

U.S. Army Military History Institute  
950 Soldiers Drive  
Carlisle Barracks, PA 17013-5021  
7 Oct 2011

WWI-Western Front-1916

## **VERDUN, Feb-Dec 1916**

### A Working Bibliography of MHI Sources

German and Allied High Commands each planned operations in 1916 that would break the stalemate and secure a victory on the Western Front. The Anglo-French alliance devised a summer breakthrough assault on the German lines through the Ancre and Somme River valleys. As the centerpiece on a war of attrition, the Germans planned a massive attack on the French fortress city of Verdun. The Kaiser and his commanders believed the French would present a strong and vigorous defense of Verdun for symbolic as much as for military reasons.

Since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Verdun had been a vital defensive position on the westbound approach to Paris. In 1792 it had fallen to a Prussian army and in 1870 to the Germans after a six-week siege during the Franco-Prussian War. By 1915, the German front line was ten miles from the city center.

Verdun itself was defended by 500,000 troops and a ring of fortifications, the most prominent of which were Forts Douamont, Vaux and Souville. The 21 Feb attack by 1 million German troops initiated a battle that continued for ten months, during which counterattacks merely reinforced resolve on both sides. During a one-month period, the front line between Forts Douamont and Vaux fluctuated less than 1,000 yards (Martin Gilbert, The First World War: A Complete History, p. 235).

### **CONTENTS**

General Sources.....p.2
Specific Locations
-Ft Douamont.....p.4
-Ft. Vaux.....p.5
-Other.....p.5
Special Aspects.....p.5
Tour Guides.....p.8
German Perspective.....p.9
French Perspective.....p.10
Personal Narratives.....p.11

**GENERAL SOURCES**

1916, Année de Verdun. Paris: C. Lavauzelle, 1986. 295 p. D545.V3.A17.

Association Nationale des Croix de Guerre. Verdun: The Battle for Freedom. NY: American Order..., 1959. 196 p. D545.V3.A8.

Baldwin, Hanson W. World War I: An Outline History. NY: Harper & Row, 1962. pp. 74-78. D522.5.B3.

“Beginning of the Battle of Verdun.” S.l., n.p., between 1916 & 1936. 3 p. D545.V3.B45.

Blond, Georges. Verdun. [Translated from the French by Frances Frenaye] NY: Macmillan, 1964. 250 p. D545.V3.B553.

Brown, Malcolm. Verdun 1916. Charleston, SC: Tempus, 1999. 192 p. D545.V3.B75.

Browne, O’Brien. “Operation Judgment.” Military Heritage (Feb 2002): pp.44-53 & 87. Per.

Caldwell, R.B. “German & French Operations Before Verdun, 1916 & 1917.” n.p., 1919. D545.V3.U52.

“...prepared from notes taken at lectures delivered by General Passaga and other officers of the French Army at Verdun, March 26-27-28, 1919.”

Churchill, Winston S. The World Crisis, 1916-1918. Vol. II. Pt 1. London: Butterworth, 1927. Chap IV. D521.C5.1923v2pt1.

Compton, T.E. Verdun and the Somme.” Journal of the Royal United Service Institute (RUSI) (Feb 1917): pp. 46-63. Per.

Campbell, Gerald F. Verdun to the Vosges: Impressions of the War on the Fortress Frontier of France. London: E. Arnold, 1916. 316 p. D544C25.

Donnell, Clayton. The Fortifications of Verdun 1874-1917. Long Island City, NY: Osprey, 2011. 64 p. UG430.V465.D66.

Dugard, Henry [Pseudonym for Louis Thomas]. The Battle of Verdun (February 21-May 7). [Translated from the French by F. Appleby Holt] London: Hutchinson, 1916. 287 p. D545.V3.T53.

\_\_\_\_\_. La Bataille de Verdun, 21 Février-7 Mai 1916. Paris, France: Perrin, 1916. 298 p. D545.V3.T53.

\_\_\_\_\_. La Victoire de Verdun, 21 Février, 1913-3 Novembre, 1917: Ouvrage Accompagné de Deux Cartes et de Deux Croquis (Paris: Perrin, 1918; 288 p. D545.V3.T57.

