought of summer, the troops had to contend with cold and wet in the confinement of trenches. The 1st Battalion had had full view of their foe and had seen the deadly effect of their matchless musketry on masses and lines of German soldiers. The 2nd Battalion was to live for months within a few yards of their enemy and never to see him.¹⁷

The only respite that winter was the Christmas Truce, when soldiers along parts of the front line unilaterally ceased fire and fraternised with their opposites in No Man's Land. The IR

134, part of Saxon 40 ID, and 1/Royal Warwickshires even played a football match opposite Ploegsteert Wood.¹⁸ The Bavarian bIR 17 had just relieved the bRIR 16 at Bethléem Farm just a little way down the ridge's southern slope. The troops quartered in the cellars of Messines' bombed and burnt out houses observed Christmas Eve with a Christmas tree in a room in the Institution. Among them was *Gefreiter* Adolph Hitler, a runner at nearby Bethléem Farm where he earned his Iron Cross, one of many officers and NCOs on both sides associated with Messines whose trajectories were to soar, and some to flame, in the Second World War.

The battle for Messines ridge had exhausted both sides. For the Germans, it was a heroic victory of sorts:

Messines! There can be no comrade in arms who served in the regiment in those days of glorious achievements whose hearts fail to swell with pride at the very mention of the name of "Messines." The conquest by the regiment of the rural stronghold of Messines does however represent a truly outstanding military exploit. It forms an integral part of the glorious history of the regiment.¹⁹

For the British, despite the loss of most of its professional soldiers, the 'Old Contemptibles' as the survivors were to call themselves, distinguishing themselves from the Kitchener's subsequent 'New Army' of volunteers, the line had held and they still held Dunkirk and Calais.

The frontline at Messines was now established with no further change made south of Ypres until June 1917; the Germans on the ridge, overlooking the British lines below. Immediately to the south was the Ploegsteert sector, flat land in front of Ploegsteert Wood down to the Warnave stream, though more a ditch in reality. From there to Armentières was the Sailly sector, a dead flat, waterlogged land of no strategic value for either side. Although by no means quiet, this and the Armentieres sector were sufficiently secure to be used as a nursery sector by both sides to allow mauled divisions to recover from hard battle and to introduce new troops to trench warfare. It was here that the New Zealand Division was to have its own introduction to trench warfare as practiced on the Western Front in mid-May 1916.



Figure 3: West end of the town square, Messines.

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- ¹ Johan Beun, ed. *Mesen, Kleine Stad Op De Heuvel: Verzameling Historische Bijdragen over Mesen* (Mesen: 1995).
- ² James E. Edmonds, *Military Operations: France and Belgium: Antwerp, La Bassée, Armentières, Messines and Ypres, October – November 1914*, History of the Great War (London: Macmillan, 1925).
- ³ Beun, *Mesen, Kleine Stad Op De Heuvel: Verzameling Historische Bijdragen over Mesen*.
- ⁴ Johannes Vogel, *3000 Kilometer Mit Der Garde-Kavallerie*, vol. 13, Aus Den Tagen Des Großen Krieges (Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing, 1916), 206.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, 207.
- ⁶ Beun, *Mesen, Kleine Stad Op De Heuvel: Verzameling Historische Bijdragen over Mesen*.
- ⁷ H.F.N Jourdain and E. Fraser, *The Connaught Rangers*, vol. 1 (Great Britain: Royal United Services Institution, 1924). in Cave and Sheldon, *Ypres 1914: Messines*, 30.
- ⁸ Jourdain and Fraser, *The Connaught Rangers*, 1. in Cave and Sheldon, *Ypres 1914: Messines*, 30.
- ⁹ *Armeegruppe Fabeck* under General von Fabeck consisted of II Bayerische Korps, XV Korps, 6 BRD and 26 ID. It was also allotted the I Kavallerie Korps, 11th *Landswehr Brigade* and six unbrigaded *Bataillons* and over 250 heavy guns. *Kolonel Fritz von Loßberg* was its chief of staff. Friedrich von Loßberg, *Meine Tätigkeit Im Weltkrieg 1914-1918* (Berlin: F.G Mittler & Sohn, 1939).
- ¹⁰ Reinhold. Stühmke, *Das Infanterie-Regiment "Kaiser Friedrich, König Von Preußen" (7. Württ.) Nr. 125 Im Weltkrieg 1914 - 1918* (Stuttgart: Chr. Belser A.G. Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1923).
- ¹¹ Otto Schwink, *Die Schlacht an Der Yser Und Bei Ypern Im Herbst 1914* (Oldenburg: Gerhard Stalling, 1918), 64.
- ¹² Edmonds, *Military Operations: France and Belgium: Antwerp, La Bassée, Armentières, Messines and Ypres, October – November 1914*, 306.
- ¹³ The site of the present-day London Scottish Regiment's memorial.
- ¹⁴ Schwink, *Die Schlacht an Der Yser Und Bei Ypern Im Herbst 1914*, 81.
- ¹⁵ Vogel, *3000 Kilometer Mit Der Garde-Kavallerie*, 13, 211-12.
- ¹⁶ The 39-year-old Southlander graduated at Otago University and after study in the UK, and in Vienna and Freiberg, set up his Harley Street practice as an eye-surgeon. Early accounts of his death have a despatch rider claim 'McNab was bayoneted before the eyes of the ... regiment.' However, his brother undertook his own inquiries into Angus's death and reported in November 1914 that another London Scottish doctor 'saw Dr McNab lying on the ground... he stopped to see if Dr McNab was dead, and satisfied himself that he was, but he was not able to say how he met his death. In fact, nobody with a clear recollection of the fight seems to have witnessed the death of the medical officer and the wounded'. "Dr. McNab's Death. An Open Verdict," *New Zealand Herald*, 12 January 1915.
- ¹⁷ Arthur Crookenden, *The History of the Cheshire Regiment in the Great War* (WH Evans, Sons & Co. Ltd., 1938), 32.
- ¹⁸ Michael Jürgs, *Der Kleine Frieden Im Grossen Krieg* (C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 2003).
- ¹⁹ Stühmke, *Das Infanterie-Regiment "Kaiser Friedrich, König Von Preußen" (7. Württ.) Nr. 125 Im Weltkrieg 1914 - 1918*, 41.