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SOURCE CODE: **MHFALL20**

USMC Herringbone Korean War Era Short Sleeve Utility Shirt

Rugged Olive Drab short sleeve shirt for combat duty with breast pocket and two large Map pockets inset under the chest. Officers and NCOs loved these shirts and they fade wonderfully and take abuse of the rugged outdoors. Newly manufactured and made with USMC embossed buttons like the original shirts.

Rare as 'hens teeth' these days, this might be your one chance to obtain one. Very limited Sizes available; medium, Large, XL, 2XL, 3XL

$49.00 MISC868

German FG42 1st Model Replica (non-firing)

LAST OF THE INCREDIBLE SHOEI REPLICA WWII GERMAN GUNS - END OF AN ERA
Full Size metal & wood replica of the venerable German Paratroop assault rifle. Comes with magazine & bayonet. This is the 1st model (Type 1), highly coveted and very difficult to find on the market today. This is a non-firing replica that we had purchased many years ago during the first production run by Shoei in Japan. Last Chance!!! Note: Guns lock & function just like the original. Exact size - over 85 machined parts in the FG42. These guns are dinosaurs in the making. Not sold to NY, CT, WI, MN, KS, MA, CA, PR & Canada

$1595.00 MISC117

Reich WW2 Metal German Wall Plaques

Small 15 inches **$22.95** MISC371
Large 27 inches **$50.00** MISC372

German WWI Stick Grenade

The famed potato masher of WW2. New mfr. Wood & steel construction with ceramic ball & cord on inside & sprocket base cap. (Inert)

$24.95 MISC861

M6A3 High Explosive Rocket

FOR THE M1, M1A1 & M9 BAZOOKAS

Completely inert, new made, and perfect for display or reenactments.

$39.95 MISC447 (Inert)

RPG-75 Shoulder Fired Rocket Launcher (non-firing)

This 2 foot long inert training RPG-75 ,opens and extends to 35" long, when ready for fire. Very similar to the U.S. M72 LAW Rocket Launcher, this Czech made rocket launcher weighs 7 lbs., and comes with shoulder strap and flip up sights. This is the same RPG you will see in many hot spots around the world, especially in various Bush Wars in Africa, by SWAPO units in Angola, and the Near East.

$199.95 RL010

M24 German Stick Grenade

Standard Potato Masher grenade as used by German troops in WW2. Wood and metal construcion with individual components.

(Inert) **$24.95** MISC464

BETSY ROSS FLAG

Manufactured with heavy duty cotton layered with 13 embroidered Stars applied in a manner Betsy Ross would be proud of. Perfect for flying every day on your flag pole. A beautiful touch of traditional colonial Americana. (High quality, heavy duty cotton.... Not cheap nylon or poly!) **$34.95** FLAG56

Size 3 x 5 feet

HEAVY DUTY COTTON & Embroidered Stars

Save $4.00 on a fragmentation sleeve when you purchase the sleeve with the M24 German stick grenade! Sleeve with Grenade (inert) **$34.90** MISC791

M39-B German WW2 Smoke Grenade (Inert)

M39B Stick Grenades were used by the Wehrmacht & SS, all over their theater of operations. We have the tapered finger version rarely encountered today. Full size and can break down into components. Made from wood and metal.

$29.95 MISC678

Rarely offered with tapered finger handle, used for identifying it in the dark by touch.

Breaks down into separate components for display.

German WW2 M39 Egg Grenade

Accurate inert steel reproduction with detachable Fuse assy. Full Size. **$22.95** MISC680 (Inert)

JAPANESE WW2 TROPICAL ARMY HAT WW2

Japanese Army tropical khaki brown cap with 4 pc. neck protector, leather chinstrap, star emblem and 6 grommet vents. This wool hat also comes with the soft leather sweat band which makes it very comfortable. Available in 4 sizes: 7-1/4", 7-1/2", 7-5/8", 7-3/4"

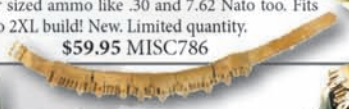
$19.95 HAT07

M11A3 WWII DUMMY RIFLE GRENADE

Rare! Lost in the warehouse for 10 years. Repainted and may have minor storage dings on fins. These don't exist anymore. **$34.95** AM125 (Inert)

Please note: No dummy grenades to California - Some States may have restrictions on ownership of INERT grenades. Check your local & State laws.

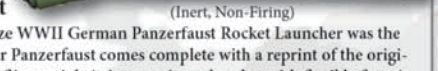
1888 British / Boer War .303 Bandolier



Soft Pliable Cow Leather like the Originals! Fits 50 rounds of .303 officially, but all sorts of other similar sized ammo like .30 and 7.62 Nato too. Fits well for people of Medium to 2XL build! New. Limited quantity.

$59.95 MISC786

German Panzerfaust 60M Launcher & Rocket



(Inert, Non-Firing)

All steel construction, this full size WWII German Panzerfaust Rocket Launcher was the precursor for the RPG series. Our Panzerfaust comes complete with a reprint of the original WWII operator instructions, flip up sight/trigger unit, and rocket with flexible fins. A terrific display piece for museums, static displays or reenacting. **$180.00** RL002

Japanese WW2 Paratrooper Bandolier

Very sturdy, this 17 pocket bandolier holds 85 rds of ammo as originally designed and used throughout the Pacific and China campaigns by Imperialist Japan. Used with 6.5mm & 7.7mm Japanese ammo on 5 rd. stripper clips, this bandolier can hold an assortment of different similar sized ammo on clips like 8mm, .303, etc. We can offer this bandolier by itself or with 17 original brass stripper clips similar to the Japanese 7.7mm clip. New mfr.

Japanese Khaki bandolier (only)

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Japanese Khaki bandolier with 17 Brass stripper clips

$39.95 MISC685

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Panzerfaust Klein WW2 Rocket Launcher (inert)

The first model German WW2 Rocket Launcher! Our steel Panzerfaust has a full size inert rocket with fins that can be removed from the tube. Also a sight / trigger assy., with movable cocking piece and trigger button that works. This is the correct style launcher - not the 'cobbled together' reproduction found elsewhere and sold as 'original style'. Full size and totally inert. New.

$145.00 MISC684

French Foreign Legion "Sahara" Kepi

Our Kepi is the NCO type with blue wool cover with red top and blue piping. An embroidered green bursting bomb is sewn into the front. Finished with brass chinstrap buttons and leather visor and chinstrap. We have included the DESERT COVER, which fits over the top, and the "Saharan" neck protector. Well-made. U.S. Sizes: 7-1/4", 7-3/8", 7-1/2", 7-5/8", 7-3/4"

$49.95 MISC285

1918 U.S. Trench Knife Model - MARK 1 'AU LION'

A real 'Mauler', this combat fighting knife developed by the American Expeditionary Force, was contracted to U.S. and French manufacturers. With over 1.2 million ordered, only about 119,000 were produced before the war ended. Handle of solid brass with a 6.5 inch blade, the 23 oz. heft of the brass alone, allowed one to punch with the force of 'Kodiac Bear'! Our Mark 1 knife is the rarer version as produced in France for U.S. troops and is engraved with the 'Au Lion' cartouche on the ricasso. Not a cheap imitation.... Looks and feels like the original as used in combat over 100 years ago. New. *Sold as a curio collector item and without scabbard.

*Check your local laws on 'knuckle knives' before ordering. Cannot ship to CA, IL, MI, VT, MO, DE, MA, NY, NJ

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STEEL TYPE 99 PROTECTIVE SHIELD

As used by Japanese forces during WW2. Complete with handle and monopod. New.

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Japanese Army Helmet w/ Net

WW2 Steel helmet complete with suspension, chin strap, and helmet net as used by Japanese forces during WW2. Excellent quality and perhaps even better than the original. New made. **$54.95** HLM038

Napoleonic Flag

Represented the personal guard of Napoleon.

Size: 3x5 feet **$34.95** FLAG03

German Imperial WWI Flag

Classic German Imperial Flag that adorned Battleships, Army, and Headquarters installations from the late 1800s through 1918. Befitting that we can offer this classic war flag in 3 x 5 feet cotton 100 years after it flew during the War to End all Wars! **$18.95** FLAG27

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Brass w/metal clapper. Puts out a distinctive clicking sound so that allied troops could communicate to "friendlies". U.S. embossed.

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U.S. Marine Raider and Army Airborne units benefited from this lightweight mortar rushed into action in 1942 which saw use in Europe and Pacific theaters and from Korea through Vietnam. Our non- firing mortar uses the original baseplate and M15 sight assembly blended with our new made tube. Never offered before in the U.S.! Mortar only.

$325.00 MISC397

German M35 Helmet WWII, Afrika Korps

Model 1935 German helmet with rolled edge, metal banded liner with 8 tongue leather liner and leather chinstrap assembly mounted by 3 rivets on the 1.7-1.9mm thick steel shell in German 'Feldgrau' Afrika Korps Tan color. Helmet fits 7-1/4" to 7-5/8" head size (large). New, well made and great for static displays or reenactments. We have purchased the remaining stores of these from 'Kamabee Keep' along with various German helmet decals which we are using to provide one set of helmet decals with each helmet at no charge as long as supplies last. M35 helmet with decal - Sorry, no choice on decals as they are quite limited.

$34.95 HLM058

SOURCE CODE: MHFALL20

U.S. Pineapple Grenade (inert)

Inert cast iron body with inert US GI fuse lends authenticity to this iconic staple of the American serviceman in the last century. Introduced in WW1, the original designed grenade progressed through evolutions to serve in WW2, Korea, and beyond to retirement @1969. A very deadly grenade due to its girth and castellated body which reminded GIs of a Pineapple. Comes with WW2 era, (1943) 'overpaint Yellow' band and O.D. green body.

$16.50 ea, 3 for $39.99 AM026

(Some States may have restrictions on ownership of INERT grenades. Check your local & State laws)

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1. **GLADIATOR HELMET OF ANCIENT ROME**
Steel & Brass helmet with leather liner, chin strap, and solid brass face plate.....$95.00 HLM056

2. **CLASSIC STEEL MEDIEVAL FRENCH VISOR HELMET**
Cross vent, locking visor clip and brass visor chain, this helmet has an aggressive, almost malevolent and baleful appearance.....$49.50 HLM057

3. **TROJAN WAR HELMET**
This Hoplite Hellenic helmet is well-made in steel with horsehair style crest, fabric liner and leather chinstrap. Many versions of this helmet served in warfare between @1200 BC to 100 AD.....$59.95 HLM053
Size – Large U.S. 7.5

4. **MEDIEVEL 11TH-15TH CENTURY GREAT HELM**
Classic helmet of the Teutonic Knights, Knights Templar, and Crusaders in general. Steel helmet with brass accents, liner and chin strap. Large size, well-made riveted construction. New $49.95 HLM050
SET OF 4 ABOVE HELMETS..... $195.00 HLM060

5. **DUKE OF BURGUNDY SUIT OF ARMOR WITH SWORD**
Full sized, steel set of Medieval Armor standing over 80" tall on wood base..... $750.00 MISC137

This suit of armor has a $90 shipping fee.

Japanese Rising Sun Flag

Cotton 3 x 5 feet with loop on top and cord on bottom like the original WW2 flags. Originally adopted by the Army, but later dominated for use by the Japanese Navy.

$18.00 FLAG12

Vietnam Advisor's Bush Hat, US Military

Manufactured in the traditional labor intensive circular weave pattern for strength as used with the French Foreign Legion Bush Hat. Highly coveted during the war and almost impossible to find large sizes today! Perfect for the ranch, camping, or any rugged adventure where utility is important. Comes with a Saigon facsimile label of the period. Comes in O.D. green.
U.S. Sizes: 7-1/4", 7-1/2", 7-5/8", 7-3/4", 7-7/8" **$34.95** HAT06

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GERMAN MP40 SMG (non-firing)

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$210.00 REP02

French General Officer's Kepi

Truly Museum Quality, metal gold thread embroidery meticulously applied over black and red wool 'form fit' Kepi with leather brim and braided gold chin cord. The peak of French military fashion in the early 20th century! These are of the highest quality and a rare find in the world market. Newly embroidered by a military contractor working with Kamabee Keep. Very limited quantity and only XL size is available. A gorgeous addition to any display or for art décor in your office! Eye catching quality and will get people talking for sure.

$89.95 MISC722

VIKINGS OF DANELAND HELMET

Alfred the Great probably had to fight the 'Northmen' wearing these Scandinavian helmets w/ Chainmail. Substantial strength and weight made these ornate helmets almost impenetrable. We have a dozen or so of these beautiful helmets ready to wear to your next LARP meeting or trip to Valhalla! Steel and brass construction w/ real chainmail.

$95.00 HLM052

British Grenadier Guards Regimental Flag

Whether storming fortress Tangiers, repelling Napoleons Imperial Guard at Waterloo, Crimea, or the Gothic Line, this Regiment has famously made great 'in roads' in the history of warfare. 3 x 5 feet flag with fringe is a beauty for wall display and perfect for any 'Anglophile'! **$25.00** FLAG30

Well made wood and metal replica and has a cocking mechanism that moves back and forth and trigger that allows the bolt forward. Magazine catch also works. Comes with steel 50rd. display drum.

(non-firing) **$249.95** REP01

1928 Thompson Display Gun

MEDIEVAL HELMET BOOKENDS

Unique hardwood bookends stand about 7 inches high and each holds a classic steel medieval helmet which can be swiveled to your desired position. Helmet styles are the European 'Maximillian' helmet and the 'Pig Face Bascinet', both with opening visors and brass accents.

Pair of Medieval Bookends **$29.95** MISC825

REMEMBER THE MOVIES ZULU & ZULU DAWN? HERE IS THE REGIMENTAL FLAG OF THE BRITISH 24TH WARWICKSHIRE REGIMENT

2nd Battalion, 24th Foot Colors with their battle honors is a beautiful tribute to their sacrifices from clashing with Napoleon at Talavera, charnel conflagration at Chillianwallah, and the truly legendary stand of their unit at Rorkes Drift , South Africa where against all odds and with stellar leadership, a Company of the 24th defended against an attack by over 4,000 Zulu warriors. A beautiful wall hanger. Size 53" x 33". 2 grommets for use on pole. **$29.95** FLAG32

German Balkenkreuz 'Vehicle Cross' Flag

Adopted emblem from WWI that found greater prominence during the WW2 where it was painted on hulls and as a 'Flag' applied to the top of the engine compartment to allow visual recognition by the Luftwaffe pilots, primarily in the Eastern campaign. All cotton, size 3 x 5 feet with loop and bottom draw cord. **$18.95** FLAG21

MILITARY HERITAGE

Fall 2020

FEATURES

COLUMNS

Cover: A soldier of the 2nd Wisconsin Volunteers, part of the Union Army's Iron Brigade, at the Battle of Antietam, September 17,1862. Painting by Don Troiani, © 2020.

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EDITORIAL

MEDAL OF HONOR REFLECTS AMERICA'S DIVERSE ETHNIC HERITAGE

We tell the story of how Sergeant Roger Donlon earned the Congressional Medal of Honor in this issue. He was the first participant in the Vietnam War to receive the medal. This occurred while he led Special Forces Team A-726 during a surprise Viet Cong attack on the remote Nam Dong camp on the Laotian border on Saturday, July 4, 1964.

The sagas of other "first" recipients in major conflicts from the American Civil War to the War in Afghanistan are fascinating, gripping, and compelling. A few of these are the first and only woman to receive the Medal of Honor, the first African American to perform an action that merited the medal, and the first Hispanic American to receive it.

A native of Oswego, New York, Mary Edwards Walker served as a civilian-contract surgeon at the Battles of First Bull Run, Chattanooga, and Atlanta. She was held as a prisoner of war for four months in Richmond in 1864. President Andrew Johnson personally awarded her the Medal of Honor. The award was revoked in 1916 on the grounds that she had not been an officer or enlisted man in combat, but the Army restored it in 1977. Of the award, Walker said she believed she had received it because she had braved enemy territory to care for suffering soldiers and civilians at the risk of being imprisoned.

The first Hispanic American to receive the Medal of Honor was Joseph H. De Castro, who served in the 19th Massachusetts Infantry of his home state. He carried the state flag for his regiment at Cemetery Ridge during Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg. As the Rebels made their attack, De Castro "knocked down a color bearer in the enemy's line with the staff of the Massachusetts State colors," stated an eyewitness Union general. In so doing, De Castro captured the flag of the 19th Virginia.

The first and only Hispanic American to receive a Medal of Honor in the War in Afghanistan was then-Staff Sergeant Leroy Petry of Santa Fe. A member of the Army's 75th Rangers, he was assigned to a seven-man team to capture a Taliban target in a daylight raid in eastern Afghanistan on May 26, 2008. Petry and his team members came under a hail of automatic-weapons fire and grenades. At one point, Petry picked up a hand grenade in order to throw it back at the enemy. He lost his hand when the grenade detonated. "His gallant act undeniably saved his fellow Rangers from being severely wounded or killed," states his medal citation.

William H. Carney was the first African American to perform an action that merited the Medal of Honor. The former slave from Norfolk, Virginia, was serving as a sergeant in the renowned 54th Massachusetts during the Second Battle of Fort Wagner in July 1863 when he picked up his unit's fallen colors, planted them on the parapet of the fort, and retrieved them when his unit was driven back. During the fierce struggle, he was twice wounded.

Sergeant Cornelius H. Charlton was the first African American to receive the medal in the Korean War. A soldier in the 24th Infantry Regiment, he assumed command of his platoon after its commander was injured during an assault on Chinese forces at Hill 543 near Chipo-ri. Charlton led his platoon in three desperate assaults. Although wounded in the chest, he spearheaded the final attack, during which he was killed. "Observing that the remaining emplacement which had retarded the advance was situated on the reverse slope, he charged it alone, was again hit by a grenade but raked the position with a devastating fire which eliminated it and routed the defenders," reads his citation.

We plan to continue covering Medal of Honor recipients in future issues in our new valor column.

—William E. Welsh

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WARFAREHISTORY NETWORK

UNIFORM HUSSITE PEASANT OF THE 15TH CENTURY

By William E. Welsh

KETTLE HAT: The broad-brimmed iron kettle hat was the typical helmet of nearly all German and Czech foot soldiers in the late medieval period. The crown might be rounded or angular, coming to a point or ridge. Some helmets extended down to the nose and had eye openings.

MAIL COIF: This costly item was likely battlefield booty from a fallen crusader knight or sergeant. Early victories enabled the Hussites to gather equipment and weapons from their wealthier and better-armored foes.

JERKIN: The quilted jerkin, or gambeson, was used by peasant militia throughout Western Europe. It was thickly padded to absorb blows from hand weapons during melee combat.

FLAIL: Hussite peasants converted their crop threshers into pole weapons known as flails. A short length of chain attached the club-like head to the shaft, and swinging the shaft transferred great velocity to the head. Nails were frequently driven into the head, or the owner would replace the existing head with an iron-banded one.

PAVISE: Hussite foot soldiers used these rectangular wooden shields in defensive fighting. They were occasionally covered in leather, and provided good protection against enemy arrows and crossbow bolts. Soldiers were often detailed to use their pavises to protect archers and crossbowmen during battle.

SWORD: Foot soldiers carried swords or daggers as sidearms to be used as secondary weapons or to quickly and efficiently dispatch a fallen knight. One inexpensive type of sword was the single-edged falchion.

Alamy

The 15-year-long Hussite War erupted in Bohemia in 1419 between the followers of martyred Czech theologian Jan Hus and the Roman Catholic Church. Pope Martin V proclaimed a crusade against the alleged heretical Hussites.

The Holy Roman Empire, Germanic nobles, and Catholic Bohemians fought on behalf of Rome.

Hussite captain Jan Zizka engineered a string of impressive victories against the Catholic crusaders. He employed wagonbergs in battle as a way to offset the numerical advantage enjoyed by the crusaders.

Crossbowmen (and later handgunners) deployed inside the wagons and fired their weapons through loopholes. Peasant foot soldiers armed with halberds and flails fought in the space between the wagons to prevent attackers from breaching the perimeter.

Zizka's successor Prokop the Bald carried the war into Silesia, Saxony, and Franconia in order to devastate the lands of the Germanic lords who crusaded against the Hussites.

A civil war arose late in the conflict between the radical Taborite and moderate Utraquist factions of the Hussites. Prokop, who was a Taborite, died in the Battle of Lipany in 1434 when a Catholic-Utraquist army prevailed over the Taborites.

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THE M18 HELLCAT TANK DESTROYER SACRIFICED ARMOR PROTECTION FOR SPEED AND FIREPOWER AND ULTIMATELY CAME UP SHORT AGAINST THE GERMAN TANKS PRODUCED LATE IN THE WAR.

By William F. Floyd Jr.

Alamy

World War II reenactors in southern England operate a restored M18 Hellcat. The success of the tank destroyer in combat often owed as much to the crew's ingenuity as it did the vehicle's combat capabilities.

IN 1940, existing U.S. Army tactical doctrine called for a cordon of towed antitank guns to defend against an enemy tank attack, but army planners studying the Battle of France in May of that year realized that a tactical plan of that nature was outdated and likely would not thwart a large-scale armor attack. One of the principal concerns was that infantry lacking reliable antitank capabilities would likely panic when confronted with enemy armor bearing down on it in large numbers.

Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall subsequently tasked his subordinates in April 1941 with developing a plan for using specialized mobile antitank units to counter massed armor attacks. Marshall believed that the special formations would be able to rapidly move forward to prevent a breach by enemy armor attempting a blitzkrieg attack.

Marshall appointed Lt. Col. Andrew D. Bruce of the planning branch of the War Department's G-3 office to establish the mobile antitank force. That month, the U.S. Army Ordnance Department issued an immediate requirement for a tank destroyer mounting a 37mm gun. The Army subsequently approved the development of the M6 37mm gun-motor carriage (GMC) and the M3 75mm GMC. The former mounted a 37mm gun that fired over the rear of a standard three-quarter-ton truck, while the latter mounted a World War I-era French 75mm gun firing over the front of an M3 half-track. The M3 75mm GMC was the first design fielded, and the Army began using it in war games shortly after it was delivered in October. At that time, the Army changed the phraseology from "antitank" to "tank destroyer" based on the change in tactical doctrine.

Bruce, however, was unsatisfied with these concepts. He envisioned a tracked vehicle that would be faster and mount a gun more powerful than those found on enemy tanks. Bruce believed this could be achieved by deliberately outfitting such a vehicle with very light armor in order not to impede its speed. Not long after the United States declared war on Japan and Germany in December 1941, the Army put out a requirement in early 1942 for what would become the M18 tank destroyer.

Production of the M18 went to the Buick

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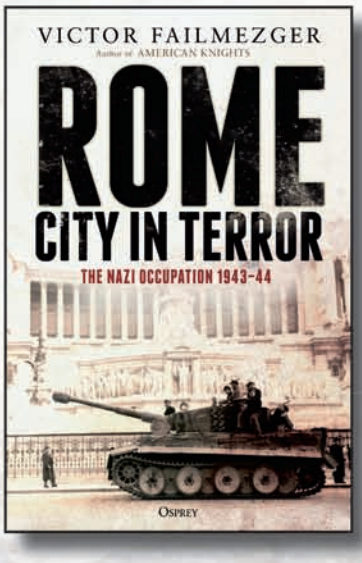

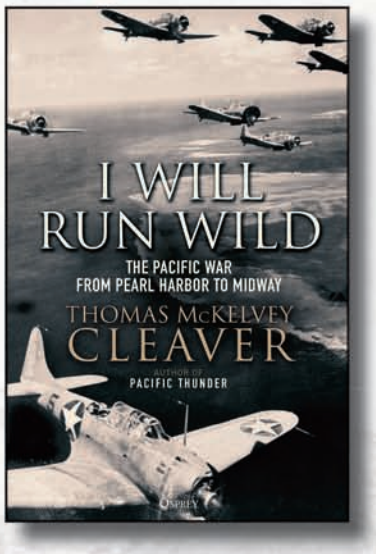

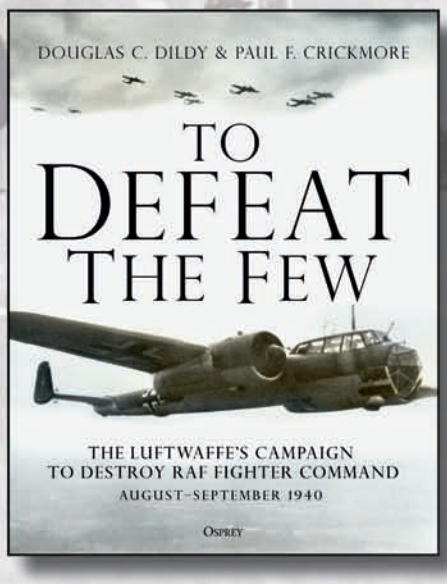

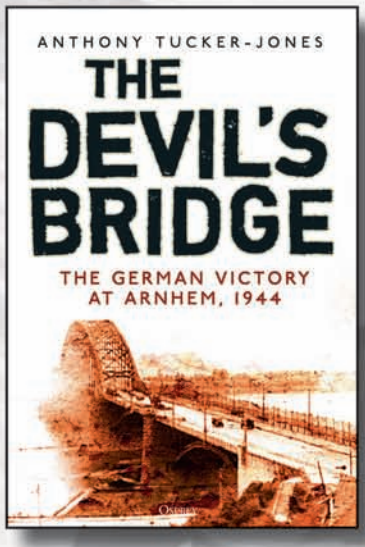

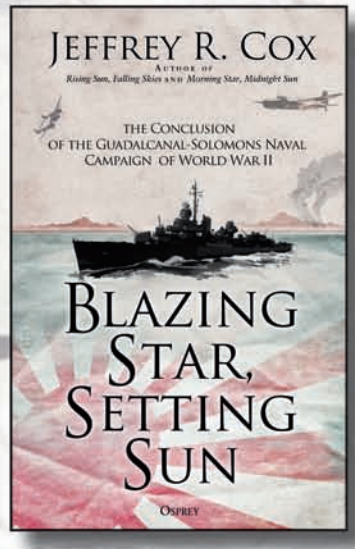

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ABOVE: One of the major drawbacks of the open-turret M18 was that its 76 mm gun was little better than the 3-inch gun of the M10. Moreover, many tank destroyer crews preferred the configuration of the M10's fighting compartment. BELOW: M18 Hellcat crews, such as this one the Ardennes in December 1944, reported that their vehicles could go hundreds of miles under trying conditions without requiring major repairs to the armaments or the engine.

Motor Division of General Motors. The publicity department at Buick introduced the stirring name of Hellcat for the tank destroyer.

The initial requirement for M18 tank destroyers in November 1943 was 1,000 units. When Buick finished these in January 1944, the Army awarded a second contract for 1,800 more. Buick would eventually build 2,507 M18s during World War II.

The U.S. Army Tank Destroyer Center requested significant modifications after trials performed with the vehicles. One of the more nagging design problems concerned the shock absorbers. This was corrected with reconfigured, heavy-duty shock absorbers.

The Army's Tank Destroyer Center shipped two trial models to the 601st Tank Destroyer Battalion. It also shipped three of the models to the 894th battalion at the Anzio beachhead. After inspecting the new tank destroyers, the 894th battalion decided not to deploy them for fear that their weak armor would make them too vulnerable in head-to-head combat with German armored vehicles. They were deployed instead in the battalion's reconnaissance company.

The evaluation of field reports from the tank-destroyer battalions in fall 1944 led to additional official request for improvements to the M18, with special attention paid to turret covers, co-axial machine guns, muzzle breaks, and still-heavier shock absorbers. Other improvements were increased ammunition storage, decreased ground pressure, and an improved travel lock. Many of these improvements were not incorporated into the design until late 1944, during the final production run. The final production version of the M18 also had a wider, 21-inch track configuration.

The Army continued to have genuine concerns about the lack of armor protection on the M18, despite the initial concept of a lightly armored tracked vehicle capable of higher speeds than tanks. It concluded in August 1944 that supplementary armor that would add one ton to the vehicle's weight would not adversely influence its speed and mobility. A kit was designed which would add armor over the turret; however, no immediate action was taken to retrofit the vehicles already in service.

At the time of the D-Day landings on June 6, 1944, there were only 30 tank-destroyer battalions in England. The M18 battalions were first committed in battle in late July, when Lt. Gen. George Patton's U.S. Third Army joined Operation Cobra. Patton's objective was to exploit the gap in German lines created by Lt. Gen. Courtney Hodges' First Army.

During their first month of combat, the M18s saw very little fighting, and they were mostly used in roles for which they had not been intended. For example, they were used to protect motorized supply columns and to furnish direct-fire support to infantry units.

The first major action in which the M18 tank destroyers were used for their intended purpose occurred in the middle of September 1944, when the 4th Armored Division, which was spearheading Patton's advance through the Lorraine region of eastern France towards the Saar River, encountered the powerful German Mark V Panzer tank. The Americans quickly learned that the M18 could not knock out a Panzer from long range with its 76mm gun because of the Panzer's substantial armor. To destroy a Panzer, the M18 had to close to within 300 yards or less in order to penetrate the Panzer's mantlet (the armor plate attached to the Panzer's 75mm gun).

In September 1944, the tank-destroyer units encountered a number of Panzer battle groups in combat. At the end of these encounters, the M18s were credited with destroying 39 Panzers, while losing only four M18s.

Early feedback from crews using the vehicle in combat indicated that it could go hundreds of miles under trying conditions without requiring major repairs either to the armaments or the engine. Crews reported only having to perform minimal maintenance on the vehicle's moving parts.

One of the most oft-voiced complaints about the M18 concerned the configuration of its .50-caliber machine gun. The machine gun was mounted on the M18 in such a way that the vehicle commander had to expose himself to enemy

small-arms fire and shell fragmentation to operate it. Many tank commanders were wounded or killed because of this inadequate protection.

Relatively few M18 Hellcats had been deployed in the European Theater of Operations through the fall of 1944. By October, there were five battalions. In December, there were still only nine. The slow growth of the M18 units was due to their problems with firepower: The 76mm gun on the M18 was no better in antitank combat than the 3-inch gun on the M10 tank destroyer. Indeed, many crews preferred the M10 because of its better configuration and the superior functionality of its fighting compartment.

Crews of the M18 still had a high regard for some of the design features of their tank destroyers. They spoke favorably of its turret system, larger access door, and features that enabled easier repair of the engine. What's more, the crews liked the M18's light weight and its ability to traverse mud and snow compared with the heavier M10.

The inadequacy of the 76mm main gun against the German Panzer would lead to urgent requests for better antitank ammunition. Ordnance had been working on a new class of high-velocity armor-piercing ammunition since 1943. In this new type of round, the outer shell was peeled away on impact, and the smaller tungsten carbide core penetrated the armor. Performance tests against Panzer-strength armor plate revealed that this HVAP round was superior to the standard M62 APC round. The main problem with this type of ordnance was the scarcity of tungsten, a critical war material that was in very short supply. The first distribution of the improved ammunition occurred on September 11, 1944. Tank and tank-destroyer crews had a high regard for the new ammunition, but it was never available in adequate quantities during the war.

The German offensive in the Ardennes region that began on December 16, 1944, put the tank destroyers to a major test. The 705th Tank Destroyer Battalion, attached to the 101st Airborne Division, went toe-to-toe with German panzers during the defense of Bastogne. It faced a major battle on December 25 against German reinforcements making a desperate bid to seize the town. A group of 15 Panzer Mark IVs with grenadiers riding on them penetrated the defenses of the 327th Glider Infantry, but was it wiped out by the M18s and paratrooper bazooka fire. Intense fighting around Bastogne on Christmas included a number of encounters with German Panzer tanks. By the end of the day, the M18 battalion had knocked out 27 panzers at the cost of just six M18s.

By early April 1945, 12 tank-destroyer battalions in the 12th Army Group were using the M18, which continued in operation until the end of the war. In the Pacific Theatre of Operations, there

Both: National Archives

ABOVE: A heavily camouflaged M18 in Italy. To deal with the heavy armor of German panzers, Hellcat crews requested and received improved high-velocity, armor-piercing shells for their 76mm main guns. BELOW: An M18 crew in action on Okinawa in May 1945. Because the Japanese infantry were quick to take advantage of the vulnerability of the vehicle's crew in an open turret, the tank destroyers received substantial infantry protection.

was far less demand for tank-destroyer battalions. The main reason for this was that the Japanese tank threat was far less significant than the German tank threat in Europe. In addition, the M18's inadequate armor limited its capability to perform other functions within the Pacific Theater. The tank destroyers were not well-received by their operators in the Pacific because the open turret exposed them to Japanese infantry attacks. As a result, tank-destroyer tactics in the Pacific involved stand-off combat, in which infantry protection compensated for the vehicle's vulnerability.

The first unit that included the M18 in the Pacific was the 637th Tank Destroyer Battalion. This unit first went into combat in January 1945 in the Philippines, taking part in operations on Luzon. They would also see action in the fighting

Continued on page 98

VALOR

ROGER H.C. DONLON SKILLFULLY DIRECTED THE DEFENSE OF THE NAM DONG SPECIAL FORCES CAMP ON THE LAOTIAN BORDER WHEN TWO VIET CONG BATTALIONS ATTACKED IN 1964.

By William E. Welsh

Alamy

U.S. Army

LEFT: Green Beret advisors train South Vietnamese troops in the use of their automatic rifles. The incompetence of the South Vietnamese troops made it imperative for U.S. Army Special Forces soldiers to take an active leadership role in combat. RIGHT: "Get everyone buttoned up tight," Captain Roger Donlon told his team sergeant on the eve of the attack.

Special Forces Team A-726 had been out on patrol far from the unit's camp at Nam Dong on the night of Friday, July 3, 1964, when radiomen back at the A team camp received an ominous warning from the field. "The villagers are scared and they won't tell me or my interpreters why," said Sergeant Michael Disser.

Another warning of the threat of Viet Cong attack, which now hung thick as morning mist in the jungle, came from Sergeant Terry Terrin on his return on Saturday from a three-day patrol. He reported that two village chiefs in the valley where the camp was situated had been found murdered by the communists.

Captain Roger Donlon, the lanky 30-year-old commander of the A team, told his team sergeant to put his men on high alert that night. "Get everyone buttoned up tight tonight, Pop. The VC are coming. I can feel it. I want everyone ready," Donlon told Master Sergeant Gabriel "Pop" Alamo in a flash of intuition.

"All hell is going to break loose here before the night is over," Staff Sergeant Merwin Woods, who shared Donlon's sense of foreboding, wrote in a letter to his wife on Saturday, July 4, just before the attack began.

Luckily, the Americans were not alone in defending the sprawling camp that lay 34 miles northwest of Da Nang in Thua Thien Province in northern South Vietnam. Donlon's 11-man team, along with attached Australian Warrant Officer Kevin Conway and 60 ethnic Chinese Nung mercenaries, held the inner core of the camp. An outer ring of the camp was held by 311 South Vietnamese soldiers of Strike Force 122 of the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN).

The Nam Dong camp was situated in a valley just a few miles from the Laotian border that was home to nine villages totaling 5,000 residents. The Americans and South Vietnamese had established the camp to protect the villagers from communist depredations.

Donlon, a native of Saugerties, New York, had struggled to find his niche in life after graduating high school. He finally hit his stride when he

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ABOVE: Donlon surveys the Nam Dong camp two months after the Viet Cong attack. The light fortifications and minimal obstacles of early-war Special Forces camps made them vulnerable to being overrun by Viet Cong possessing heavy weapons that arrived by the Ho Chi Minh Trail. BELOW: Whether operating in the Mekong Delta or Central Highlands, the Viet Cong were masters of stealth and guerilla warfare. Sappers cut avenues through the camp's obstacles for assault teams.

enlisted in the U.S. Army in 1958 and entered the Infantry Officer Candidate School at Fort Benning, Georgia, from which he graduated as a second lieutenant. He later completed training at the demanding Special Warfare School at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, in September 1963. He shipped out for South Vietnam as a member of the Green Berets the following spring.

Although the formal rules of engagement governing what Special Forces teams could do in South Vietnam at the time restricted them to giving military advice and forbade them from leading troops in combat or even firing their weapons unless fired upon, the actual situation on the ground was dramatically different.

The pervasive cowardice and general incompetence of ARVN soldiers and officers made it imperative for Special Forces officers and NCOs to take an active leadership role in combat. Indeed, when left to their own devices, even supposedly elite ARVN forces were easily routed by the fanatical Viet Cong.

The attack on the Nam Dong camp began in the early hours of July 5, as many attacks would during the Vietnam War: with the crump of an enemy mortar signaling the onset of an assault.

Donlon was just about to enter the mess hall when the first incoming round exploded inside it, creating a brilliant white flash. "The VC mortars were zeroed in on us," Donlon said afterwards. The first mortar shell the enemy fired was a white phosphorous round that exploded with myriads of "different-colored flames shooting out of it," recalled Woods.

Looking at his watch, Donlon noted that it read 2:26 AM. He rushed into his command post as his team members and the Nungs sprang into action and began returning fire, engaging the enemy with a recoilless rifle, mortars, machine guns, automatic weapons, and hand grenades.

Some of the Americans scrambled to put out the fires as mortar shells exploded throughout both parts of the camp. The Viet Cong scored multiple hits on the camp's command post, so Donlon and Alamo had to pick up the weapons and ammunition stored in the CP and carry them outside.

Although Donlon made it out of the command post before it was totally obliterated, Alamo was not so fortunate; he was badly burned when a section of the burning shack collapsed on top of him.

Disser fired illumination rounds from his mortar, and the Special Forces troops looked out in awe at the perimeter, where they saw literally hundreds of enemy soldiers. Donlon would later learn that the camp was under attack by more than 900 enemy troops in two reinforced battalions. "[It was] the most frightening sight in my life," he said.

After dragging the weapons out of the command post, Donlon was running with his AR-15 rifle to come to the aid of his men when a mortar round slammed into the ground next to him. The explosion hurtled him through the air, peppering him with shrapnel wounds and stripping him of his ammo belt and one boot.

Donlon jumped into Woods' fighting hole, but almost immediately shifted to the mortar pit occupied by Disser. When he spotted several VC inside the perimeter wire near the camp's main gate, he ordered Disser to fire an illumination round. "I squeezed off a half-dozen rounds," he said. "Two of the VC slumped [to the ground]. The third started crawling into the grass. I threw a grenade and he stopped."

The survivors of the A team would later realize that the three dead VC were sappers armed with satchel charges, intending to detonate the camp's ammunition bunkers and knock out the gun pits.

Donlon realized at that time that he had been shot in the stomach. "Somewhere along the line, I had been hit," he said. "My left forearm was bleeding, and there was a shrapnel wound about the size of a quarter in my stomach. It was belt-high on the left side, and it was bleeding."

Refusing medical assistance for himself, Donlon told his medic to focus instead on patching up

his fellow Green Berets. He then asked his communications specialist, Staff Sergeant Keith Daniels, whether he had requested air support. Daniels had indeed done so, specifically requesting a flare ship to provide better illumination.

True to form, ARVN Strike Force 122 had completely folded during the first wave of the attack. This made it all the more important to keep the Nungs in the fight. Encountering four wounded Nungs, Donlon personally patched them up with bandages and tourniquets and urged them to go back into action. "Come on, you fellows are going to be all right," he told them, as he handed them their weapons. "You can still fight."

Manning a defensive position in a sandbagged bunker alongside the wounded Alamo was the team's executive officer, Lieutenant Jay Olejniczak, who was armed with the highly effective M-79 grenade launcher. Olejniczak dropped rounds in a rapid-fire fashion among VC who were 30 yards away near the ammunition bunkers.

Casualties among the defenders of the inner camp were steadily mounting. Warrant Officer Kevin Conway was fatally wounded when he was shot between the eyes early in the battle. Another mortar round soon exploded next to Donlon, inflicting grievous shrapnel wounds to his left leg.

By this time, the VC were clustered in groups of 10 to 15 men and trying to breach the barbed-wire perimeter of the inner camp. In a desperate attempt to stop the Americans and Nungs from cutting them down with automatic-weapons fire, the VC began hurling dozens of grenades into the inner camp. The situation grew increasingly desperate for the A team. Alamo had been struck by enemy fire in the left shoulder and just below the eye. Olejniczak had been hit in the legs, shoulders, and back.

National Archives

President Lyndon B. Johnson presents Captain Donlon with the Congressional Medal of Honor in December 1964. Donlon showed "dynamic leadership" in the successful defense of the camp, stated the citation.

Realizing the mortar pit was about to be overrun, Donlon ordered those who could walk to relocate to a safer position. Donlon draped one of Alamo's arms around his shoulder and tried to carry him to safety.

"I was in about a half-standing position when a tremendous blast went off in my face," he said. A mortar round had stunned him and sent shrapnel into his left shoulder. Looking down into the mortar pit, he saw that Alamo had not survived the blast. Donlon grabbed the 60mm mortar and carried it to where the other wounded were firing into clusters of enemy soldiers.

As the fighting continued unabated, Donlon crawled around and retrieved heavy weapons from gun pits that had either been abandoned or in which the crews had all been slain. While under enemy fire, he retrieved both a 60mm mortar and a 57mm recoilless rifle. He ensured that the mortars remained in action and directed their fire. Although severely wounded, he crawled 175 meters to an 81mm mortar position, where he directed its fire to prevent more enemy soldiers

Continued on page 98

KING PEPIN THE SHORT EXPANDED FRANKISH POWER IN THE 8TH CENTURY AND EMBARKED ON MILITARY CAMPAIGNS THAT LAID THE GROUNDWORK FOR HIS SON CHARLEMAGNE'S CONQUESTS.