- Falls, Cyril. The Great War. NY: Putnam's, 1959. Book 3, Chap II. D521.F25.
- Glover, Michael. Battlefields of Northern France and the Low Countries. London: Guild, 1987. 240 p. D25.5.G56.
- Gowen, James B. "Verdun." Infantry Journal (Jul 1923): pp. 114-23; (Aug 1923): pp. 232-42. Per. And in Campaigns of the World War. Wash, DC: Infantry Association, 1923. pp. 24-44. D521.U5.
- Horne, Alistair. Death of a Generation: From Neuve Chapelle to Verdun and the Somme. NY: American Heritage, 1970. 127 p. D545.V3.H59.
- \_\_\_\_\_. To Lose a Battle: France 1940. Boston: Little, Brown, 1969. 647 p. D761.H6.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Price of Glory: Verdun 1916. NY: St Martin's, 1962. 371 p. D545.V3.H595.
- Liddell-Hart, Basil H. A History of the World War, 1914-1918. Boston: Little, Brown, 1935. Chap VI, Scene 1. D521.L4815.
- Martin, William. Verdun 1916: 'They Shall Not Pass'. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004. 96 p. D545.V3M37.
- Ousby, Ian. The Road to Verdun: World War I's Most Momentous Battle and the Folly of Nationalism. NY: Doubleday, 2002. 393 p. D545.V3.O97.
- Raymond, Edward A. "Shall They Pass?" Infantry Journal (May/Jun 1940): pp. 229-35. Per.
- Romains, Jules. Verdun. [Translated from the French by Gerard Hopkins] NY: Knopf, 1939. 500 p. PQ2635.O52.H6313.  
Translation of Volumes 15 & 16 of Les Hommes de Bonne Volonté, PQ2635O55H6.
- Simonds, Frank H. They Shall Not Pass. NY: Doubleday, Page, 1916. 142 p. D545.V3.S5.
- Stokesbury, James L. A Short History of World War I. NY: Morrow, 1981. pp. 140-48. D521.S85.  
Nice explanation.
- Thomas, Louis. The Battle of Verdun (February 21-May 7). London: Hutchinson, 1916. 287 p. D545.V3.T53.
- U.S. Army. Infantry School. Monographs of the World War. Ft Benning, GA, 1923? 695 p. D509.U55.  
Compilation of 75 selected student monographs. See Monos 26-27.
- U.S. Military Academy. Atlas. West Point, NY: USMA, 1950. Maps 32-33. D521.U53.ATLAS.

U.S. Military Academy. A Short Military History of World War I. West Point, NY: USMA, 1950.  
pp. 160-70. D521.U53.  
Summary account.

Wells, Neil J. Verdun: An Integrated Defence: An Outline of the French Fortifications of the Great War Based on a Detailed Review of the Defences of Verdun. East Sussex, England: Naval & Military, 2009. 202 p. UG430.V4.W45.

Zabecki, David T. "Verdun: Tale of Two Forts." Military History (Jan 2010): pp. 56-63. Per.  
Forts Douamont & Vaux.

## **SPECIFIC LOCATIONS**

### **-Fort Douamont**

Bordeaux, Henry. The Deliverance of the Captives: Douamont-Vaux, October 21-November 3, 1916.  
[Translated from the French by Paul V. Cohn] NY: T. Nelson, 1919. D545.V3.B73.

Brunon, Jean. Douamont, 25 Février-23 Octobre 1916. Salon-de-Provence: Bibliothèque Raoul et Jean  
Brunon, 1973. 28 p. D545.V3.B85.

DeWeerd, H.A. "The Verdun Forts." Cavalry Journal (Mar/Apr 1932): pp. 27-28. Per.  
Douamont & Souville.

Douamont and Vaux. Paris?: n.p. 1917? D545.V3.D68.  
Text in French.

Holstein, Christina. Verdun: Fort Douamont. South Yorkshire, England: Pen & Sword Military, 2010  
updated version of 2002 edition. 192 p. D545.V3.H652.  
Both editions available.

Klüfer, Kurt von. Seelenkräfte im Kampf um Douamont: II./J.-R. 24, Seine Nachbarn und Gegner am  
25. Februar 1916. Berlin: Verlag die Brücke, 1938. 363 p. D545.V3.K58.  
24<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment.