By William E. Welsh

Alamy

Pepin the Short conducted two seperate military expeditions to Italy to remove the threat to the Papacy posed by Lombard King Aistulf. INSET: King Pepin was a master of tactics, siegecraft, and logistics.

An event of great significance in early medieval Europe occurred in 753, when newly ensconced Pope Stephen II decided to journey north to Metz to confer with Frankish King Pepin III (known as "The Short"). Although previous popes had traveled east, none had ever journeyed into what the Italians regarded as the hinterlands of northern Gaul.

The reason for the pope's journey was the dire threat that the Lombards posed to Rome. At the urging of Byzantine Emperor Constantine V, Stephen had first gone to Pavia to reason in person with Lombard King Aistulf regarding his aggressive moves against Rome, as well as his conquests in the Byzantine exarchate of Ravenna.

After reaching an impasse, the pope and his curia then set out for Francia. They crossed the Great Bernard Pass through the Alps, arriving

Joint Pain Injection Companies Panic Over Breakthrough New Pill

Studies show new $2 pill relieves joint pain in 7 days without costly injections. Approved by top doctors nationwide. Relieves joint stiffness. Increases joint mobility and freedom.

By J.K. Roberts

Interactive News Media

INM — More than 40 million Americans suffering crippling joint pain are set to benefit from a newly patented breakthrough called FlexJointPlus.

Scientists have uncovered a way to tackle the most common cause of chronic pain in the country in what has been billed the first blockbuster since the discovery of penicillin.

This new needle-less breakthrough has the potential to delay or eliminate the need for 175,000 joint pain injections annually.

Patients who have trialed the patented new breakthrough found in FlexJointPlus have reported a huge reduction in pain and a new lease on life.

Sufferers currently rely on prescription drugs or costly injections, which have dangerous side effects.

But Upstate New York senior Paul Sansbury says his knee pain has gone from 8 out of 10 to zero after just 7 days, and no longer needs a cane.

"I needed a left knee replacement, but since using FlexJointPlus, I have less pain. I can walk...I feel much comfort...and I ditched my cane. I am 82 years old," he says.

WHAT SCIENTISTS DISCOVERED

FlexJointPlus contains an amazing compound with a known ability to rebuild damaged cartilage and ligaments associated with joint pain.

This compound is not a drug. It is the active ingredient in FlexJointPlus.

Studies show it naturally reduces inflammation while repairing bone and cartilage in the joint.

Many joint pain sufferers see an increase in flexibility and mobility. Others are able to get back to doing the things they love.

"My left hip joint was so stiff and painful I could barely get to sleep at night," says Amanda Johnson of Chatham, ON. "but since using FlexJointPlus my pain and stiffness has been relieved, and I am now able to get a good night's rest again."

X-RAYS PROVE IT WORKS

BEFORE: Bone on bone knee pain caused by damaged joint cartilage.

AFTER: FlexJointPlus' active ingredient rebuilds healthy cartilage in the joint.

With so much positive feedback, it's easy to see why sales for this newly approved joint pain pill continue to climb every day.

IMPRESSIVE BENEFITS FOR JOINT PAIN SUFFERERS

The 8 week clinical study was carried out by scientists across six different clinic sites in Germany. The results were published in the Journal of Arthritis in July 2014.

The study involved patients with a variety of joint pain conditions associated with osteoarthritis. They were not instructed to change their daily routines. They were only told to take FlexJointPlus' active ingredient every day.

The results were incredible.

Taking FlexJointPlus' active ingredient just once daily significantly reduced both joint pain and stiffness compared to placebo at 7, 30, and 60 days.

In fact, many patients experienced greater than 50% reduction in pain and stiffness at 60 days.

They also enjoyed an improvement in stiffness when first getting out of the bed in the morning, and an improvement in pain when doing light household chores.

With these studies medical doctors and researchers have now proven FlexJointPlus to be a clinically effective treatment for reducing pain and stiffness associated with joint and connective tissue disorders, especially osteoarthritis.

The findings are impressive, no doubt, but results will vary.

But with results like these it's easy to see why thousands of callers are jamming the phone lines trying to get their hands on FlexJointPlus.

HOW IT REBUILDS DAMAGED JOINTS

Scientists have discovered that after the age of 40 the body is no longer able to efficiently repair bone and cartilage in the joint. This results in deterioration and inflammation in the joint, leading to pain.

The natural compound found in FlexJointPlus contains the necessary ingredients needed for the body to rebuild damaged bone and cartilage.

This compound is known as 'NEM'®.

"Essentially, it contains the same elements found in your joints, which are needed to repair and rebuild cartilage and ligaments," explains Chief Researcher, Roger Lewis.

There also have been no adverse side effects reported with the use of NEM®.

This is a bonus for arthritis sufferers who have been taking prescription and over the counter medications that can cause severe gastric irritation over time, like NSAIDs.

Elaine Williams prepares for what she hopes will be her last knee injection thanks to a recent breakthrough in joint pain relief. Participants in clinical studies reported noticeable results in just days.

This seems to be another reason why FlexJointPlus' release has triggered such a frenzy of sales.

RECOMMENDED BY U.S. MEDICAL DOCTORS

"Based on my 20 years of experience treating people with osteoarthritis, FlexJointPlus receives my highest recommendation to any person suffering from joint pain and stiffness," said Dr. David Vallance, Rheumatologist from Ann Arbor, MI.

"One of my patients taking FlexJointPlus has reported a significant decrease in pain when going up or down stairs, sitting with legs bent for an extended period of time, and even getting up from a seated position," said Dr. Richard Gibson, chiropractor from Windsor, ON.

"I use FlexJointPlus everyday for my stiff and aching joints. I also have my wife and daughter taking it regularly as well," said Dr. Oozer, G.P. from Lasalle, CA.

MILITARY HERITAGE READERS GET SPECIAL DISCOUNT SUPPLY

This is the official release of FlexJointPlus and so for a limited time, the company is offering a special discount supply to our readers. An Order Hotline has been set up for our readers to call, but don't wait. The special offer will not last forever. All you have to do is call TOLL FREE 1-800-921-1807. The company will do the rest.

IMPORTANT: Due to FlexJoint's recent media exposure, phone lines are often busy. If you call, and do not immediately get through, please be patient and call back. Current supplies of FlexJoint are limited. So consumers that don't get through to the order hotline will have to wait until more inventory is available. Call 1-800-921-1807 today!

Pepin liberated Septimania from the Muslims in 759 after four decades of occupation.

before the onset of winter at St. Maurice-in-Valais. Pippin's eldest son, Charles, who would one day become Charlemagne, met them there, and he escorted the pope to Ponthion. Arriving at this destination on January 6, 754, the pope began a series of productive meetings with Pepin.

The Salian Franks had won control of nearly all of Gaul in the early 6th century under the leadership of the third ruler of the Merovingian Dynasty, King Clovis, who succeeded in driving the Visigoths from most of southern Gaul, except for Septimania. His conversion to Catholic Christianity at a time when most of the Germanic rulers were nontrinitarian Arian Christians greatly enhanced his reputation among the elites of Southern Europe. By the late 7th century, however, the Merovingian kings were bankrupt and bereft of royal estates. In contrast to the kings, the mayors of the palace had increased their power substantially, and they had become the *de facto* rulers of the expansive Frankish realm. The mayor of the palace was the top official in the Merovingian royal court; as such, he supervised dukes and counts, presided over the royal court, and commanded the Frankish army.

Mayor of the Palace Charles Martel had fought tirelessly during his lifetime to broaden his authority over Austrasia, as well as the adjoining regions of Neustria, Burgundy, and Aquitaine. The Frankish kings were puppets, and he was the de facto monarch. Indeed, he ruled Francia for many years with no king on the throne at all. Charles won lasting fame for defeating Muslim raiders at Poitiers in 732. In honor of his triumph at Poitiers, Charles received the sobriquet "The Hammer."

Before his death, Charles the Hammer drew up plans to divide his realm among his three sons. His two older sons, Pepin and Carloman, though, decided to disinherit their half-brother Grifo, who was still in his minority—so they locked him away in a monastery. Pepin became the mayor of the palace for Neustria, Aquitaine, and Provence, and Carloman held the same position for Austrasia, Thuringia, and Alemannia. The two brothers ruled during a three-year interregnum, eventually installing a monk on the throne who shared blood with previous Merovingian kings. This individual, who became King Childeric III, was nothing more than a figurehead, as usual.

The two brothers endured constant warfare to maintain the hard-won military and political gains of their father. Rebellions erupted in the duchies on the perimeter of Francia almost immediately on their ascension to power. The dukes of Aquitaine, Bavaria, and Alemannia terminated the agreements which they had made with Charles the Hammer during his reign and forged an alliance against the Frankish brothers. To tamp down the rebellions, Pepin and Carloman conducted both solo and joint campaigns to vanquish the rebellious Frankish vassals.

During his quarter-century reign, Charles the Hammer had succeeded in establishing overlordship over Duke Hunoald of Aquitaine, but the duke attempted to assert his independence immediately upon Charles' death, encouraging his warriors to rebel against the Franks. Pepin and Carloman responded swiftly to the Aquitanian revolt, sending armies to ravage northern Aquitaine in 742. The Franks captured strongholds, imprisoned garrison troops, and amassed large amounts of loot. Afterwards, Carloman invaded Alemanni territory, cornered its army on the Danube River, and forced it to surrender. He then made its leaders acknowledge him as their suzerain.

The following year, the two brothers teamed up again to wage war against the rebellious Duke Odilo of Bavaria, who fought back with an army reinforced with Alemanni, Saxon, and Slav mercenaries. In a pitched battle fought near the Lech River, the Franks inflicted a crushing defeat, after which Carloman executed his prisoners to instill fear in the vanquished Bavarians. To punish the Alemanni for assisting the Bavarians, Carloman installed two Frankish counts to administer their lands. When Duke Hunoald of Aquitaine rebelled again in 745, Pepin defeated his army and forced him to accept Frankish overlordship. Hunoald found the idea of being Pepin's vassal too humiliating to bear and abdicated in favor of his son Waiofar.

Carloman informed Pepin the following year that he wished to retire from military life and become a monk. He departed for Italy in 747 and entered the Benedictine monastery at Monte Cassino. Carloman had requested that Pippin take his adolescent son Drogo under his wing and relinquish Austrasia to him when he reached his majority.

But with Carloman gone, Pepin began plotting to disinherit Drogo and depose Childeric so that Pepin could take the crown of Francia for himself. He realized that to successfully depose Childeric, he would need the support of both the nobility and the Catholic Church in Rome. As for Drogo, when he eventually obtained his majority and demanded his inheritance, Pepin simply locked him away in a monastery.

Pepin had second thoughts about his treatment of his half-brother, Grifo. He freed him in 747 and bestowed upon him a substantial duchy comprising 12 Frankish counties, which would serve as a border march between Neustria and Aquitaine. Grifo, however, was not inclined to serve as a subordinate official in the government of his half-brother Pepin. Setting off with a small group of Frankish followers for Eastphalia, Grifo formed an alliance with Saxon leader Theodoric, one of the many rebellious Frankish vassals.

Pepin soon marched against Grifo and Theodoric in a multi-pronged invasion of Eastphalia. To support his army's thrust into Eastphalia from Thuringia, he arranged for his Frisian and Slavic allies to invade Eastphalia from the north. Pepin and his allies crushed Saxon opposition, while Grifo escaped to Bavaria, where he hoped to ally himself with Duke Odilo. Odilo, however, had recently died, and since Odilo's seven-year-old son Tassilo was too young to rule, Grifo appointed himself the Bavarian regent.

Pepin faced a major crisis with the steady increase of Grifo's power. A small number of disaffected Frankish warriors had joined Grifo in Bavaria, so Pepin invaded it for the sole purpose of driving Grifo from power. Grifo escaped again, this time to Aquitaine, but his luck finally ran out when he was assassinated.

Pepin had first approached the papacy about the matter of taking the crown of Francia for himself in 750, when he'd sent envoys to Rome to discuss the subject with Pope Zacharias. The Pope had responded favorably: "It was better to call him king who had royal power than him who did not," observed Zacharias.

After he disposed of King Childeric, Pepin pre-

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vailed upon the Frankish nobility in 751 to elect him as their new king. Archbishop Boniface of Mainz anointed him in a coronation ceremony held at Soissons, making Pepin the first of the Carolingian kings.

At Ponthion in January 754, Pope Stephen anointed Pepin a second time and designated him and his sons as "patricians of Rome." In return, Pepin agreed to compel the Lombard Aistulf, either by diplomacy or by force, to relinquish his conquests in the exarchate of Ravenna, which the Byzantines themselves were unable to reconquer.

Pepin was reluctant to intervene militarily in Lombardy, as he had no intention of conquering the region. He sent four delegations to try to persuade Aistulf to return the lands he had taken from the Catholic Church. He even offered Aistulf a large sum of money to withdraw from the exarchate of Ravenna. When all of Pepin's diplomatic efforts failed, he assembled 40,000 troops for an invasion of Lombardy.

The Lombards had long ago fortified their frontier to block hostile armies from crossing the key mountain passes. When Aistulf learned of the route by which the Franks were marching, he rushed to Susa in Piedmont to block the Franks. When the Frankish host arrived, he left the protection of his fortifications and attacked Pepin's vanguard as it marched through a defile.

The Franks formed themselves into a phalanx and repulsed the Lombard attack, nearly succeeding in killing Aistulf in the process. The Lombard king withdrew to his heavily fortified capital at Pavia. Pepin invested the town, severing its communications and supply lines with other Lombard towns. Aistulf surrendered after a short siege. As part of the surrender terms, he agreed to return the Byzantine territory that he had taken. Rather than returning these lands to Byzantium, though, Pepin gave them to the Church of Rome.

Not long after Pepin had returned home, Aistulf reneged on his pledge. In January 756, the Lombard king attempted to storm Rome, but its defenses proved too strong. He sent his soldiers to ravage papal lands in Campagna.

Pepin returned to Italy later in the year and successfully besieged both Pavia and Ravenna. Once again, Aistulf capitulated and accepted Pepin's terms. This time, Pepin made him agree to pay a hefty tribute to the Franks. When Aistulf died later that year from a hunting accident, his successor Desiderius reneged on the treaty with the Franks. Pepin, though, believed he had performed his obligation to the papacy, and he refused to make any more expeditions to war-torn Italy.

Pepin spent the last decade of his life campaigning in Aquitaine; his goal was to integrate the duchy into Francia. One of his greatest successes occurred in 762, when he masterminded a brilliant campaign to capture the duke's capital at Bourges. He planned a two-pronged invasion. An army from Austrasia with a lumbering siege train would approach Bourges from the east. To ensure that the Aquitanians did not attack the slow column, Pepin made a feint towards the lower Loire River with his Neustrian army to distract Duke Waiofar. The ruse worked, and the Austrasian army was able to begin investing the heavily fortified town before Waiofar figured out Pepin's actual objective. Pepin then led his Neustrian troops to Bourges to participate in the siege. He had a total of 25,000 troops, which was the equivalent of four Roman legions.

After vanquishing King Aistulf of the Lombards for a second time in 756, King Pepin gave all of the recovered church lands to the Papacy. Aistulf died a short time later in a hunting accident.

The Franks established fortified encampments and siege walls to cut off supplies and reinforcements to the garrison. Pepin arrived at some point early in the siege to take charge of the siege operations. The Franks had developed trebuchets in the 8th century after studying their use by both Muslims and Byzantines, and employing them now, they knocked down parts of the walls of Bourges. In the third month, the Franks fought their way into the town through the breaches their siege engines had made in the walls. Although Pepin suffered significant losses, he captured the town. He permitted most of the surviving garrison troops to depart home, but he forced the Gascons, who were good soldiers, to join his army.

Waiofar decided afterwards not to fight a static defensive battle from his fortified towns, instead undertaking a war of maneuver. This strategy did not work, however, because the Frankish army was simply superior to the Aquitanian army. By 768, Pepin had fought his way to the Gironde River. He had captured numerous towns in northern Aquitaine, the most important of which were Bourbon, Clermont, Limoges, and Thouars. That same year, local troops in the pay of Pepin assassinated Waiofar in the forests of Perigord.

Pepin ruled Francia with the proverbial iron hand. His enemies found him a remorseless and determined foe. He excelled in battle tactics, siegecraft, logistics, and leadership. His victories over the rebellious dukes on the eastern and southern frontiers of Francia, as well as his conquest of Aquitaine, set the stage for his son Charlemagne's wars of conquest in northern and central Italy, Saxony, Carinthia, and the Spanish March south of the Pyrenees. Without Pepin's groundwork, it is unlikely that Charlemagne would have become the emperor of the Romans. □

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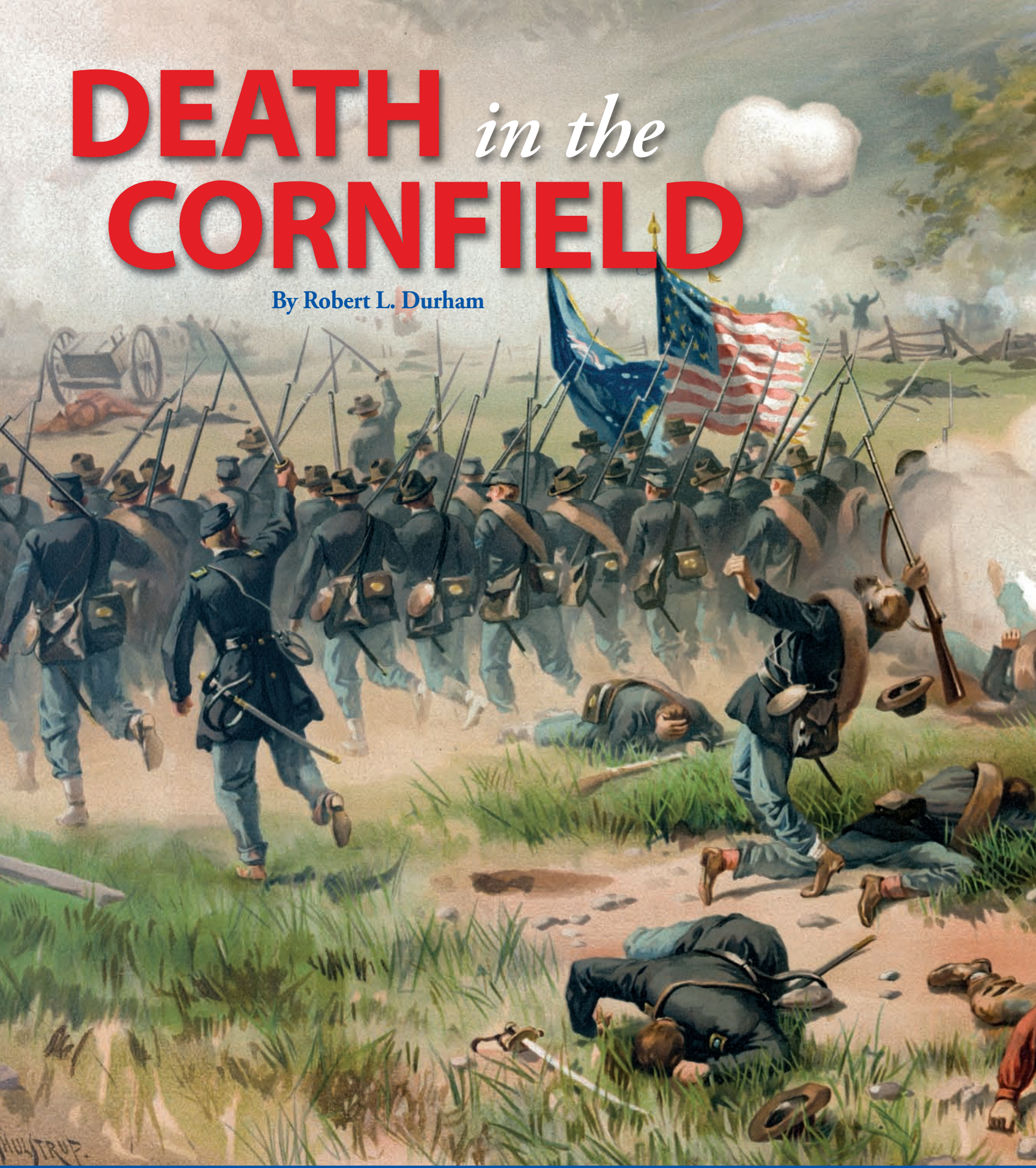
DEATH *in the* CORNFIELD

By Robert L. Durham



The Midwesterners of the Iron Brigade launched one of several Union attacks south along the Hagerstown Turnpike at Antietam. The intent of each thrust was to capture key ground around the white-washed Dunker Church.

The Midwesterners of the newly minted Iron Brigade spearheaded the Union I Corps' attack at Antietam, weathering a fierce Confederate counterattack in D.R. Miller's cornfield.

THE dense formation that constituted the Army of the Potomac's Black Hat Brigade formed up on Joseph Poffenberger's farm at dawn on September 17, 1862. They then dutifully tramped south through the gray mist of the damp morning as the crump of artillery and rattle of musketry increased in intensity in the farm fields and woods along Hagerstown Pike near the whitewashed Dunker Church.

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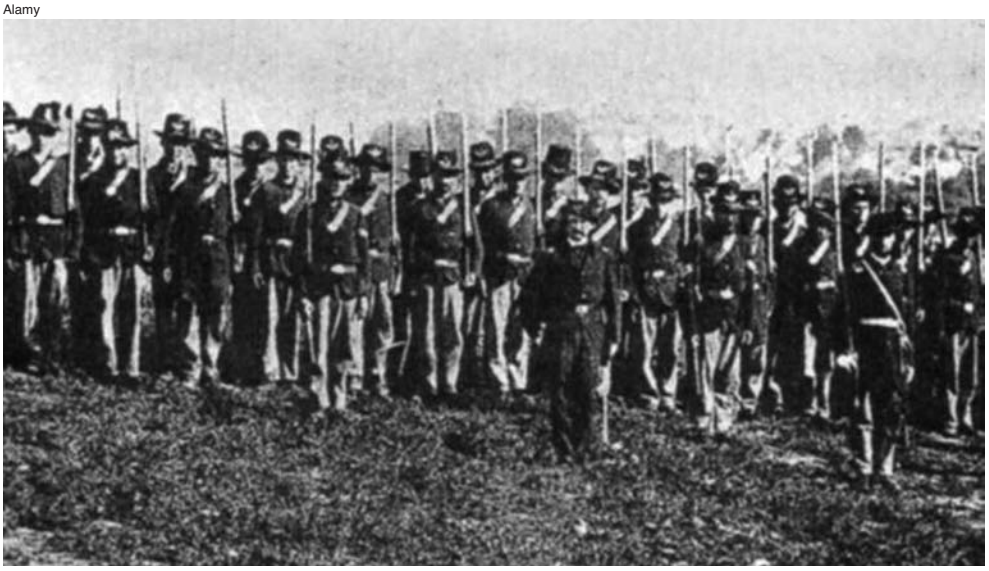
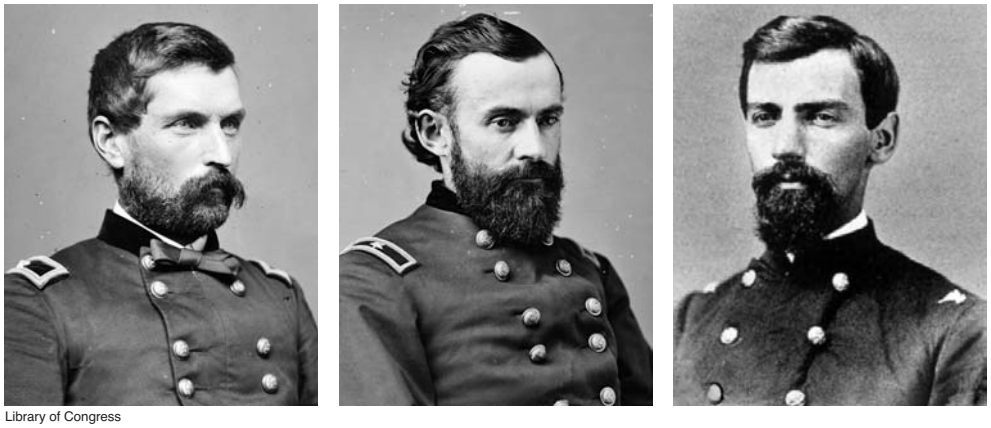


TOP Members of the 7th Wisconsin Infantry Volunteer Regiment proudly wear the black Hardee hats issued to them to create a sense of esprit de corps. BOTTOM Brig. Gen. John Gibbon, Lt. Col. Edward Bragg of the 6th Wisconsin, and Major Rufus Dawes of the 6th Wisconsin.



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"You're in open range of rebel batteries," Brig. Gen. Abner Doubleday informed brigade commander Brig. Gen. John Gibbon as his men prepared to engage the enemy. Confederate shells and case shot exploded on and around them as they advanced. The storm of iron sent men and equipment flying through the air. The horrific experience sorely tested the discipline of the Wisconsin and Indiana troops who made up the brigade, but they had fought admirably at Brawner's Farm and South Mountain, and possessed the grit necessary to withstand the shelling.

The 6th Wisconsin spearheaded the brigade's advance through David R. Miller's farm on the east side of the pike toward his sprawling 30-acre cornfield, led by Lt. Col. Edward Bragg. The mature corn was as tall as the soldiers who would fight their way through it that morning. Rebel skirmishers fell back steadily before the advance of a sea of blue-coated soldiers.

The regiment went into action straddling Hagerstown Pike, with its soldiers fighting on both sides. The companies on the 6th Wisconsin's left cautiously entered the northwest quadrant of the cornfield. A heavy fire erupted from Confederates in the cornfield, as well as in the West Woods. Rebel volleys knocked men down, splintered the fences on both sides of the turnpike, and sheared off stalks of corn. The stouthearted men of the 6th Wisconsin returned the fire, but they needed help.

The storm of Confederate fire directed at the men of the Black Hat Brigade marked the beginning of a long and bloody fight that would eclipse the intensity of their previous battles. The brigade's story remains one of the most compelling sagas of the battle that unfolded in the rolling fields that day around Sharpsburg, Maryland

The four infantry regiments that constituted Gibbon's brigade at Antietam were the 19th Indiana and the 2nd, 6th, and 7th Wisconsin. The regiments had the distinction of being the only units in the Army of the Potomac from the Midwest, except for those from Ohio. Gibbon's four regiments were nicknamed the Black Hat Brigade due to their distinctive tall Hardee hats. In addition to their hats, their dress uniforms consisted of long frock coats, white gaiters, and white gloves. Gibbon, who was a veteran officer of the pre-war U.S. Army, had selected these items for his soldiers because he believed that having a distinctive dress would lay the foundation for developing an *esprit de corps*.

Although the Black Hat Brigade had been activated in Washington, D.C., in October 1861, it did not participate in the Peninsula Campaign of spring 1862. The brigade underwent its baptism of fire while serving in Maj. Gen. John Pope's Army of Virginia during the Battle of Second Manassas. Their first chance to prove their worth came in a bloody affair at Brawner's Farm against Maj. Gen. Thomas Jackson's troops on August 28, 1862. In that two-hour clash, which marked the beginning of the Battle of Second Manassas, the four regiments held their ground despite being heavily outnumbered. Major General Philip Kearny later paid the brigade a great compliment by observing that it was one of the few units that had managed to maintain their cohesion throughout the bungled three-day battle that ended in a Confederate victory.

Shortly after Second Manassas, Maj. Gen. Robert E. Lee led the Army of Northern Virginia into Maryland, pursued by the Army of the Potomac, now commanded by a reinstated Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan, who replaced Pope after the second debacle at Manassas.

Lee's army crossed the Potomac River on September 5 and assembled near Frederick, Maryland. On September 10, Lee issued Special Orders 191 to his generals, outlining a plan for capturing Harper's Ferry, Virginia, which was garrisoned by 10,000 Union troops. The orders split the army into four parts, three of which would concentrate against the Federal arsenal that lay astride Lee's lines of communication into Virginia. The capture of the arsenal was entrusted to Stonewall Jackson. While Jackson's columns besieged Harper's Ferry, Lee and his I Corps commander, Maj. Gen. James Longstreet, would wait at Hagerstown, Maryland, for Jackson to join them once he had captured the isolated Union outpost.

Lee was banking on South Mountain, the extension of the Blue Ridge Mountains in Maryland, to mask his movements. Once his army had reunited, Lee planned to manuever against McClellan's army. To prevent the Federals from making a rapid passage over South Mountain, Lee detached Maj. Gen. D.H. Hill's division to defend Turner's Gap, where the National Road crossed the 2,100-foot mountain. A thin screen of infantry and cavalry defended Crampton's Gap six miles to the south. Hill distributed his five brigades to hold Turner's Gap and nearby Fox's Gap, which he only became aware of during his inspection of the

ground he had to defend.

Unfortunately for Lee, one of his officers dropped a copy of the orders on the ground at a Confederate bivouac at Frederick, Maryland. When the Union army marched through the area, a Union corporal found the orders and forwarded them to McClellan, who received them on September 13. After reviewing the orders, McClellan saw a golden opportunity to destroy the Army of Northern Virginia one section at a time. McClellan gleefully shared the news with Lincoln. "I think Lee has made a gross mistake, and that he will be severely punished for it," wrote McClellan. "I have all of the plans of the Rebels and will catch them in their trap."

The Union Army lumbered west towards South Mountain on September 14. For his assault on South Mountain, McClellan had divided his army into three parts. Major General Ambrose Burnside on the right wing would force Turner's Gap, and Maj. Gen. William Franklin on the left would clear Crampton's Gap, while Maj. Gen. Edwin Sumner would command the Union reserve. Burnside had the I and IX Corps, Franklin had the IV and VI Corps, and Sumner controlled the II, V, and XII Corps.

The soldiers of Gibbon's Black Hat Brigade, which was the 4th Brigade of Brig. Gen. John Hatch's division in Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker's I Corps, went into action at South Mountain on the extreme left of the I Corps line.

Hooker ordered Gibbon to lead his hard-charging Midwesterners straight up the National Road and create a convincing diversionary attack while the bulk of the I Corps struck southward to turn the Confederate north flank. The main force of the I Corps had orders to gain a secondary road that led from the hamlet of Frostown to Hill's headquarters at the Mountain House in the center of the gap. To secure the road, the flanking troops would have to attack up rugged spurs that protruded from the mountain on each side of the defile.

Facing the 1,300 muskets of the Black Hat Brigade was Brig. Gen. Alfred Colquitt's brigade, which was composed of four Georgia regiments and one Alabama regiment. The Midwesterners bided their time for two hours under fire from Confederate cannon posted in the gap while the rest of Hatch's division moved into position for their flank attack.

Hooker ordered Gibbon to advance at 5:00 PM. Gibbon had his regiments in a line astride the pike. North of the National Road, Captain John Callis' 7th Wisconsin led the attack with Bragg's 6th Wisconsin in support, while south of the road, Lt. Col. Alois Bachman's 19th Indiana led the assault with Colonel Lucius Fairchild's 2nd Wisconsin in support. Battery B, 4th U.S. Artillery, Gibbon's old battery in the regular army, unlimbered on the pike and began shelling the Confederates. The Rebels were well concealed in the heavily forested, broken terrain. They held strong positions behind fences, logs, trees, and boulders. It was "an ugly place to attack," noted Lieutenant Frank Haskell of Gibbon's staff.

U.S. Army

The Iron Brigade storms Confederate positions at Turner's Gap in South Mountain three days before the war's bloodiest day at Antietam Creek.

As blue-clad skirmishers engaged their counterparts, Meredith sent a request for the battery to shell Confederate sharpshooters who were picking off his troops from the two-story stone house owned by D. Beachley situated next to the road. When the Yankee gunners sent a shell into the second floor, the Rebels inside hurriedly exited the building.

The two regiments on the south side of the road initially faced the greatest resistance, but that changed when Callis' men emerged from a cornfield and encountered deadly accurate fire from Confederate skirmishers posted behind a stone wall. Rebel skirmishers seemed to be everywhere, and the men of the 7th Wisconsin were soon taking fire from three directions. Nevertheless, they held their ground.

Colquitt held back the bulk of his brigade, relying on skirmishers and open formations to resist the Federal brigade arrayed against him. The men of the Black Hat Brigade pressed forward in the face of well-aimed Confederate fire, but the firing did not deter the determined Midwesterners. "[The men] hurried over the rough and stony field with the utmost zeal," wrote Major Rufus Dawes of the 6th Wisconsin. "There was neither hesitation nor confusion." Bragg did his best to try to turn Colquitt's northern flank. Hill's troops were reinforced at dusk by elements of Longstreet's

corps, which had made a forced march from Hagerstown. The onset of darkness brought an end to the day's fighting, and the Rebels withdrew from South Mountain during the night. The Confederates reassembled on the high ground west of Antietam Creek around from the town of Sharpsburg. Colquitt reported that he suffered 110 killed and wounded, while Gibbon's losses amounted to 37 killed, 251 wounded, and 30 missing.

McClellan had observed though his field glasses the tenacious fighting of Gibbon's Midwestern men. When Hooker arrived to confer with McClellan regarding additional orders, the army commander purportedly asked "Fighting Joe" to identify the troops he had been observing. "[Those are] General Gibbon's brigade of Western men," Hooker replied. "They must be made of iron," said McClellan. "By the Eternal, they are iron! If you had seen them at Bull Run, as I did, you would know them to be iron." Hooker was soon referring to the unit as his Iron Brigade.

That McClellan bestowed the name upon them was mentioned in letters that soldiers of the brigade sent to friends and family back home. "General McClellan has given us the name of the Iron Brigade," wrote Private Hugh Perkins in a letter to a friend date September 24. In addition, correspondents of northern newspapers covering the battle began using the nickname. "[Gibbon's] brigade has done some of the hardest and best fighting in the service," stated an article in the *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*. "It has been justly termed the Iron Brigade of the West."

The brigade, along with the rest of the Union Army, set out for Boonsboro, Maryland, on September 15, where the townsfolk cheered them.

Baptism of Fire at Brawner's Farm

ON August 28, 1862, Union Brig. Gen. John Gibbon's Black Hat Brigade received its baptism of fire in a clash with troops commanded by Confederate General Stonewall Jackson at Brawner's Farm on Warrenton Turnpike between Gainesville and Centreville.

Gibbon's troops formed the 4th Brigade of Brig. Gen. Rufus King's 1st Division, a part of Maj. Gen. John Pope's III Corps in the Army of Virginia. Following Jackson's victory over Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Banks at Cedar Mountain on August 9, General Robert E. Lee had merged Maj. Gen. James Longstreet's I Corps with Jackson's II Corps and conducted a wide flanking march behind the Bull Run Mountains that brought the Confederates into the Union rear. After pillaging Pope's supply base at Manassas Junction on August 26, Jackson entrenched and concealed his 25,000 troops at Groveton, intending to use them as bait to lure Pope into battle.

The soldiers of King's division were tramping east along the turnpike late in the afternoon on August 28, his four brigades spread over a mile of road, when Jackson's troops revealed themselves. The 6th Wisconsin Regiment led Gibbon's brigade on the march, followed by the 2nd Wisconsin, 7th Wisconsin, and 19th Indiana. Battery B of the 4th U.S. Artillery brought up the rear. As Gibbon's brigade marched up the turnpike, Brig. Gen. William B. Taliaferro's division of Jackson's corps waited in ambush behind the ridge. Jackson detailed five artillery brigades to support Taliaferro's four brigades.

Gibbon was the first Union officer to see the Confederates as they prepared to attack. Spotting a group of horses on the ridge to the north, he tried to discern whether they were Union or Confederate. When he saw the flanks of the horses, he immediately knew from experience that an enemy battery was unlimbering. Gibbon ordered Battery B to move forward, and when they arrived, the artillerymen dismantled a fence so that the limbered guns could reach the field beyond. He directed Battery B to unlimber just north of the turnpike on the brigade's right flank. Enemy shells soon began whistling over the heads of the Union soldiers.

Gibbon formed his infantry into lines of battle at 6:30 PM. The 2nd Wisconsin deployed first, with the 7th Wisconsin formed on its right, and the 19th Indiana on its left. As for the 6th Wisconsin, it advanced on the extreme right, but a large gap existed between the 6th Wisconsin and 7th Wisconsin. In order to plug the gap, Gibbon sent an urgent dispatch to Brig. Gen. Abner Doubleday, who commanded the 2nd Brigade of the division, requesting two regiments to fill the gap. Doubleday sent the 56th Pennsylvania and the 76th New York.

Gibbon's reinforced brigade, which numbered 2,100 troops, went into action against the five regiments of Colonel William Baylor's Stonewall Brigade. Jackson and his generals fed more troops into the battle as it progressed. Before it was over, as many as 6,200 Confederates were deployed against Gibbon's force. The opposing regiments fought at a range that was so close it largely precluded artillery support. In some places, the opposing lines were just 80 yards apart.

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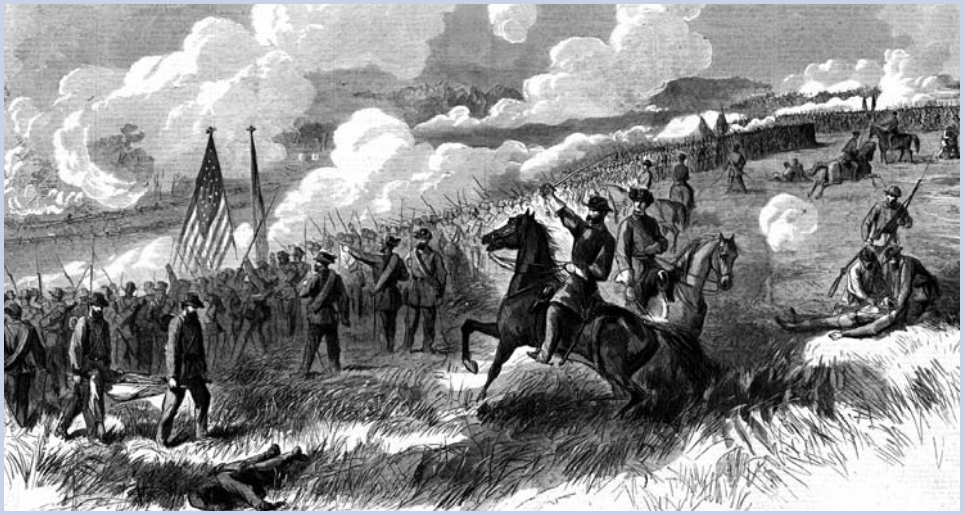

The Black Hat Brigade's baptism of fire unfolded at Brawner's Farm in a duel of musketry at dusk with Maj. Gen. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson's veteran troops.

When elements of Maj. Gen. Richard Ewell's division deployed against Gibbon's right flank, and elements of Taliaferro's division worked around Gibbon's left flank, the Union general had little choice but to withdraw to save his brigade from destruction. Gibbon's losses amounted to 200 killed and 600 wounded, whereas the Stonewall Brigade suffered 340 casualties of 800 engaged.

The fighting had lasted for about two hours when darkness brought an end to the engagement. The Black Hat Brigade had performed with skill and precision in its baptism of fire; its reputation would be further enhanced at South Mountain and Antietam.

—Robert L. Durham

"They swung their hats and laughed and cried without regard for appearances," wrote Dawes. From Boonsboro, Hooker's corps marched three and a half miles to Keedysville. Confederate cannon posted on the high ground before Sharpsburg on the west side of Antietam Creek shelled them. Gibbon's troops bivouacked in a ravine, where they hoped to escape the artillery fire.

Late in the day on September 16, McClellan ordered Hooker's I Corps to cross Antietam Creek and probe the enemy positions. The troops tramped across the Upper Bridge, reaching their assigned position at 9:00 PM. The brigade formed into columns with loaded rifles near the North Woods on Joseph Poffenberger's farm for their advance the following morning.

When Hatch was seriously wounded at Turner's Gap, Brig. Gen. Abner Doubleday had assumed command of Hooker's 1st Division. Doubleday now rode along his lines just before dawn, adjusting the position of his troops to protect them as best as possible from Confederate guns to the south. Hooker, to whom McClellan had given the honor of spearheading the Union attack, planned to advance south on both sides of Hagerstown Pike towards the Dunker Church. Doubleday's division held a key position on the Union's extreme right flank. To its east, Brig. Gen. James B. Ricketts had orders to send his division through D.R. Miller's cornfield and the East Woods. Moving in the center was Brig. Gen. George G. Meade's division.

Major General Jeb Stuart, who commanded the Confederate cavalry, had placed four batteries on Nicodemus Heights to contest Hooker's advance. The Rebel gunners had a clear field of fire over the farmland across which Hooker's troops would be advancing. Once Hooker's attack was underway, Colonel Stephen D. Lee's artillery battalion, which was deployed on high ground east of the Dunker Church, also began shelling Hooker's troops.

Two of Stonewall Jackson's four divisions defended the West Woods and Miller's cornfield. The West Woods measured 300 yards wide at its southern end, but tapered to a width of 200 yards at its northern end. On the extreme Confederate left in the West Woods was Jackson's old division, led by Brig. Gen. John R. Jones. The division's four brigades formed a double line with two brigades in each line. The front line consisted of the 450 soldiers of the Stonewall Brigade, commanded by Colonel Andrew Grigsby of the 27th Virginia, and the 400 men of Jones' old brigade, led by Captain John Penn of the 42nd Virginia. The second line consisted of Brig. Gen. William Taliaferro's 500-man brigade. Taliaferro was not present, as he was recuperating from wounds received at Brawner's Farm, so Colonel Edward Warren of the 10th Virginia had temporarily taken his place as brigade commander. Brigadier General William S. Starke led the 650 muskets of the other brigade in the second line.

To the right of Jones' division was Maj. Gen. Richard S. Ewell's division, commanded on the day of the battle by Brig. Gen. Alexander Lawton in place of Ewell, who was recuperating from a debilitating wound received at Second Manassas. Ewell's other three brigades faced off against the divisions of Meade and Ricketts.

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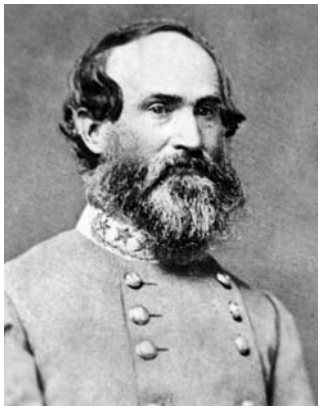


TOP The Iron Brigade battled several Confederate units during the bloody fighting in D.R. Miller's 30-acre cornfield at Antietam. CENTER Brig. Gen. Jubal Early's 1,200 muskets drove back a Union battery that unlimbered near the West Woods. Captain William H Powell of the 33rd Virginia, and Corporal L. Purnell of the 11th Mississippi. BOTTOM After his troops had been mauled by Hooker's corps, Stonewall Jackson called on Brig. Gen. John Bell Hood's crack troops to drive back the Yankees.

Library of Congress

Brigadier General Abram Duryee's brigade from Ricketts' division made first contact with the Confederates. Duryee's men had tried to advance through Miller's cornfield, but were driven back by the Georgians of Lawton's brigade. These six Georgia regiments, which were commanded by Colonel Marcellus Douglass of the 13th Georgia, held a field of clover south of the cornfield. When Douglass was killed early in the battle, command devolved to Maj. John H. Lowe of the 31st Georgia. The Georgians repulsed Duryee's New York and Pennsylvania troops.

As for Gibbon's brigade, the 2nd and 6th Wisconsin regiments led the brigade with the 19th Indiana and 7th Wisconsin regiments in close support, with Battery B split to support both wings of the brigade. Lieutenant James Stewart led a two-gun section that crossed to the west side of Hagerstown Pike to support the right wing, while battery commander Captain Joseph B. Campbell stationed his men on the east side of the pike to support the left wing.

As the Black Hat Brigade slowly made its way through the Poffenberger farm towards the Miller farm south of it, shells began bursting in the trees over their heads. The exploding shells rained down shell fragments, branches, and leaves on the soldiers. The first few shells burst in rapid succession. "Then a percussion shell struck in the very center of the moving mass of men," Dawes said. The shell struck a threshing machine before exploding, killing two men and wounding 11. The soldiers of the regiment pressed forward without halting and took temporary shelter behind Joseph Poffenberger's barn. Hooker arrived and made the barn his headquarters. Confederate skirmishers advanced into the cornfield using head-high corn for cover; Dawes sent his skirmishers to drive out their Rebel counterparts.

Stewart unlimbered his two guns in front of some haystacks near the barn 30 yards west of Hagerstown Pike, while Campbell's guns deployed on a low rise east of the pike. Stewart placed his limbers behind the stacks to protect the horses from enemy infantry posted 400 yards away. The lieutenant ordered the guns to be loaded with spherical case shot, an anti-personnel shell consisting of large iron balls designed for air bursts. After several of these rounds burst over them, the nearest group of Rebels dashed across a hollow and ran into the cornfield. "Under cover of the fences and corn, [the enemy] crept close to our guns, picking off our cannoneers so rapidly that in less than 10 minutes there were 14 men killed and wounded in the section," recalled Stewart.

Campbell directed his artillery crews to fire canister, cans of explosive filled with small iron balls, into the cornfield. "In less than 20 minutes, Captain Campbell was severely wounded in the shoulder, his horse shot in several places, and the command of the battery devolved upon me," Stewart said. The battery was taking heavy casualties at that point.

A picket fence around Miller's garden delayed the arrival of the left wing of the 6th Wisconsin. Dawes ordered his men to knock down the fence, but it proved sturdier than expected. The Wisconsin men decided instead to file through a gate in the fence. Once through the gate, they quickly formed up alongside the rest of the regiment.

Gibbon directed the 19th Indiana and 7th Wisconsin to deploy on the west side of the turnpike. Callis' troops formed up adjacent to the turnpike, and Bachman deployed his 19th Indiana regiment to its right. These troops began a steady advance towards the enemy-held West Woods. Meanwhile, Colonel Walter Phelps' 1st Brigade of Doubleday's division deployed in line of battle east of the pike to support the 2nd and 6th Wisconsin Regiments.

On the Confederate side, Jones had left the field early in the battle, claiming that a Union shell that exploded directly overhead had severely stunned him. Starke took command of the division, and Colonel Jesse Williams took charge of Starke's brigade.

The front line of Jones' division initially held its ground against the Yankees west of Hagerstown Pike. On the east side of the pike, the 2nd and 6th Wisconsin Regiments paused at a rail fence before advancing into the cornfield. Shortly afterwards, they pushed into the tall corn, halting when they reached a low ridge in the middle. Bragg took control of the three right companies of the 6th Wisconsin in the turnpike and gave Dawes command of the companies on the left. As they were sorting this out, the 19th Indiana and 7th Wisconsin Regiments became heavily engaged with Grigsby and Penn's brigades, which had emerged from the protection of the West Woods.

At that time, Brig. Gen. Marsena R. Patrick's brigade from Doubleday's division came up behind the 19th Indiana and 7th Wisconsin to lend weight to their attack against the West Woods. With Patrick's troops in support, Gibbon's two regiments on the right pushed forward, allowing the men of the 19th Indiana to fight their way into the north end of the West Woods.

Private E. E. Stickley of the 5th Virginia Regiment of the Stonewall Brigade recalled the impressive advance of the Federals. "The Federals in apparent double battle line were moving toward us at charge bayonets, common time, and the sunbeams falling on their well-polished guns and bayonets gave glamour and a show at once fearful and entrancing," he wrote.

When the Confederates moved one of their artillery pieces onto the pike, Bragg ordered one of

his companies to move forward and shoot the horses attached to the cannon. At the same time, he ordered Companies G and K to seize the cannon once the horses were slain. As soon as the two companies advanced, though, they spotted large numbers of Rebels along the fence on the east side of the road. The Rebels had another line of battle parallel to the pike near the West Woods.

The Confederates opened a heavy fire on the three companies of the 6th Wisconsin in the turnpike. Bragg ordered his men to take up a prone position behind the turnpike fence and return fire. The opposing lines were only 30 yards apart in some places.

The rest of the 6th Wisconsin did not receive fire until it reached the top of the rise of ground in the middle of the cornfield. The Confederates in the clover south of the cornfield poured a heavy fire into the companies on the 6th Wisconsin's left. "The bullets began to clip through the corn, and spin through the soft furrows, thick, almost, as hail," wrote Dawes, who commanded the left wing of the 6th Wisconsin's battle line. "Shells burst around us, the fragments tearing up the ground, and canister whistled through the corn above us."

To support the companies of the 6th Wisconsin already in the cornfield, Lt. Col. Thomas S. Allen's 2nd Wisconsin deployed on their left. About this time, Dawes received an urgent message from Bragg instructing him to come to Bragg's position on Hagerstown Pike. When Dawes arrived, he found Bragg suffering from a very painful wound in his left arm. Bragg turned over command of the 6th Wisconsin and was escorted to the rear.

Dawes decided to remain in the turnpike, where he could command the three companies of his regiment who were defending their position behind the post and rail fence on the east side of the turnpike. From that vantage point, Dawes also could keep an eye on the progress of the companies on his left in the cornfield.

Gibbon's troops in the cornfield advanced at an oblique angle with their front facing southwest towards the West Woods. As the soldiers advanced, the men could see the whitewashed Dunker Church ahead of them nestled in a nook in the West Woods just to the right. Unfortunately, they did not see a line of Georgians lying in wait for them.

"Simultaneously, the hostile battle lines opened a tremendous fire on each other," recalled Dawes. "Men were knocked out of the ranks by dozens, but we jumped over the fence and pushed on, loading, firing, and shouting as we advanced." The three companies of the 6th Wisconsin in the turnpike rushed forward to help their fellow soldiers.

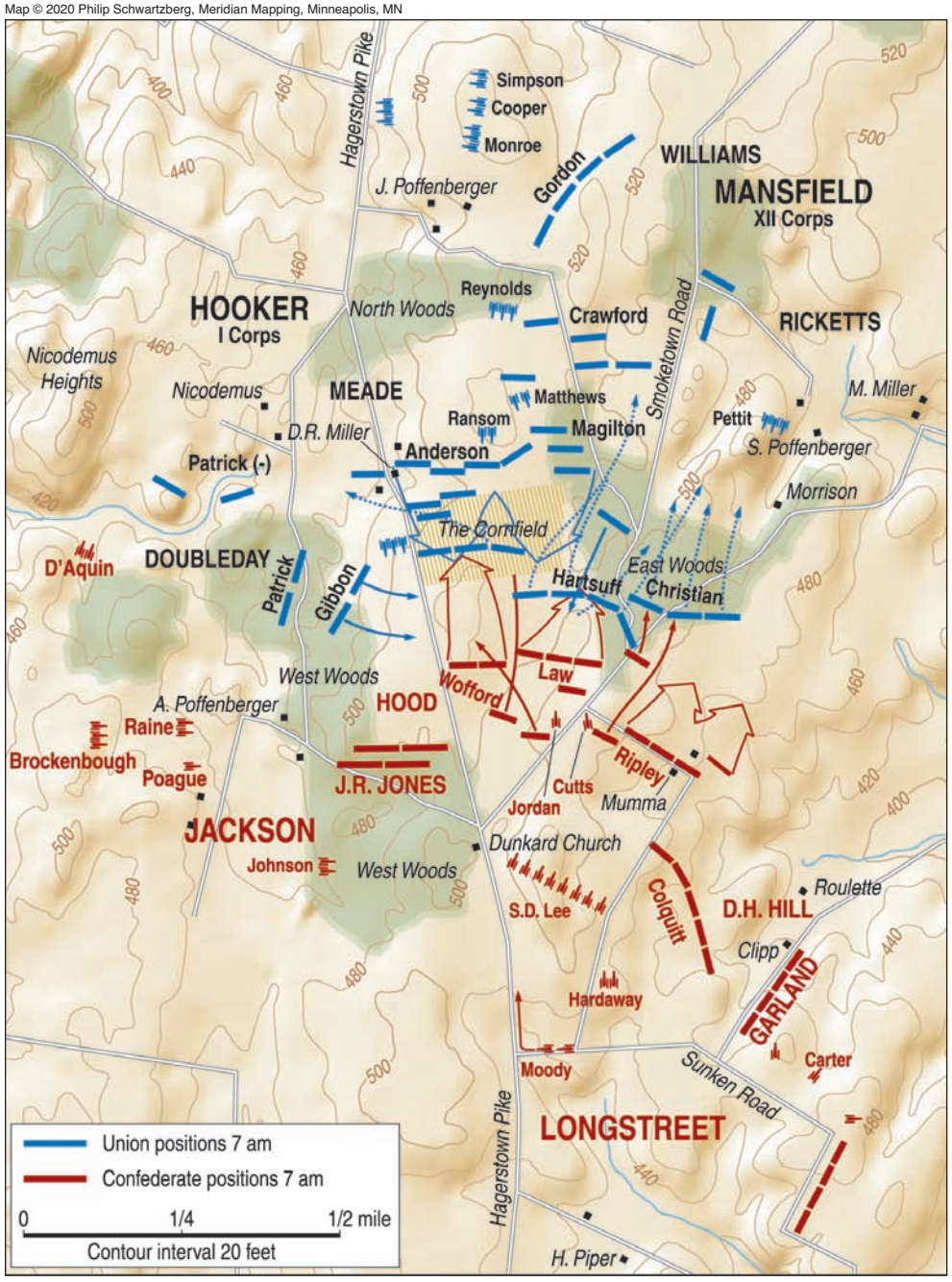
While the Wisconsin men on the left were advancing obliquely through the cornfield, the 19th Indiana and 7th Wisconsin west of the turnpike held their ground at the north end of the West Woods against a concerted attempt by the Rebels to capture Stewart's guns. The lieutenant had ordered his gunners to fire canister at the enemy troops approaching the guns. The Hoosiers fired into the flank of the attacking force, dispersing the Confederates trying to seize the guns. Bachman then ordered his troops to charge. "Hat in hand and sword drawn, [Bachman] gave the order 'double-quick,' and bravely led on, the men following, cheering as they advanced," wrote Captain William W. Dudley of the 19th Indiana.

The Hoosiers surged forward shouting, "Huzzah!" They "followed the retreating rebels to the brow of a hill, over which they had a strong reserve of infantry and three pieces of artillery," Dudley said. As they crested the hill, Bachman was mortally wounded, and Dudley took command of the 19th Indiana.

The rightward half of Gibbon's brigade had the Confederates of Jones' brigade on the run. When Penn tried to rally his retreating Virginians, he received a wound that would cost him his leg. Captain Archer Page of the 21st Virginia took command of Jones' brigade. By then, the first line of Jones' division had been shattered, and Gibbon's right regiments had taken possession of the north end of the West Woods.

Jackson had assembled 13 guns at the eastern edge of the West Woods that were shelling the Yankees as they sought to drive the Confederates once and for all from the woods. Captain John B. Brockenbrough's 2nd Baltimore Artillery had all six of its rifled artillery pieces in action. In addition to three 3-inch ordnance rifles, the battery had a

ABOVE: The 2nd and 6th Wisconsin are shown fighting their way into the cornfield in the face of determined Confederate resistance in a modern painting by Keith Rocco. OPPOSITE: Colonel Stephen D. Lee's massed four batteries on the knoll east of Dunker Church helped to blunt the Union army's opening attack.



ABOVE: Army of Northern Virginia commander Robert E. Lee stripped troops from the Confederate right wing to shore up Stonewall Jackson's left wing along Hagerstown Pike. OPPOSITE: The Iron Brigade participated in a valiant, albeit unsuccessful, effort to break the Confederate line at the Dunker Church.

12-pound Blakely rifle, a 12-pound Parrott, and a 10-pound Parrot assailing the Federals.

Receiving heavy fire from the Confederates, the 19th Indiana fell back in disorder to the pike, where their officers rallied them. In the see-saw fighting, their regimental colors fell three times but each time were raised again. Grigsby ordered his surviving Virginians to change front to face east; they poured a devastating fire into the right flank of the 19th Indiana, driving the Hoosiers back to their original position alongside the 7th Wisconsin.

Although the 2nd and 6th Wisconsin eventually drove off the Confederates defending the clover field adjacent to the cornfield, "the line stopped by common impulse, fell back to the edge of the corn and lay down on the ground behind the low rail fence," wrote Dawes.

One of the last men to run back into the corn was Private Bob Tomlinson of the 6th Wisconsin. When begged by his comrades to retreat with the rest, he told them he had a few more cartridges left. Standing alone, he fired his last round. When finished, he walked calmly back into the cornfield.

Having suffered heavy losses against Gibbon's regiments on the right wing, Grigsby requested that Starke reinforce the beleaguered Stonewall Brigade. Eleven hundred and fifty fresh Rebel troops surged into action west of the pike. Meanwhile, Grigsby's remaining troops took cover behind limestone outcroppings and continued firing on Gibbon's troops west of the turnpike.

"We commenced removing the fence in front of us when the enemy opened a destructive fire from the woods in our front," Callis wrote. "Our men returned the fire, and charged over the fence." The men of the 7th Wisconsin maintained a steady fire until Starke's troops emerged from the West Woods, crossed Hagerstown Pike, and fought their way into the cornfield. Most of Gibbon's brigade, except perhaps for parts of the 19th Indiana on the extreme right, became engaged against Starke's force.

Starke, who was on horseback, grabbed his brigade's flag and led them forward in an all-out charge against Gibbon's brigade. Just a few minutes into the charge, he was struck by three bullets that knocked him from his horse. He was dead within an hour. His troops initially drove the Yankees back, and the two sides exchanged fire at across Hagerstown Turnpike. Some of the Confederates managed to scale the fence and take up a position in the road but were soon forced to retreat. The Yankees prevailed and dislodged the Rebels, firing at the Confederates as they retreated to the West Woods. Starke's brigade lost nearly 300 men, and Taliaferro's brigade lost 170 men.

The soldiers of Gibbon's brigade who had engaged Starke's Rebels found that their rifled muskets had become so fouled that it was difficult for them to drive home a bullet with their ramrods. As a result, their fire slowed considerably.

The 14th Brooklyn Regiment and the 2nd U.S. Sharpshooters of Phelps' brigade arrived to reinforce the exhausted men of the 6th Wisconsin, taking up positions behind them, though some men of the 14th Brooklyn and the sharpshooters stepped forward to fight alongside the 6th Wisconsin. These commands became intermingled, with the black hats of the Badgers interspersed here and there with the red kepis and trousers of the Empire Staters and the dark green uniforms of the Sharpshooters.

"Men and officers of New York and Wisconsin are fused into a common mass in the frantic struggle to shoot fast," wrote Dawes. "Everyone tears cartridges, loads, passes guns, or shoots. Men are falling in their places or are running back into the corn."

This line was soon ravaged by Rebel artillery and musketry. Men fell to the ground dead or grievously wounded. Because of this, the survivors took it upon themselves to withdraw to a depression in the ground, where their officers rallied them.

The soldiers from Wisconsin and New York

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advanced into the clover field once again. They were approaching the Dunker Church when Confederate reinforcements swept out of the West Woods and overran their right flank. Dawes said that the volley cut through their line like a scythe. The Yankees retreated in disorder through the cornfield with the Confederates close behind.

These fresh troops belonged to Brig. Gen. John B. Hood's division of Longstreet's I Corps. Lee had earlier sent them to Jackson to reinforce his left wing. Before the battle began, Hood asked Jackson for permission to allow his men to cook breakfast. They had just received a meat ration and had hardly had anything to eat in a week of hard marching. Jackson had granted Hood's request on the condition that if they were needed, they would respond immediately. Interrupted while they were still cooking their food, these Rebels were angry and planned to vent their wrath on the Yankees.

The Confederates of Hood's division surged north screaming the high-pitched, blood-curdling Rebel Yell. Hood's old brigade, led by Colonel William Wofford of Georgia, had earned a reputation as shock troops for piercing a heavily fortified Union line at Gaines' Mill two months earlier, and their performance that morning further solidified their reputation. Hood's men cleared the cornfield of Yankees.

Lieutenant Colonel B. F. Carter, commanding the 4th Texas Infantry, stumbled upon the Federals in strong force in a ravine to the left of the turnpike. This force was the three companies of the 6th Wisconsin who had withdrawn from their vulnerable position on Hagerstown Pike and had taken shelter in the ravine. The Yankees "poured a destructive fire upon us," wrote Carter. The lieutenant ordered his regiment to wheel to the left and take shelter behind the rail fence.

The three Wisconsin companies then withdrew to join the rest of their regiment north of the cornfield. The Confederate counterattack "had driven the Yankees from the cornfield back upon their reserves," Hood stated in his battle report. Gibbon's account echoed that of Hood. "Under repeated assaults, my men now came rapidly to the rear," he wrote.

Across Hagerstown Pike from the 6th Wisconsin, Dawes could see one of the cannons of Stewart's section of Battery B in action near some straw stacks. The close proximity of Hood's line posed a dire threat to Stewart's two guns. Seeing the danger, Gibbon ordered Dawes to save them. The major grabbed his regiment's colors and led the survivors across the pike to secure the guns.

The crew manning one cannon in the pike had forgotten to adjust its elevating screw. Because of this oversight, the gun fired over the heads of the Confederates. Gibbon yelled to the gunner to run up the screw, but he could not make himself heard in the tumult from the battle. He jumped off his horse and ran over to the gun. "[I] rapidly ran up the elevating screw until the muzzle pointed almost into the ground in front and then nodded to the gunner to pull the lanyard," he wrote. The gun, charged with canister, bounced the shot and "carried away most of the fence in front of it and produced great destruction in the enemy's ranks."

The crew of the gun maintained their fire. They rammed home double-shotted canister that felled many Rebels. Despite the severe fire, the veteran Texans continued to press their attack. Stewart had great difficulty withdrawing his guns because the men and horses were falling too fast. Under the heavy pressure from the Rebels and his mounting losses, Stewart was unable initially to limber his guns in order to save them.

Seeing the crisis unfold, Gibbon called on Doubleday for assistance. Doubleday responded by sending half of a New York regiment but, as it turned out, they were not needed. The heavy fire from Stewart's guns had succeeded in keeping the Rebels at bay. "Nothing could withstand the fire of those double-shotted Napoleons, which finally beat off the enemy," wrote Gibbon. As soon as the Rebel attack played itself out, Stewart was able to limber his two cannon and withdraw north through the double gates of Miller's garden.

The retreat through the North Woods to the Poffenberger barn was not easy. "Bullets, shot, and shell, fired by the enemy in the cornfield were still flying thickly around us, striking the trees in the woods, and cutting off the limbs," wrote Dawes. After retreating to the barn, Dawes positioned his men under the best shelter he could find and then went about tallying their losses.

The 7th Wisconsin and 19th Indiana were still on the edge of the West Woods that extended to the southwest corner of the Miller field, facing east. The Confederates had positioned an artillery battery 300 yards to their right. A heavy force of infantry was assigned to support the battery. "They began throwing…canister into our ranks with terrible effect," wrote Callis. The two regiments retreated from the West Woods and rejoined the rest of the brigade in the rear.

"A heavy force of the enemy had taken possession…and from the sun's rays falling on their bayonets projecting above the corn I could see that the field was filled with the enemy," wrote Hooker. The I Corps commander ordered six batteries to be unlimbered and placed in a ravine between the North Woods and the cornfield. The Union artillery wrought havoc on the Confederate positions. "Every stalk of corn…was cut as closely as could have been done with a knife, and the slain lay in rows precisely as they had stood in their ranks," Hooker said of the carnage in Miller's cornfield.

Of the approximately 800 men of the Black Hat Brigade who went into action that day, 348 became casualties. When it was all over, the cost of the fighting on September 17 was staggering. The Federals suffered 2,108 dead and 9,540 wounded, whereas the Confederates suffered 1,546 killed and 7,752 wounded. One in every four Union soldiers and one in every three Confederates became casualties at Antietam. When the American Civil War ended in 1865, the Battle of Antietam would stand out as the single bloodiest day of the war. □

Lieutenant Baldomero Lopez leads his platoon of the 1st Battalion, 5th Marines over the seawall on the northern side of Red Beach during the second assault wave at Inchon. Lt. Lopez was killed a few minutes later assaulting a North Korean bunker.

MacArthur's LAST GREAT STROKE

General Douglas MacArthur directed a bold amphibious operation at Inchon during the Korean War. The landing turned the tide of battle by breaking the Pusan stalemate and liberating Seoul.

By Robert L. Durham

A North Korean column consisting of tanks and infantry advanced along a road at dawn on September 17, 1950, to attack the Marines at Ascom City between Inchon and Seoul. Some of the communist riflemen rode atop the tanks, while others trudged along beside and behind them.

An advance platoon of the 5th Marine Regiment led by 2nd Lt. Lee R. Howard lay in ambush, waiting for them to enter the kill zone. When the North Koreans came in range, the Marines opened fire from the hills along the road, assailing the tanks and infantry with recoilless rifles, bazookas, machine guns, and rifles.

A platoon of five Pershing tanks deployed in support swung into action. They pumped high-velocity, armor-piercing rounds into the enemy T-34s. When it was all over, the six enemy tanks were in flames and the ground was blanketed with 200 dead North Korean infantrymen. The Marine ambush, which appeared to have wiped out the entire enemy force, was an example of the skill and tenacity of the Marines who spearheaded the United Nations' amphibious invasion at Inchon that had begun two days earlier.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) invaded the Republic of Korea (South Korea) on June 25, 1950. Just three days later, the North Korean People's Army captured the South Korean capital at Seoul. The Korean War had begun, and the advantage lay with the invading communist forces.

General Douglas MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief, Far East, began planning for an amphibious landing to reverse the tide of battle in South Korea's favor. His experience with island hopping in the Pacific Theater during World War II had convinced him of the importance of amphibious operations, and he believed that a landing at the port city of Inchon would enable United Nations'

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ABOVE: The first and second waves of landing craft carrying the Marine assault force speed towards Red Beach at Inchon on the morning of September 15, 1950. Naval and air strikes have left the industrial area of the city in flames. RIGHT: General Douglas MacArthur observes the shelling of Inchon from the deck of the command ship USS *Mount McKinley* with Major Gen. Edward Almond, commanding the X Corps, at far right.

forces to sever the Korean People's Army's lines of supply and communication.

The planned operation was "an amphibious landing of a two-division corps in the rear of enemy lines," he radioed the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff at the Pentagon. "The alternative is a frontal attack which can only result in a protracted and expensive campaign."

Inchon lay just 16 miles from Seoul. MacArthur believed that United Nations forces would be able to easily liberate Seoul if they were to land at Inchon. The code name for the operation was Chromite. MacArthur initially proposed that the landing occur on July 22; however, he was forced to push back the date because U.S. and South Korean forces were unable to stop the rapid southward advance of North Korean forces. Eventually, the U.S. Eighth Army and South Korean military forces succeeded in halting the North Koreans on August 4 at the defensive perimeter they had established to protect the port city of Pusan in the southeastern corner of South Korea.

On August 23, MacArthur conferred in Tokyo with two members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Forrest Sherman and General J. Lawton Collins, who had been dispatched from Washington, D.C., to discuss MacArthur's risky plan with the general in person. The meeting began with Collins and Sherman trying to dissuade MacArthur from landing at Inchon. Instead, they recommended the troops come ashore at Kunsan, 100 miles south of Inchon. MacArthur stood his ground.

"The enemy commander will reason that no one would be so brash as to make such an attempt," MacArthur told them. "Surprise is the most vital element for success in war." He also added that the amphibious landing was the best strategic tool they had at the time. "To employ it properly, we must strike hard and deep." He dismissed the notion of landing at Kunsan; it would be a partial envelopment that would not allow him to achieve the goal of severing the enemy's supply and communication lines. Lastly, he said that a landing at Kunsan would prolong the "savage sacrifice" being made at Pusan, with no hope of reversing the stalemate. Although they still had reservations, Sherman and Collins backed MacArthur.

MacArthur believed that the North Koreans had deployed their best troops against the Pusan perimeter. He suspected that North Korean military leaders had left second-rate troops behind to garrison Inchon and Seoul. MacArthur received permission in August to establish the U.S. Army's X Corps to conduct the amphibious landing at Inchon. He selected Maj. Gen. Edward Almond on August 26 to lead the X Corps landing operation; Major General Oliver Smith would lead the three Marine regiments participating in the invasion on the ground.

MacArthur planned for the troops landing at Inchon to thrust northeast and seize Seoul. "I was now finally ready for the last great stroke to bring my plan to fruition," he wrote in his memoirs after the war. "[It was] a turning movement deep into the flank and rear of the enemy that would sever his supply lines and encircle all of his forces north of Seoul."

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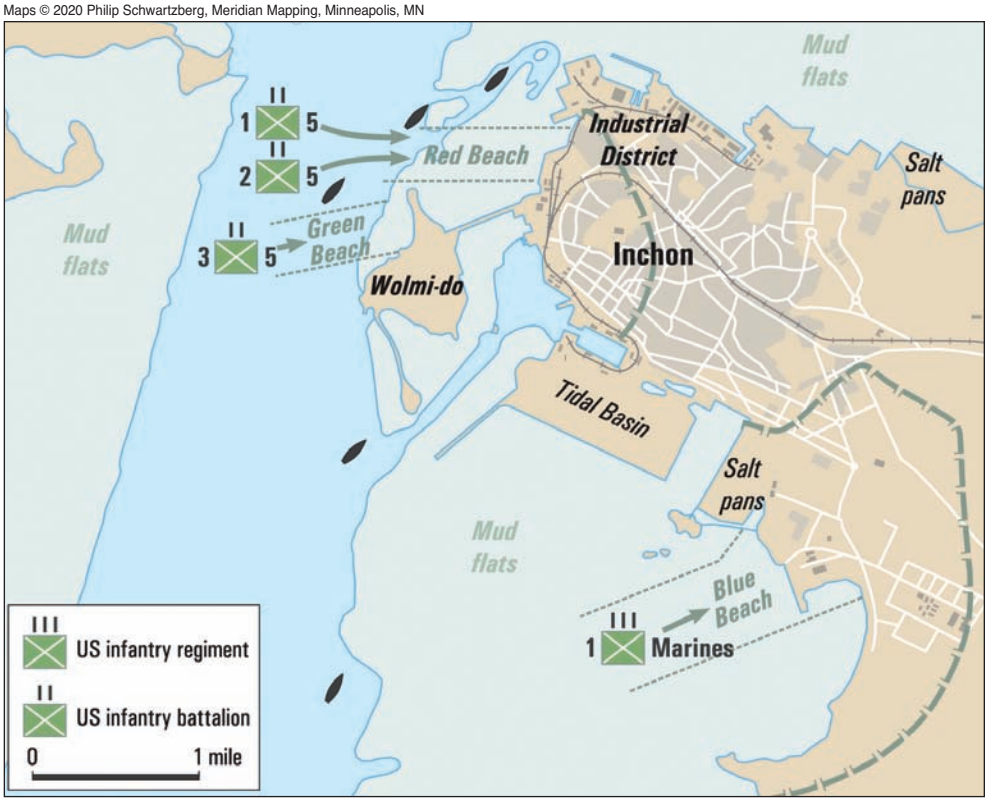
Meanwhile, Lt. Gen. Walton Walker's Eighth Army, bottled up in the Pusan perimeter, would break out and march north to link up with Almond's X Corps. The X Corps would be the anvil, and the Eighth Army would be the hammer; the two forces would crush the North Korean Army between them.

The troops slated for Operation Chromite

included the U.S. 1st Marine Division, 1st Korean Marine Corps, and the U.S. Army's 7th Infantry Division. The 5th Marine Regiment would ship out from Pusan, the 1st Marines would come from Japan, and the 7th Marines would steam for Inchon from the Mediterranean.

Two hundred and sixty-one ships from seven nations formed Vice Admiral Arthur Struble's Joint Task Force 7, which would transport the troops for the amphibious landing. The joint task force comprised four task forces: Fast Carrier Task Force 77, Blockade and Covering Task Force 91, Patrol and Reconnaissance Task Force 99, and Invasion Task Force 90.

The date also depended on the tide tables at Inchon. Inchon had no beaches, only mudflats in front of 16-foot-high seawalls. During low tide, the mudflats extended as much as 1,200 feet from the seawalls in some places. The tides had to be high enough to allow the landing craft to navigate over the mudflats and reach the seawalls. Some World War II-era landing craft required 23 feet of water to clear the mudflats; the landing ships known as LSTs required a depth of 29 feet.



ABOVE: The main landings at Inchon occurred in the late afternoon at high tide; however, 3rd Battalion, 5th Marines, landed during the early morning high tide to secure Wolmi-do Island. LEFT: By landing at the port of Inchon (top left) General Douglas MacArthur sought to save United Nations forces from waging a drawn-out and costly overland campaign trying to break out of the Pusan corridor (at bottom right).

A favorable window of time occurred just once a month, over a period of three or four days. MacArthur and his senior planners settled on September 15 for D-Day. This meant that the 7th Marine Regiment would not arrive until a week after the invasion was underway.

At the end of August, Pusan and the Japanese ports of Kobe, Sasebo, and Yokohama began preparations for the Inchon amphibious operations. In order to reach Inchon by September 15, the LSTs needed to leave Kobe by September 10. The transports and cargo ships had to leave on September 12. Japanese crews manned 37 of the 47 LSTs in the Marine convoy.

On September 11, the 1st Marine Regiment steamed out of Kobe, and the Army's 7th Infantry Division departed from Yokohama. The 5th Marine Regiment embarked from Pusan the following day. Marine tactical air strikes began on September 4 and continued intermittently until D-Day. Napalm strikes burned off much of the tree cover on Wolmi-do Island, one of the D-Day objectives.

On the morning of September 13, five destroyers began their preparatory bombardment. Five enemy 75mm mortars, which were situated in heavily bunkered emplacements on Wolmi-do, returned fire. Mortar rounds struck the destroyer *Collett* nine times, and she suffered considerable damage but no casualties.

The destroyers withdrew in the early afternoon and three cruisers took their place, pummeling North Korean positions for an hour and a half, followed by a heavy air strike on Wolmi-do by aircraft from Task Force 77. Afterward, the cruisers resumed their fire for a brief period. On September 14, Task Force 77 carried out more air strikes, followed by additional bombardments from the cruisers and destroyers. This time, the North Koreans did not return fire. It appeared that their batteries had been silenced by the combination of air strikes and naval bombardment.

United Nations forces had to contend with two harbor islands: Wolmi-do and Sowolmi-do. They scheduled a battalion-sized assault on Wolmi-do Island, which lies west of Inchon, during the early-morning high tide. The 3rd Battalion, 5th Marines would land at Wolmi-do at 6:30 AM. The main landings at Inchon were scheduled to occur in the late afternoon at high tide. Three landing beaches were selected: Green Beach at Wolmi-do, Red Beach in the seawall-dock area of Inchon, and Blue Beach in the mudflat area south of the city. The 1st and 5th Battalions would attack Inchon at the high tide that came at 5:30 AM.

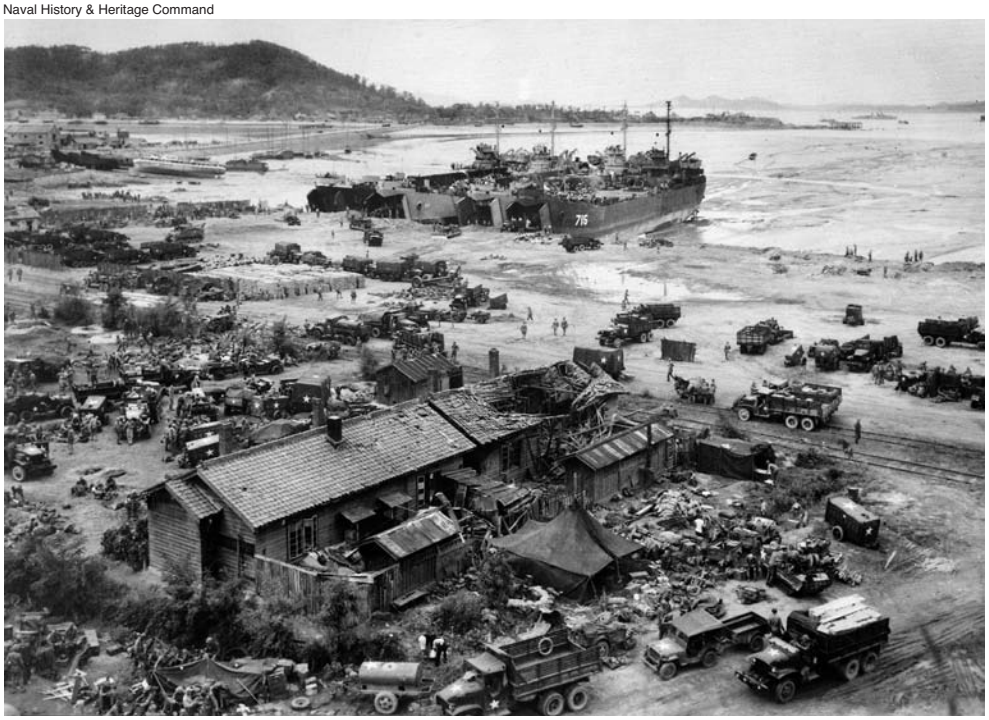
MacArthur and his planners had selected September 15 as D-Day. The Marines came ashore at Wolmi-do Island at 6:33 AM, landing unopposed on a bathing beach on the north side of the island. The first units ashore, G and H Companies, advanced rapidly across the island. Marine Corsairs strafed the island ahead of their movement with machine-gun rounds. The leathernecks met little resistance, most of the North Koreans preferring surrender to death. The Marines soon controlled the highest point on the island, known as Radio Hill, on the crest of which Sergeant Alvin E. Smith raised an American flag.

When the reserve force, I Company, landed, it

ran into a North Korean stronghold that H Company had inadvertently bypassed: the North Koreans held fortified caves on the side of the island facing Inchon. They ignored all efforts to get them to surrender, occasionally firing their weapons and hurling hand grenades at the Americans. Marine commanders issued orders for M26 Pershing tanks and Marine riflemen to pin down the enemy while a tank outfitted with bulldozer blades worked to seal the caves.

After just 90 minutes of fighting, the Marines reported to MacArthur that they had secured the island. MacArthur then sent a message to Struble, who was aboard the *Rochester*. "The Navy and Marines have never shone more brightly than this morning," he informed Struble.

Naval History & Heritage Command



ABOVE: LSTs unload men and equipment the day after the invasion on the mud flats at Inchon's Red Beach. Wolmi-do Island and the causeway connecting it to the mainland are visible at upper left. BELOW: A Marine patrol snakes its way through the burning ruins of Wolmi-do Island.

U.S. Marine Corps

Sowolmi-do, the battalion's final objective, contained a lighthouse connected to Wolmi-do by a 750-yard causeway. Shortly before 10:00 AM, two hours after the attack on Wolmi-do had ended, G Company began its assault on Sowolmi-do. Company commander 1st Lt. Robert Bohn selected a rifle squad, machine guns, and a tank section for the assault. When the Marine assault force arrived at the causeway entrance to Sowolmi-do, it was met with heavy rifle and machine-gun fire from the North Koreans. An enemy platoon on the islet had decided to defend their positions.

Marine battalion commander Lt. Col. Robert Taplett called in an air strike to soften up the enemy position. After Corsairs dropped napalm canisters on the target, the assault force moved cautiously down the causeway with the tanks leading the way. The mortar platoon of the 3rd Battalion, 5th Marines struck the communist position with 81mm shells, greatly reducing enemy gunfire. The Marine riflemen spread out and closed with the enemy, covered by fire from the tanks. The assault force was quickly able to suppress the enemy machine guns, using a flamethrower and grenades to knock out the remaining enemy troops. The Americans had killed 108 North Koreans and taken 136 prisoners in their assault on the two islands.

Prisoner interrogations revealed that the original number of North Korean defenders on both islands was 400. This meant that the remaining North Koreans had been buried in the rubble and in collapsed caves on the islands. Brigadier General Edward A. Craig landed on Wolmi-do that night and set up his brigade command post. Taplett asked for permission to attack Inchon from the causeway, but when Craig forwarded Taplett's request to MacArthur, the commander-in-chief denied it.

The plan for the attack on Inchon proper called for the 1st and 2nd battalions of the 5th Marine Regiment to assault the seawall on Red Beach north of the Wolmi-do causeway. The battalions would then proceed into the heavily built-up area of the Inchon waterfront. The 1st Battalion would land on the left to assault Cemetery Hill and the northern half of Observatory Hill, and the 2nd Battalion would manuever to capture the southern half of Observatory Hill.

While the 5th Marine Regiment focused on capturing the high ground, the 1st Marine Regiment would attack at Blue Beach south of Inchon, which faced a suburban manufacturing area. The Marines hoped they would be able to use their amphibious tractors, since the seawalls did not run the full length of the landing site.

The assaults on Red Beach and Blue Beach

U.S. Marine Corps

U.S. Marines of the 3rd Battalion, 5th Marines hunker down as they systematically eradicate enemy troops in bunkers and caves on Wolmi-do Island. Afterwards, they supported the landings later that day with machine guns, mortars, and tank fire.

occurred simultaneously. To prepare Red Beach for the landing, four cruisers and six destroyers fired on the seaport for three hours, obliterating the targets and starting fires that blazed across Inchon. The Marines then hit them with two fighter squadrons and three squadrons of U.S. Navy Skyraiders, which alternated their attacks with a naval bombardment. In addition, Task Force 77 kept a dozen planes in the air for deep-support missions, suspending enemy activity up to a distance of 25 miles. Before the assault began, rain squalls and the smoke from the bombardments decreased visibility.

The 1st and 2nd Battalions of the 5th Marines swarmed down cargo nets to the landing craft for the five-mile trip to the landing sites. The fire of the cruisers and destroyers increased as the landing craft drew nearer. In the late afternoon, the naval bombardment ended, and the rocket ships went into action. During the next 20 minutes, 6,000 rockets struck the seaport. When the landing craft reached the midpoint, the rocket ships ceased their fire, and the Skyraiders made final strikes until the landing craft were 30 yards from the seawall.