Mallory, Keith & Ottar, Arvid. The Architecture of War. NY: Pantheon, 1973. pp. 29-33.  
UG460.M38.

Rocolle, Pierre P. 2000 ans de Fortification Francaise. Vol. 2. Paris: Charles-Lavauzelle, 1973.  
p. 176. UG429.F8.R6.

Rouquerol, Jean J. Le Drame de Douamont. Paris: Payot, 1931. 152 p. D545.V3.R6.

Schwarz, Alexis V. Fortifications Before, during and After the World War. Ft Leavenworth: CGSC, 1936. pp. 58-64. UG438.S47.

Verdun, Argonne (1914-1918). n.p.: Michelin, 1931. pp. 86-97. D545.V38.

### **-Fort Vaux**

Bordeaux, Henry. The Last Days of Fort Vaux, March 9-June 7, 1916. [Translated from the French by Paul V. Cohn] NY: T. Nelson, 1917. 227 p. D545.V3.B62.

Les Derniers Jours du Fort de Vaux (9 Mars-7 Juin par le Capitaine.... Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1916. 284 p. D545.V3.B618.

Raynal, Alphonse L.F. Journal du Commandant Raynal Le Fort de Vaux. Paris: A. Michel, 1919. 247 p. D545..V3.R3.

### **-Other**

Colin, Henri. La Cote 304 et le Mort-Homme, 1916-1917. Paris: Payot, 1934. 186 p. D545.V3.C6.

\_\_\_\_\_. Le Fort de Souville: l'Heure Suprême à Verdun. Paris: Payot, 1938. 266 p. D545.V3.C62.

“General von Gallwitz’s Experiences in France, 1916-1918.” Army Quarterly (Jul 1937 1922): pp. 311-22. Per.  
Hill 304 & Mort Homme.

Lange, Albert. L’Attaque Principale Allemande Contre la Cote 304: Les Combats du 9e Corps, 22 Avril-4,5 et 7 Mai 1916. Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1934. 130 p. D545.C6.L3.

Ménager, Réne. Les Forts de Moulainville et de Douamont Sous les 420; Avec Une Préface du Colonel Raynal...et une Lettre du Commandant Léon Harispe...une Carte et Seize Gravures Hors Texte. Paris: Payot, 1936. 234 p. D545.V3.M45.

### **SPECIAL ASPECTS**

Brittain, Harry E. To Verdun From the Somme: An Anglo American Glimpse of the Great Advance. NY: John Lane, 1917. 142 p. D544.B8.

Bruce, Robert B. “Victor of Verdun.” Military History (Jul/Aug 2008): pp. 52-61. Per.  
Petain’s advocacy of firepower as the key to victory.

Cartier, J.S. “Verdun: The Haunted Wood.” MHQ Vol. 3, No. 4: pp. 100-11. Per.  
Battle art & photos.

Corda, H. "Evolution in Offensive Methods." Field Artillery Journal (May/Jun 1922): pp. 248-64. Per.  
Pt. 1 of a 3-part article; covers Verdun operations.

40ème Anniversaire de la Bataille de Verdun. Paris: Association Nationale des Croix de Guerre, 1957.  
ca. 150 p. D545.V3.A12.

Frazer, Elizabeth. Old Glory and Verdun, and Other Stories. NY: Duffield, 1918. 303 p. D640.F8.

Germany. Fifth Army. "Extract from the War Diary, Headquarters of the Fifth Army: Summary of Information Concerning Verdun, 1916." Typescript carbon, n.d. ca 50 p. D532.1.G42.

Harvey, William C., & Harvey, Eric T., editors. Letters from Verdun: Frontline Experiences of an American Volunteer in World War I France. Philadelphia, PA: Casemate, 2009. 240 p. D640.W66.

Jones, C. LaT. Turner. "Verdun and Metz." Royal Engineers Journal (Jul 1921): pp. 15-27;  
(Aug 1921): pp. 71-78. Per.  
Effects of bombardment on fortifications.

"Notes on Examination of Documents Seized on Prisoners: (After Experiences in Champagne, Artois, Verdun, and the Somme)." Typescript, 1916. 5 p. UB251.F8.N6713.