The 3rd Battalion, 5th Marines on Wolmi-do supported the landings with machine guns, mortars, and tank fire. Engineers cleared antitank mines from the causeway so that it could be used immediately after the landings.

The first wave contained eight landing craft. The seawall rose four feet above the ramps of the landing craft. Some of the ships landed where the bombardment had blasted gaps in the wall, so the men were able to rush inland easily. Each of the landing craft carried two aluminum ladders. Where no gaps existed, the landing craft struck the seawall and the Marines tossed grenades over it. The leading Marines then used the ladders to mount the walls and then hung cargo nets over them.

This allowed the Marines who followed to mount and clear the wall more quickly. The Marines of the 2nd Battalion, who spearheaded the attack, suffered no casualties as they rushed inland to cover the second and third waves. The 1st Battalion received heavy fire on its left flank and submachine-gun fire from a bunker. The enemy immediately cut down several Marines from Boat Two and pinned down the rest before they could advance more than a few yards. Boat Three found a gap in the seawall. A machine gun in a pillbox covered the gap, but the leathernecks received no fire from the gun. The Marines swarmed through the breach and up the waterfront. Another squad with a 3.5-inch mortar joined them from Boat Four.

A long trench paralleled the seawall, but the Marines found it unoccupied. The Marines hurled grenades into a pillbox as a precautionary measure, and six injured North Koreans emerged from the it and were taken captive.

A vertical cliff formed the seaward side of Cemetery Hill. Second Lieutenant Francis W. Muetzel, rather than trying to scale the cliff, moved his troops up a road to the Asahi Brewery, which they reached unchallenged.

The North Koreans kept the 1st Platoon of the 1st Battalion pinned down as the rest of the battalion came up behind them. The men all squeezed into the same crowded area, and casualties began to mount. Two Marines attacked with flamethrowers, but the North Koreans killed them both.

Alighting from his landing craft, 1st Lt. Baldomero Lopez rushed forward and blasted the first enemy pillbox with a grenade. As he advanced to the second with a live grenade in his hand, he received a serious wound under the right arm from a burst of machine-gun fire. Unable to throw the grenade due to his wound, he threw himself on it, shielding his fellow Marines from the explosion. For his act of valor, Lopez posthumously received the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Captain John Stevens landed in the same congested area and put his executive officer, 1st Lt. Fred Eubanks, in charge. "Take over on the left and get them organized and moving," Stevens ordered. Since the North Koreans still held Cemetery Hill, the Marines had no time to waste. Additional waves would be arriving in the next half hour. Stevens radioed Muetzel to bring his platoon back from the brewery to help in the assault.

Muetzel formed his men into a column and started back to the landing site, and it was then that he detected an excellent approach to the top of Cemetery Hill. Muetzel immediately launched an attack up the hill, and the men moved quickly up the incline, flushing out a dozen enemy soldiers who promptly surrendered. When they reached the top of the hill, they saw the hilltop alive with enemy infantry crews from the 226th Mortar Company. The heavy bombardment had stunned them, and almost all surrendered. The Marines captured the top of Cemetery Hill in just 15 minutes without sustaining any casualties.

During the attack on Cemetery Hill, Eubanks had taken a position on the left. He led a grenade attack on the North Korean emplacement, then ordered a flamethrower operator to finish it off. The 1st and 3rd platoons linked up with the 2nd platoon at 5:55 PM. Stevens fired an amber star cluster to signal that the Marines had secured

U.S. Marine Corps

U.S. Marines supported by armor fought their way through stiff enemy resistance as they advanced along the main Inchon-Seoul road.

Cemetery Hill. The half-hour fight cost the Marines eight killed and 28 wounded.

The North Koreans controlled all but the lower slope of another main objective, Observatory Hill, which rose 200 feet above the Marine position. Company C of 1st Battalion had orders to take the north side of the hill, while D Company of 2nd Battalion would capture the south side. Elements of both companies landed on the wrong beaches, though. As more waves landed, the congestion and confusion became worse.

The North Koreans on Observatory Hill recovered from the shock of the bombardment enough to set up machine guns. Other enemy soldiers established mortar positions in the town. Eight LSTs came down the river carrying the last wave of American forces. They started receiving machine-gun and mortar fire as soon as they came within range. Leading the way, LST 859 responded by opening with 20mm and 40mm cannon on Cemetery Hill, Observatory Hill, and the right flank of the beach. The next two ships in the column also received machine-gun and mortar fire. The crews of both vessels reacted by firing on Cemetery and Observatory Hills. Enemy machine guns hit the fourth LST, igniting a fire near one of the ammunition trucks being transported. Sailors and Marines on board quickly put out the fire. This ship did not return fire, the captain having received orders not to do so.

Friendly fire from the LSTs on the river drove Lieutenant Muetzel's platoon from the summit of Cemetery Hill, forcing the Marines to take cover on the north slope of the hill. A North Korean machine gun in a building on Observatory Hill then began firing on them; luckily, a 40mm round from one of the LSTs struck the building and destroyed it, killing the machine-gun crew. Muetzel's platoon did not suffer any casualties.

Lieutenant Colonel Harold Roise's 2nd Battalion did not manage so well. These Marines landed and started inland, but they also took friendly fire from the LSTs. His weapons company and headquarters-and-service company suffered one killed and 23 wounded. Fortunately for the attacking Marines, a large building sheltered most of the battalion.

"If it hadn't been for the thick walls of the Nippon Flour Company, the casualties might have been worse," Boise said afterwards. All eight of the LSTs had successfully berthed in their assigned landing sites by 7:00 PM. They ceased firing as soon as they hit the seawall and contacted the Marines on shore.

Second Lieutenant Byron L. Magness reorganized his 2nd Platoon of C Company and attacked Observatory Hill on his own volition, followed by 2nd Lt. Max A. Merritt's 60mm mortar section. Confusion during the landing had fragmented the rest of the company at the landing site. Sergeant Max Stein led the way, taking out one machine gun single-handedly.

Observatory Hill had three separate peaks. By 6:45 PM, the provisional force had taken the saddle between the two western peaks. Lieutenant Colonel George R. Newton, commander of 1st Battalion, 5th Marines, ordered B Company to take over C Company's mission and attack Observatory Hill's northern side.

B Company sustained six wounded charging up the slope of Observatory Hill in the dark. They reached the top at 7:00 PM and linked up with Magness and Merritt's provisional force. Newton radioed several hours later that the Marines had secured both Cemetery Hill and the northern half of Observatory Hill.

On the right flank of Red Beach, the 1st Platoon of E Company pushed forward along the railroad track with no resistance. The next to land, D Company, prepared to seize their objective—the southern half of Observatory Hill. Expecting no resistance, they formed a route column and marched up a street to the peak. Having carried the first summit without a fight, they assumed the second peak had been taken. They continued along the street toward the second summit, but this time, the North Koreans were waiting.

A North Korean squad entrenched on the right-hand side of the road assailed their column with machine-gun fire. The Marines took cover on the other side and exchanged small-arms fire and grenades with the North Koreans. The leathernecks suffered one killed and five wounded. The corpsman received a wound while caring for the other injured but refused to be sent to safety until he nursed and evacuated everyone else. The leathernecks succeeded in driving away the enemy just before nightfall.

The Marines had secured all objectives except the tidal basin on the extreme right flank. Lieutenant Colonel Roise reported this to Lt. Col. Raymond L. Murray, whose regimental headquarters had landed at 6:30 PM. Murray told Roise he wanted an outpost at the tidal basin if nothing else. Roise took a two-squad patrol from F Company to the tidal basin. They returned to tell him that they had encountered no enemy force. Roise ordered F Company (now less than one platoon) stationed on Observatory Hill to establish a defensive perimeter on the right flank.

By that time, it was dark. The sea current, combined with decreased visibility from the smoke, caused many of the landing craft to become disorganized. Eight LSTs, loaded with equipment to support the troops the next day, beached on the mudflats just before high tide. Three of the LSTs took incoming fire from North Korean mortars and machine guns. They fired wildly into the beach area, causing several casualties in the 2nd Battalion of the 5th Marines before they could be stopped.

Simultaneous with the assault on Red Beach, the 1st Marines attacked Blue Beach. Rain squalls and smoke completely blocked the view of the landing site. In addition to those difficulties, the 1st Marines had never operated together as a regiment before their assault on Blue Beach. There were also unanswered questions about the landing site itself: while there appeared to be a road and a

drainage ditch where tracked landing vehicles could come ashore, it would take 45 minutes for the slow-moving amphibious tractors to reach land. To make matters worse, the strong current scattered many of the landing craft before they could even start for the shore.

The first wave, which consisted of LSTs escorted by Navy guide boats, included underwater demolition teams. The crews of the guide boats possessed the seamanship and compasses necessary to find the beaches through the smoke and fog. The vessels in the second wave followed close behind so that they could take advantage of the guide boats. Some amphibious tractors of the third wave became intermingled with the second wave. As a result, some of these vehicles arrived ahead of schedule. This created a significant degree of confusion.

On the left flank, the amphibious tractors transporting G Company headed for the drainage ditch. The lead tractor became stuck in the mud, blocking the other five tracked landing vehicles coming up behind. Captain George Westover ordered his men out of the tracked landing vehicles, and they sloshed their way toward a road that headed inland. While G Company tried to get inland via the drainage ditch, I Company clambered over the walls using aluminum ladders. Company C of the 1st Engineer Battalion hung cargo nets over the walls to speed up debarkations, while G Company made it ashore and seized Hill 233.

Colonel Lewis B. "Chesty" Puller, the commander of the 1st Marine Regiment, landed at Blue Beach with the third wave. He sought to organize the assault battalions, which had become confused and disorganized. Supply ships also landed to resupply the troops on shore. Companies G and I cleared the beachhead. Enemy machine-gun fire, which was coming from a tower 500 yards inland, caused some casualties for I Company. Machine-gun fire from one of the tracked landing vehicles silenced it. The Marines spent the night consolidating gains and landing supplies. At that point, the leathernecks on Wolmi-do Island advanced across the causeway to reinforce the Marines that had landed at Inchon.

The Marines had to race to the next line in preparation for an assault on Kimpo Airfield. Marine aircraft were on station to support the U.S. ground troops. The pilots rolled their Corsairs over and came after the six enemy T-34 tanks with napalm and rocket salvos. They knocked out three of the tanks, with a loss of one Corsair. The damaged aircraft was struck in the air cooler by one of the North Koreans' antiaircraft guns. A second sortie knocked out two more of the tanks. The Corsair pilots also strafed a large force of North Korean infantry who were in the open.

The South Korean Marines moved in to mop up any enemy still on the beachhead; they did not question very closely those they suspected of collaborating with the enemy.

The mopping-up operation was much tougher than expected. The North Koreans hid until the Marine front line had passed, and then they rose up from sewers and drains with machine guns to demoralize the reserve troops. The South Koreans killed 18 of these North Koreans who had been lying in wait.

Puller's troops pushed inland toward a site that had once been a U.S. supply depot, Army Service Command, also known as Ascom City. The site had grown into a huge compound, almost two square miles of residential, industrial, and storage areas. Ascom would prove to be a thorn in the side of the 5th Marines.

Puller advanced on Kansong-ni, which had been used by the North Koreans for tank reconnaissance and patrol training. A tank duel unfolded between a section of Pershing tanks and three T-34s. The T-34s had only manually powered hand-crank turrets, which were no match for the hydraulically driven turrets of the Pershings. Before the enemy tanks could even take aim, the Pershings fired 20 90mm armor-piercing shells, destroying the North Korean tanks.

As the Marines advanced toward the airfield, no other North Koreans were encountered except for a few snipers; these were taken out with the usual Marine efficiency. It soon became too dark to proceed with confidence. After the successful Marine ambush of the counterattacking North Korean column at Ascom on the morning of September 17, MacArthur sought out Puller for a first-hand report on the situation. "If he wants to see me, have him come up to the front lines," Puller is reported to have said. The septuagenarian MacArthur huffed and puffed his way to the top of the hill. Finding Puller, he told him that he had expected to find him at his command post. "That's my CP!" responded Puller, slapping the high ground on the map. MacArthur awarded Puller the Silver Star on the spot.

National Archives

U.S. Marine Corps

ABOVE: U.S. and South Korean troops search captured North Koreans. RIGHT: A Soviet-made North Korean T-34 destroyed by the Marines smolders near Kimpo Airfield two days after the landing. The Marines relied heavily on their bazookas to neutralize enemy armor.

National Archives

An M26 Pershing tank crew keeps its main gun trained on buildings as United Nations troops march North Korean prisoners into captivity.

Two important objectives still remained to be taken before the advance on Seoul. These were Kimpo Airfield and Seoul's industrial suburb, Yongdungpo. Both were on the near side of the Han River. Roise's 2nd Battalion of the 5th Marines was tasked with capturing Kimpo; the job of capturing Yongdungpo fell to Puller's troops. The route of the ground troops was too rugged for the tanks, so the armored vehicles detoured on a road two miles to the south. The Marines did not reach their objectives before nightfall, when they set up their defensive perimeters. The 5th Marines took possession of Kimpo Airfield and its 6,000-foot runway on September 17, but they would have to defend it against determined counterattacks the following morning.

At 3:00 AM on September 18, the North Koreans moved against one of the Marine positions. They only became aware that they were walking into an ambush when Sergeant Richard L. Marston jumped up and confronted them. "U.S. Marines!" he shouted, and immediately opened fire with his M-1 carbine on full automatic. The other Marines fired on the startled North Koreans with rifle and automatic weapons fire. When it was all over, 12 North Korean soldiers lay dead. The rest slipped away into the night.

The North Koreans made three more probes that night. The Marines easily dispersed all three of them, and the enemy's morale was clearly shaken. Each time they came upon the Marines, the North Koreans barely engaged with them before retreating into the dark. The North Koreans only had a few hundred men, most having slipped away before they could organize the assaults.

The North Koreans made a more powerful attack at dawn, sending another tank column against the Marines. The forward-most Marines had no antitank weapons, and therefore had to fall back; however, the Marines ultimately defeated the North Korean armored attack with mortar fire.

Meanwhile, Puller's Marines advanced along the Inchon-Seoul Highway to Yongdungpo on the south side of the Han River. Marine aircraft pounded Yongdungpo with bombs, rockets, and napalm before the riflemen entered the industrial town. Although the enemy parried assaults on the left and right, a column of 200 Marines managed to cross the dike on the suburb's perimeter and enter the suburb unopposed. The Marines entrenched, because they expected the enemy to counterattack. The North Koreans did indeed attack, backed by more T-34s, and the Marines fought back tenaciously with their bazookas. The fighting in Yongdungpo ended on September 21 with the Marines in possession of the suburb.

That same day, the 7th Marines, which had sailed from the Mediterranean to reinforce the two Marine regiments already engaged, began disembarking at Inchon. They would play a significant role in the battle for Seoul.

The North Koreans launched a determined counterattack on September 20 towards Yongdungpo, with infantry backed by five tanks. Three Marine companies engaged and destroyed the North Korean thrust, killing a total of 300 enemy soldiers in the firefight.

Once Kimpo Airfield was again in friendly hands, 1st Marine Aircraft Wing commander Maj. Gen. Field Harris deployed three Marine fighter squadrons to the airstrip. On the same day, C-54 Skymaster and C-119 Flying Boxcar transports also began landing at the airfield to unload supplies for United Nations forces. The United Nations suffered 227 killed and 800 wounded in the Battle of Inchon. As for the North Koreans, they lost 1,350 troops.

The campaign for Seoul proved to be a grueling one. Unlike the rapid success at Inchon, United Nations forces would spend an entire week fighting in Seoul. The North Koreans tried to stall the U.S. offensive so that they might shift forces from the Pusan perimeter to reinforce Seoul. This strategy failed, because the U.S. troops bottled up at Pusan broke out and raced north towards Seoul. The communists had no choice but abandon Seoul and retreat north of the original boundary between the two countries.

MacArthur considered the war won, but he would not be satisfied until he advanced across the 38th parallel. In the ensuing campaign, the United Nations forces under MacArthur's direction advanced towards the Yalu River, which was the boundary between North Korea and China. It was the advance of United Nations forces towards the Yalu River that enabled Chinese Chairman Mao Zedong to convince his people that China needed to intervene in North Korea in order to prevent a U.S. invasion of China.

Chinese and American forces clashed on November 1. United Nations forces found themselves in a precarious position as snow began falling in the mountains of North Korea. The Chinese drove back the United Nations forces in North Korea. On November 27, Chinese forces surprised Maj. Gen. Edward Almond's X Corps at the Chosin Reservoir. In desperate fighting over the next two weeks, U.S. forces struggled to extract the troops that were isolated at the reservoir.

On the political front, MacArthur asked President Harry Truman for permission to bomb Chinese bases in Manchuria, but Truman, who vehemently opposed widening the conflict, overruled MacArthur. When MacArthur tried to undermine the president, Truman instructed the Joints Chiefs of Staff to remove him from command on the grounds that he had made public statements contradicting the administration's policy on the war.

On April 19, 1951, MacArthur, the architect of the victory at Inchon, made a farewell address to Congress. Although many wanted him to seek the Republican nomination in 1952, he declined to actively seek it. Another great American general, Dwight D. Eisenhower, won the election in a landslide instead. □

SLUGFEST IN SEOUL

U.S. Marine Corps

When the 5th Marine Regiment reached the south bank of the Han River opposite the South Korean capital of Seoul on September 19, it lacked bridging equipment to get across the wide river. The advance to Seoul unfolded so rapidly following the amphibious assault at Inchon four days earlier that bridging materials were not available.

Marine companies consequently began crossing in amphibious tractors under the cover of darkness that night. To ferry the M26 Pershing tanks and artillery across the river, regimental engineers assembled two 50-ton rafts. By morning, the Marines had a firm bridgehead.

The defenders of Seoul included a 10,000-man division composed of the 25th North Korean Brigade, the 78th Independent Regiment, and various other small units. The soldiers of the 25th Brigade, who had been trained in China, entrenched on a cluster of hills on the northwest edge of the city and awaited the Marines' attack.

Lieutenant Colonel Raymond Murray's 5th Marine Regiment launched its attack on September 22 across a three-mile front, joined by a battalion of South Korean Marines. Gull-winged Marine Corps Corsairs made repeated bombing runs against enemy forces entrenched on the ridgelines at the western gateway into the city. The 25th North Korean Brigade lost 40 percent of its men on that first day alone.

When the Marine attack stalled for two days in the face of heavy resistance, Maj. Gen. Edward Almond, commander of the X Corps, advised 1st Marine Division's commander Maj. Gen. Oliver Smith to send some of his Marines to open a second front into the city on its south side. Smith protested on the grounds that such a move would weaken his attack. Almond decided instead to hurry forward the U.S. Army's 32nd Infantry Regiment to invade the southern section of the enemy-held city.

Smith heavily reinforced the 5th Marines on September 24 by sending elements of Puller's 1st Marines and Lt. Col. Homer Litzenberg's 7th Marines to assist them. The following day, Army troops crossed the Han River in Marine amtracs and began fighting their way towards the 900-foot-high Nam-san (South Mountain) in the center of the city. Located near the city's main intersection, the railroad station and a large urban park were situated at its base.

On the night of September 25, American reconnaissance aircraft observed two large columns of North Koreans evacuating the city. With flares dropped from aircraft to light up the enemy columns, Marine aircraft strafed and bombed the retreating vehicles.

The following day, the North Koreans had pulled back to the streets and high ground in the center of the city. They erected eight-foot-high barricades of rice-filled bags that stretched across the avenues. To knock these barricades down, the Marines used Pershing tanks and Sherman flame-throwing tanks.

A Marine armed with a Browning automatic rifle zeroes in on a target in the rubble of Seoul. United Nations troops opened a second front into the city when the attack stalled.

The North Koreans launched counterattacks on September 26 against the Marines and Army forces in the city. A column of T-34 tanks attacked the Marines along Ma-po Boulevard, but it was wiped out by a combination of antitank guns, mortars, and grenades. Meanwhile, 1,000 North Koreans launched a savage counterattack against the 32nd Infantry, which had gained a toehold on Nam-san. The North Koreans succeeded in overrunning one of the two infantry companies on the hill.

Desperate fighting see-sawed back and forth around the railroad-terminal buildings and railroad cars at the base of Nam-san as the battle reached a fever-pitched climax. North Korean suicide squads charged American tanks, and small groups of North Koreans sought to punch through the American and South Korean battle lines.

While the 1st and 7th Marines mopped up in the eastern and northern sectors of the city on September 27, the 5th Marines reached the South Korean capital complex. Marines from the 3rd Battalion, 5th Marines pulled down the North Korean flag and replaced it with the Stars and Stripes at 3 PM that day.

In the Second Battle for Seoul, the Americans suffered 1,700 casualties compared to North Korean losses of 7,000 men. Because so few South Korean troops were engaged, their losses were light.

—William E. Welsh

DESPERATE FIGHT IN THE FLORIDA SWAMPS

The massacre of a column of U.S. soldiers ignited the Second Seminole War in 1835. Colonel Zachary Taylor confronted the Seminoles two years later at Lake Okeechobee in the war's only pitched battle.

By Eric Niderost

U.S. regulars advance cautiously through the marshes of tropical Florida against the Seminoles in a painting by Don Troiani. These two privates of the field artillery, who are clad in field uniforms of light blue kersey, carry model 1816 flintlocks.

Private Ransom Clark of the 3rd U.S. Artillery was looking forward to the time when his column would finally reach Fort King in the Florida Territory. It was December 28, 1835, and Major Francis Dade was leading two companies of soldiers drawn from the 2nd Artillery, 3rd Artillery, and the 4th Infantry regiments on an urgent mission to reinforce the isolated, undermanned outpost. Clark liked Dade, even though the yawning social chasm between officer and enlisted man sometimes made it hard to establish even a professional rapport.

The column trudged on a military road hacked out of the semitropical wilderness by brawny axemen some time before. It was a snaking trail that crossed rivers and several hammocks, which were tracts of hardwood trees and shrubs that were higher than the surrounding bogs and marshes. The 110-man column stood out in sharp relief against the verdant vegetation that crowded the sides of the road. The men's sky-blue uniforms merged to form a winding, azure-colored snake.

Warriors from the Seminole tribe were watching. Even the rawest U.S. Army recruit was aware of their unseen but always felt presence. Tension was highest at night, and at vulnerable places like river crossings. But now they marched into high ground, where trees were not so thickly clustered, and it would be harder here for the Indians to stage an ambush—at least that was how it seemed to the soldiers. The morning had been cold and drizzling, so most of the men wore standard-issue blue wool overcoats.

Clark and the rest of the command carried Model 1816 flintlock muskets, arms that were inferior to the rifles that many, if not all, the Seminole warriors carried, yet serviceable enough in most cases. Keeping your powder dry was not just a proverb; indeed, it was a matter of life and death. For that reason, the soldiers carried their muskets muzzle down and under their greatcoats against the continuing drizzle. Eventually the misty droplets ceased falling, but the air was still damp and chilly, so they kept their muskets in place under their coats.

Major Dade called in the flankers. Although there seemed no pressing need for such a precaution, given that the surrounding ground seemed more open, the column would make better progress if everyone were together. The advance guard was entering what looked like a pine barren, with tree trunks so straight and tall they almost seemed to pierce the sky. The forest floor was carpeted with pine needles and palmettos—palm-like shrubs whose long, finger-like leaves splayed

Painting © Don Troiani

Micapony's Seminoles ambush Major Francis Dade's 110-man column in December 1835 during its march from Fort Brooke to Fort King in a painting by Ken Hughes. The shocking news of the Dade Massacre sparked the U.S. government into immediate retaliation against the Seminoles.

out like miniature fans.

The palmettos were only a few feet off the ground, too low for a man to stand behind, but perfect cover for a warrior in a squatting or prone position. Unfortunately, in the ebullient mood that was coursing through the ranks little thought was given to these possibilities. Feeling a surge of optimism, Dade halted the column and addressed the men in a loud voice. "We have now got through all the danger," he shouted, "and if you keep good heart, I'll give you three days [off] for Christmas!"

The announcement was met with cheers, but moments later a shot rang out from the palmettos, and Dade's chest exploded in blood. Before his men could react to this stunning development, a huge volley fired by scores of rifles blasted into the sky-blue ranks. The volley came from as many as 200 warriors concealed beneath palmettos and perched in pine trees. The storm of lead cut down scores of soldiers, leaving only half of the command on its feet and able to offer any resistance. The blood-soaked conflict known as the Second Seminole War had begun.

The Seminoles were a created tribe; in other words, the tribe was formed over the centuries in response to the incursions of the white man. Its origins lay in the 16th century when Spanish explorers probed the Florida peninsula. The slow coalescing of Spanish influence culminated in the founding of St. Augustine on the Atlantic coast in 1565. The Spanish presence was limited mostly to coastal enclaves, but their presence had a profound effect on the Indian inhabitants of the interior. Natives in the immediate area were conscripted as laborers. Those who resisted the Spanish were either killed or sold as slaves. The Europeans also brought diseases with them that had a catastrophic effect upon the Native American population of Spain's new territory of Florida. By the 18th century, the native tribes that had populated Florida at the time of Christopher Columbus' landing were virtually extinct.

It is said that nature abhors a vacuum. The same thing can be said about human population dynamics. The original inhabitants had disappeared, but the land was fertile and abundant with game. Native groups from the north filtered in and adapted quickly to their new homes. Some were voluntary immigrants, while others were displaced by the frequent colonial and tribal wars that plagued the region in the second half of the century.

Most of these new arrivals people were Creeks. They were both Upper Creeks, originally from Alabama, and Lower Creeks, originally from Georgia. They spoke two different languages, but both gave a Creek foundation to the embryonic Seminole nation that was forming. The origin of their name is disputed and open to several interpretations. To the Seminole nation today, it is derived from "yat siminoli," or "free people," or perhaps "runaway." Others claim it is largely Spanish in origin and is derived from "cimmaron" and roughly means wild and untamed, or perhaps again, "runaway."

Whatever they were called, the Seminoles quickly sank roots into the new land, making it their own. Florida was still Spanish, but Spain's physical possession was confined to a few precarious footholds. But change was coming. The United States bought Florida from a rapidly declining Spain in 1821, and these new white men were of a different breed. Land-hungry and aggressive, the Americans set covetous eyes on Seminole territories.

There were other issues as well. Over the years, the Seminoles had welcomed runaway slaves from Georgia and Alabama and fully integrated them into the tribe. Some even rose to great prominence, becoming respected leaders and warriors. Scandalized by the loss of their property, southern

slaveholders not only wanted their slaves returned, but also wanted to block the Seminoles from providing a home for future refugees.

The First Seminole War occurred before the United States had formally acquired Florida. Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson, fresh from his triumphal victory over the British at New Orleans in 1815, invaded Spanish territory in 1818. He conducted a series of skirmishes, arduous marches, and relentless pursuits of an elusive enemy over a two-month campaign. The Seminoles were not in any way decisively defeated, but the way Jackson openly, even contemptuously, ignored Spanish sovereignty persuaded the Spanish to abandon the province forever.

The Spanish were expelled, and it would soon be the Seminole's turn. In 1823 the U.S. government negotiated the Treaty of Moultrie Creek with the Seminole nation. On paper it looked reasonably fair, but this treaty was more deceptive than it appeared. The Seminoles were given a four-million-acre reservation in central Florida, but in accepting this deal they were forced to give up their much more fertile homelands further north. The lands that constituted their new reservation were marshy, had poor soil, and produced low crop yields. Game became increasingly scarce on these lands, and there were reports of Seminoles starving.

Friction with whites increased dramatically. Driven to desperation, some Seminoles began to raid white farms to steal cattle to survive. Demands by whites for black Seminoles to be returned to their owners also created difficulties. But when the Seminoles' old nemesis Jackson became president of the United States, the Seminole days of relative freedom were numbered.

Jackson, nicknamed "Old Hickory" for his toughness and intransigence, was aided and abetted by the popular mood of the day. The eastern seaboard was filling in rapidly as the European white population grew, but large tracks of land were still held by Native American tribes. The prevailing American attitude held that the Indians were nomads, rootless hunters and gatherers who had no fixed abode. It followed, then, that eastern tribes—at least, what was left of them after 200 years of war and disease—could go west, exchanging their old homes for new ones in Indian territory (i.e., modern-day Oklahoma).

In this all-too-rosy scenario, everyone would profit. Land-hungry whites would acquire some 100 million acres of territory east of the Mississippi, and the natives would be free to roam and hunt the wide-open spaces of the west. The idea that the Iroquois, Cherokee, Choctaw, and Seminole peoples were agriculturalists with deep roots to the land never seem to have occurred to white Americans.

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ABOVE: Maj. Gen. Edmund Gaines and his troops came across Dade's fallen soldiers six weeks after the massacre and buried them in a solemn military ceremony. TOP: Indian agent Wiley Thompson and Colonel Duncan Clinch confer with a dozen Seminole chiefs and prominent warriors, one of whom was Osceola, at Fort King in April 1835. The chiefs were shocked to learn that they had to immediately leave their homeland.

There were about 4,000 Seminoles in Florida, perhaps a little more, but that relative handful was still too many for Jackson. He sent diplomat James Gadsden to Florida to open negotiations with the Seminole nation. Gadsden, a South Carolinian, had negotiated with the tribe before, and looked upon them with ill-disguised contempt. Nevertheless, he was willing to paint the new treaty in the best possible light. The idea was to send a tribal delegation west to scout out their proposed home in Indian Territory. Several chiefs would look around, and if they liked what they saw, the removal treaty would be ratified and go forward.

The chiefs spent five weeks on horseback examining the western lands, and they emphatically did not like what they beheld. Used to a warm, humid, and semitropical climate, they found the bone-dry, hot, and dusty plains of Oklahoma extremely uninviting. Even worse, they would have unfriendly, if not actively hostile, neighbors. While it is true many Seminoles had Creek roots, the two tribes had become estranged in more recent decades.

As soon as they returned home, the chiefs expressed their dislike of the Indian Territory's land, weather, and their prospective neighbors. Their protests fell on deaf ears. When the Treaty of Fort Gibson was drawn up in 1833, the docu-

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ABOVE: The Seminoles attack a timber fort during the protracted conflict. In the early stages of the war, the tenacious Seminoles succeeded in holding off large forces maneuvering against them. OPPOSITE: A native scout confers with a U.S. Army officer whose only indication of rank is the red sash around his waist. The enlisted men behind them wear the folding black leather forage cap that was first issued in 1833.

ment set forth that the chiefs were "well satisfied" with the land and would start their "removal to their new home." Seven Seminole chiefs signed. But they did so under coercion, for they were told that if they did not affix their name to the document, they would not go home.

It was around this time that Osceola enters the story. Although not a chief, he was nevertheless a strong and respected warrior whose charisma was begging to be felt. Historians debate his ancestry because his mother, a full-blooded Creek, was married twice. After her first husband, a full-blooded Creek, died, she married a white trader named William Powell. Osceola was therefore nicknamed Billy Powell in his youth, but that does not prove that the white trader was his biological father.

Osceola was raised as an Indian and considered himself a Creek and, later, a Seminole. The Creeks and Seminoles had a matrilineal system that traced a person's decent from the mother. Osceola soon became one of the leaders of the resistance to forced emigration.

On April 23, 1835, Indian agent Wiley Thompson summoned a dozen Seminole chiefs and prominent warriors, one of whom was Osceola, to a parley at Fort King in north-central Florida. Thompson was fairly sympathetic to the Indians' plight, but his good will only went so far. Colonel Duncan Clinch, a big man who weighed 250 pounds, was also present. Clark's massive bulk, both literally and figuratively, gave weight to his arguments. The chiefs were told that the Seminoles were to leave as soon as possible. This came as a shock, given that most believed that they were going to be allowed to stay at least 20 more years.

Thompson also demanded that the chiefs sign yet another paper, this one confirming that they would abide by the treaties. Eight of the 12 chiefs reluctantly signed, but the other four refused to sign. Clinch unleashed the full fury of his anger on the chiefs who held out. He warned them that military force might be brought to bear against the Seminoles if they did not comply. Thompson signaled his displeasure by declaring that the U.S. government would no longer consider those chiefs who refused to sign as official representatives of the Seminole nation.

Tensions mounted as the weeks passed. Osceola had a habit of coming to Thompson's office to express Seminole grievances. At one point during a heated argument, Thompson had Osceola arrested, clapped in irons, and briefly imprisoned. As time wore on, the incidents escalated. For example, seven whites in Alachua County assaulted five Seminoles who had been sitting around a campfire minding their own business. The Seminoles defended themselves. When the smoke cleared, one Seminole was dead and another wounded. Native Americans believed that if a life was taken, then the aggrieved party had the right to exact revenge.

In August 1835, Private Kinsley Dalton, a mail courier, was ambushed and killed. Clinch and others began to voice alarm that a full-scale Indian uprising might be imminent. Clinch asked for reinforcements, but he would have to wait for them to arrive. Meanwhile, he had only 500 Federal troops in Florida.

Events then moved at a lightning pace. The Seminole chiefs convened a tribal council. The consensus was that their people should stay in Florida. They issued an ultimatum to the members of their tribes stating that anyone who attempted to obey the white man's decree would be killed. Chief Holata-Emathia, known to the whites as Charley Emathia, turned a deaf ear to the warning. He brought 400 of his people to Fort Brooke, which was situated on the Hillsborough River in west central Florida, as a preliminary step towards relocation. Osceola killed Holata-Emathia on November 26 for his disobedience. It was a signal to whites that the majority of the tribe was determined to stay and were willing to fight

if necessary to avoid removal.

Micanopy was considered the top-ranking chief of the Seminoles, but the middle-aged chief was past his prime. For that reason, the chiefs appointed Osceola as their tribal war chief. Micanopy served in an advisory capacity. Once they had chosen their military leaders, the Seminoles began planning the operation that the whites would eventually dub the Dade Massacre.

Dade's 110-man column had been dispatched from Fort Brooke to reinforce the troops at Fort King, who were being threatened by Osceola. The Seminoles' meticulous planning paid off. The first murderous volley, which was unleashed when the soldiers were 40 miles from their objective, crippled Dade's force. The major's shattered command was never able to recover.

The volley also caught the soldiers, who were marching two abreast, carrying their weapons underneath their greatcoats to protect them from a drizzling rain. Trying to quickly unbutton greatcoats to return fire was a difficult task, made worse by the screams of the wounded and the bloodcurdling war cries of Seminoles ringing in their ears. When Dade was slain, Captain George Gardiner took command of the survivors. He was a bantam rooster of man, only five feet tall. His calm example, combined with his soldiers' training, steadied the men.

The column had a six-pounder cannon with it. An artillery crew immediately put it into action. They fired grapeshot that peppered the pine stands and vegetation. It killed a few Seminoles and bought the surviving soldiers enough time to organize their defense. For the next hour, the warriors remained under cover. Perhaps as many as 40 America soldiers survived the initial attack.

During a lull in the fighting, Gardiner and the survivors hastily built a low breastwork from pine logs. Gardiner made sure that any wounded soldiers were brought into the makeshift fortification and that the survivors collected ammunition from the dead. Chief Alligator observed Gardiner's actions and was impressed by his leadership skills and courage.

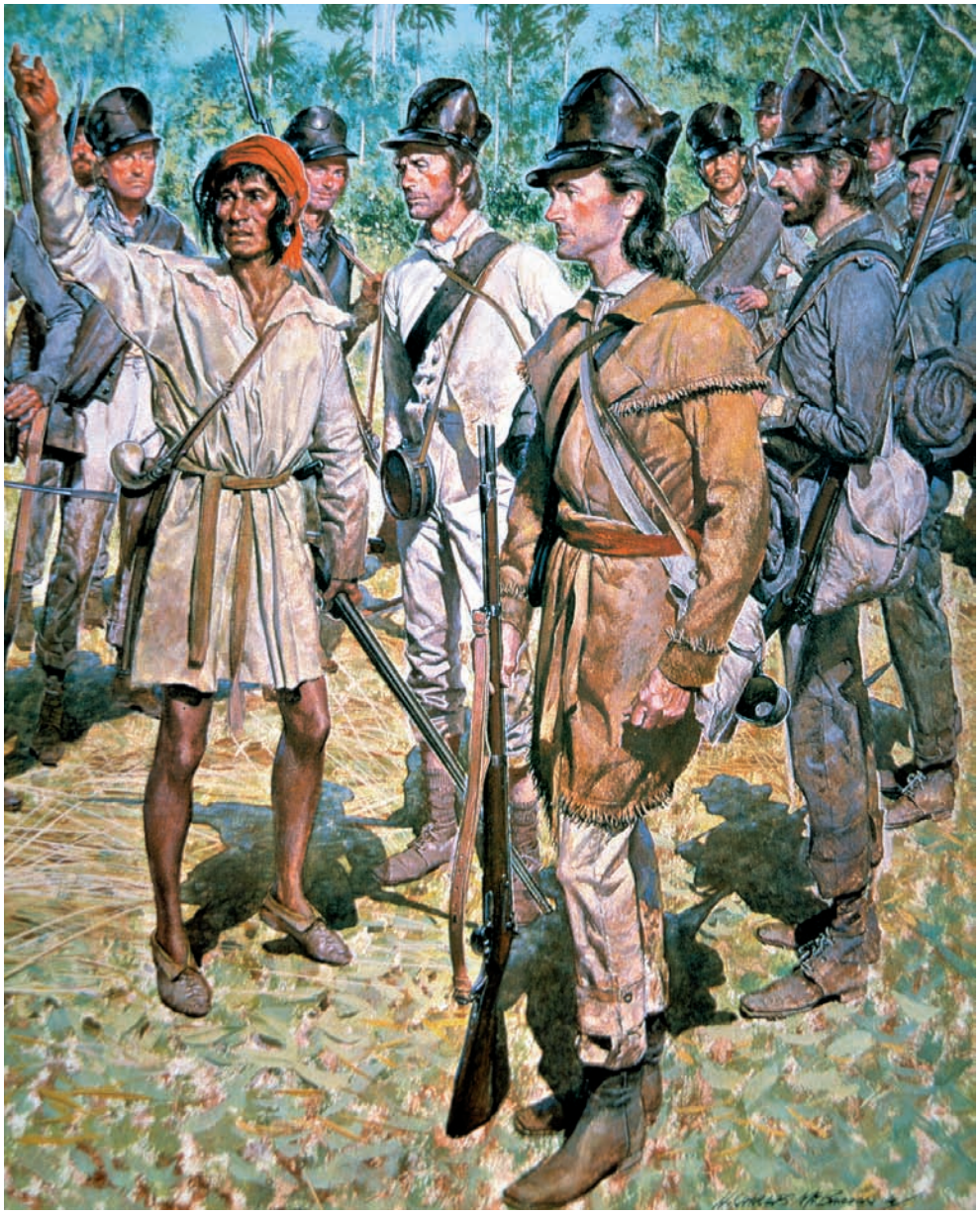
The Seminoles decided to finish the survivors off with a direct assault on their hastily constructed entrenchment, but the survivors repulsed the Seminole assault. Then, the Seminoles tried to pick off the rest of the soldiers one-by-one. The Native Americans were superb shots. They killed many of the soldiers with shots to the head. The fortification was soon riddled with bullets. The Seminoles kept the soldiers pinned down with a steady harassing fire even when no targets presented themselves.

The Seminoles then stormed the breastworks a second time. They succeeded in wiping out the remaining soldiers; however, several men ultimately survived their wounds. One of these men was Private Clark, who was wounded five times, including a graze on his head and a ball in the right arm, right shoulder, thigh, and lung. Despite these grievous wounds, Clark managed to crawl 60 miles back to Fort Brook.

The shocking news of the Dade Massacre motivated Clinch into launching an immediate offensive against the Seminoles. The original intent was to attack the Seminole stronghold on the Withlacoochee River 90 miles north of Fort Brooke. Clinch had 200 regulars and approximately 500 volunteer militiamen whose enlistments were due to expire the next day, which was January 1, 1836. But the force would have to cross the Withlacoochee. When they reached its banks, they found the river was much swifter and more formidable than expected. There was neither a bridge nor a ford, and the only available boat was a leaky canoe.

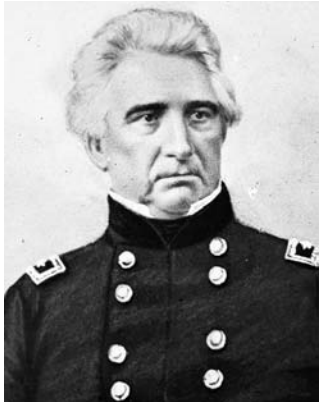
Clinch ordered an advance guard of regulars to cross to the opposite bank. Their passage was slow and tedious. Nevertheless, they succeeded in establishing a small bridgehead. The Seminoles promptly attacked the bridgehead. The small toehold across the Withlacoochee could not be maintained, much less expanded, and the advance guard soon withdrew to the safety of the near riverbank. The Clinch offensive had ground to a complete halt.

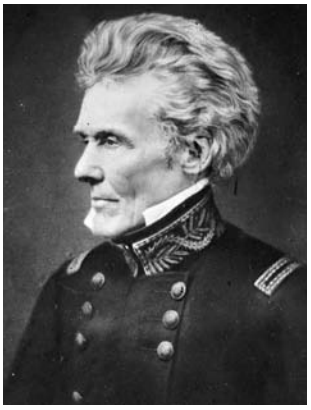
U.S. Army



Maj. Gen. Edmund Gaines was the next officer to try his luck, but his campaign also failed, so badly that it nearly became a fiasco. Poor planning, a crippling lack of supplies, and determined and stubborn resistance by the Seminoles all

All: Library of Congress





TOP: Seminole leaders Osceola, left, and Micanopy. BOTTOM: Colonel Duncan Clinch, Maj. Gen. Edmund Gaines, and militia Colonel Richard Gentry. OPPOSITE: Colonel Zachary Taylor, who later became the 12th president of the United States, led a mixed force of U.S. Army regulars and Missouri volunteers in a pitched battle against a well-led Seminole force at Lake Okeechobee two years after the Dade Massacre. In the wake of the battle, both sides claimed victory, and the Seminole resistance remained far from broken.

played a role in Gaines' defeat. At one point, a large force of Seminoles succeeded in besieging Gaines at his fortified encampment, named Camp Izard. His soldiers had to eat their horses and mules before a rescue party extracted them.

Yet another high-ranking general tried his hand against the Seminoles. Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott was one of the finest soldiers that America ever produced and was capable of true brilliance when pitted against a conventional enemy. But the Seminoles were an unconventional enemy that did not adhere to the principles of European warfare. Scott's elaborate plan called for three columns to converge and trap the Seminoles at Withlacoochee Cove. It was a grand plan that was Napoleonic in its conception. Scott's plan might have worked against conventional forces, but his offensive was plagued by delays. By the time his forces reached the village at the cove, the Seminoles were long gone.

The U.S. Congress, which was growing increasingly desperate and more than a little embarrassed by the Army's inability to crush the Seminoles in a timely manner, appropriated $1.5 million for the conflict. They passed a law that would allow the militia to serve for a one-year period. The regular army expanded the forces arrayed against the Seminoles to a paper strength of 12,539 men, but the actual force size was much smaller. It eventually reached slightly more than 8,000 by 1839. What is more, the U.S. Army had to rely on militia of dubious quality to reach the numbers it needed.

By late 1836, the war was still dragging on with no end in sight. Richard Keith Call, the newly appointed Governor of Florida Territory, was also a militia general who felt his armed civilians could do a better job than the professionals. It turned out they could not do a better job, and he was relieved of command after yet another abysmal failure.

The matter, which was becoming a political and military controversy, was handed over to U.S. Army Brig. Gen. Thomas Sydney Jesup, and at first he met with some limited success. Jesup managed to take a Seminole village near the Hatchee-Lustee River, an encampment that included a number of women and children and 1,400 head of cattle. The warriors had escaped to fight another day, so Jessup's triumph was more apparent than real. The general grew overconfident, especially when the paramount chief Micanopy and several other lesser leaders came in and surrendered. But Osceola, the true mastermind of the resistance, was still at large.

It was at this point that Jesup committed one of the most controversial acts in the entire war. He called for a parley under a flag of truce, and once Osceola came in, he was almost immediately clasped in irons and put in prison. A flag of truce was supposed to mean safe conduct, an assurance that all parties could meet without fear of attack or imprisonment, but that concept was reckoned to be inapplicable under the circumstances.

In the 19th century, a nation's honor was supposed to be sacred. Jesup's treacherous action caused not only a scandal, but also a national uproar; the general had sullied the national honor. In so doing, he left an indelible stain. It was an infamous action that would be remembered for generations to come. Jesup spent the rest of his life defending his actions, but never quite lived them down.

Already sick when captured, Osceola died in prison about three months later. Seminole resistance, initially crippled, gained new life when several chiefs escaped from St. Augustine's Castillo de San Marcos, a famed and venerable relic of colonial Spain. Probably the most formidable escapee was Coacoochee, whose name means "bobcat" and who was just as charismatic and resourceful as Osceola. The dying embers of resistance to removal flamed anew. This produced great consternation in both the U.S. Army and the American public.

But public opinion soon began to change, with many saying the heroic Seminole resistance earned them a place to stay in Florida. Indeed, the public was heartily sick and tired of the whole affair. The cost of the war was spiraling out of control. The war also coincided with the young nation's attempt to recover from the economic depression that followed the Panic of 1837.

The casualty lists were also growing, and not just from battle. The semitropical climate fostered disease, which was borne on swarms of mosquitoes that bred in the primeval swamps of central and southern Florida. Malaria, dengue, and yellow fever were common. Other debilitating diseases from which the soldiers suffered were dysentery and tuberculosis. Florida was "a most hideous region to live in," wrote Jacob Motte, a 26-year-old army surgeon. "[It was] a perfect paradise for Indians, alligators, frogs, and every other kind of loathsome reptile."

A soldier often finds himself "wading in morasses and swamps waist deep, exposed to noxious vapors and subject to the whims of drenching rains or the scorching sun of an almost torrid climate," added Motte. It got to the point where the serving soldiers began to think that maybe the Indians should be left alone. "The government is in the wrong…the natives used every means to avoid a war, but we forced them into it by the tyranny of our government," wrote Major Ethan Allan Hitchcock.

American generals still thought in a European linear fashion in which the object of a campaign was to bring an enemy to battle. In such an approach, the goal was to win the war in one decisive clash. It took considerable time for the U.S. Army to realize that the Seminoles were not going to play by the conventional rules. The truth ironically dawned in the aftermath of the one pitched battle of the war, fought at Lake Okeechobee on December 25, 1837.

Most Americans lacked any appreciable knowledge of central and southern Florida. This was due in large part to the nature of the swamps and seemingly impenetrable marshes filled with alligators and poisonous snakes. Lake Okeechobee, which means "Big Water" in Seminole, was indeed gigantic. The lake was 35 miles wide and covered approximately 730 square miles. Its existence even as late as 1828 was unsubstantiated. The main force of so-called hostiles had their main camp not far away from the lake. The chiefs leading the Seminole main force were Abiaka, Alligator, and Coacoochee. The whites knew Abiaka by his English name of Sam Jones.

Colonel Zachary Taylor led a column against this stronghold, a force that included around 800 regulars, 200 Missouri volunteer militia, and 50 Delaware Indian scouts. The prospect of surprising the Seminole camp was nil, because 10 of Abiaka's warriors were shadowing Taylor's every move. These scouts, experts at concealment, wrapped themselves in moss and partly submerged themselves in marshy ground amid saw grass and palmettos.

Taylor's troops came upon a fairly dry open area where some Seminole cattle and horses were contentedly grazing. The animals seemed to have but one attendant, but instead of fleeing, or even taking a few pot shots at the soldiers before retiring, he rode forward and surrendered without a fight. The caretaker was quite willing to be interrogated. He informed all of those who listened that a large Seminole camp was situated on a nearby hammock (elevated stand of trees).

A group of Missouri volunteers went forward to scout the position, and when they returned they must have made it clear they did not like what they saw. The Seminole position was indeed on a hammock, but it was surrounded by a sawgrass marsh a half a mile wide that protected the hammock like a natural moat. Horses could not be used, because the sawgrass was firmly rooted in mud and water three feet deep.

The sawgrass grew up to five feet tall in places, but the Seminole had deliberately carved paths into the dense shrubbery like spokes of a wheel. These paths seemed inviting avenues for the attackers to reach the hammock, but they also provided clear avenues of fire for the defenders. The Seminoles had even made notches in trees in which they could rest their rifles and take careful and potentially deadly aim.

Taylor called all his officers together for a council of war. The matter was a mere formality because the colonel had already decided on a frontal assault against the Seminoles defending the hammock. Colonel Richard Gentry of the

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THE BILLY BOWLEGS WAR

Three years after the conclusion of the Second Seminole War in 1842, Florida became the twenty-seventh state in the United States. Although the U.S. government had forcibly compelled 3,000 Seminoles to emigrate to the Indian Territory established west of the Mississippi River at the conclusion of the second war, a small number clung to their lands in the swamps of southwestern Florida.

Chief Halpattter Micco, better known as Billy Bowlegs, was a veteran of the Second Seminole War, during which he had led his 200 men in successful raids against U.S. soldiers and government survey crews. After the war ended, he and his people lived peacefully in and around the Everglades for about five years. They lived in small camps tucked deep in the swamps, where they were able to store food and avoid interaction with the surveyors and engineers developing the land for white settlers.

Between 1849 and 1855 a conflict simmered, with the remaining Seminoles and the Americans clashing in intermittent raids and skirmishes. This came to a head with the depredations committed by a surveying party in December 1855. Lieutenant George L. Harstuff and his 10-man party stumbled upon several uninhabited villages. They destroyed the banana trees and other sources of sustenance upon which the Seminoles relied. While this was not the first surveying party to trespass on the Seminoles' land, its members committed the most egregious act up to that point.

Bowlegs and Chief Oscen Tustenuggee decided to retaliate against the trespassers. They laid an ambush for Harstuff's scouting party. The Seminole warriors succeeded in killing four soldiers and seriously wounding four more, one of whom was Harstuff. The successful guerilla attack touched off the Third Seminole War, which is also called the Billy Bowlegs War, when the U.S. government promptly declared war on Bowlegs and his warriors.

By March 1856 Florida Governor James Broome had assembled 1,460 federal and state troops to counter the Seminoles. But rather than take the offensive against them, the American military commanders opted for a defensive strategy and posted the soldiers in small units to protect key outposts, roads, and trails.

Tustenuggee was the tactical genius behind the Seminole's guerilla strategy. He instructed the warriors how to prepare effective ambushes. They had instructions to fire upon the American troops and quickly disengage to prevent unnecessary losses. Unfortunately for the Seminoles, Tustenuggee was slain in a hit-and-run attack conducted at Peace River on June 16, 1856. Without Tustenuggee to adjust their tactics, the Seminoles were less effective.

The U.S. government took complete charge of the operations against the Seminoles the following year. Reconnaissance patrols penetrated the Everglades and destroyed Seminole camps, homes, and crops. In the process, they rounded up and detained women and children and killed any warriors who openly resisted them.

Bowlegs, who realized that fighting the U.S. Army was a losing proposition, convinced the U.S. government to pay each of his people to emigrate west. Each of the chiefs received $1,000, each of the warriors received $500, and each woman and child received $100. Bowlegs pocketed $6,500 for negotiating the deal. A total of 164 Seminoles departed Florida in May 1858. Three-quarters departed voluntarily, and one-quarter was removed forcibly. America's longest Indian campaign had finally come to an end.

—William E. Welsh

Library of Congress

Chief Billy Bowlegs, a hard-bitten veteran of the Second Seminole War, took on the U.S. Army anew in the Third Seminole War that ended in 1858 with the remaining Seminoles removed from Florida.

Missouri Volunteers politely objected. Instead of a frontal assault, he proposed a flanking maneuver to the right or left. The idea was never given any serious consideration, though. Taylor declined to send scouts to reconnoiter the enemy's flanks to gauge whether such an attack was possible.

A professional soldier to the core, Taylor could barely conceal his contempt for people he must have considered rank amateurs in the art of war. "Colonel Genry, are you afraid to attack the center through the swamp?" asked Taylor. Gentry was stung by this statement. "No sir, if that it your order, it will be that way," he replied. Taylor ordered Gentry and his Missourians to lead the assault.

Although it was winter, the notion of a Christmas celebration in the semitropical wilderness of central Florida was just a wistful idea. A bugler sounded the advance. His crisp, clear notes—a clarion call to action—rang out across the marshy expanse. Genry drew his sword and signaled his men to move forward. The attack quite quickly and literally bogged down. The Missourians sank into the viscous muck up to their waists. Despite the obstacle that the muck posed, Gentry showed no sign of stopping.

The painfully slow advance continued one step at a time. The men held their muskets and cartridge boxes over their heads to avoid getting their firearms and powder wet. The waters became tinted with blood even before the firing began, because the leaf edges of the fan-like sawgrass were serrated like a knife. The men suffered deep cuts on their arms, hands, and legs from just brief contact with the sawgrass.

The Missourians were about 50 yards from their objective when all hell broke loose. The hammock trees and shrubs erupted with gouts of smoke and flame, each burst representing a Seminole rifleman plying his deadly trade. The white soldiers could see the smoke, but not the shooters, who were well concealed. Seminole warriors wore colorful multihued shirts and turbans decorated with ostrich feathers, but the soldiers only glimpsed brief flashes of red, orange, or silver.

Gentry waved his sword, encouraging his men amidst the leaden storm, even though he had been wounded in the first volley. "Come on, boys, we're almost there!" he shouted amidst the din of battle. "Charge on to the hammock!" But he was too conspicuous a target, and he received another bullet, this time in the abdomen. Gentry sunk down and did not rise again. But he was still alive; in a weak voice he shouted for his men to fight on.

Since Gentry had been in the front of the line, he was at a point well within range of the Seminole warriors. Sensing an opportunity for a prized scalp, several Seminoles emerged from cover to claim the prize. A group of Missourians, seeing what was about to happen, struggled to reach their wounded commander. There was brief hand-to-hand fight, and the Seminoles decided it was not worth pressing the issue, so they withdrew to the protection of their hammock. The bleeding colonel was taken to the rear, where he expired a few hours later.

The Missourian second-in-command, Captain Thomas Childs, sent a message back to Taylor, who commanded the reserve, requesting immediate support. "You must sustain yourselves," Taylor tersely replied. Loud Seminole war cries were augmented by turkey bone whistles, enough to send frissons of fear down the spine of any enemy. Within a short time, Childs and the other officers were dead or wounded, and the Missourians, pressed to the limit of their endurance, began to waver.

The Missouri volunteers eventually broke. They retreated in a wild-eyed, confused, and unreasoning panic. For its part, the U.S. Army generally looked down upon volunteers and militia with undisguised contempt. After-action reports emphasized how most of the Missouri volunteers turned tail and could not be rallied and reformed. But more objective reports written at a later date indicated that many of the Missourians had continued to fight. The volunteers had performed their duty and maintained their muddy and miserable positions, according to these reports.

In any event, the well-trained U.S. Sixth Infantry went forward into the proverbial meat grinder, never flinching despite continued heavy Seminole fire. Bayonets gleaming, they marched with admirable discipline, displaying an almost parade-ground precision in spite of the spray of rifle balls that decimated their ranks and the viscous mud that made every step an agonizing experience. The regulars wore their military uniforms, of course, and this meant that they stood out in the wilderness more than the Missouri volunteers. The Seminoles made a point of trying to pick off the officers.

Lt. Col. Alexander Thompson was killed, as was his adjutant, Lieutenant J.P. Center, who was shot through the head. Although they were virtually leaderless at that point, the soldiers of the Sixth Infantry pressed on. In so doing, they sustained nearly 40 percent casualties. The Sixth began to fall back in an orderly fashion, but then stopped and began a new advance spearheaded by 160 men of the Fourth Infantry and a few volunteers. The Fourth managed to finally reach the hammock, where bloody hand-to-hand fighting ensued with the Seminole warriors in the dappled shadows of the pine trees. Soldiers wielding bayonets fought Seminoles swinging war clubs. The soldiers gradually began to push back the Seminole warriors.

But the Seminoles were conducting a fighting withdrawal, and never intended to take on Taylor in a pitched battle, a concept alien to their notion of war. Chiefs Sam Jones, Alligator, and Coacoochee accepted battle to allow women and children to escape. That mission accomplished; they were already in the process of withdrawing when the soldiers gained a foothold on the hammock.

The pace of their retreat picked up when Taylor sent his reserves to strike the enemy's right flank. The warriors climbed into canoes and paddled away. This left Taylor's army in possession of the battlefield, but their victory was a pyrrhic one. Taylor lost 25 killed and 112 wounded, while the Seminoles lost 11 killed and 14 wounded. After the battle, the spirit of the Seminole resistance was far from broken.

The American public was so desperate for a victory that Zachary Taylor was lauded as a national hero. His service in the Seminole War launched a political and military career that would eventually lead to the White House.

The Second Seminole War officially lasted until 1842. U.S. Army search-and-destroy missions prove extremely effective, tracking down cornfields hidden deep in the swamps and putting them to the torch. As a result, the Seminoles in hiding starved.

Starving and harassed by these patrols, many Seminoles surrendered and were shipped west. U.S. government officials also attempted bribery, and sometimes succeeded in their efforts. For example, the U.S. government gave Chief Coosa Tustenuggee $5,000. Still, a remnant of the tribe refused to surrender under any circumstances. Their Florida descendants still proudly live there to this day.

By the time the Seminole Wars had ended, they had become the longest Indian wars in U.S. history. The cost to the U.S. government was approximately $40 million, an astronomical figure for the time. It was a cost the nation could ill afford during an economic recession. The human toll was far greater. Approximately 300 U.S. Army, Navy, and Marine Corps personnel were killed in action. As might be expected, the death toll from disease among U.S. military personnel fighting in the Florida swamps was even greater. It is estimated that 1,145 regulars and volunteer militia succumbed to a variety of tropic ills, including yellow fever.

For the Seminoles, the tragedy ran far deeper. Figures are lacking, but overall the Seminoles seem to have had far fewer casualties in actual battle than the whites. But war casualty figures, incomplete as they are, give scant justice to the hundreds of Seminoles, including women and children, who died of starvation in the swamps or of disease and hardship on their journeys into exile. □

THE Kaiser's Blitz

The Germans launched a massive spring offensive in 1918 spearheaded by elite storm-troop units in a desperate bid to break the stalemate and win the war.

By Mike Phifer

German artillery officers watched as a white rocket streaked across the dark sky above the French village of St. Quentin. It was dawn on March 21, 1918, and these officers knew this was the signal to fire their guns. Elsewhere in other sectors, single heavy guns fired the signal round. The dark sky came alive with the horrendous roar of artillery fire as 6,473 guns opened up. Joining in with the artillery were 3,352 mortars sending death and misery toward enemy lines. For five hours, sweating German gunners relentlessly fired more than one million shells, focusing mostly on a 50-mile stretch of the British lines between the Sensée and Oise Rivers. Deploying every weapon in their arsenal, the Germans had even mixed in gas shells with their regular high-explosive ammunition.

As the appointed time began to draw near, some of the German troops quietly prayed; others sang songs. While the earthshaking bombardment continued, specially trained storm troops, accompanied by pioneers, slipped out of the trenches in midmorning and cut gaps in their barbed-wire defenses. German officers issued orders at 9:40 AM for a general advance. Some troops had actually advanced earlier in certain sectors.

The storm troops and other designated units pushed forward into a heavy fog that shrouded the battlefield. Hundreds of thousands of troops prepared to follow them when given the signal. After three and a half years of horrific fighting, many of the German Army troops believed they were on the verge of a great victory that would win the war for Germany once and for all.

By early 1918, the German High Command had good reason to believe that they could tip the strategic balance on the Western Front in Germany's favor. The war on the Eastern Front was over. A communist revolution had overthrown the tsarist government in Russia, and the new regime quit the fight in late 1917. Suing for peace, the Bolsheviks formally surrendered to the Central Powers with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which they signed on March 3, 1918. On the Italian front, Austro-Hungarian armies reinforced by veteran German units had routed Marshal Luigi Cadorna's army at Caporetto in autumn 1917. These developments freed up numerous German divisions that were sent west, swelling German troop strengths on the Western Front to 192 divisions totaling 3.5 million troops by early March 1918.

On the other hand, the entry of the United States into World War I in April 1917 posed a major challenge to the Germans. Once the Germans had gained numerical superiority on the Western Front, General Erich Ludendorff planned to unleash a major offensive before the rapidly growing American Expeditionary Force gave the Allies military supe-

Alamy

German stormtroopers trained in infiltration tactics and supported by heavy artillery attempt to smash their way through the British frontlines during the Spring Offensive.

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German infantry help a limbered artillery unit advance. Having redeployed troops from the Eastern Front, the Germans enjoyed a numerical advantage on the Western Front in spring 1918.

riority. The Germans also had to act quickly because the Royal Navy's worsening blockade, which was causing severe food and raw-material shortages in Germany, provided another prod to action as well.

On November 11, 1917, Ludendorff held a meeting at Mons, Belgium, with his chiefs of staff to discuss a spring offensive on the Western Front. Ludendorff already had fixed in his mind that the spring offensive would fall on the British. In the months that followed, the German High Command weighed different options, including an attack on the French, but Ludendorff had no intention of focusing on the French. "We must beat the British," he said.

Ludendorff justified this on the grounds that the British would be more likely to sign an armistice than the French, given that they were not fighting on their own soil. The Germans produced three plans for attacking the British: one aimed at Flanders, code-named George; another for Arras in the Pas-de-Calais, code-named Mars; and one code-named Michael focusing on the German-held town of St. Quentin in the Aisne region, where the British right flank met the French left flank.

Following these deliberations, the scope of Operation Michael was expanded north almost as far as Arras. Believing that enemy forces would be weak in the area where the British and French lines met, the Germans intended to punch through the British lines and swing northwest in order to roll up the British. At that point, the German objective was to either destroy the British Army or drive it to the English Channel ports. Ludendorff named the grand spring offensive the *Kaiserschlacht* (Kaiser's battle) and scheduled it to begin on March 21.

Three German armies from two army groups were to take part in the attack, and they were to attack on either side of St. Quentin along a 50-mile front between the Sensée River in the north and the Oise River to the south. General Otto von Below's Seventeenth Army was to strike the northern flank of the front. General Georg von der Marwitz's Second Army would attack in the center and, together with the Seventeenth Army, encircle and pinch off the British-held bulge in their lines called the Flesquieres Salient. These two armies would eventually swing northwest in a drive to the English Channel ports. In the southern part of the attack, General Oskar von Hutier's Eighteenth Army was to push through to the River Somme and prevent the French from coming north to aid the British.

Ludendorff planned to use innovative infiltration tactics carried out by well-trained, highly motivated troops in a quest to achieve success. Most divisions involved in the offensive were given three weeks of special training in which they learned the techniques necessary to achieve a rapid advance. Their training ended with a full-dress, 24-hour rehearsal of their unit's role in the opening attack.

Ludendorff delegated the storm-troop units to key sectors to spearhead the assault. These units were made up of young, athletic men tasked with breaching British front lines. Once they broke through, the storm troops and other units leading the way were to bypass British strong points and push as far as they could. They had specific orders to ignore their flanks.

The German tactics for the offensive also called for battle groups made up of regular infantry battalions to follow closely on the heels of the storm-troop units. These troops, whose job was to eliminate the strong points left behind by the advancing storm troops, were equipped with machine guns, mobile mortars, and field artillery. Reinforcements would follow the regular infantry battalions to buttress them and secure captured ground. All of this was designed to keep the momentum of the attack going forward in order to capture as much territory as possible and disrupt the ability of the British forces to defend their ground. "We chop a hole, the rest follows," Ludendorff said of Operation Michael.

To help chop the hole, Ludendorff would rely heavily on artillery. He planned to have his artillery batteries pound enemy lines and targets for five straight hours before the attack. The plan directed the heavy artillery not only to hammer the British front lines, but also to target their supporting artillery, supply lines, and communications network. The German batteries would deliver a creeping barrage that would keep pace with the advancing troops.

Ludendorff also took pains to ensure sufficient air support by supplementing Western Front squadrons with those brought from the Eastern Front. He issued orders for the Imperial German Air Service to conduct both strafing attacks and bomb strikes during the offensive. Ludendorff also made sure that each infantry division had a cavalry squadron to carry out scouting and escort duties.

As surprise was critical to the operation's success, troop and supply movement was carried out at night in the days leading up to the offensive. Many of the German troops involved in the attacks were tightly packed into villages behind the line, and artillery was kept concealed until the night of

March 20. Once the order was given, the troops would move out of the villages into the forward trenches, and the artillery units would take up their positions, which were pre-numbered for them.

Facing the Germans on the Western Front at the start of 1918 were 169 Allied divisions. Specifically, there were 98 French, 57 British and Commonwealth, six Belgian, six American, and two Portuguese divisions. The Allies faced a manpower crisis at that point in the war because French reserves had been dwindling. Moreover, the Americans were still building up the American Expeditionary Force and had not reached critical mass.

British Prime Minister David Lloyd George had become disturbed at the acceptance of high casualties over the two previous years of fighting by the commander of British and Commonwealth troops, Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig. For this reason, Lloyd George had taken steps to reduce Haig's control and influence, and one of the ways he did this was to curtail the number of British and Commonwealth reinforcements sent to the Western Front.

With fewer reinforcements en route from England, Haig was forced to reduce the size of his divisions. He reduced each division from 12 to nine battalions, although the divisions from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand did not make any similar consolidations. While Lloyd George's steps kept Haig from launching another offensive, they also considerably weakened the strength of the British forces.

In January 1918, the British took responsibility for an additional 25 miles of the French lines on their southern flank near St. Quentin. The British right flank rested on the French village of Barisis, five miles south of the Oise River, stretching British forces to the breaking point. The British were now responsible for defending 126 miles of the 468-mile Western Front.

The 42 miles at the southern end of the British lines was held by General Hubert Gough's Fifth Army. Its four corps held the right of the British line. Gough's army had its back to the Somme River and its network of canals. General Julian Byng's Third Army, to the left of the Fifth Army, held most of the Flesquieres Salient and another 28 miles of the front line north of it. General Henry Horne's First Army held the ground north of General Byng's Third Army, while General Henry Rawlinson's Second Army held the ground north of the British First Army. The Belgian Army anchored the Allied extreme left flank on the coast.

To hold their lines, the British began to construct a three-layered defensive system. The first layer, which was known as the "forward zone," consisted of machine-gun posts, fortified dugouts, and barbed wire. The British meant this zone to serve only as an outpost line where, in theory, they could bloody the Germans as much as possible before falling back to the second layer. Not entirely grasping the theory of defense in depth, Gough's Fifth Army had too many troops in its forward zone in some sectors.

The second layer and main defensive line was known as the "battle zone." It was supposed to be fortified and reinforced with thick strings of barbed wire. The machine-gun positions were to have good fields of fire with artillery in close support. British planners intended troops in this line to hold at all costs, and for this purpose, reserve forces were stationed nearby in order to counterattack and recapture any part of the main line lost to the Germans. The third layer, which was four to eight miles behind the battle zone, was known as the "rear zone."

It is worth noting that Gough's battle zone on the eve of the attack was not completed owing to

GERMAN COLONEL DEVISED INNOVATIVE ARTILLERY TACTICS

By March 21, 1918, Lt. Col. Georg Bruchmuller had proven himself to be a pioneer in artillery tactics. Trained in military science and physics at Berlin University, he was first assigned to the German foot artillery. Discharged in 1913 for medical reasons with the rank of lieutenant colonel, he reentered the army the following year when the war began.

Serving on the Eastern Front in 1915, Bruchmuller earned a reputation as an artillery specialist and a master of the creeping barrage. He stressed careful planning, centrally controlled firing plans, and firing in depth. He meticulously studied aerial photographs to pinpoint targets. Bruchmuller came to believe in short, sharp artillery bombardment against not only enemy frontline troops, but rear echelon areas as well. He believed that the combination of the two would surprise and shock the enemy. This tactic was in direct opposition to the traditional long-range bombardment, which typically signalled to the enemy a forthcoming infantry assault.

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Lt. Col. Georg Bruchmuller

Transferred to the Western Front, Bruchmuller, who commanded the 18th Army's artillery, used the talents he honed on the Eastern Front on the opening day of the *Kaiserschlacht*. The Germans kept most of the artillery batteries for their attack in the rear until the last moment to conceal them from the enemy. The downside of this was that the gunners would not be able to register their targets. Bruchmuller, however, had ordered that the guns be tested earlier over fixed distances to determine any functional idiosyncrasies that might result from previous hard service. The gunners would then establish the necessary adjustments needed for each gun. When the bombardment began, the gunners were to use their adjustment table in conjunction with artillery maps to pinpoint and strike their targets with precision.

The German command developed a timetable for the short, intense bombardment they planned to unleash against the British. They received orders to target both frontline British defenses, and also rear areas. They planned to shell a wide array of targets in rear areas, including key crossroads, command posts, headquarters, telephone exchanges, and artillery positions.

The gunners received orders to use both high-explosive shells and gas shells. The gas shells were a combination of phosgene (which attacks the tissue of the lungs) and lachrymatory (tear) gas. The Germans hoped the lachrymatory gas, against which British gas masks were no protection, would penetrate their masks and irritate their eyes. When they removed their masks, they would inhale the deadly phosgene gas. As it turned out, though, the gas attack endangered some German assault troops, as a light wind blew the gas back toward their lines in some locations.

Once the short, heavy bombardment was over, Bruchmuller planned for the creeping barrage to initially move forward in 300-meter jumps with pauses of three minutes. Further bounds were to be 200 meters with a four-minute pause. Bruchmuller's tactics greatly facilitated the German Army's success on the first day of the Kaiserschlacht. He outlived both world wars and died in 1948. On his gravestone is inscribed the sobriquet *Durchbruchmuller* (Breakthrough Muller), a tribute to his pioneering efforts in artillery tactics.

—Mike Phifer

Imperial War Museum

ABOVE: British Whippet tanks advance with New Zealand infantry to plug a gap in British line. During their debut on the Western Front, the Whippets covered the withdrawal of British infantry divisions recovering from the German attack. BELOW: Elements of the British 17th Division funnel through Hermies during the Battle of Rosières on March 26-27. OPPOSITE: German reserves stream towards Albert in the Somme region to reinforce the initial attack.

Imperial War Museum

a shortage of laborers. His rear zone, moreover, had not yet been built (only the trenches had been marked out for it).

Though the Germans planned to attack the junction of the French and British lines, they were unaware that Gough's right flank had been extended south. This meant that Gough's troops would have to bear the full weight of the German attack intended for the seam between the two armies.

Fortunately for Gough and his troops, the general had received permission from Haig to conduct a fighting withdrawal to the Somme if heavily attacked. Haig also insisted, though, that Gough maintain contact with the British Third Army and hold on until British and French reserves could come to his assistance. Allied commanders had agreed in February that the French would send six divisions to aid Gough if necessary. In return, Haig committed to send help to the French Sixth Army to its right if it should need assistance.

As a result of their aerial reconnaissance and intelligence efforts, the Allies had detected German preparations for the offensive. They were fully aware of enemy troop movements and a buildup of munitions on the German frontline, but there was considerable disagreement as to where the hammer blow would fall. The Germans made small, diversionary attacks against the French line and shelled French troops in the Verdun sector to keep the Allies confused.

Moreover, an observation balloon containing fake plans for an attack against the French was released and allowed to fall to the ground behind French lines. The French wholeheartedly believed that the Germans intended to direct their offensive against them.

Meanwhile, Gough became concerned when he learned that he was facing General von Hutier's Eighteenth Army. Hutier had a reputation as a determined, resourceful general. Kaiser Wilhelm II had bestowed the Pour le Mérite on von Hutier for capturing Riga in 1917.

German prisoners captured in trench raids, deserters, aerial reports of ammunition dumps, and the presence of large numbers of field guns near the German frontlines all indicated to the British Fifth Army that it was facing a major attack. Gough had every right to be alarmed since his troops were stretched so thin. The stoic soldiers of the British Fifth Army braced themselves for what was likely to be a brutal attack from German armies reinforced from the Eastern Front.

Although they had anticipated a German offensive, the British troops nevertheless were shocked at its initial ferocity. "The barrage fell on us like thunder and lightning, causing the dugout to shiver and quake and stout beams to groan under the shock of direct hits and the waves of blast, which roared down the stairway," recalled Private Jim Brady of the 3rd Field Ambulance. Wearing gas masks, outnumbered British gunners ignored the shells crashing around them and defiantly returned fire. The creeping barrage that followed the initial bombardment both dazed and shocked British troops in the forward zone of the Third and Fifth Armies. Through the heavy fog, they soon saw well-camouflaged German troops advancing towards them.

"We saw them at about 300 yards," wrote Private S.S. Taylor of the 1st Wiltshire Regiment. "Their gray uniforms didn't show up too well against the mist. There were thousands of them, a blanket of men coming straight at us." Taylor and his comrades resisted as best they could, but German troops were on their flanks and they were quickly overwhelmed. "Bolts out and put your hands up!"

shouted Wiltshire's sergeant to his men to prevent them from being shot down at close range.

Some of the British soldiers on the forward posts put up a strong resistance, managing to keep blazing away on their machine guns well into the second day of the attack. But many posts on this line, isolated by the fog from supporting fire, were quickly overrun by the Germans, who found that the bombardment had smashed British defenses, leaving dishevelled, wounded soldiers and dead bodies scattered about. Some defenders of the first line quickly retreated back to the battle zone, while those captured were sent stumbling like Taylor and his comrades east toward the German lines.

By noon on the first day, the fog had lifted in most places, and the German advance was beginning to slow down, due in part to the churned-up battlefield. German pioneer companies feverishly attempted to fill in shell holes in order to keep the advancing troops moving foward. Horses and gunners were having particular difficulty moving field artillery pieces across the pock-marked terrain. What's more, British resistance stiffened as the day wore on. "The English second line is being hotly contested, and the enemy artillery is also now intervening more effectively," wrote Walter Bleam of the 12th Battalion, Grenadier Regiment.

After smashing through the forward zone of the British Third Army, Below's Seventeenth Army came under heavy fire. The Seventeenth Army had intended to cut the off the northern end of the Flesquieres Salient by pushing toward the village of Ytres. Once it and the Second Army had taken the junction area between the British Third and Fifth Armies, the Seventeenth Army was supposed to swing northwest.

By the end of the first day, though, that objective still remained out of reach. The Seventeenth Army had managed to capture part of the British Third Army's battle zone, including the village of Demicourt, while repulsing fierce British counterattacks, some of which were supported by tanks. The Germans had advanced nearly three miles in that sector, but their final destination of Ytres still lay more than four miles away.

On the Seventeenth Army's left flank, the German Second Army attacked the salient from the south, heading for their objective of Equancourt. Although slowed by the fog, the advance troops pushed through the forward zone, leaving behind pockets of resistance. By noon, the Germans had reached the main line held by the Fifth British Army. Fighting raged throughout the rest of the day as Gough's two northernmost divisions fought desperately to hold the line and Epehy.

"We opened fire," wrote Lance Cpl. S.T. North of the 7th Leicester Regiment, one of the sector's British defenders that day. "The Lewis [automatic] guns got busy and the enemy scattered. They had very little cover and no chance of survival."

The soldiers of Marwitz's Second Army were unable to cut off the British troops in the salient, but they had taken a good part of the battle zone. They advanced more than two and a half miles but fell more than three and a half miles short of their objective.

Hutier's Eighteenth Army had the greatest success of the day in its sledgehammer attack on the Second Army's left flank. It overran the Second Army's forward zone easily enough, but it stalled against the right flank of the Eighteenth Army in the face of heavy machine-gun fire. On the Eighteenth Army's left, though, the situation was much worse. It was there that Lt. Gen. Richard Butler's heavily outnumbered III Corps was unable to stop the Germans at the battle zone.

Greatly concerned over the German troops sweeping against his outspread army, Gough telephoned his corps commanders at 2:00 PM. He ordered them to fight a delaying action until reinforcements arrived, but he warned them not to allow their forces to be destroyed in the battle zone. Gough granted Butler permission to fall back behind the Crozat Canal to his rear.

As the fighting died out at nightfall, the British Fifth Army remained in a perilous situation. The German Eighteenth Army stood in a favorable position to continue its advance on the second day. It was here that the Germans had broken through the enemy's battle zone. In the south, Ludendorff's attacking forces were to have overrun the Flesquieres Salient on the first day, but they did not achieve their objective.

On most of the battlefront, the Germans had gotten bogged down at the main defensive line of the British defenses. The Germans suffered 40,000 casualties on the first day. As for the British, they lost 38,500 soldiers on the first day, of which 21,000 had been taken prisoner by the advancing Germans.

Ludendorff exhorted Below and Marwitz to complete their occupation of the Flesquieres Salient the following day. Instead of sending their armies reinforcements, though, Ludendorff directed his fresh troops to support Hutier's army. In so doing, he sought to reinforce the army that had made the most progress on the first day. Just before dawn on March 22, the three German armies renewed their assault in a heavy fog.

The German Seventeenth Army made some gains against the determined defenders of the British Third Army, which was deployed on the north side of the salient. The German Second Army fought its way to Epehy, capturing the vil-

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lage in the early afternoon.

In the late morning of the second day, Gough instructed his corps commanders to conduct a fighting retreat if necessary to the rear zone. Concerned about the III Corps' withdrawal to the Crozat Canal on his right flank, Lt. Gen. Ivor Maxse ordered his XVIII Corps to fall back nine miles to the Somme, yet Maxse failed to inform the commander of XIX Corps on his left flank of his move. With its right flank unanchored and vulnerable to attack, the XIX Corps had no choice but to retreat as well.

The Germans troops of the Eighteenth Army continued to push Gough's troops back. "Toward noon, when we neared Jussy, a terrible enemy machine-gun fire met us," wrote Lieutenant Reinhold Spengler of the 1st Bavarian Regiment. Jussy was situated on the east side of the Crozat Canal near a railway embankment where remnants of a couple of battalions from the Scottish Rifles and the King's Royal Rifle Corps had entrenched. "Repeated attacks were stopped short of Jussy with heavy losses," Spengler said.

By nightfall, the situation was now critical for Gough's army. Though still unbroken, its front line was bending under the strain of German attacks. "I cannot make out why the Fifth Army had gone back so far without making some kind of stand," said Haig in regard to the crisis that overtook Gough. Haig did his best to stiffen the battered Fifth Army with the resources available to him.

In the early hours of March 23, some units of the German Eighteenth Army advanced to the edge of the Crozat Canal. Captain Eugen von Schobert of the 3rd Bavarian Regiment led his company under the cover of fog to a partially destroyed bridge over the canal. The British had destroyed numerous bridges over the canal, but some could still be crossed. He and his men climbed across the twisted bridge and reached the east side of the canal. Other German units were doing the same.

"As soon as we crossed over the canal bridge, the enemy was alerted and opened fire," wrote Georg Maier of the 1st Bavarian Regiment's machine-gun company. "Thanks to the fog, he was not able to hit us hard, and our infantry quickly stormed the position where the firing came from, and we followed with our machine guns. The town was soon on fire. It looked grotesque through the dense fog, and we became confused by all the noise of shell fire, rifle and machine-gun fire, and the cries of the wounded."

Once across the canal at Jussy and elsewhere, the German Eighteenth Army continued their advance westward, rubbing out pockets of resistance and driving back the right wing of the Fifth Army directly in front of them. A dangerous four-mile gap opened up between Gough's army and the French Sixth Army to their right. Haig had asked the French for help early on March 22 in order to reinforce Gough's right, and the French had dispatched two infantry divisions, a regiment of field artillery, and three regiments of heavy artillery. They informed the British that they planned to send another four more infantry divisions a short time later. The French reinforcements counterattacked the advancing German Eighteenth Army, but were not strong enough to stop it. When they ran low on ammunition, the French took up defensive positions alongside the British.

The Germans flooded out of Frieres Wood one rank after another in pursuit of the retreating British units. The British responded with heavy fire. "New lines sprang up, and were mown down again until one almost sickened of the slaughter," wrote Captain R. Chell of the 10th Battalion, Essex Regiment. "[By] nightfall, they were behind us, and only a narrow exit corridor remained. As it was, it was a miracle that any of the battalion got out at all, but we left many, many behind."

The situation facing the British worsened as they withdrew westward. Attempts to hold the poor defenses of the rear zone about five miles east of the Somme failed to stop the Germans. Bitter fighting raged as elements of the British Fifth Army continued their withdrawal toward the river.

In the late afternoon, Haig issued a sobering order. "Fifth Army must hold the Somme at all costs," he wrote. "There must be no withdrawal from this line." He stipulated that his soldiers were to hold the key town of Peronne along the River Somme, where a fortified bridgehead had been established to serve as the link between the Third and Fifth Armies. Unfortunately, Haig's orders proved impossible to carry out. By the time they were issued, Peronne had been abandoned, and as the battle progressed, the British were unable to stop the Germans at the Somme.

The Kaiser was elated to learn that German forces had fought their way 14 miles into the British lines and captured 40,000 prisoners. "The

battle is won," he crowed prematurely. "The English have been utterly defeated!" In truth, the British were far from defeated, although greatly battered and bloodied.

Allied resistance slowed the advance of both the German Second and Eighteenth Armies. Yet while those forces ran into delays attempting to cross the Somme because the British had blown up most of the bridges over the wide river, the German Seventeenth Army continued to make progress.

The situation north of the Fifth British Army continued to deteriorate as the Flesquieres Salient imploded and the Tommies defending it barely escaped encirclement. The Germans succeeded in forcing the British V and VI Corps of Byng's Third Army back to the Somme battlefield of 1916, four miles behind Gough's left flank. Lieutenant General William Congreve's VII Corps of the Fifth Army made contact with Byng's troops on March 25.

Greatly disturbed over the quickly deteriorating situation and the possible destruction of the British Fifth Army, Haig asked Marshal Philippe Petain for more reinforcements. Although concerned the Germans might launch an offense in the Champagne region, Petain formed a new army group to take over the battle from the Somme south to the Oise River. Command of this army group was given to General Emile Fayolle. The French general had under his command General Marie Debeney's First Army and General Georges Humbert's Third Army.

Gough's army fell under the broad command of Fayolle. It faced a hard task in holding nearly two-thirds of the 36 miles under the French commander's control. At that point, the Somme became the new dividing line between British and French forces. As for Gough's troops north of the Somme, they were under Byng's direction.