Simmons, Edwin H., & Alexander, Joseph H. Through the Wheat: The U.S. Marines in World War I. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2008. 296 p. D570.348.A1.S56.  
See Chap. 5.

Smith, Baird. "Fortified Frontiers." Army Quarterly (Oct 1933): pp. 99-105. Per.  
Fortifications & siege operations, Antwerp & Verdun.

Spaulding, Oliver, translator. "Artillery Statistics from the World War." Field Artillery Journal (Sep/Oct 1924): pp. 451-54. Per.  
Ammo usage at Verdun, Artois, Somme, Aisne & Champagne.

U.S. Army War College. Command Course, 1922-1923. Campaigns of the World War. Wash, DC:  
US Infantry Association, 1923. pp. 24-44. U521.U5.  
Situational details and conclusions.

Vercors. Three Short Novels... Boston: Little, Brown, 1947. 195 p. PZ3.B8328Th.

W\_\_\_\_\_, Paul. "How a Battery was Supplied Under Fire." Field Artillery Journal (Jan/Mar 1917):  
pp. 33-39. Per.  
Ammunition supply at Verdun.

- Winters, Harold A., et. al. Battling the Elements: Weather and Terrain in the Conduct of War. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1998. 317 p. UA990.B38.  
See Chap. 6: "Terrain and Corridors: The American Civil War's Eastern Theater and World War I Verdun."
- Wisse, Sébastien L. Emploi de l'Artillerie Dans l'Attaque du 24 Octobre sur la Rive Droite de la Meuse. France?: Centre d'Etudes d'Artillerie, 1917. 31 p. D545.V3.W5.

### **Aerial Operations**

McConnell, James R. Flying for France with the American Escadrille at Verdun. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1917. 157 p. D603.M23.

Mortane, Jacques. Navarre, Sentinelle de Verdun. Paris: Editions Baudinière, 1930. 319 p. D603.M67.

### **Logistics**

Estes, G.H. "The Operations Around Verdun in 1916: The French Service of Supply." Infantry Journal (Nov 1921): pp. 541-56. Per.

Heuzé, Paul. La Voie Sacrée: le Service Automobile à Verdun (Fevrier-Août 1916). Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1919. 91 p. D545.V3.H5.

U.S. Army. AEF. General Staff, G-2? "Studies of the German Railroad System and Its Capacity for the Movement of Troops, Munitions and Supplies on the Western Front: Summary of Conclusions." Typescript, between 1918 & 1932. D639.T8.U3.

Appendix B: "Report of the Direction of the Automobile Services, on the use of Automobiles During the Operations Around Verdun in February-March 1916"  
[Automobile Regulating Commission, established at Bar-le-Duc] 12 p.

Appendix C: "Battle of Verdun: Organization and Working of Communications,  
Supplies and Services During Operations Near Verdun During 1916 and 1917."  
24 p.

U.S. Army. AEF. Service of Supply. "German & French Operations Before Verdun, 1916 & 1917." Notes taken at lectures delivered by French Army officers at Verdun, 26-28 Mar 1919. Prepared at Tours, 10 Jun 1919. ca 100 p. (mimeo). D545.V3.U52.

**Medical Care**

Mercier, Raoul. Le Vrai Visage du Combattant, 1914-1918. Paris: Charles-Lavauzelle, 1932. 215 p. D640.M35.

Mignon, Henri A.A. Le Service de Santé Pendant la Guerre 1914-1918. 4 vols. Paris: Masson & Cie, 1926-27. UM72.1914-18.M5.

See Tome 2: La Bataille de Verdun.

**TOUR GUIDES**

The Battle of Verdun (1914-1918). Clermont-Ferrand: Michelin & Cie, 1920. 111 p. D545.V3.B37.  
And 1919 edition.

Michelin's Illustrated Guides to the Battle-Fields: Verdun (1914-1918). Clermont-Ferrand: Michelin, 1931. 176 p. D545.V3.V38.

Passaga, Général. Le Calvaire de Verdun: les Américains Autour de Verdun. Paris: Charles-Lavauzelle, 1927. 160 p. D545.V3.P3.