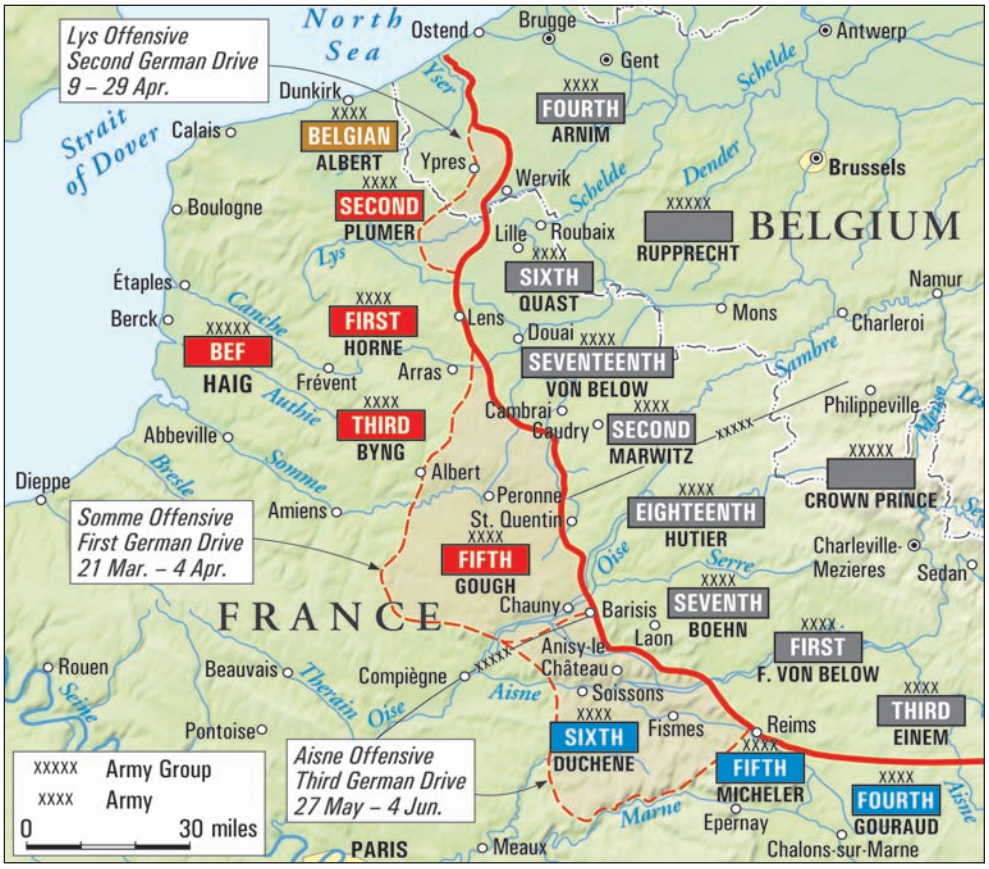
Top Allied commanders and politicians met at Doullens on March 26 to deal with the crisis and facilitate better cooperation among Allied commanders. The French representatives at the conference were Pétain, French President Raymond Poincaré, French Premier Georges Clemenceau, and Generals Ferdinand Foch and Maxime Weygand. The British officials in attendance were Secretary of War Alfred Milner, Field Marshal Haig, and Generals Henry Wilson, Herbert Lawrence, and Archibald Montgomery. The conferees signed an agreement designating Foch as the supreme commander of Allied forces on the Western Front. In his new capacity as generalissimo, Foch would be responsible for overseeing and coordinating the actions of all of the Allied armies on the Western Front. The move was done to improve coordination among the Allied armies facing the Germans.

"We must fight in front of Amiens, we must fight where we are now," said Foch. "As we have not been able to stop the Germans on the Somme, we must not now retire a single inch." This was easier said than done, though. Ludendorff was now shifting his emphasis to the southwest, where the Second and Eighteenth Armies were doing well. He did this even though it was a deviation from the original objectives of Operation Michael, which called for the main push to be towards the northwest.

Supplying the German Eighteenth and Second Armies as they pushed further away from their railheads was a time-consuming process. Large amounts of materiel had to be transported across abandoned trench lines, through the rubble of villages, and over the pockmarked landscape of the old Somme battlefield. Artillery units that needed to support the infantry attack found it difficult to traverse the battle-scarred terrain. Allied aerial strafing and bombing attacks further hampered this movement of supplies by the few trucks and horses still available. Combined with stiffening Allied resistance, the Germans' overextended supply and communication lines slowed their advance.

Foch's first action in his new role was to visit Gough and severely berate him for not being at the front with his troops. He asked the British general to explain the reason he had retreated and had not stood his ground. Before storming off, Foch told Gough that he was not to retreat any further. Despite Foch's displeasure with Gough's performance, no reinforcements were offered. By that point, the divisions of the British Fifth Army were down to brigade size, and its brigades were down to battalion size. The Germans had destroyed many British battalions entirely. British battalion commanders issued rifles to rear-echelon personnel, such as clerks, cooks, and engineers, and ordered them to the frontlines. Among the rear-echelon personnel pressed into battle were two companies of American engineers and one company of Canadian engineers.

That same day, Gough's depleted army continued its fighting withdrawal south of the Somme, aided by heroic rearguard actions. At La Quesnoy, for instance, 100 troops of the 7th Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry fought a delaying action that



ABOVE: The German High Command unleashed a number of major offensives on the Western Front in 1918 that are collectively known as the Kaiserschlacht. In the first of these attacks in March, the Germans penetrated the British front to a depth of 40 miles. OPPOSITE: A Hotchkiss machine gun team buttresses the line during the Third Battle of the Aisne in late May. The Germans were surprised at their own success when they reached the Marne River.

bought the XVIII Corps more than six precious hours, even though its heavy-weapons assets consisted of nothing more than two Lewis guns. Only eleven survivors got away to the British lines.

Fighting continued to rage south of the Somme the next day, March 27. At Rosiéres, the III Corps of the German Eighteenth Army sent wave after wave of field-gray troops against the battered XIX Corps. Machine-gun fire bloodied the German assault troops, as did artillery support. Foch ordered that Rosières be held at all costs, but this was proving difficult, as the British Fifth Army's left flank along the Somme was open. In mid-afternoon, the Germans pushed south to a point a few miles north of the village of Harbonnières. Their goal was to roll up the British line. To halt the advance of the German 208th Division, British Brig. Gen. E.P. Riddell mounted an artillery horse and led the remnants of his 149th Brigade of the British XIX Corps in a determined counterattack that bought adjacent British units badly needed time to consolidate their positions.

The British XIX Corps' section of the line held, but the Rosières position had become a salient, and the troops defending the salient were in danger of being cut off by the Germans. Foch gave permission for the XIX Corps to withdraw, which they did, barely escaping. The Fifth Army line was now even closer to Amiens.

The Germans attacked north of the Somme on March 28 between Hendecourt and Lens on a 33-mile front. The goal was to strike northwest toward Arras, finally opening the way to the channel ports. Following a sustained bombardment, 29 German divisions attacked. Byng's Tommies and Australians greeted the Germans with machine-gun and rifle fire. Suffering heavy casualties and making only slight gains in certain sectors, the attack ground to a halt in the late afternoon. Ludendorff conceded that the attack had failed to achieve its objectives. He subsequently cancelled a follow-up operation known as Valkyrie.

That same day, Gough, who the British government blamed for the Fifth Army's predicament, was relieved of command, despite Haig's efforts to save him. General Henry Rawlinson replaced Gough. Taking stock of the situation, Rawlinson warned Foch that Amiens was in danger of falling to the Germans if he did not receive reinforcements within 48 hours.

Ludendorff returned his focus to the area south of the Somme and the capture of Amiens. On March 30, Hutier's Eighteenth Army struck the French between Noyon and Moreuil on a 25-mile front. The Germans made some noteworthy gains after a hard day of fighting. Meanwhile, the German Second Army attacked the badly battered British Fifth Army east of Amiens. They took Moreuil Wood, located on the southern end of a key ridge where the French and British sectors joined. A fierce charge by the Canadian Cavalry Brigade managed to retake part the woods, but at a heavy cost in troopers and horses. The 3rd Cavalry Brigade soon arrived and managed to clear the woods except for the southern and eastern fringes, which remained in German hands.

In the early hours of March 31, foot soldiers relieved the cavalry in the woods. Throughout the day, the Germans counterattacked, managing by nightfall to hold the woods and the neighboring Rifle Wood. The next day, British and Canadian cavalry attacked again. This time, they went forward dismounted. The woods were taken, and enemy counterattacks were beaten back. The Germans eventually retook the two forests, but enough time had been bought to allow much-needed reinforcements to arrive, including the Australians

There was a lull in the fighting until April 4th, when Ludendorff ordered a limited offensive toward Amiens, about 10 miles behind the British lines. German guns hammered the First French

Imperial War Museum

Armed with rifles and machine guns, entrenched British Tommies await the German onslaught with a clear field of fire. When the Hundred Days Offensive began in August, it was the Germans' turn to fight for their survival.

Army for about 75 minutes before attacking at 6:30 AM with 12 divisions. A few French divisions were forced to give way for a couple of miles, but by late afternoon, the French were counterattacking and halting the German Eighteenth Army's advance.

Holding the lines outside of Amiens, the Tommies and Aussies braced themselves for the German Second Army's onslaught. Fighting raged throughout the day. After two failed assaults, the Germans ultimately captured the village of Dernancourt.

"The first wave of Germans came in massed formation, and they were cut down by machine-gun fire, just like a scythe cuts grass," recalled Private Stanley Sutcliffe of the 51st Battalion, 4th Australian Division, "but his second wave appeared, so the 2nd Battalion and our 12th Brigade hopped up and met it…The Germans kept being reinforced, with the result that we were pushed back about 1,000 yards."

Further south, the Germans forced open a gap in the lines between the British and Australians at Villers-Bretonneux. The Bavarian 9th Division came to within 440 yards of the smashed village. This prompted the withdrawal of nearby British batteries. Colonel John Milne, commander of the 36th Australian Battalion, gathered what men he could to prepare a counterattack. "Go 'til you're stopped, and hold on at all costs," Milne told a British company commander; the soldiers rushed forward and drove the enemy back a mile.

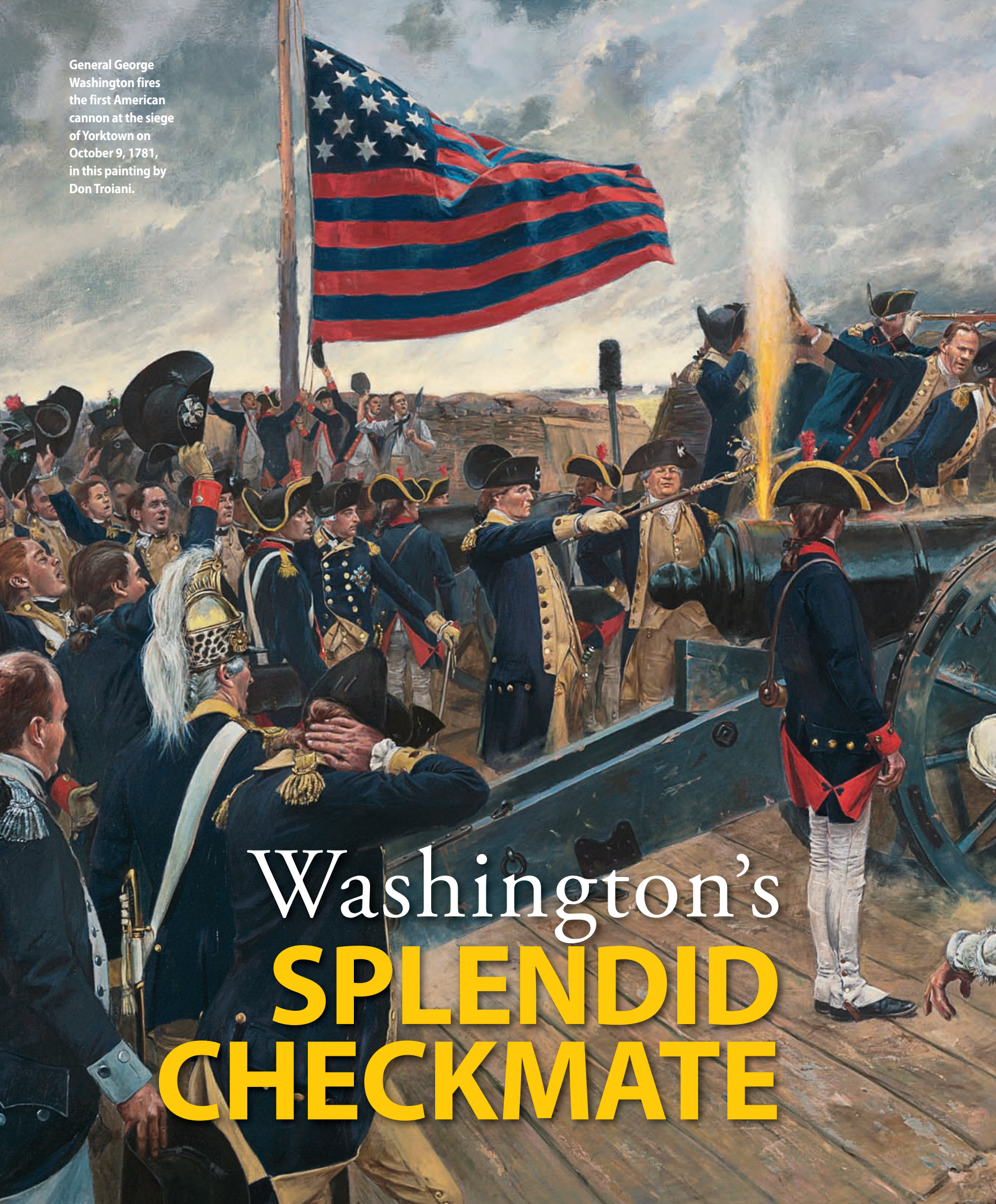
Fighting continued the next day, April 5. This time, it was the French counterattacking Hutier's exhausted Eighteenth Army that made little gain. Meanwhile, the German Second Army attempted to outflank Villers-Bretonneux, but it was halted by machine-gun fire and artillery support. Attacks against Byng's troops further north fared little better. "The enemy's resistance was beyond our powers," said Ludendorff that evening. He ordered his generals to stop their attacks.

Operation Michael was over. By that point, upwards of 100,000 reinforcements had arrived from England to bolster the British armies. The worn-out, demoralized Germans had suffered 239,000 casualties in two weeks of horrific fighting. Although the Germans put a 40-mile dent in the Allied lines, they failed to separate the French and British lines. Indeed, they compelled the Allied High Command to improve its operations through the appointment of Foch as its generalissimo. The Allies had dashed the German High Command's hope of driving the British forces to the English Channel.

The British had suffered 178,000 casualties, 72,000 of them captured in combat. For their part, the French suffered 77,000 killed, wounded, and captured. With the Americans coming, the Allies could replace their loses, while the Germans could not.

The German spring offensive was far from over. They launched operations in Flanders as well against the French at Chemin des Dames in a drive toward Paris, but once again, these offensives failed to achieve a breakthrough, and attacks continued against the French into July. After having suffered staggeringly heavy casualties, the Germans had little hope of victory. Their attacks ceased in midsummer. Despite the best efforts of Ludendorff and his soldiers, the Allies had stopped one of the most potentially devastating German offensives of the war.

On August 8, the Allies launched their Hundred Days Offensive. It began with the British victory at Amiens, which Ludendorff described as "the black day of the German Army." The French pushed forward in the center, while the Americans fought their way forward on the Allied right. German defenses crumbled under the pressure of relentless attacks. The Germans signed the armistice on November 11. Peace returned, but it was not a lasting one. □



General George Washington fires the first American cannon at the siege of Yorktown on October 9, 1781, in this painting by Don Troiani.

Washington's SPLENDID CHECKMATE

American and French forces converged on the Virginia Peninsula to trap the British Army at Yorktown in 1781. Successful assaults on British redoubts forced Cornwallis to surrender.

By David A. Norris

Sergeant Joseph Plumb Martin, a sapper in the Continental Army, waited for the signal that would begin the night attack on two enemy-held redoubts. He was so anxious that when he saw the bright planets Venus and Jupiter shining high above, he was ready to spring to his feet, thinking they were the signal.

Martin and his advance party were waiting to start hacking through the obstructions protecting the British outworks. Hundreds of French and American troops would then capture the redoubts. And if the redoubts were taken, the siege against the army of Lt. Gen. Earl Charles Cornwallis in Yorktown, Virginia, would gather momentum.

Only a few weeks before, the American cause had been teetering on the edge of failure, mired in setbacks and frustration. Now, General George Washington's Continental Army was on the verge of potential victory by capturing the largest British field army in North America.

The American Revolutionary War had reached a stalemate in the northern colonies by 1778. The British controlled New York City and Philadelphia, but while Redcoat armies made constant forays into the countryside, they could only permanently hold on to heavily fortified bases that could be resupplied by sea. Even worse, France joined with the Continental government against Britain in 1778.

Lord George Germain, the British secretary of state for the colonies, decided to try a new approach. He sacked Maj. Gen. William Howe, replacing him with Maj. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton as army commander-in-chief for North America. Clinton abandoned Philadelphia and held New York, and from then on, British military strategy focused primarily on the southern colonies. The hope was that thousands of southern loyalists would flock to the king's standard when they saw British regulars arrive, enabling Crown forces to finally crush the Continental Army and patriot militias.

The port of Charleston, South Carolina, fell to Clinton's forces on May 12, 1780. Returning to New York, he left Earl Charles Cornwallis in command of the Army in the South.

Sidney E. King, National Park Service

ABOVE: American troops dig trenches in early October marking the start of formal siege operations against the British forces at Yorktown. RIGHT: Lt. Gen. Charles Cornwallis, the commander of British forces at Yorktown, arrived on the Virginia Peninsula in spring 1781 to await reinforcements scheduled to arrive by sea.

Cornwallis marched deep into the Carolinas in the fall of 1780. Some loyalists rallied to the king, but the royal cause suffered disastrous setbacks at King's Mountain on October 7, 1780, and Cowpens on January 17, 1781.

Cornwallis entered North Carolina, where he pursued Continental commander Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene until their armies clashed at the Battle of Guilford Courthouse on March 15, 1781. After a fight that ended in hand-to-hand combat, Greene pulled his troops from the field; however, British losses were so great that continued operations so deep inland were deemed to be too dangerous.

The battered British Army then marched southeast to Wilmington, North Carolina, a port that the British had seized as a supply base at the end of January 1781. Rather than continue a frustrating campaign in the interior of the Carolinas, Cornwallis marched for Virginia on April 25, 1781. Cornwallis hoped to establish a base in Virginia that would accommodate reinforcement and resupply by sea. The British reached the Virginia border on May 10; three days later, Major General William Phillips, the British commander in Virginia, died of typhoid, and Cornwallis took his place.

Late in 1780, General Sir Henry Clinton had sent 1,600 troops under Brig. Gen. Benedict Arnold to Virginia to support Cornwallis' southern campaign. Arnold captured and burned Richmond (which replaced Williamsburg as Virginia's capital in 1780) on January 5, 1781. He then withdrew to Portsmouth on the Chesapeake Bay.

To counter Arnold, Washington sent his trusted associate Maj. Gen. Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, the Marquis de Lafayette, to Virginia in February 1781. He joined forces with troops already present under Baron Friedrich von Steuben. By summer, the American force in Virginia grew to 4,000 regulars and militia.

After successfully raiding Charlottesville on June 4 and repulsing a July 6 attack by Lafayette at Green Spring, Virginia, Cornwallis followed new orders to establish a permanent base at Yorktown, 13 miles east of Williamsburg.

The county seat of York County, Yorktown had roughly 200 houses. Warehouses, wharves, taverns, and cheap lodgings were clustered along the shore of the York River. Higher up on a bluff overlooking the river, the rest of the town, including the church, courthouse, and some fine mansions, was centered along Main Street and half a dozen side streets. Yorktown's location on the deep, wide York River offered easy access to the sea and a sizeable harbor for seagoing ships.

The British reached Yorktown on August 2. After absorbing the garrison of Portsmouth, Cornwallis now had more than 7,000 soldiers. His Brigade of Guards, an ad hoc unit assembled specifically for the "American War," drew from the best soldiers in the elite Guards regiments. Besides various small Redcoat units, there were seven British foot regiments. Also on hand were 500 cavalry (mostly American provincial regulars) in Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton's British Legion and Colonel John Grave Simcoe's Queen's Rangers. There were three German regiments, the large two-battalion Ansbach-Bayreuth Regiment and two regiments from Hesse-Kassel, as well as artillerists and a company of *jägers*, crack riflemen skilled in woodland fighting. Also present were some American loyalists and a detachment from the Royal Artillery.

Tarleton's cavalry were among the troops sent across the York River to Gloucester Point on the north bank, which occupied the tip of a small cape that jutted into the river. The York River here was about 2,000 feet wide, considerably narrower than any other stretch for about 20 miles upstream.

The Continental Army under General George Washington was far to the north along the Hudson River, well upstream from the British in New York City. On July 7, 4,800 French troops under Jean-Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau, joined Washington after marching from Rhode Island.

Bolstered by the French troops, Washington favored driving the British out of New York. Rochambeau, who tactfully disagreed with his ally, thought New York was too heavily defended for a successful attack. Cornwallis' army in Virginia was a more attractive target. Newly arrived, they had not had time to dig in as strongly as the garrison at New York. Also, if the sea could bring reinforcements to Cornwallis in Virginia, the sea could also bring French King Louis XVI's ships

and soldiers.

Rochambeau knew that French Admiral Francois Joseph Paul, Comte de Grasse, had arrived in the Caribbean in April with 23 ships. De Grasse was under orders to cooperate with the Continentals against the British. Rochambeau wrote de Grasse, asking that he sail his fleet either to New York or to Virginia with any troops he could bring and money to relieve the plight of the near-bankrupt Continental cause.

The admiral was in San Domingue (modern-day Haiti) when Rochambeau's letter reached him. Agreeing to Rochambeau's plans, de Grasse obtained 3,300 troops and some artillery under the command of Maj. Gen. Claude Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de Saint-Simon, from the governor of San Domingue. No amount of pleading or begging could pry away any of the badly needed money for the American rebels, though. Finally, de Grasse got 1.2 million livres from the colonial Spanish government of Cuba and wealthy sympathizers in Havana.

De Grasse sailed on August 5, heading for the closer of his two options, which was Virginia. Washington soon learned that Cornwallis had moved to Yorktown, and on August 14, news arrived that de Grasse was on his way to the Chesapeake Bay.

With de Grasse on the move, Washington started his army on the 400-mile march southward to Virginia on August 19. Plans were kept as secret as possible. The Continental rank-and-file were unsure where they were going, but for a few days, they and the French managed to make Sir Henry Clinton believe they were positioning themselves to attack New York City.

Rochambeau's siege guns had been left in Rhode Island. They were loaded aboard a small fleet under Admiral Louis Jacques, Comte de Barras, whose eight ships left Newport bound for Virginia on August 25.

Meanwhile, British Admiral Samuel Hood set off in pursuit of de Grasse with 14 ships, reaching the Chesapeake on August 25 without seeing the French fleet. De Grasse's route, through Bahama Channel, made for a longer voyage, but it allowed him to avoid detection. Hood then decided to sail to New York.

On August 31, De Grasse arrived and delivered Saint-Simon's troops. Cornwallis observed the French soldiers being ferried up the James River on September 2, escorted by French frigates. The soldiers came ashore at Jamestown. The combined Franco-American force now occupied the York Peninsula up to Williamsburg, hemming Cornwallis in at Yorktown. The first Continentals and French marched through Philadelphia on September 2, and small French ships sailed as far as Head of Elk—at the northeastern tip of the Chesapeake—to pick up Allied troops when they arrived in Maryland.

National Park Service

General George Washington confers with the Lt. Gen. Jean Baptiste Rochambeau and his staff during the siege. The Marquis de Lafayette, who kept Washington apprised of Cornwallis' movements in Virginia, is visible to the right of Washington.

Hood had notified Admiral Thomas Graves, commander of the Royal Navy in North America, that de Grasse was sailing to Virginia. Graves also knew of Barras' departure from Rhode Island. With Graves in command, he and Hood assembled 19 ships and sailed for Virginia on August 31.

British sappers worked on fortifications at Yorktown. They pulled down many houses in town to create a clear field of fire and to provide planks and beams for their works. Soon the entrenchments surrounded an area 1,500 yards wide and 500 yards deep. A protruding section known as the Hornwork protected Hampton Road. Scattered outside the main works were 10 redoubts.

Graves' arrival off Cape Henry on September 5 caught de Grasse completely by surprise, as hundreds of his sailors were ashore bringing fresh water to the fleet. The French struggled to form a line of battle, but Graves moved slowly and did not take advantage of his enemy's disarray. It was shortly after 4 PM when the fleets came within firing range of each other off Cape Henry and Cape Charles.

In the Battle of the Virginia Capes, fought on September 5, six French captains were killed and four of de Grasse's ships were put out of action. De Grasse's losses came to 230 dead and wounded. Graves' casualties came to approximately 350 men, and six of his ships could no longer fight without repairs. No ships were sunk; however, the 74-gun *Terrible* was so badly damaged that she had to be scuttled.

Neither admiral pushed to resume combat. After several days, de Grasse turned back to the Chesapeake. By the time Graves was ready to renew the clash, Barras' ships had arrived, bringing the French fleet to 36 ships. Because it was outnumbered nearly 2-to-1, the British fleet returned to New York.

Compared to other fleet actions, the Battle of the Virginia Capes was a minor one in terms of losses, but it had a massive influence upon American history, as it ended Cornwallis' hopes of receiving more troops and supplies by sea. The French Navy had bottled up Cornwallis and his vessels in the Chesapeake and sealed the bay to prevent any more British help from getting through.

As the Continentals and the French traveled by boat or by foot toward Yorktown, Washington arrived at Mount Vernon on the south bank of the Potomac River on September 9. It was the first time he had seen his home since leaving to take command of the Continental Army outside Boston six years before, in the summer of 1775.

Washington and Rochambeau rode into

Williamsburg, where they joined Lafayette on September 14. Washington took command of the combined forces. It took several days for army and naval commanders to plan the strategy for the siege that would be necessary to take Yorktown.

On September 28, Washington's army marched to Yorktown to begin the siege. After fending off probes by French troops, Cornwallis fell back from his outer lines shortly after midnight, abandoning four redoubts in front of his center. His army squeezed inside the inner fortifications along with the remaining civilians of Yorktown; the British were truly trapped. Communication with Clinton and Graves in New York was possible only by sending dispatches in whaleboats. Anything larger was liable to be spotted and snapped up by the French Navy or an American privateer.

Abandoning the outworks was a calculated risk, but the available troops could better defend the smaller inner perimeter. Earlier that day, a dispatch arrived from New York by whaleboat, revealing that Clinton planned to sail with 23 ships and 5,000 more troops on October 5, convincing Cornwallis that he only needed to hold on for another week at most.

Washington would be undertaking a formal siege of Yorktown, which would be a new approach for him in the long war. Few in the Continental Army had more than a theoretical acquaintance with siege warfare. Fortunately, their French allies had plenty of experience. Soldiers set about the preliminary work of filling sandbags and making gabions (huge wicker baskets that could be filled with dirt for quick construction of field works) and fascines (bundles of saplings covered with dirt used in building up earthworks).

Gloucester Point, just across the river and held by Tarleton, offered a possible escape route for Cornwallis. Five redoubts and a line of works shielded the British camp there.

Brigadier General George Weedon's 1,500 militiamen held Tarleton's force in place. Armand Louis de Gontaut, Duc de Lauzun, brought his 600-man legion of foot and cavalry on September 28. At Lauzun's request, Rochambeau sent some artillery and 800 marines to Gloucester. General Claude Gabriel, Marquis de Choisy, was placed in overall command.

Choisy attacked the British at Gloucester on October 3 with Lauzon's Legion and Weedon's militia. Most of the Redcoats were out foraging, loading wagons and packhorses with stolen corn. Tarleton and Lauzun spotted each other on the battlefield. They intended a personal duel until Tarleton's horse fell and threw the major to the ground. Lauzun galloped ahead to capture Tarleton, but a handful of dragoons rescued him. The French duke had to be content with taking Tarleton's horse, but in the course of the skirmish, his men killed or wounded 50 of Tarleton's troopers.

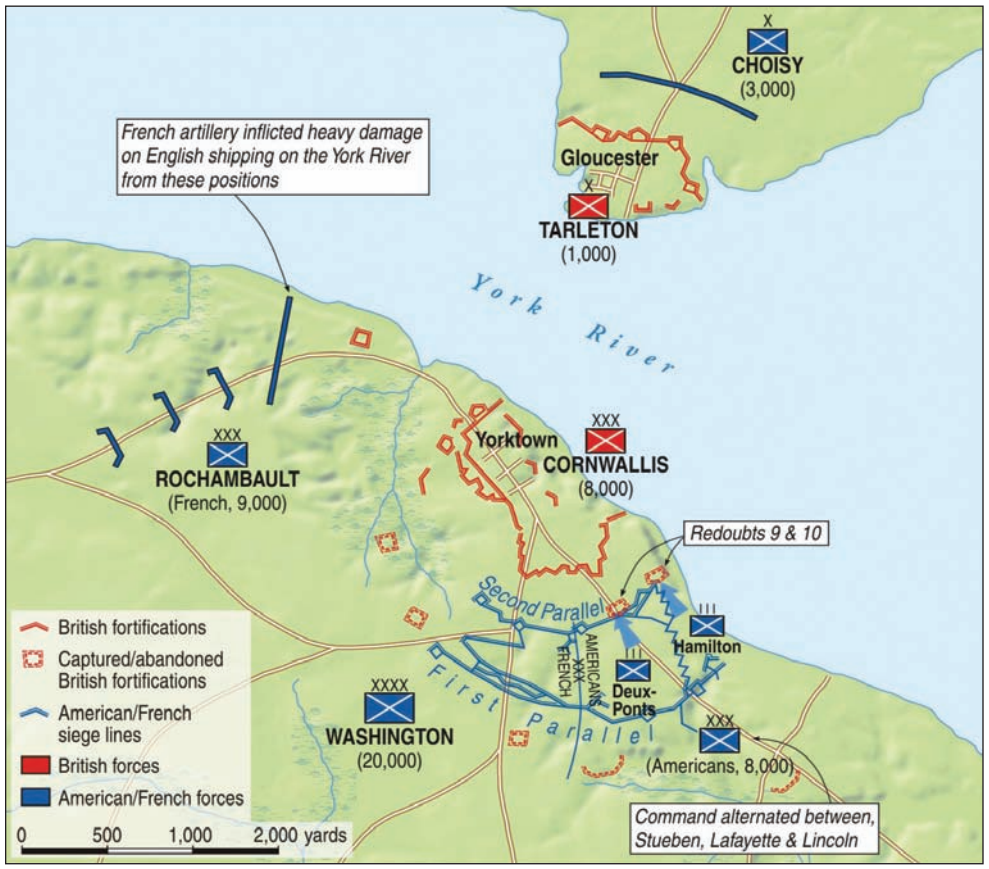
Choisy now pitched a new camp on the battlefield, where he posted a strong picket line, and from then on, the British were penned in at Gloucester. American surgeon James Thatcher witnessed the grim result of the cavalry clash. "The enemy from want of forage are killing off their horses in great numbers. Six or seven hundred of these valuable animals have been killed, and their carcases [sic] are almost continually floating down the river," he wrote.

British guns in Yorktown fired on French and Continental troops as they began the preliminary work on their siege lines. Construction started on October 6 with the first parallel, a 2,000-yard line that mirrored the British works 800 yards away. Engineers had previously driven in a line of stakes to guide the workers. Fifteen hundred men carrying fascines and entrenching tools quietly marched to their starting points and went to work, guarded by nearly twice as many with muskets at the ready. French troops worked on the left half, and Americans handled the right, which ended near the York River.

After daylight, the guns in Yorktown opened fire on the parallel. Sergeant Martin saw a bulldog run out of the British lines several times to chase some of the cannon balls. There was some thought of catching the British bulldog and tying a mocking note around his neck to take back to his masters, but "he looked too formidable for any of us to encounter," wrote Martin. Allied siege batteries were not ready, so the sappers had to keep working and endure the fire as best they could.

The same day that work began on the first parallel, Washington's close friend and invaluable officer Colonel Alexander Scammell, commander of the light infantry, led a small reconnaissance force towards British lines. British dragoons rode out from a patch of woods and quickly captured Scammell. While one horseman took Scammell's reins, another of Tarleton's men shot the colonel in the back. Scammell was returned under a flag of truce, but he died shortly after.

With the preliminary work on the first parallel finished by dawn on October 7, construction on the batteries continued over two more nights before the artillery was ready to open fire on the afternoon of October 9. A French battery was the first to open fire on the extreme left of the paral-



The Franco-American army's superior artillery coupled with aggressive assaults on the British redoubts enabled it to prevail over Lord Cornwallis' British army. When the British tried to cross the York River to Gloucester on the night of October 16-17 in a bid to escape, a fierce storm thwarted its passage.

Eugène Lami, Wikimedia

Colonel Alexander Hamilton leads American light infantry in a determined assault against British-held Redoubt 10 on the night of October 14-15. The Americans captured most of the British troops in the redoubt in the successful action.

lel. Twelve guns—18- and 24-pounders, howitzers, and mortars—lobbed shot and shell toward Yorktown. One of their first shots plunged into a house where officers of the 76th Foot were having dinner. The shot wounded several officers and killed Commissary General Perkins. Perkins' wife, who had been sitting between her husband and the wounded officers, escaped unharmed. A shot striking a different house killed the sutler (provisioning merchant) of a German regiment.

Two hours after the French opened fire, Washington fired the first shot from the American battery on the right of the parallel. This American battery had six 18- and 24-pounders, two howitzers, and a pair of mortars.

The following day, four newly deployed Allied batteries opened fire. Placed as they were, the 50 heavy guns of the French and American artillery enfiladed the longest face of the Yorktown fortifications. The bombardment battered the embrasures of the British artillery and dismounted one Yorktown gun after another. "[On] the 10th, scarcely a gun could be fired from our works, fascines, stockade platforms, and earth, with guns and gun-carriages being all pounded together into a mass," wrote Captain Samuel Graham of the 76th Foot.

Lieutenant Colonel St. George Tucker noted that the British gunners found a way to harass their enemies while conserving their dwindling supply of projectiles: Gunners touched off a bit of gunpowder near their cannon muzzles, which would make the Continentals or French abandon their duties and take cover.

American surgeon James Thatcher watched the bombardment with fascination. "The bomb shells from the besiegers and the besieged are incessantly crossing each other's path in the air," he wrote. "They are clearly visible in the form of a black ball in the day, but in the night, they appear like a fiery meteor with a blazing tail…I have more than once witnessed fragments of the mangled bodies and limbs of the British soldiers thrown into the air by the bursting of our shells."

The French artillerists fired up a shot furnace on October 10. After dark, three red-hot glowing rounds plunged into the unfortunate frigate *Charon*. One of these shots ignited the sail locker. The ship's skeleton crew could not control the soaring flames and was forced to abandon ship without having time to scuttle the doomed vessel. Soon adrift and still ablaze, the *Charon* inexorably edged toward a transport, which also caught fire.

"The ships were enwrapped in a torrent of fire, which spread with vivid brightness among the combustible rigging and ran with amazing rapidity to the tops of several masts, while all around was thunder and lightning from our numerous cannon and mortars, and in the darkness of night, presented one of the most sublime and magnificent spectacles which can be imagined," wrote Thatcher.

Two more French batteries, with nine 24-pounders, heaved even more metal into the enemy works on October 11. Heated French shot set two more British transports on fire. Very few buildings in Yorktown escaped serious damage, if not complete ruin or fire. Cornwallis and his staff huddled in a grotto in the garden of Thomas Nelson, governor of Virginia at the time of the siege, and a general of militia. Many civilians and soldiers sheltered in caves dug under the bluff by the river. "Officers looked not only sad, but ashamed," observed an American sutler after the siege. "They had lived under the ground like ground hogs."

Work began on the second parallel, but two British works, Redoubt 9 and Redoubt 10, blocked its projected path. Both redoubts, which were spaced 300 yards apart, were protected by abatis. This was a tangled barrier of felled trees with the sharpened points of branches sticking outward like pikes.

Washington planned to take the redoubts on the night of October 14. Saint-Simon would make a feint against the redoubt on the extreme right of the British works, which was manned by 120 men from the 23rd Regiment of Foot (Royal Welch Fusiliers) and Marines from the naval vessels in the river. Another feint would be aimed at the British across the river at Gloucester.

The attack against Redoubt 9 would be made by 400 French troops under Baron de Viomenil, the French second-in-command. Colonel Alexander Hamilton would lead 400 Continentals in a simultaneous assault on Redoubt 10. Rather than risk alerting the British with a stray shot, Hamil-

Wikimedia

In an advance timed to coincide with the American assault on Redoubt 10, 400 French troops of the Royal Deux-Ponts Regiment stormed Redoubt 9. After French sappers cut through the abatis, the French assault force fought its way into the fortification.

ton's men would attack with bayonets fixed on unloaded muskets.

Sergeant Martin was part of the detachment sent ahead to chop a path through the abatis before Redoubt 10. After dark, Martin and his comrades saw the signal to advance. This consisted of "three shells with their fiery trains mounting the air in quick succession," he said. They pressed on quietly but were spotted by the British when they reached the abatis.

"We were now at a place where many of our large shells had burst in the ground, making holes sufficient to bury an ox in. The men having their eyes fixed upon what was transacting before them, were every now and then falling into these holes," he wrote. "I thought the British were killing us off at a great rate. At length, one of the holes happened to pick me up, I found out the mystery of the huge slaughter."

Hacking their way through the abatis was painstaking work. Some of Hamilton's more impatient men pushed and squeezed through the barrier without waiting for sappers to cut them a clear path. Once through the abatis, a sturdy log palisade protected the redoubt. Fortunately, the bombardment had smashed a few gaps in the palisade. A few soldiers passed through the gaps and reached the ditch at the base of the redoubt's wall.

Major James Campbell commanded 60 British and German soldiers in the redoubt. They emptied their muskets into the charging Continentals and dropped grenades on the soldiers in the ditch below.

Following their leader, a few of Hamilton's men pushed through the trench at the foot of the enemy works and climbed up the walls. More soldiers poured in for the final rush, some of them stopping to load their muskets.

When Campbell realized a group of 80 men led by Lt. Col. John Laurens was coming from behind them, he surrendered. In the violent five-minute clash, nine Americans had been killed and 25 wounded. Eight of Campbell's men were killed or wounded, seventeen men were captured, and the rest escaped into the night.

Redoubt 9 was in the hands of 120 Hessians of the Regiment de Bose. De Viomenil's soldiers waited until their sappers had cut through the abatis before rushing to the parapet. Under heavy fire for some time, they suffered 46 dead and 68 wounded. Two sergeants so distinguished themselves that de Viomenil later invited the two to dine with him, with the non-commissioned officers seated at the right hand of the baron.

After losing the two redoubts, the British retaliated on the next night. Lieutenant Colonel Robert Abercrombie sent 350 of the finest soldiers of the garrison in two detachments to assault the Allied siege line and spike some of the siege guns.

Lieutenant Colonel Gerard Lake led the Guards Brigade and the grenadier company of the 80th Foot against 50 soldiers of the Agenais Regiment in a French battery near the center of the Allied works. Most of the defenders were asleep. In moments, the Redcoats bayoneted an officer and a dozen men and scattered the rest. Meanwhile, Major Thomas Armstrong led the light infantry brigade into an adjacent American gun battery, taking a force of Continentals and Virginia militia by surprise. Some of the defenders engaged in hand-to-hand combat as others fled.

With the Allied batteries in British hands, the redcoats spiked 11 heavy guns. Their time limited, they resorted to the quick method of jamming bayonets in to the touch holes and breaking off the blades. They had only a few minutes to work. Out of the dark came shouts of "Vive le Roi!" French grenadiers commanded by the Viscomte de Noailles poured into the battery and drove the British out at bayonet point.

REPULSE IN THE CHESAPEAKE

The most important naval battle of the American Revolution—the Battle of the Virginia Capes—ended with not one ship sunk or captured, but it became a turning point in the war that led to the surrender of Lt. Gen. Charles Cornwallis at Yorktown on October 19, 1781.

To aid Washington and Rochambeau, Admiral Francois Joseph Paul, Comte de Grasse, sailed from the Caribbean with 28 ships for the Chesapeake Bay. The 14 ships of British Admiral Samuel Hood, which had taken off in pursuit of the French fleet, reached the Chesapeake first. Finding the bay empty of enemy ships, Hood hurried to New York to warn his superior, Admiral Thomas Graves. The two admirals combined their fleets and sailed for Virginia. On the way, they hoped to catch a small French fleet under Admiral Louis Jacques, Comte de Barras, sailing from Rhode Island to reinforce de Grasse.

Approaching the Chesapeake, the British expected to see only de Barras' eight ships, but instead spied de Grasse's larger fleet. Graves ordered his captains to form a line of battle at 11 AM on September 5, 1781. On the opposing side, De Grasse's ships were in great disarray, as more than 1,500 men were being ferried in boats to Yorktown, and further preparations were being delayed by unfavorable tides and winds. At noon, the French cut their anchor cables and slipped out to sea. Some ships had to tack several times to get out of the bay. Their ragged battle line was crooked, and great gaps broke the French fleet into several separate groupings, each isolated from the others. Had Graves ordered a general chase, he might well have taken or sunk several of de Grasse's ships before the rest could join the action.

But the French vessels were more numerous and larger on average, and the French naval guns were of a heavier caliber than those of the British. The British admiral, therefore, chose the more prudent course of keeping his ships together in line rather than allowing them to scatter in pursuit. By 2 PM, the warring fleets sailed in parallel lines moving in opposite directions, with de Grasse moving away from the bay and Graves sailing toward it. The French van was about three miles south of the center of the British line. Graves hoisted the signal, "wear together," ordering the fleet to turn around and sail in the opposite direction. This time-consuming maneuver allowed the French to better align themselves.

Having switched to the same tack as the French, but still far away, Graves signaled the lead ship to turn to starboard, but he also left the line-of-battle signal aloft. Rather than turning each ship simultaneously and steering directly for the enemy, his captains thought the admiral meant for each ship to turn in succession, preserving the single line of battle.

Rear Adm. Comte de Grasse's French line (left) engages Rear Adm. Sir Thomas Graves' British line on September 5, 1781, off the Virginia Capes. The British naval officers mismanaged their attack, and therefore were unable to break the French cordon at sea.

Bungled signaling further scrambled the British effort, as the British North American and West Indian squadrons used different signal books. Graves twice raised the line-of-battle signal, and twice quickly replaced it with the signal for close engagement. Many of Graves' captains did not realize he meant for them to form a line of battle closer to the French.

It was 4 PM when firing began. Most ships of both fleets never got near enough to the action to have significant effect on the battle. At sunset, four French and six British ships were out of action, but all were afloat. After the battle, the British scuttled the 74-gun *Terrible* because it had been deemed beyond repair.

French casualties came to 230, which included six captains. The British suffered 336 casualties. The fleets hovered near each other for a few days, drifting 100 miles southward, but not re-engaging in combat. The French slipped away on September 9 while the British were occupied repairing the *Intrepid* after her damaged mainmast snapped.

Returning to Virginia, de Grasse captured two British frigates that had been cutting the buoys from their anchor cables. De Barras arrived, bringing the French fleet to 36 ships. When Graves arrived off Virginia and saw that he was outnumbered 2-to-1, he returned to New York. He gathered a few more ships and sailed again to relieve Cornwallis, but it was too late. He arrived off Cape Henry on October 24, five days after Cornwallis had surrendered the British Army at Yorktown.

—David A. Norris

National Park Service

General Washington looks on as American Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln prepares to receive the sword of British Maj. Gen. Charles O'Hara. O'Hara carried Cornwallis' sword, which he tried to present to Washington, but the American commander-in-chief instructed the British general to hand it to Lincoln instead.

Lake and Armstrong had pulled off an impressive feat, but to little avail. Truly spiked guns were difficult to repair, but artificers managed to remove the broken bayonets and have the guns ready to resume firing before noon the next day.

By the end of the siege, the Allies had fired 15,737 artillery rounds at the British in Yorktown. Some slaves who took refuge with the British labored at filling in the scores of shell craters. On occasion, an explosive shell would hit hard ground and not bury itself in the earth. Redcoats who dashed forward and prevented the blast by breaking off the fuse received a reward of one shilling, a risk many men readily undertook intending to use the reward money to buy extra spirits.

Cornwallis' fortifications crumbled as more and more of his guns fell mute under the ceaseless enemy bombardment. Realizing that his position was quickly deteriorating, the earl took one last gamble on an attempted breakout, preparing 16 large boats to ferry his troops across the river to Gloucester on the night of October 16-17. Sick and wounded soldiers would be left behind in the care of Washington and the French. With the Yorktown troops united with Tarleton at Gloucester, the British would outnumber the surrounding Allied forces. Simcoe would get around Lauzun and hit from the rear, while the others attacked his front. Overwhelming Lauzun's cavalry would provide a few hundred badly needed horses. Once out of the trap at Yorktown, Cornwallis could maneuver freely and carry on the war.

The Light Infantry, most of the Guards, and part of the 23rd Regiment boarded the boats at 10 PM. They disembarked at Gloucester Point, and the boats returned to Yorktown to reload. Once the boats headed for Gloucester a second time, though, a violent thunderstorm descended upon them. The heavy winds lashed the river and drove all the boats downstream. Two boats were pushed so far downriver that a French frigate captured them.

When the sun rose, some of the boats had landed downstream from Yorktown, but a few were still out in the river. French and American guns zeroed in on the river opened fire on the boats, causing some casualties.

With the collapse of the evacuation, the British were even worse off than they had been before, with their army now hopelessly split in two. At mid-morning, a drummer boy appeared atop the parapet of the Yorktown works. An officer waving a white handkerchief walked toward the Allied lines, accompanied by the drummer. The officer carried a letter that Cornwallis had written after dawn, proposing a truce while two officers from each side worked out terms for the surrender of Yorktown. It was October 17, 1781, four years to the day after the British had suffered another shock, the surrender of General John Burgoyne's army at Saratoga, New York.

Graves had hoped to sail from New York on October 12, but a storm had battered the fleet, causing some delays for repairing masts and rigging. They did not start for Virginia until October 17, the same day Cornwallis sent his first surrender proposals. Two days later, when all the ships had cleared Sandy Hook for the open sea, it was already too late.

As negotiations began, Cornwallis wanted his men to be paroled. The very idea of such leniency angered the Americans, who resented the harsh treatment and atrocities inflicted on prisoners captured at Charleston the year before. Most of the British troops would be sent to prison camps. American loyalists would be treated as prisoners of war, but deserters from the Continental Army or American militias found with the British would be hanged.

On October 19, the day set for the surrender ceremonies, Cornwallis professed he was ill and did not appear. The humiliating task of surrendering the British Army fell to Maj. Gen. Charles O'Hara. He carried Cornwallis' sword, which he tried to present to Washington. As the British sec-

ond-in-command was holding the sword, Washington had O'Hara hand it to Benjamin Lincoln, the Continentals' second-in-command. Lincoln immediately returned the sword.

The Americans took into captivity 7,247 army officers and men (more than one-quarter of whom were Germans), as well as 840 naval personnel and 80 camp followers. Dozens of flags, including 73 camp colors and 24 regimental standards, were handed over to the Americans.

The British and German troops marched with cased colors to the field south of Yorktown, where they laid down their firearms. A smaller ceremony unfolded across the river, where Tarleton and Simcoe's cavalry grounded their firearms. Tucker reported the surrender of 300 of their horses.

In addition to 7,794 muskets, 244 pieces of iron and brass artillery also fell into Continental hands. Additionally, the Continental Army took possession of vast amounts of ammunition and army equipment, 20 iron and brass blunderbusses, 602 grenades, and 46 halberds.

During the siege, the Americans lost 27 dead and 73 wounded, while French losses were even higher: 50 dead and 127 wounded.

The British lost more: 156 killed, 326 wounded, and 70 missing. Interestingly, only one British field officer was killed during the campaign, Cornwallis' aide Major Charles Cochrane. While inspecting his battered works accompanied by Cochrane a few days after the fighting at Redoubts 9 and 10, the earl invited the major to fire off one of the field pieces. After firing the gun, Cochrane peered over the parapet in order to see the effect of his shot. Just at that moment, an incoming shot from American lines decapitated Cochrane, killing him instantly.

Two days after the surrender, the British prisoners started marching under militia guard to captivity at internment camps at Winchester, Virginia; Frederick, Maryland; and Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Officers still retained their swords; however, witnesses in Williamsburg noted a change in appearance. "The British officers don't look as saucy as they did," the people were heard to say. Cornwallis, who would escape long captivity, gave his parole not to engage in further hostilities on October 28. On that day, Graves and Clinton appeared off the Virginia capes with 5,000 fresh troops and every ship of the line the Royal Navy could assemble. They were far too late, and the great fleet returned to New York.

It took a month for the news to reach England, where it burst like a bombshell in Parliament and the press. "Oh God, it is all over," exclaimed Lord Frederick North, the British prime minister. Like the war effort in America, the government collapsed; Germain resigned in February 1782, followed by North the following month.

But the curtain had not quite fallen on the Revolutionary War just yet. Crown forces still held New York and Charleston. Desperate loyalist irregulars carried on a devastating guerilla war in contested regions of the interior. Privateers still prowled the seas, snapping up merchant ships.

All the same, there was no support in Britain for raising a new army to turn the tide in North America. In March 1782, Parliament passed a resolution to end the war, its cost having become greater than the value of keeping the rebellious colonies in the British Empire. Diplomats hammered out the Treaty of Paris and signed it on September 3, 1783, followed by its ratification by the Continental Congress on January 4, 1784.

This formally confirmed what everyone already knew: The War for Independence had come to a conclusion at Yorktown as a result of the sound tactics of Washington and his French allies. □

Keith Rocco, National Park Service

British troops marched between the French and American Armies to lay down their arms on October 19, 1781. General Washington denied Lord Cornwallis' request for the traditional Honors of War which would have allowed the British to march with flags flying, bayonets fixed, and the band playing an American or French tune in tribute to the victors.

Savage Struggle on the KOKODA TRAIL

The Australians turned back the Japanese in a series of bloody clashes on the Kokoda Trail in the disease-ridden jungle of New Guinea in 1942.

By Christopher Miskimon

Australians slog through the rainforest of the Papuan peninsula in a painting by Australian war artist Sergeant George Browning who served in New Guinea. The Kokoda Trail boasted some of the most difficult terrain and grim fighting of the war.

Australian War Memorial

THE Japanese attacked the Australians near the remote village of Kokoda in New Guinea in the middle of the night on July 29, 1942. Four hundred soldiers rushed forward shouting and chanting slogans as they surged forward towards the Australians who were entrenched atop an escarpment that contained a small airfield.

Defending that escarpment were 77 men of B Company, 39th Battalion of the Australian Imperial Force (AIF). Crouching in rifle pits and machine-gun nests, they opened fire on the Japanese with automatic weapons and hurled hand grenades at the shadowy figures in the inky darkness of the jungle night.

With so few troops, the Australians could not mount an effective defense. The Japanese, well-trained in such attacks, quickly closed the distance. An Australian officer shouted for help from the troops next to him, but the only response to his voice came from the enemy, who tossed grenades in the direction of his voice. Men fought hand-to-hand with bayonets, rifle butts, and fists.

The attackers had little intelligence on the Australian position but relied on aggressiveness and training to carry through. "No one knew there was a hill," recalled Japanese Sergeant Imanishi Sadaharu. "We knew nothing of the terrain, but we were very good at executing night attacks. We had experience of this in China. We kept shooting all night."

Lieutenant Colonel William Owen commanded the scratch Australian force at Kokoda. Instead of remaining at the Australian base at Port Moresby, he had come forward to the front line to oversee a blocking force designed to slow the Japanese advance from New Guinea's northern shore. The Australian position was barely set up when the attack came. In the confused fighting that night, a bullet struck Owen in the head, toppling him into a rifle pit. Captain Geoffrey Vernon, Owen's medical officer, came down the slope with stretcher bearers to get him. They discovered the wounded officer babbling incoherently and extracted him.

One of the men helping Vernon was Jack Wilkinson. "The Japs were moving and whispering in the grass," Wilkinson wrote. Wilkinson noted that part of Owen's brain was protruding from his wound. "[It was] a hopeless case," he said.

They took Owen to a hut set up as an aid station. Wilkinson held a lantern for Vernon to operate by, but each time he showed it, machine-gun fire lashed the hut. They made Owen as comfortable as they could, but he only survived another 15 minutes.

Australian War Memorial

Native tribesmen transport gear up the 2,000 timber steps of the so-called Golden Stairs that traverse the Imita Ridge 25 miles north of Port Moresby. Native carriers brought forward food and ammunition and took the wounded to the rear.

As the Japanese pressed their attack, Vernon realized it was time to retreat. He stuffed his pockets with his instruments and some field dressings and went out into the rubber trees to make his escape in the confusion and darkness. As the Australians withdrew towards Deniki, a village higher up the Kokoda Trail to the south, Vernon remained with them in order to help both wounded and stragglers.

The Australians managed to take most of their weapons with them, although the Japanese did capture five automatic weapons, 180 grenades, and rifle ammunition. The Japanese considered the Australians to be skilled marksmen and expert grenade throwers. They also noted that the Australians had greater fighting spirit than the British, Filipinos, or Americans.

Several officers urged Vernon to join them, but he stayed behind. One of the last soldiers out was Private Snowy Parr, a Bren gunner only recently trained on his weapon. Owen's death filled Parr with rage. The Bren gunner hid at the edge of Kokoda until he saw a group of two dozen Japanese celebrating their victory in the misty dawn. When they were within 60 yards, Parr emptied a 30-round magazine into the closely packed group. He succeeded in killing 20 Japanese. Parr hastily moved back through the town's rubber plantation to join the retreat. Vernon followed, the last man out of the village.

Six Australians died in the fight and five were wounded. As for the Japanese, they suffered 95 casualties. The Japanese greatly overestimated the Australian force. They believed they had faced as many as 1,200 Australians, but the actual number was 77.

The Australians, who were for the most part untrained militia with no combat experience, performed well, but they subsequently became demoralized at the loss of their commander. It was the first major clash of the Kokoda Trail, and it started the Australians on their way to becoming hardened veterans. More fighting lay ahead in the days to come.

The Kokoda Trail Campaign is arguably Australia's most famous battle of the Pacific Theater of World War II. The fighting proved to be unrelenting and bitter, and neither side gave any quarter.

The fighting occurred on or near the Kokoda Trail itself because the jungle on each side of it was practically impenetrable. The trail led overland from the north shore of New Guinea south over the difficult Owen Stanley Mountains to Port Moresby, a vital base needed to protect the Australian mainland from attack. If the Japanese captured Port Moresby, they could use its airfields to launch air attacks against Northern Australia. Moreover, they might even be able to use it as a springboard for an invasion of Australia.

The Japanese were spread thin by mid-1942 and were not capable of carrying out a major landing in Australia, but the Allies did not know that at the time. With their plans for capturing Port Moresby dashed in the wake of their defeat in the Battle of the Coral Sea in May, the Imperial Japanese Army command decided to land its invasion force at the villages of Gona and Buna on the northeast coast of New Guinea on July 21, 1942.

This 6,000-strong invasion force, called the South Seas Detachment, was built around the 3,500-man 144th Infantry Regiment of Maj. Gen. Tomitaro Horii's 55th Division. The regiment, which had been raised in Kochi City, Japan, had undergone extensive training for amphibious warfare. The 114th Regiment included artillery, engineer, supply, and antiaircraft detachments to support the foot soldiers.

The first wave ashore numbered 2,000 men. Horii, who led the detachment, sent an advance force up the trail to scout the route. Making their way up the trail, the Japanese ran headlong into a

small Australian patrol. After a brief skirmish, the Australians fell back with the Japanese in pursuit.

This led to the attack against Owen's small force at Kokoda. Drawn from the 39th Battalion, the force was a militia unit. The defense of the Kokoda Trail initially fell to untrained, poorly equipped reservists in this and other, similar units. Their job was to hold their own against some of the best troops of the Imperial Japanese Army.

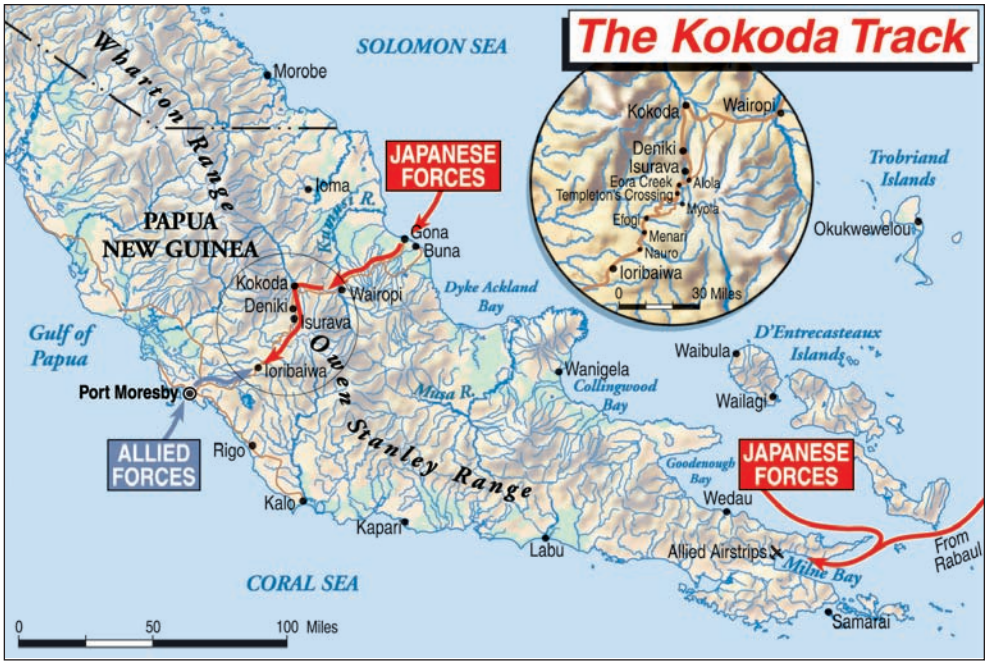
It was all that Australia could muster to reinforce New Guinea in early 1942, because the regulars of the Australian Imperial Force had shipped out to other locations. Australian regular forces were not only fighting in North Africa, but were also fighting in Singapore and other locations in the Pacific Theater. Although Australia demanded the return of its soldiers from the European Theater once the war in the Pacific heated up, it took a fair amount of time for these troops to return from those locations. Furthermore, Great Britain was reluctant to lose these experienced troops at a time when the mother country and the vital Middle East were under considerable threat.

The militia forces were sorely short of critical weapons and equipment. Indeed, they were often held in contempt. The common nickname for militia was "choco." A choco was a chocolate soldier who would melt away in battle. It was an unfair term that did not take into account the disadvantages they faced. When Port Moresby became threatened in mid-1942, the Australian armed forces dispatched the 39th Battalion on the grounds that Papua and New Guinea were regarded as Australian-mandated territory.

The facilities at Port Moresby were ill-suited to house and support so many troops, and the soldiers of the 39th found it rough going on New Guinea's south coast. Nevertheless, the officers and men of the battalion did their best to prepare for the coming fight. At the outset, Owens had begun pushing troops north toward Kokoda when he learned of the Japanese landings. Due to a lack of transport, engineers, and aircraft, though, it was difficult for Owens to deploy more than a scratch force before the fateful battle at Kokoda on July 29.

After Owens' death, Lt. Col. Alan Cameron took command, receiving orders to retake the town of Kokoda quickly. He set about laying telegraph wire up the trail from Port Moresby and developing Deniki village into a base camp, which boosted the morale of the 39th. Another officer found a small plateau in the mountains where airdrops could be carried out. This enabled Cameron to quickly plan an attack on Kokoda.

Unfortunately, the plan involved little more than a straightforward advance down the trail to the town, coupled with an ambush set for the Japanese and an infiltration into Kokoda itself.



ABOVE: In a bid to capture Port Moresby in an overland campaign, the 6,000-strong Japanese South Seas Detachment advanced south in July 1942 along the 100-mile jungle track that stretched across the daunting Owen Stanley Mountains in New Guinea. BELOW: The crew of a 75mm mountain howitzer from Maj. Gen. Tomitaro Horii's invasion force shell Australian positions along the Kokoda Trail. The Japanese could dismantle the gun in a matter of minutes into 11 pack loads for transport.

National Archives

His subordinates, Captain Noel Symington and Captain Maxwell Bidstrup, protested, for they were deeply concerned that the Japanese would anticipate such a move and set a trap for the Australians. Owen overruled them, and the attack went forward at 6:30 AM on August 8.

It started badly, just as the two captains had feared. The Australians took fire from a Japanese mountain gun on the eastern slope of the valley leading to Kokoda. Bidstrup's ambush detachment failed, surrounded by superior enemy numbers. One of its platoons became lost in the jungle for several days. When the commander of one Australian unit died at the hands

Australian War Memorial

Australians pass through a village on their way to the frontlines. Australian militiamen of the 39th Battalion conducted a fighting retreat during the initial Japanese onslaught until reinforced by Australian regulars who began arriving in August 1942.

of a sniper, his men were so enraged they charged straight down the valley. The defending Japanese were so shocked by this move that they fell back in disarray.

Symington had more success. His men crept down the mountain, went into Kokoda through the rubber trees and found it practically unoccupied. The Japanese commander, Lt. Col. Tsukamoto Hatsuo, did not expect such a move against Kokoda and had sent his troops ahead to outflank the Australians. The Australians surprised the small group of Japanese left to guard the airstrip and sent them screaming into the jungle. They also captured a notebook with details and a map of the Kokoda Trail. Sergeant Major Jim Cowey signaled their success by firing a flare into the sky as ordered, but tragically, no one back at Deniki saw the signal, even though they were supposed to be watching for it. Assuming reinforcements were on the way, Cowey put his men into the battalion's trenches from the first battle and prepared to fight the Japanese as dusk fell.

Tsukamoto, stung by the loss of Kokoda, immediately prepared a counterattack. It went in at 11:30 AM the next morning. Japanese troops, their uniforms covered in vegetation and their faces smeared with mud, crept forward in a driving rain. Machine-gun fire cut into them, felling many and forcing the survivors to pull back. Symington had wasted no time spreading automatic weapons across his line of defense. A second attack at dusk also failed. Two more assaults unfolded over the course of the night.

This proved a psychological blow to the Japanese, who were unused to repeated failures. Some of the night fighting was hand-to-hand. A Japanese corporal killed one man with a bayonet before being forced back. As one of his comrades struggled with an Australian, the corporal threw a grenade and wounded the Australian soldier. At dawn, the Japanese withdrew a short distance and prepared a coordinated attack for the following sunset.

That attack began with the trading of insults between the two lines. The Japanese lit smoke candles at the edge of the jungle, then charged through the clouds screaming. Some of their troops fired knee mortars, which were akin to a modern grenade launcher, as the range closed to 70 yards. Australian fire greeted them for a time, and then slackened. The Japanese sprinted the remaining distance, ready to close and kill their enemies, but there was no one there. Symington's troops, outnumbered and out of ammunition, had quietly and cleverly broken contact. His men withdrew back to Deniki. Eighty Australians had managed to hold off 400 Japanese for three days. The Australians lost 20 men in that effort. The lack of reinforcement and poor logistics took its toll, though. Kokoda was now back in Japanese hands.

Momentum and numbers favored the Japanese as their advancing front continued to push the Australians inexorably south toward Port Moresby. The trail was difficult, the jungle environment hostile, and supplies running low. Natives worked as carriers, trekking up and down the arduous track, with heavy loads of food and ammunition going forward and wounded men on the way back. The Australians could never have sustained themselves without the labor of these locals. With every grueling step backward, the Australians came closer to their own supply sources, while the Japanese drew farther away from theirs with each passing day. Initially, the Japanese maintained their pace, but food shortages were already affecting both sides. This situation worsened in the weeks that followed.

As Australian militiamen performed their gallant fighting retreat, Australian regulars finally began arriving in Port Moresby. Brigadier Gen-

eral Arnold Potts' 21st Brigade of Maj. Gen. Arthur Allen's 7th Division disembarked. Potts' superior officer as commander of the New Guinea Force was Lt. Gen. Sydney Rowell, a veteran of Greece and the Middle East. Rowell's superiors nudged him on a daily basis to switch to the offensive. The first task he undertook was to improve the logistical situation. Only by doing so could his troops hope to commence offensive operations.

The 3,000 men of the newly arrived brigade prepared to move up the trail and relieve the 39th. Accompanying them was the 53rd Battalion, another militia unit. As Potts and his men moved up the trail, they ran into wounded men of the 39th coming back; they were emaciated, their uniforms in tatters. The natives, who treated them like brothers, often carried the wounded and exhausted Australians. It was a sobering sight for the 21st despite their combat experience. Potts soon realized the true difficulty of the supply situation and urgently requested airdrops, but the supply situation remained frustrating.

The next major fight along the trail occurred at Isurava. Six thousand Japanese troops attacked 1,800 Australians, 1,200 of whom were newly arrived veterans. Despite food shortages, Japanese morale remained high, as shown by Japanese diaries. "I will die at the foot of the Emperor!" wrote Lieutenant Kogoro Hirano wrote in his diary. "Advance with this burning feeling and even the demons will flee!"

Horii reconnoitered the Australian positions on August 24 and formulated his plan. He intended to encircle the Australians from both east and west. The following day, an Australian patrol from the 53rd skirmished with the Japanese and held their own, but more assaults were coming. At dawn the next day, flanking Japanese columns struck while another group came straight down the trail. Machine guns chattered across the valley, and the Japanese were supported by a mountain gun that shelled the Australians. Patrols hunted the Japanese in the tall grass around the area until dusk.

That night, the enemy struck two platoons of the 39th just a few hundred yards outside the village, cutting them off and mauling them in close combat. The survivors fell back to Isurava, where they met the first men arriving from the 21st Brigade. The haggard militiamen asked who the new men were. The reinforcements announced that they belonged to 2/14th Battalion of the Australian Imperial Force. The militiamen, dressed in rags and debilitated by disease, were overjoyed to see reinforcements at last. The regulars were impressed. Despite all they had endured, the militiamen of the 39th were still in the fight.

The next day, though, the 53rd met with disaster. As its soldiers advanced to retake a small village, 200 men of the battalion ran into Japanese patrols. Someone panicked, and the panic spread; the unit scattered with many casualties. When the battalion commander lost contact with his companies, he led a party forward and walked into an ambush, the first to die. Potts called forward the 2/16th Battalion and sent the remaining men of the 53rd back to Port Moresby. Meanwhile, the Japanese renewed their assault with the support of mountain guns and mortars. The Australians had not managed to get any artillery forward, so they had no way to reply.

"Mortar bombs and mountain gun shells burst among the tree tops or slashed through to the quaking earth, where the thunder of their explosion was magnified in the close confines of the jungle thickets," wrote Lt. Col. Ralph Honner of the 39th Battalion. "Heavy machine guns … chopped through the trees, cleaving their own lanes of fire … bombs and bullets crashed and rattled in an unceasing clamor that re-echoed from the affrighted hills."

The fighting continued through the night, with bayonets a primary weapon. One Japanese soldier made a lasso from vines and looped it around an Australian's ankle. The Australian soldier fought back as he was dragged into the jungle. He drew his bayonet, stabbed his captor through the eye, cut the vine, and escaped.

The Japanese shouted and banged on mess tins to keep their opponents awake all night. Despite heavy casualties, the Japanese came back the next day, assailing the Australian positions. Bren gunners soon had piles of enemy dead in front of them, but the attack continued until it was hand-to-hand. Honner described in vivid detail the ferocious nature of the fighting: "But still they came to close with the buffet of fist and boot and rifle butt, the steel of crashing helmets and of straining, strangling fingers," he wrote.

By the morning of August 30, the relentless Japanese attacks forced the Australians to withdraw down the trail, fighting as they went. 2/14th Battalion's headquarters was threatened at one point. In another incident, Private Bruce Kingsbury joined another platoon after his own was decimated. He counterattacked the Japanese, firing his Bren gun from the hip, despite machine-gun fire snapping around him. Kingsbury cleared a path through the enemy and then assaulted their positions, inflicting multiple casualties before a

Australian War Memorial

Australian troops use brute strength and pack animals to move artillery and supplies along the muddy track through the mountains. Unlike the Japanese, the Australians troops never faced starvation during the six-month campaign.

Australian War Memorial

Casualties ran high among the Australian units engaged in the defense of Port Moresby. Nearly one-third of the members of this platoon of the 14th Infantry Battalion would die in the weeks following this August 6 photo.

sniper's bullet cut him down, killing him instantly. His valorous action stabilized the Australian position and prevented a breakthrough, securing for him a posthumous award of the Victoria Cross. It was the first such award made for actions in defense of Australian territory.

As the Australians fell back further, another soldier displayed selfless courage. Corporal Charlie McCallum remained behind to cover his platoon as they withdrew, firing his Bren gun into the charging Japanese. When he ran out of ammunition, he grabbed a Tommy gun from a dead friend and kept shooting with one hand while reloading his Bren with the other. The Tommy gun went empty, and McCallum returned to his Bren. The Japanese were all around him now, and he was wounded three times. One fatally wounded enemy lunged at McCallum as he died and ripped the utility pouch from his uniform. After killing 25 Japanese, the corporal fell back. He later perished in another firefight along the trail and was posthumously awarded a Distinguished Conduct Medal.

It rained solidly for the next three days. The Australians tried their best to evacuate their wounded while still holding off the advancing Japanese, who continued their relentless assaults. The two sides laid ambushes for each other, and close-quarter fighting occurred frequently. After a time, Japanese discipline began to break down; officers had to threaten with their swords to get their soldiers moving. Australian patrols would find the Japanese and hit their lead troops before falling back; with the enemy located, the Australian main body would then conduct a pincer attack against the enemy flank. Afterwards, the strike force would fall back and prepare to do the same thing again. The Australians occasionally left spoiled cans of bully beef in the open as bait for the hungry Japanese; when a group of starving Japanese soldiers rushed to get it, Australian snipers would cut them down.

In early September, the fighting focused around Brigade Hill and nearby Mission Ridge, where one Japanese force attacked frontally while another made a long flanking maneuver from the west and managed to take up a position behind most of the Australian troops.

The flanking force, a company led by Lieutenant Mitsuri Sakamoto, spent 11 hours climbing a 45-degree hillside dragging a machine gun behind them. They occupied a point between Brigadier Potts' headquarters and the rearguard of the 2/16 Battalion. Potts was returning from the latrine when a nearby sentry fell, shot through the head. The Japanese machine gun opened up, and Sakamoto's company attacked both the Australian HQ and rearguard positions at once.

The headquarters troops grabbed rifles and revolvers, engaging their enemy from 15 yards, but machine-gun fire drove them back. Sakamoto ordered the Australian field telephone lines cut, but Potts had a working radio and called for help from the battalions situated to the north. Three companies of Australian infantry came back down the trail to dislodge the Japanese, but the machine gun cut down dozens of men packed onto the narrow trail. The Japanese who were attacking to the north increased their pressure, compelling the Australians to divert into the jungle around Sakamoto's position and continue withdrawing down the trail. Sakamoto's reward was a plate of rice, the first he had consumed in three days. He and his men resumed the pursuit the following day.

After the debacle at Brigade Hill, the Australians made a stand at Ioribaiwa Ridge in mid-September. As they had previously done, they set out cans of bully beef along the banks of a creek to entice the Japanse to leave their cover. Forty Japanese appeared to retrieve them, and the Bren gunners fired, killing half of them. The angry Japanese launched an attack in revenge, charging uphill in a lashing thunderstorm against the Australians, who held the high ground on a ridge. The assault failed miserably; Sakamoto recalled seeing an entire platoon wiped out.

The remaining Japanese found a patch of high ground unnoted on Australian maps. From there, they fired down onto Australian trenches, many of them only half-completed. The local commander, Brig. Gen. Ken Eather, asked for permission to withdraw to Imita Ridge, just a little farther down the trail. Major General Allen granted him permission to do so, even though the position was just 25 miles north of Port Moresby. Allen was adamant that there could be no further retreat after that. "You'll die there, if necessary," he told Eather. "You understand that?" Eather acknowledged the order.

Meanwhile, Japanese troops occupied Ioribaiwa, elated to see the lights of Port Moresby in the distance. The hungry, long-suffering troops considered the sight as nearly tantamount to success. If they could capture Port Moresby, they would be able to eat and drink their fill from captured rations and celebrate the victory they had fought so hard to achieve. More than 1,000 Japanese soldiers had died by that point, and another 3,000 were wounded and sick. This left approximately 1,500 remaining.

The starving soldiers were heartened to see their final objective within reach, but they did not know that Horii already had orders to begin a disciplined withdrawal. The Imperial Japanese Army command had ordered the withdrawal because it lacked sufficient forces to reinforce those engaged on New Guinea and Guadalcanal at the same time.

Australian War Memorial

Members of an Australian artillery unit manhandle a 25-pounder gun through jungle foliage near Uberi on the Kokoda Trail in September 1942.

The Japanese wandered through the abandoned Australian dugouts in a desperate quest for hastily discarded food. The Aussies had left fragments of biscuits and spoiled cans of bully beef. They had booby-trapped most of the leftovers. Some of the Japanese were desperate enough to try eating what they found. Not surprisingly, they became seriously ill.

Horii implored his men to retain their martial spirit, reminding them of all they had accomplished. He even sent troops to scout Port Moresby for a final assault, even though he'd already received orders to retreat.

On the morning of September 15, one of these reconnaissance patrols walked into an ambush set by the 2/33rd Battalion. The Australians lay hidden in tall grass, watching as upwards of 70 Japanese walked right towards them. The Japanese were bunched together in two lines, carrying canned food they must have found somewhere. They were led by an officer carrying a sword. The entire group acted more like they were out for a leisurely stroll than fighting in a combat zone. Perhaps the food they were carrying excited them, causing the hungry men to lose their discipline. Whatever the case, they were about to walk into a lethal trap.

Captain Larry Miller initiated the ambush by shooting the officer. Upon this signal, his men opened fire. Rifles cracked, sub-machine guns chattered, and mortar shells crashed into the ground. The shooting lasted for about two minutes. The Australians fired approximately 3,000 rounds into the densely packed group. The wounded lay scattered on the ground, screaming and helpless. After planting booby traps on the trail, the Australians fell back, leaving the bloody scene. That was the last of the Japanese probes.

While the Japanese starved and contemplated retreat, the Australians busily prepared a counterattack. They dragged a field gun up the trail, moved it into position, and stacked ammunition next to it. The gun crew opened fire on September 25, pounding the no-man's-land in the valley between the opposing lines. Even though the shells fell short, the Aussies cheered each blast. At long last, they had artillery. The Australians scheduled their counteroffensive for September 27, with three battalions moving across the valley on September 26 to get into position for the pending attack.

That same day, the exhausted Japanese formed up and began the march back north. Many were humiliated at this development, for they had never lost before. Others, though, seemed glad to be leaving. Many of the wounded were left behind—shot or ordered to commit suicide. A few made it only a small distance before collapsing by the side of the trail.

At mid-morning on September 27, the two leading Australian companies climbed the Ioribaiwa ridge, straight into the abandoned Japanese camps. A few soldiers admired a large set of observation binoculars, mounted on a tripod. Gazing through it, they saw their former positions on the opposite side of the valley.

The counterattack was now a pursuit. The lead troops moved through scenes of prior fighting, finding the bodies of comrades lying yet unburied. Six Australian bodies lay in stretchers, each corpse showing bullet or bayonet wounds from their executions. Some remains lay where they fell, fingers still on the triggers of their weapons. Dead native carriers dotted the area, too, worked to death or executed by the Japanese for failing to keep up. These corpses were otherwise untouched, but as starvation had ravaged the retreating Japanese, they'd butchered dead Australians for food.

The Japanese stopped and entrenched at Templeton's Crossing in October. The crossing consisted of a single log that constituted a bridge over Eora Creek. Jungle canopy covered the area, keeping it perpetually dark. They emplaced machine guns along 600 yards of the trail in camouflaged log bunkers. They were so well hidden that on October 11, the first Australian patrol walked right up to them and straight into an ambush. The Aussies planned a two-battalion attack for the next morning, determined to maintain their momentum and keep the Japanese rolling back.

The attackers set off at 8:00 AM. Approximately 200 troops participated in the attack, approaching the Japanese from both flanks. There were no maps, and visibility was measurable in mere feet. Captain Tim Clowes led one of the flanking forces. His troops reached a final ridge and ascended the steep slope on hands and knees.

At the top, they ran headlong into a Japanese headquarters just 20 yards away, surprising both sides. The Australians charged, and the Japanese responded with grenades and machine guns. Clowe's men were forced back to a ravine 70 yards away, where they dug in. Other Australian positions nearby assailed the line of machine-gun nests. The fighting became point-blank, with a few men getting right up to the bunkers to throw grenades into the firing slits. Those Japanese not killed fled out the back doors, but were cut down. The bunkers covered each other, and the soldiers in the remaining bunkers kept the Australians at bay. The battle ended in stalemate, and the two sides dug in just yards from each other. In these positions, the opposing sides spent the next few days sniping at each other.

It took two days to slowly dislodge the Japanese from their gun pits as patrols flanked them from the rear. On October 13, approximately 50 Australians crept up on a Japanese encampment and caught them unawares. The Bren gunners cut down 30 of them as they fled. In other places, Japanese shouted orders in English, trying to con-

Australian War Memorial

An Australian soldier armed with a Bren gun advances cautiously along the trail in September 1942. The tide turned in October 1942 when the Japanese learned that reinforcements had been diverted instead to Guadalcanal.

fuse and trap their enemy. The Australians, recently arrived from the Middle East, began speaking Arabic. The defeated Japanese retreated again, this time with their pursuers close behind.

The next line of defense for the harried, starving Japanese came across Eora Creek. The waterway flowed through a gorge with muddy, jungle-covered slopes and a high ridge overlooking it. A pair of log bridges crossed it, enabling a small number of troops to mount a strong defense. They set up machine guns in log bunkers and awaited the Australians of the 16th Brigade, rotated into the lead position. Brigadier General John split his force in order to encircle the enemy, with some of the troops having to cross log bridges to get into position.

The attack did not go well. The flanking force took longer than expected to get into position because of the rough terrain. Two of its three platoons got lost, leaving only 17 men for the assault, which went ahead anyway. After stealthily approaching a small Japanese camp, they charged the site, spraying it with gunfire. The Japanese counterattack surrounded this Australian force and nearly wiped it out; only four Australians survived.

Meanwhile, the force crossing the log bridges set out under cover of night. As they approached with great stealth, they encountered enemy machine-gun positions. Two forward scouts found the Japanese asleep at their machine guns, so the lead company tried to cross before the enemy was alerted.

Most of the company got over before the Japanese machine gunners awoke to the threat and opened fire. The last few men dashed over the span as bullets cracked around them, but the group got bunched up on the north side. The Australians found several trails that led off in different directions, but they could not tell where they led in the darkness. Some of the men followed one of the trails, only to find that it was a dead end with a sheer cliff on one side. The Japanese proceeded to drop grenades down on them from the cliff. Lance Corporal John Hunt scaled the cliff, hunted the Japanese grenade throwers, and shot them.

Another group of 100 Australians followed Captain Basil Catterns up the ridge straight at their enemy. Heavy fire tore into them as they dug in 30 yards from the Japanese. They scraped out shallow fighting positions using their helmets as shovels. The Australians remained pinned down in the positions for an entire week. They held firm, despite repeated attempts by the Japanese to kill them by rolling grenades down the slope at their positions. The Japanese also fired mortars at their positions, but most of the shells turned out to be duds. Having the high ground, the Japanese grimly held on. Horii toasted his men with sake as they fought the Australians to a standstill.

To break the stalemate, Colonel Paul Cullen launched a battalion-sized attack. Major Ian Hutchison's 2/3rd Battalion formed into three columns of 200 men each and swept aside the enemy. The Australians fired from the hip as they dashed from tree to tree. It proved too much for the ill and exhausted Japanese. They withdrew in the face of the large-scale assault.

Corporal Lester "Tarzan" Pett ran from one Japanese bunker to the next and hurled grenades through the embrasures. He destroyed four by himself, earning a Military Medal, though he would die in action two weeks later. With the enemy retreating, those Australians stuck on the slopes pushed forward to find their opponents gone. The next day, September 29, the attackers reached the Japanese camp, where they found 69 dead bodies and a number of maps and documents.

As the troops slogged slowly forward, a new division commander arrived, Major General "Bloody George" Vasey, who had earned his nickname as a result of his penchant for swearing. Vasey believed in leading from the front and speaking plainly, which soon endeared him to his men. He admonished them to patrol constantly to avoid the favored Japanese tactic of encirclement.

Vasey accompanied his 16th Brigade as it advanced on the village of Alola. The Australians took possession of the village unopposed. Vasey established his headquarters in the village and began plotting his advance on the village of Kokoda. As a division commander, he purposely set up his command operation forward of the brigade-commander's headquarters. This tactic shamed his subordinate into moving his staff ahead, a tactic Vasey claimed help keep his force on the attack. At that point, Kokoda lay just a half day's march ahead.

Horii still held out hope that he might achieve victory, for in late October, he received word that a fresh division of 20,000 troops was expected to land. Morale soared, only to plummet when most of that division was redirected to Guadalcanal as the fighting there took a turn for the worse. From an initial strength of 6,000, the brigade-sized South Seas Detachment of the Japanese Imperial Army had less than 1,000 men fit for combat by autumn. One battalion had only 16 able men. Horii continued to exhort his remaining men to continue fighting.