Staff Rides: Battlefields of Metz (War of 1870-71), Verdun, Meuse-Argonne. Coblenz, Germany: HQ, American Forces in German7, 1922. 42 p. DC304.S72.

A Thoroughly Practical Guide to Verdun & Its Historic Battlefields: Illustrated. Verdun: H. Fremont, 1927. 118 p. D545.V3.T5613.

Verdun & le Champ de Bataille. France: n.p., 1919?. D545.V3.V4.

Verdun: An Illustrated Historical Guide. Verdun, France: Fremont Editions Lorraines, n.d. 157 p. D545.V3.V37.

Maps and photos explain various sites.

Verdun, Argonne (1914-1918). Clermont-Ferrand: Michelin, 1931. 176 p. D545.V3.V38.

Verdun, Argonne-Metz, 1914-1918. Clermont-Ferrand: Michelin, 1919. 192 p. D545.V3.V38.

**GERMAN PERSPECTIVE**

Baumgarten-Crusius, Artur. Fronthelden des Weltkriegs. Zeulenroda, Germany: Bernard Sporn, 1929. 256 p. D531.B38.

“Extract from the War Diary Headquarters Fifth Army: Summary of Information Concerning Verdun, 1916.” [Translated at General Service Schools] Typescript, 1922? 87 p. D545.V3.E9713.

Falkenhayn, Erich von. The German General Staff and Its Decisions, 1914-1916. NY: Dodd, Mead, 1920. Chap IX. D531.F32.

Farrar, L.L., Jr. “Peace Through Exhaustion: German Diplomatic Motivations for the Verdun Campaign.” Revue Internationale d’Histoire Militaire 32 (1972-1975): pp. 477-494. Per.

“German Methods of Trench Warfare.” Great Britain?” n.p., 1916? 7 p. UG446.G47.

Germany. Reichsarchiv. Schlachten des Weltkrieges. Berlin: Gerhard Stalling, 1924-1930. D521.G35.  
Band 13: Die Tragödie von Verdun 1916: Die Deutsche Offensivschlacht  
Band 14: Die Tragödie von Verdun 1916: Das Ringen um Fort Vaux.  
Band 15, Die Tragödie von Verdun 1916: Teil III: Toter Mann-Höhe 304.  
Band 15: Die Tragödie von Verdun 1916: Teil IV: Thiamont-Fleury.

Hermanns, William. The Holocaust: From a Survivor of Verdun. NY: Harper & Row, 1972. 141 p. D640.H47.

Pétain, Philippe. “Note on the Organization of German Shelters on the Verdun Front.” [Translation from the French; published under auspices of the Groupe des Armées du Centre, General Staff] [France?]: 1<sup>st</sup> Printing Co, R. E., G.H.Q., 1916. 1 p. UG446.P4813.

“Verdun: Falkenhayn’s Strategy.” Army Quarterly (Apr 1932): pp. 12-20. Per.  
German strategy, Apr-Sep 1916.

Der Weltkrieg: Illustrierte Kriegs-Chronik des Daheim. 10 vols. Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing, 1915-1919. D531.W38.  
See Band 4: Bis zum Beginn der Kämpfe um Verdun.

Wendt, Hermann. Verdun 1916: Die Angriffe Felkanhayns im Maasgebiet mit Reichturn auf Verdun als Strategisches Problem. Berlin: Mittler, 1931. 244 p. D545.V3.W4.

**FRENCH PERSPECTIVE**

Becker, Georges. Les Angoisses de la Grande Guerre: Verdun: Le Premier choc de l'attaque Allemande. Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1932. 116 p. D545.V3.B4.

Bouvier de Lamotte. L'attaque sur Verdun 20 Fevrier au 16 Mars 1916. Paris: Pays de France, 1916. 61 p. D545.V3.B8.

Bunau-Varilla, Philippe. From Panama to Verdun: My Fight for France. Phila: Dorrance, 1940 reprint of 1937 edition. 391 p. TC774.B86213.

Corda, H. La Bataille de Verdun (1916): Ses Enseignements et ses Conséquences: Conférences Faites en 1921 aux Société's d'Officiers Suisses. Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1921. 48 p. D545.V3.C67.

La Defense de Verdun: Documents de la Section Photographique de l'Armée. Paris: Le Pays de France, 1916. 32 p. D545.V3.D4412.

Delvert, Charles. Verdun. Paris: Fournier, 1920. 154 p. D545.V3.D4.

Estre, Henri de. L'Énigme de Verdun: Essai sur les Causes et la Genèse de la Bataille. Paris: Librairie Chapelot, 1916. 72 p. D545.V3.E8.

Fabry, Jean J. Ioffre et son Destin: la Marne, Verdun, la Somme, l'Amberique. Paris: Lavauzelle, 1931. 371 p. DC342.8.J6.F3.

France. Armeé. Service Photographique. La Guerre: Documents de la Section Photographique de l'Armeé (Ministère de la Guerre). 2 vols. Paris: A. Colin, 1916. D527.F7.  
See Vol. 2, Chap. XIII.

“General Mangin.” Army Quarterly (Apr 1935): pp. 131-35. Per.

Gillet, Louis. La Bataille de Verdun. Paris: Van Oest et Cie, 1921. 301 p. D545.V3.G5.

Grand-Carteret, John. Verdun, Images de Guerre. Paris: Chapelot, 1916. 256 p. D526.3.G86.

Grasset, Alphonse L. La Guerre en Action: Verdun. Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1926. 231 p.  
D545.V3.G7.  
French 72<sup>nd</sup> Division.

Madelin, Louis. L'Aveu, la Bataille de Verdun et l'Opinion Allemande. Paris: Plon-Houritt et Cie, 1916. 18 p. D545.V3.M3.

\_\_\_\_\_. Le Chemin de la Victoire. 2 vols. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1920? D544.M3.  
See Tome 1: De la Marne à Verdun (1914-1916).

Paquet, Charles. Dans l'attente de la Rubée: Verdun (Janvier-Février 1916). Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1928. 194 p. D545.V3.P28.

Péricard, Jacques. Le Soldat de Verdun. Paris: Éditions Baudiniere, 1937. 360 p. D545.V3.P4.

\_\_\_\_\_. Verdun: Histoire des Combats qui se sont Livrés de 1914 à 1918 sur les Deux Rives de la Meuse. Paris: Librairie de France, 1934. 534 p. D545.V3.P43.

Le Saillant de Saint-Mihiel: Itinéraire: Verdun-Saint-Mihiel-Commercy-Pont-aa-Mousson-Metz-Verdun. Clermont-Ferrand: Michelin, 1919. 119 p. D545.S313.S35.

Smith, Leonard V. Between Mutiny and Obedience: The Case of the Fifth French Infantry Division, World War I. Princeton, NJ: Princeton, 1994. 273 p. D548.3.5<sup>th</sup>.S63.  
See Chap. VI.

Thomas, Louis. La Bataille de Verdun, 21 Février-7 Mai, 1916. Paris, Perrin, 1916. 298 p. D545.V3.T52.

Thomas, Louis. La Victoire de Verdun, 21 Février, 1916-3 Novembre, 1917; Ouvrage Accompagné de Deux Cartes et de Deux Croquis. Paris: Perrin, 1918. 288 p. D545.V3.T57.

Thomasson, Raoul de. Les Préliminaires de Verdun (Août 1915-Février 1916): d'Après des Documents Inédits; Avec 9 Croquis et 1 Carte Hors Texte. Nancy: Berger-Levrault, 1921. 297 p. D545.V3.T58.

### **Personal Narratives**

Alexandre, R. Avec Joffre d'Agadir à Verdun: Souvenirs 1911-1916. Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1932. 254 p. D640.A54.

Joffre, J. The Personal Memoirs of Joffre, Field Marshal of the French Army. [Translated from the French] Vol. II. Chaps II-III. NY: Harper, 1932. D530.J62v2.

Lambie, Margaret. Verdun Experiences. Wash, DC: Courant, 1945. 69 p. D570.9.L28.

Pétain, Henri P. La Bataille de Verdun: Avec 8 Cartes, 18 Gravures et 1 Annexe. Paris: Payot, 1929. 156 p. D545.V3.P45.

Verdun. [Translated from the French by Margaret MacVeigh] NY: Dial, 1930. 235 p. D545.V3.P47.