An Australian patrol entered Kokoda on November 1, only to find it abandoned, as well. Three months after the Japanese drove out the

scratch force of militiamen, the Australians were back in force, spreading out across the plateau and retaking the airfield. The Australians put the natives to work clearing growth from a landing strip that the Japanese had never used. Within two days, planes brought in fresh supplies, renewing the Australians for the task of pursuing the Japanese up to Buna and Gona. The Americans were also scheduled to go into action to assist the Australians in the final push to drive the Japanese into the sea.

Horii anchored the Japanese defense on the villages of Oivi and Gorari. Their backs faced the Kumusi River seven miles away. If they were forced to retreat, they faced a difficult river crossing. The Japanese set to work preparing defenses that faced west and south, building dugout fighting positions fortified with palm logs. Their line of defense was three miles long and one mile wide. Oivi sat on high ground on the west end with Gorari a mile east, linked by the trail.

Vasey now ordered the largest land attack an Allied commander had yet made in the Pacific War. Seven Australian battalions deployed, with no reserve. It was a risky plan, but Vasey wanted to maintain his momentum. The 16th Brigade advanced toward Oivi, while the 25th Brigade moved along a parallel trail towards Gorari in order to outflank the Japanese from the south. The Australians brought up mortars to strike the Japanese on November 7. The mortar barrage was strengthened by an aerial bombardment furnished by American bombers. An infantry attack followed the mortar barrage, but it failed, costing Vasey 47 men.

The next morning, American fighters strafed and bombed the Japanese bunkers, while the 25th Brigade, having moved too far, retraced its steps to move into the attack. Patrols skirmished with heavy losses to both sides. The Japanese realized they were outflanked and reinforced their lines, but the Australian attack was gaining momentum. The defenders at Oivi were soon cut off from those at Gorari, unable to break through a line of Australian machine guns set up to stop them.

The Japanese brought up a 75mm mountain gun at the village of Gorari in order to blast through the Australian lines, shelling the 2/33rd Battalion for three hours. When a few Australians tried to retreat, their commanding officer forced them back to their positions with his revolver. The Australians held on and kept the Japanese bottled up. By November 11, they were ready to finish the job. The night was moonless, but a torrential rain soaked the combatants on both sides. Australians crept through the tall grass toward Gorari, surrounding it as a detachment moved around to the north.

Without warning, hundreds of Japanese suddenly charged. It was a desperate attempt to break out of the encirclement. Sword-waving officers charged Australian machine guns, only to be cut down. Grenades exploded among the charging forms of Japanese troops running through the darkness. Hand-to-hand fighting broke out all along the battle line. The injured lay in the mud awaiting help as men from both sides became helplessly confused and mixed together. When the combat died down, the cries of the wounded punctuated the night, together with occasional shots when probes collided in the darkness.

At midnight, a blood-curdling scream startled a dug-in Australian platoon as a Japanese soldier appeared their midst and tried to bayonet Private "Yippee" Bowen. The unusually strong Bowen grabbed the rifle from his attacker's hands. As the man tried to flee, Bowen hurled the bayoneted rifle like a spear into his back.

Fighting continued the next morning, when the desperate Japanese charged the Australian machine-gun positions. Corporal St. George Ryder was changing the magazine on his Bren gun when an enemy officer attacked with a sword, knocking off his helmet and slashing him across the face. The corporal slammed his knee into his opponent's groin and they both fell to the ground, wrestling until another Australian killed the officer.

When the battle ended, 580 Japanese bodies littered the area. The survivors made haste to reach the Kumusi River; it was a pitiful retreat. Most of the wounded were left behind. The Japanese either buried or simply abandoned their few remaining field guns. They then lashed together palm logs to make rafts for crossing the river. Some made it across, clinging to rafts loaded with their weapons or wounded soldiers, but many drowned in the swift-flowing waters, as the river was at flood stage.

Horii crossed on a raft, which broke up on the far bank, but he found a canoe and floated it to the mouth of the river. From there, he apparently tried to paddle it along the coast, but a gale blew the canoe out to sea. Horii and his orderly abandoned the canoe and tried to swim to shore. Horii drowned, but his orderly survived. He initially concealed the news of Horii's death to preserve morale, but the surviving troops soon learned of their leader's fate.

The Japanese fell back toward Gona and Buna, where the Australians were joined by American troops for the final actions. By January 1943, Australian and American troops had succeeded in prying the Japanese from the last of their fortified beachheads. The Australians suffered approximately 2,100 killed and wounded, and the Japanese lost 12,000 dead.

The struggle for the Kokoda Trail and to preserve Port Moresby was almost entirely an Australian endeavor. The Australian militia and regulars made a supreme effort and sacrificed under terrible conditions. Thousands fell on each side, killed, wounded, or sickened by tropical disease and hunger in one of the most grueling encounters of the entire war. □

Australian War Memorial

When the retreating Japanese reached the rain-swollen Kumusi River during their precipitous retreat, many perished trying to cross it. Here Papuan porters negotiate a makeshift bridge the Australians constructed to support their final push to the northern coast.

Duke Henry the Lion, the ruler of Saxony and Bavaria, seethed with rage. The pagan Wends had rebelled once more against their Saxon overlords. Led by a warlord named Pribyslav, they had launched a lightning raid in February 1162 against the Saxon frontier town of Mecklenburg. They not only had butchered the Christian residents but had also burned all of the buildings to the ground.

Henry gathered all available forces for a counterstrike. He called on his loyal vassals, Count Guncelin of Schwerin, Count Christian of Oldenburg, Danish King Valdemar, and Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, to assist him. Over the course of many months they pursued Wendish

Germany's REBEL DUKE

Henry the Lion significantly expanded the Duchy of Saxony in a series of wars against the West Slavs in the 12th century. But his growing power created a backlash in Germany.

By William E. Welsh

war bands through forest and swamps, inflicting losses on them and destroying their villages.

The campaign culminated the following year with the siege of the stronghold of Werle. The garrison commander had only a small force of Wends with which to defend the wooden fort. Henry's pioneers built a battering ram and a siege tower, and he detailed a portion of his forces to guard against a relief attack by Pribyslav.

Henry had developed a superb knowledge of siege warfare from campaigning with Emperor Frederick Barbarosa against rebellious Italian city-states such as Crema, Milan, and Tortona. While his battering ram hammered against the main gate, the Saxons rolled the siege tower up to the wall. The tower dwarfed the town walls, and archers and crossbowmen atop the siege tower rained sheets of arrows down onto the defenders. Having lost many of their men to the missile fire, the defenders capitulated before the Saxon battering ram smashed through the gates.

The siege of Werle demonstrated Henry the Lion's prowess as a warrior. Over the course of more than three decades of continual fighting, he would amass fame and reputation nearly as great as the emperor himself. For that reason, Barbarosa both feared and respected him.

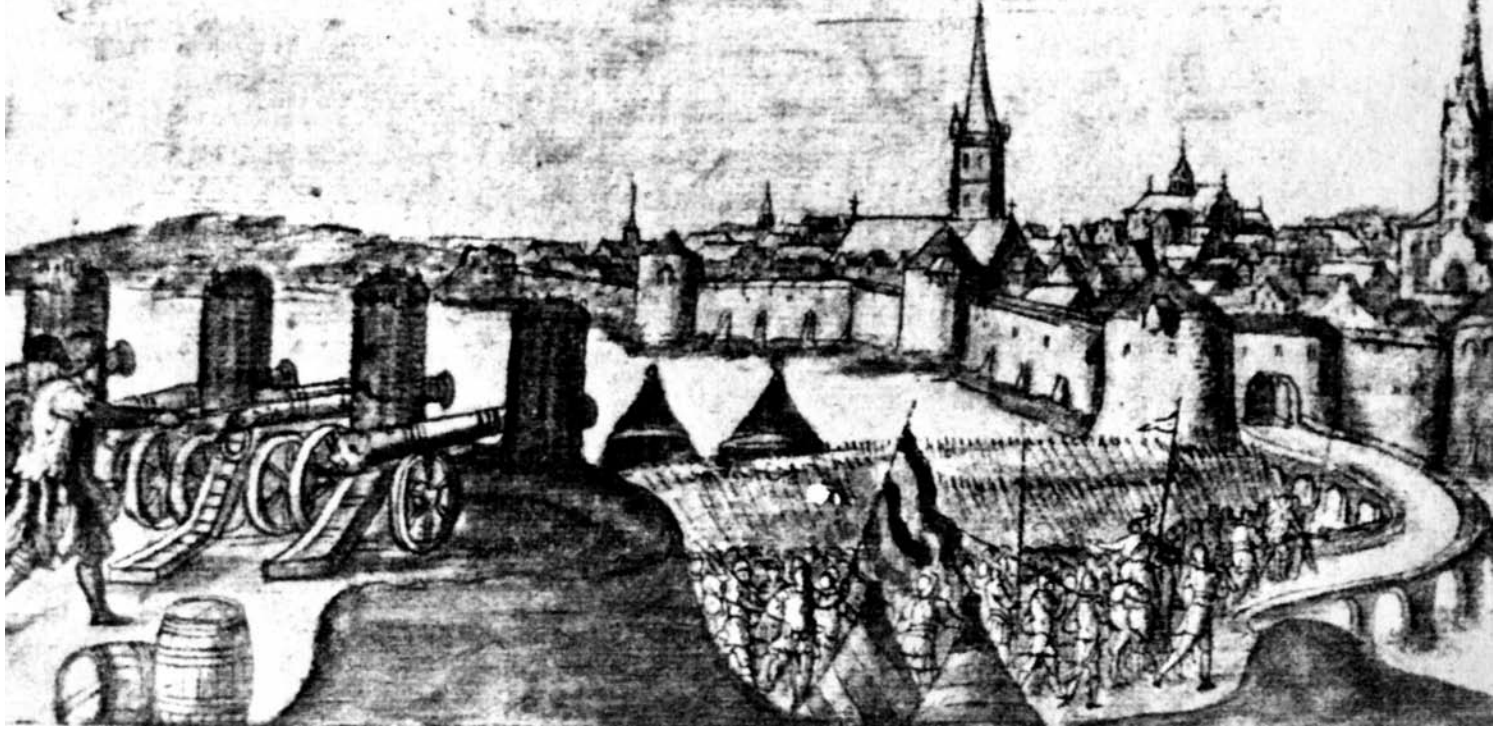
By the mid-12th century, the Ottonian and Salian kings of Germany had successfully founded the confederated Kingdom of Germany. Unlike the hereditary French monarchy, German princes elected their kings.

The early 12th century was a tumultuous time in Germany. Civil war raged between the House of Welf, initially based in Bavaria and later in Saxony as well, and the Hohenstaufen House of Swabia. During his reign in the early 12th century, Hohenstaufen King Conrad III made a drastic bid to reduce the power of his principal rival in the kingdom, Henry X "The Proud," the Welf duke of Saxony and Bavaria. He requested that Henry relinquish one of his duchies; when Henry refused to give up either, Conrad took then both from him. Conrad gave Saxony to Ascanian nobleman Albert the Bear, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and Bavaria he gave to Duke Leopold "The Generous" of Austria.

The disenfranchised former duke Henry and his younger brother, Welf VI, went to war against Conrad. Henry the Proud died suddenly at the age of 31 in 1139, but Welf VI stepped forward to lead the rebellion. The Welf army ravaged Hohenstaufen lands, but they were decisively defeated at Weinsberg Castle in the County of Wurttemberg in December 1140.

Alamy

Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I "Barbarossa" enters Milan after a successful siege in 1162. Duke Henry the Lion was the emperor's principal lieutenant in his early expeditions to northern Italy.



Lübecker Chronik

Duke Henry the Lion wrested control of Lubeck from his vassal, Count Adolf II of Holstein. Following a devastating fire in 1157, Henry began the long process of building it into a major port for Saxon merchants trading with Baltic peoples.

Eleven years earlier, in 1129, Henry the Proud's wife, the wealthy Saxon heiress and daughter of former Emperor Lothair II, Gertrude of Supplinburg, had given birth to their only child, who was given his father's name.

Following the death of his father, young Henry (the future Henry the Lion) was considered the heir-apparent of Saxony and protected by his mother, as well as his grandmother, the former empress Richenza of Northeim. As a Welf noble, young Henry enjoyed widespread support among the princes residing in Saxony. Following Henry the Proud's death, these princes drove Albert the Bear out of Saxony, for they believed the duchy belonged to the young Henry. Fearing for his life, Albert sought the protection of Conrad's royal court.

After Welf VI surrendered at Weinsberg Castle in 1140, Conrad decided that it made more sense to return Saxony to young Henry than to try to reinstall Albert by force as its ruler. He therefore granted it to the 13-year-old son of the deceased Henry the Proud in 1142. The young Welf aristocrat thus became Duke Henry III of Saxony.

Conrad, however, purposely declined to give Henry III the Duchy of Bavaria upon Leopold's death in 1141. Instead, the German king bestowed Bavaria upon his half-brother, Henry II Jasomirgott, of the Austrian House of Babenberg.

The young Saxon duke chafed at the perceived affront. Because of his contempt for Conrad, Henry declined to accompany him on the Second Crusade to the Holy Land in 1147. Instead, he decided to campaign against the pagan West Slavs.

Henry longed to conquer lands from the pagan West Slavs who inhabited the territory between the Elbe and Oder rivers. These tribes, known collectively as the Wends, included the Wagrians, Obotrites, Polabians, Warnabians, Rugians, and Liutizians. The Ottonian and Salian German kings had established some control over the Wends in the 10th century when they established a series of marches—militarized borderlands and buffer zones—along the Wendish frontier. The Lusatian March was the southernmost of these three marches, the Northern March was actually the middle march, and the Billung March was the northernmost. However, an uprising by the Wends in 983 reversed most of the Saxon gains within the marches.

Duke Henry III sought to expand his realms into the Billung March, but he and his fellow crusaders faced a formidable opponent on the eve of this "Wendish Crusade." Nyklot, the chieftain of the Obotrites, had assembled enough warriors to conduct effective hit-and-turn raids against the Saxons. The Obotrite chieftain was a clever, resourceful, and quick-thinking opponent.

At the beginning of Henry's rule, he had divided the conquered Wendish lands adjoining Saxony with the help of one of his principal vassals, Count Adolph II Holstein and Schauenberg. Henry took control of the Polabian lands and the region's capital of Ratzeburg. To the north, Adolf assumed rule over the Wagrian territory, including the town of Sigberg, as well as the strategically located port of Lubeck, which the count had founded in 1143.

In the years leading up to the Wendish Crusade, Adolf had entered into an alliance with chieftain Nyklot of the Obotrites. During the 1140s, he had encouraged Christians from Holland, Frisia, and northern Saxony to settle in the Billung March. To protect themselves, the settlers constructed watch towers, blockhouses, and palisaded forts.

The Wendish Crusade began in 1147 when Pope Eugenius III issued a papal bull against the Wends. The Papal decree had strict rules regarding the taking of tribute and the making of any truces with the Wends that allowed them to remain pagan. Those who did so risked excommunication.

Henry and Albert the Bear would each lead a separate column against the Wends living in the Billung March. In the spirit of cooperation against a common foe, Henry set aside any animosity he might have held towards Albert the Bear in regard to his brief rule of Saxony.

The northern Germans would be assisted in the crusade by the Danes. The Danes wanted revenge against the Slavic Wendish pirates and slavers, who had a long history of plundering and ravaging the east coast of Denmark.

One of the principal targets of the upcoming crusade was Nyklot's base at Dobin. This settlement was a "famous piratical town," according to Danish chronicler Saxo Grammaticus. It was situated 50 miles east of Lubeck and eight miles south of Wismar Bay on the Baltic Sea. When Nyklot learned that the Saxon and Danish crusaders were targeting his base at Dobin, he launched a pre-emptive strike on June 26 against Lubeck, leading a large naval force that sailed unopposed into Lubeck's harbor. Over the course of a two-day amphibious raid, Nyklot's Obotrites plundered the town, torching large portions of it, and killed or captured all of its residents.

As many as 40,000 Saxon, Danish, and Polish crusaders followed the cross in the Wendish Cru-

sade. Duke Henry of Saxony, Duke Conrad I of Zahringen, and Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen led the northern army. It struck out from Artlenburg in mid-July with its main objective being Dobin, which lay 75 miles to the northeast.

Nyklot successfully repulsed a Danish war party that arrived by sea. This did not deter Henry, though; he pressed on despite the loss of Danish support, systematically reducing pagan strongholds along his path.

Despite papal instructions not to negotiate a truce with the Wends, Henry did exactly that. In return for leaving Dobin untouched, Nyklot agreed to pay an annual tribute and convert to Christianity. The pagan leader later reneged on his pledge. In lieu of seizing Dobin, Henry took possession of a pagan village on a large lake 12 miles south of Dobin. He subsequently founded the town of Schwerin at that site.

In early August, Albert the Bear and Bishop Anselm of Havelberg led the southern crusader army on a 130-mile march from Magdeburg to their first objective, Demmin, which was a key stronghold of the Liutizians. When he reached Demmin, Albert left half of his force to besiege the town. He continued eastward with the rest of his army to Stettin, which was his final objective. When he reached Stettin, Albert found that Roman Catholic Bishop Otto of Bamberg had been living at the city for some time. Having no further business at Stettin, Albert countermarched to Demmin. Although he tried to capture it with his full force, he was unable to do so, and so returned home having achieved nothing of any importance.

That was not the case with Henry, though. The young Duke of Saxony had gained a large tract of land east of the Elbe during the crusade, and he had every intention of taking more territory from the West-Slavic pagans in the future.

After the crusade, Henry wed Princess Clementia, the youngest daughter of Conrad of Zahringen. Henry subsequently made a formal claim to King Conrad III for the Duchy of Bavaria on the grounds that he was heir to it following the death of his mother Gertrude. But Conrad, who had recently returned from the Holy Land, would not alter the status quo. Henry tried unsuccessfully to take Bavaria by force in 1150, which prompted Conrad to dispatch his chaplain to stir up unrest among some of Henry's vassals in Saxony. The dispute between the duke and king came to an abrupt end when Conrad III died in February 1152.

On his deathbed, Conrad recommended that the German nobility select for the throne his 30-year-old nephew, Duke Frederick III of Swabia. Frederick was a sound candidate because he appealed to both of the rival dynastic houses. Frederick's mother had been a Welf, and his father had been a Staufen.

Frederick I was crowned King of Germany on March 4, 1152. At the outset of his reign, he controlled both Swabia and Franconia, and initially was not interested in amassing more allodial territory for himself. He assured his Welf cousin Henry that he would restore Bavaria to him.

Conrad III had never risen to the office of Holy Roman Emperor, because he had failed to make

Wojciech Gerson

Wikimedia / Schwerin Castle

ABOVE: Nyklot, Henry's principal opponent in his campaigns against the pagan Wends, is struck down in battle by mounted Saxons. After Nyklot's death in 1160, Henry battled his son Pribyslav for another seven years until he agreed to recognize Henry as his overlord. TOP: A crusader prince establishes control over the West Slavs during the Wendish Crusade of 1147. Duke Henry the Lion and his allies fought continually against the Wends in the two decades that followed the initial crusade.

the journey to Rome to be anointed. Frederick was not about to make the same mistake. The new German king planned to conduct an expedition to Italy to assert his control over the wealthy cities of Lombardy, as well as visit to Rome to be anointed emperor by Pope Eugene III. He also promised the pope to drive back the Normans of the Kingdom of Sicily who were expanding northward.

As the presumptive Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick controlled not only vast lands north of the Alps, but also the northern half of Italy. This included the city-states, or communes, of Lombardy, which had become extremely wealthy through trade. These city-states were in the process of breaking away from their feudal lords and becoming quasi-independent, self-governing entities.

Christian Siedentopf

Hermann Bote Braunschweig, Schichtbuch

ABOVE: Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (left) and Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony and Bavaria. OPPOSITE: Frederick I Barbarossa kneels before a defiant Henry the Lion during their conference at Chiavenna near Lake Como in early 1176. When Frederick declined to return the key city of Goslar in Lower Saxony to Henry, the duke refused to lead reinforcements to assist the emperor against the Lombard League.

Frederick departed with 7,200 troops for Italy in October 1154. The expedition would be the first of five he would undertake to Italy. Duke Henry of Saxony accompanied him, bringing 1,800 knights, which constituted one-fourth of the king's army. At an assembly convened by Frederick at Roncaglia in 1154, representatives of Como, Crema, Lodi, and Pavia accused the rulers of Milan of committing high treachery. After weighing these complaints, Frederick—whom the Italians called "Barbarossa" because of his red beard—instructed the Milanese to refrain from obstructing the actions and commerce of the complainants. The Milanese refused on the grounds that it would seriously erode their power and reputation in Lombardy. Frederick therefore placed an imperial ban on Milan.

Afterwards, Frederick marched to Rome. Pope Eugene III had died in 1153, and by the time Frederick reached Rome, it was ruled by Pope Adrian IV, who had been installed in December 1154. Frederick reached Rome at a point in time when the people of Rome were involved in a heated dispute with the Papacy. The people's army barred Frederick from entering Rome, but he and Pope Adrian, with their respective entourages, snuck into the city and conducted the imperial coronation without incident. The Romans revolted when they learned that the coronation had been held without their consent, and Frederick and Henry proceeded to crush the rebellion with overwhelming force.

Exhausted after having fought battles in both Lombardy and Rome, the German princes in Frederick's army now refused to undertake a military expedition against the Normans in Sicily. Frederick had no choice but to lead his exhausted troops back to Germany. Henry had performed with such distinction during the Italian campaign that he was henceforth known as Henry the Lion, Duke of Bavaria and Saxony.

Before departing for Italy, Emperor Frederick had convened a general assembly in 1152 to address the dispute over control of Bavaria. Henry lobbied with great determination to add the Bavarian duchy to his holdings. In 1154, therefore, Frederick granted the Duchy of Bavaria to Henry the Lion.

The principal reason that Frederick awarded Bavaria to Duke Henry of Saxony was that he needed his support for his planned expedition to Italy later that year. The formal transfer of the Duchy of Bavaria to Henry the Lion occurred on September 17, 1156, after the German armies had returned from Italy. Henry was now both Duke Henry III of Saxony and Duke Henry XII of Bavaria.

Henry the Lion's power was growing rapidly by the mid-1150s. In addition to control of Saxony and Bavaria, a general assembly held at Goslar in 1154 granted Henry the right to invest the Slavic bishoprics of Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, and Ratzeburg. Archbishop Hartwig of Hamburg-Bremen wanted this power for himself; he resented Henry's ever-increasing powers and became one of his most ardent enemies.

Although Henry had won a great political victory in obtaining the Duchy of Bavaria, he paid little attention to it. It was in his northern Duchy of Saxony that his true wealth and power lay. In Saxony he possessed numerous counties, controlled 50 churches, and had 400 ministerial knights, called ministerialis, employed protecting his properties.

After Frederick's first expedition to Italy, Henry had time to focus on the welfare of his duchies and administer his Slavic lands. He founded new cities and undertook infrastructure improvements in all three of these areas. Henry founded the town of Munich in 1157.

Frederick invaded Poland that same year to enforce his feudal rights over the Polish king, who was his vassal. King Boleslaw IV of Poland had refused to pay homage to Frederick and to remit the 500 gold marks annual tribute owed to the emperor. Henry the Lion dutifully assembled his Saxon forces, and headed east with the rest of the imperial army. Barbarossa's imperial forces crossed the Oder River and took the Poles by surprise. The ensuing rout of Polish forces at Posen compelled Boleslaw to sue for peace. As punishment for his transgressions, Frederick raised the annual tribute to 2,000 gold marks per year.

For his loyal support in the first Italian campaign, as well as the Polish campaign, Frederick was willing to give Henry almost completely free reign

Philipp Foltz

to expand Saxony to the east and administer it as he saw fit. The emperor at that point in time had no designs on Saxony. Indeed, Frederick dreamed of establishing a vast Hohenstaufen royal domain composed of Alsace, Burgundy, Swabia, and Lombardy that he would leave to his descendents. It would prove to be an unattainable goal, though.

Frederick Barbarossa's second expedition to Italy began in 1158. At the time, Milan, Brescia, and Crema were at war with Lodi and Como. Henry the Lion arrived with key reinforcements towards the end of the four year campaign.

The 15,000-strong Imperial army laid siege to Crema in July 1159. The fortified city boasted double walls and a water-filled moat. The besiegers employed bombardment, mining, and massive siege towers in a bid to capture the city. The defenders surrendered in January 1160. Frederick then ordered his troops to destroy the city.

Frederick's next objective was the capture of Milan. The imperial army besieged the city on May 29, 1161. Frederick received two waves of reinforcements. The first group of reinforcements arrived in March. The second wave in August consisted of Henry the Lion and his brother Welf, who brought with them 1,500 Saxon troops. The reinforcements tipped the balance in favor of the Imperial army. Milan capitulated on March 1, 1162. Frederick gave Milan the same treatment he gave Crema: the imperial army razed the city and drove its people into the countryside.

In both Bavaria and Saxony, but particularly in the latter, Henry the Lion's commercial and municipal initiatives had a positive effect on the prosperity of medieval of Germany. His gains, though, were often made at the expense of others.

Lubeck was a case in point. Since the port technically lay outside the borders of the Holy Roman Empire, Henry was able to exert control over it without interference from the imperial diet. Under Count Adolf of Holstein's rule it had become a prosperous Baltic port. Henry had demanded early in his rule that Adolph, who was his vassal, share half the profits of the port with him. When Adolf refused, Henry ordered the market closed. Shortly afterwards, Lubeck was destroyed by fire.

Henry rebuilt the port in 1160. Over the course of the next two decades, he oversaw the construction of a large cathedral and outer walls to protect it from Slavic raiders. Possession of Lubeck gave Duke Henry a base from which to project his power into the Baltic Sea and along its southern coast. He granted trading privileges to maritime merchants and gave them a safe harbor from which to conduct their trade.

For a decade after the Wendish crusade, an uneasy peace existed between Henry the Lion and Nyklot. During this period, pagan pirates continued to raid the Danish lands in the western Baltic. "Piracy was so unchecked that all of the villages along the eastern coast [of Denmark] were empty of inhabitants, and the countryside lay untilled," wrote Danish chronicler Saxo. "Zealand was barren to the east and south, and languished in desolation."

The Slavic pirates reaped enormous profit from selling Danish slaves in their markets. Henry turned a blind eye to the raids conducted against the Danes, largely because the Slavs paid him large sums not to interfere with their illicit activities.

But this was not enough to satisfy Henry's desire to squeeze as much revenue as possible from the occupied pagan lands. Henry went to war against the Slavs again in 1158. He spent the next eight years battling Nyklot and his progeny. In these wars, the Saxon armies enjoyed significant technological advantages over the pagans. One reason was that the Saxons had better horses and armor than the pagans. Another reason was that their siege equipment could easily reduce Slavic wooden castles and town walls. When besieging Slavic strongholds, Henry used a variety of siege engines, including covered structures, battering rams, and siege towers, all of which were built onsite. Once the Saxons had conquered a town, they built stone fortifications on the site that were largely impervious to pagan attacks.

Henry invaded the remaining lands of the Obotrites in 1158. During the campaign that year, he briefly imprisoned Nyklot. After a lull in the fighting, Henry allied himself with Danish King Valdemar in 1160 and resumed his offensive against the Slavs. Valdemar and his Danish raiders conducted amphibious operations along the coast, while Henry and Count Adolf conducted joint operations inland.

Nyklot attempted a scorched-earth tactic. He

Wikimedia

ABOVE: Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony and Bavaria ruled a powerful system of duchies that became a threat to the Holy Roman Emperor. His arrogant defiance of the emperor precipitated his downfall in 1180. OPPOSITE: Frederick I's army suffered a crushing defeat against the Milanese-led Lombard League at Legnano in May 1167 that ended the emperor's fortunes in northern Italy. If Henry had reinforced him with a large contingent of Saxon knights, it might have swung the battle in the emperor's favor.

ordered his people to abandon their settlements at Ilow, Schwerin, and Dobin. Before departing for the forests and swamps to the east, the retreating Slavs set fire to their wooden forts. Henry defeated Nyklot's two sons, Pribyslav and Vratislav, at Mecklenburg. Meanwhile, a Saxon force killed Nyklot while he was foraging near his stronghold at Werle. Henry annexed most of the land that Nyklot had abandoned. However, he returned Werle on the Warnow River to Nyklot's remaining offspring.

Nyklot's sons continued to resist Saxon rule from their base at Werle. In 1161 they launched a raid against Guncelin of Hagan, Count of Schwerin, who was one of Henry the Lion's principal vassals in the conquered Slavic lands. After inflicting damage on his lands, the brothers split up in an attempt to evade capture.

Henry the Lion reacted quickly to the raid. He sent Count Adolf and his troops in pursuit of Pribyslav, while Henry and Guncelin attacked the younger brother Vratislav, who was known to be at Werle. Henry succeeded in capturing Vratislav, whom he imprisoned in Brunswick. But Pribyslav remained at large.

After Henry's Saxon army captured the pagan stronghold of Werle in 1163, Pribyslav forged an alliance with the co-rulers of Pomerania, Duke Boguslaw and his younger brother Duke Casmir. By doing so, he helped to raise an army large enough to challenge the Saxons in open combat. The Pomeranian dukes wanted to prevent the Saxons from encroaching on their territory, so they were eager to go to war against Henry the Lion.

Pribyslav subsequently attacked the camp of the Saxon vanguard led by Adolf on the Pomeranian frontier on July 6, 1164. Henry hurried forward with the main body; however, the Slavs had slain Adolf in their savage assault on the vanguard. While the Slavs were plundering the camp, Henry launched a vicious counterattack with his main force. He succeeded in routing the Slavic-Pomeranian army in what became known as the Battle of Verchen. Yet Pribyslav escaped and found a safe haven in Pomerania. Infuriated by Pribyslav's continued attacks, Henry ordered his troops to burn Demmin to the ground.

Henry abandoned his wife, Clementia, during this time because of a long-running dispute with his Zahringen in-laws. Henry then married Princess Matilda, the daughter of powerful English King Henry, in 1168. By marrying Matilda, Henry became one of the most powerful princes in Europe in the 12th century.

Having learned of Pribyslav's conversion to Christianity in 1167, Henry agreed to give the Slavic chieftain a fief in Mecklenburg. But first Henry demanded that Pribyslav recognize the Duke of Saxony as his overlord. Pribyslav consented to the terms. At that point, Henry's long war in the Slavic lands drew to a close.

Henry set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1172 with 1,000 of his followers. Upon his arrival, he consulted with the Knights Templars about a possible military expedition. But the Templar senior leadership said it was not a propitious time for a campaign. Before departing for home, the duke made a sizeable financial contribution to the Templars so that they could purchase additional equipment.

After his fifth and final expedition to Italy, Frederick returned to Germany in autumn 1178. He partly blamed Henry, who had declined to reinforce him during an emergency meeting held early in 1176 at Chiavenna near Lake Como, for the defeat that the Milanese had inflicted on his imperial army at Legnano on May 29 of that same year.

In a settlement that Barbarossa reached with Pope Alexander III after Legnano, the emperor agreed to return control of investiture of the bishops in Germany to the Papacy. When Frederick ordered Henry to restore the remaining church lands of which he had taken possession, Henry refused. This gave Frederick cause to summon Henry to face judicial action.

The emperor had ordered Henry in 1177 to remove his ally, Gero of Schowitz, from the position of bishop of Halbertstadt and replace him with Bishop Ulrich, whom Henry had removed from office 17 years earlier. Bishop Ulrich was one of Henry's most bitter and relentless foes. When Henry returned from campaigning against the West Slavs that year, he found that Ulrich had built a fortress in Halbertstadt that he intended to use as a base of operations against the duke. Henry destroyed it, but Ulrich built it a second time. Henry destroyed it again.

While Frederick was on his final expedition to Italy, Henry fought not only with Ulrich, but also with Archbishop Philip of Cologne. Henry's enemies attacked and looted his castles and towns in Westphalia. Henry's ecclesiastical foes also sought to have the emperor intervene on their behalf. Barbarossa heard their complaints at an imperial diet in Speyer on November 11, 1177. He was sym-

pathetic to them, and he issued a summons for Henry to appear at Worms in January 1179 to respond to the charges against him.

When Henry failed to appear, Frederick issued another summons in which he instructed the wayward duke to appear in Magdeburg in June. Yet another hearing was scheduled for January 1180, but he failed to appear then, as well. Imperial law stated that three summons should be issued to the accused before a judgment was made without the input of the accused.

As a result of Henry's failure to appear, the emperor issued a ban against him. Under German law, Henry's refusal to respond to an imperial summons was tantamount to high treason. Frederick had his imperial officials draw up a document for publication that would set forth Henry's failure to perform his feudal duties, as well as specific treasonous acts.

Frederick resolved in April 1180 that Henry was to forfeit the Duchy of Saxony. The emperor proceeded to carve Saxony into smaller principalities. Specifically, Westphalia was to be removed from the Duchy of Saxony. Frederick gave the Duchy of Saxony to Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, Henry's old rival. But before he did so, he gave portions of it to Archbishop Philip of Cologne and Bernard of Anhalt, who was Albert's younger son. Three months later, Frederick decided that he would also take the Duchy of Bavaria away from Henry.

While these proceedings were under way, Henry went to war against his regional foes in Saxony and the Rhineland. Adolf of Schauenberg, Bernard of Ratzeburg, and Guncelin of Schwerin all remained loyal to the new Duke of Saxony. Because of his superb generalship, Henry gained an advantage over them all. First, he captured Halbertstadt and made Bishop Ulrich his prisoner. Second, he outmaneuvered the forces of the archbishops of Cologne and Magdeburg and compelled them to raise their siege of Haldensleben. Third, he defeated an army co-commanded by Louis of Thuringia and Bernard of Anhalt in a pitched battle at Weissensee on the Unstrut River. Henry not only took Louis prisoner, but also took 400 enemy soldiers into captivity. His only major setback during the civil war in Saxony occurred when he was unable to capture Goslar.

The tide of the civil war turned against Henry when Barbarossa took the field against him. Before doing so, the emperor ordered all of Henry's vassals to join him on pain of losing their fiefdoms if they failed to do so.

With the dukes and princes of Germany rallying to his banner, Frederick was able to defeat Henry in the field. The former Duke of Saxony tried to get foreign reinforcements from Denmark and England, but was unsuccessful in those efforts. His father-in-law, King Henry II of England, had no intention of going to war with Frederick on his behalf. As for King Valdemar of Denmark, his power had increased to the extent that he no longer needed Henry as an ally.

After losing several pitched battles, Henry reluctantly admitted defeat and submitted to Frederick. Frederick was so deeply moved by Henry's submission that he agreed to allow Henry to retain two cities of his patrimony—Brunswick and Luneberg. The emperor's mercy also was a product of the intervention of powerful secular and religious leaders in Western Europe, including King Henry II of England, King Philip II of France, and Count Philip of Flanders. They all urged Barbarossa to show leniency towards Henry. Even Pope Alexander III wrote to Frederick on Henry's behalf.

Because of this, Frederick was more merciful than he might otherwise have been. Frederick decided to banish Henry from Germany for an unspecified period of time for his own good. Barbarossa did this because he believed that one or more of Henry's enemies might try to assassinate him. Under the terms granted to him, Henry was instructed to request the emperor's permission if he chose to return to Germany at a future point in time.

Henry departed Germany in 1182. He became a member of his father-in-law's royal court. Henry requested and received permission to return to Saxony in 1185. But on the eve of Barbarossa's departure in March 1188 to participate in the Third Crusade, the emperor ordered Henry to leave the country again, fearing that Henry would try to regain some of his lands by force.

Once Barbarossa had departed, Henry promptly returned to Germany without the emperor's permission. The former Duke of Saxony raised an army with the help of some of his former vassals and won a quick victory when he captured the wealthy town of Bardowick in Luneberg.

During the long arduous trek across Eastern Europe and Anatolia, Frederick drowned while fording the Saleph River in south-central Anatolia. His successor, King Henry VI, was crowned in April 1191. He defeated Henry the Lion in the field in 1193 and banished him from Germany a third time. But Henry returned again in 1194; this time, however, he had no hostile intentions. Aware that he was near the end of his life, he pledged to the new emperor that he would no longer take up arms in Germany. Henry the Lion, the former duke of Saxony and Bavaria, died in Brunswick on August 6, 1195. □

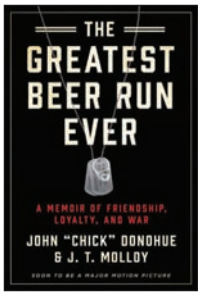
Art Resource

FORMER MARINE JOHN "CHICK" DONOHUE WENT TO SOUTH VIETNAM IN 1968 NOT TO FIGHT, BUT TO TAKE MESSAGES OF SUPPORT TO HIS FRIENDS, AS WELL AS TO BRING THEM BEER.

By Christopher Miskimon

An M48 Patton tank advances through the war-torn streets of Saigon during the height of the Tet Offensive in early 1968. LEFT: Former Marine John "Chick" Donohue carried messages of support from New York to the Marines defending the beleaguered capital of South Vietnam.

John "Chick" Donohue stood in the chaos of the American embassy in Saigon in early 1968 as the Tet Offensive raged around it. He needed a ride to a hotel near the Presidential Palace and asked two men who seemed on their way out. "That's exactly where we're going," they told him. "Jump in." Donohue got into the back of jeep, where one of the men handed him a gun belt with a .45 automatic. He strapped it on as the jeep tore through the streets, going straight past the street where Donohue's hotel sat. As they neared the Presidential Palace, a rocket struck a jeep ahead of them. The vehicle and everyone in it flew into the air.



The two men in Donohue's jeep jumped out and ran off with the jeep still rolling forward. Donohue jumped out, head down, and ran behind a palm tree. He watched a South Korean soldier grab a wounded man from the first jeep, dragging him to cover. (Donohue learned later the South Korean Ambassador's house was nearby.) He looked around and found the Viet Cong position, a five-story building under construction, a mass of exposed concrete and steel rebar. Machine-gun fire and rockets poured from the skeletal structure.

Thirty yards away, a military policeman lay on the ground. Donohue felt he had to check on the man and began crawling to him. A hissing whisper startled Donohue. "Get back! Forget it. He's dead. I checked him." It was another man in plain clothes, wounded and lying in the street, clutching a .45. "I'm okay, stay back," the man told him. Donohue looked around and could see inside the gates of the palace, where South Vietnamese policemen and soldiers seemed to be arguing with some Army officers. He got behind a wall and stayed there.

The ground trembled as several U.S. Army tanks rumbled along the street. American soldiers ran out to grab the wounded in the street. The American officers continued arguing with the South Vietnamese. The American wanted to blast the wall Donohue hid behind so they could go after the Viet Cong. The South Vietnamese wanted the Americans to leave; protecting the Palace was their job and they wanted to do it. The angry American officers told them if they did not want their help, they would find someone who did. With that, the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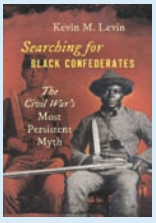
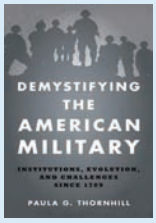
SHORT BURSTS

'Horses Worn Down to Mere Shadows' The Victorio Campaign 1880 (Robert N. Watt, Helion and Co., 2019, $49.95, hardcover) Apache chief Victorio battled U.S. and Mexican forces in 1880. After initial successes, the tide of war turned against the Apaches and Victorio died in a last stand.

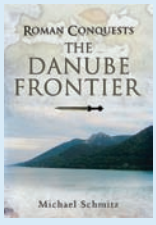


Searching for Black Confederates: The Civil War's Most Persistent Myth (Kevin M. Levin, University of North Carolina Press, 2019, $30.00, hardcover) The author reveals the falsehoods behind the myth that thousands of African Americans fought voluntarily in the Confederate army during the American Civil War.



Demystifying the American Military: Institutions, Evolution, and Challenges Since 1789 (Paula G. Thornhill, Naval Institute Press, 2019, $26.00, softcover) At its beginning, the U.S. military was a distrusted and peripheral arm of government, yet now it is central to American global power. This book explains how and why this change occurred.

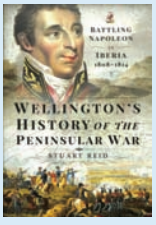
The French Army in the Great War (David Bilton, Pen and Sword Books, 2019, $22.95, softcover) This latest volume in the *Images of War* series contains numerous photographs of French troops in and out of the trenches during World War I. Many of these images have rarely been seen in the English-speaking world.



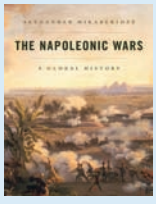
Roman Conquests: The Danube Frontier (Michael Schmitz, Pen and Sword Books, 2019, $39.95, hardcover) It took Rome more than a century to conquer the Dacians. This work covers those campaigns in detail.

Inchon Landing: MacArthur's Korean War Masterstroke September 1950 (Gery Von Tonder, Pen and Sword Books, 2019, $24.95, softcover) The Inchon landings reversed the course of the Korean War in one stroke. This book covers that action with numerous photographs, excellent maps, and a detailed narrative.

Operation Starlite: The Beginning of the Blood Debt in Vietnam, August 1965 (Otto J. Lehrack, Casemate Publishers, 2019, $19.95, softcover) The Marine Corps' Operation Starlite was the first major combat action for American troops in Vietnam. Its success caused misplaced optimism about the war effort.



Wellington's History of the Peninsular War: Battling Napoleon in Iberia 1808-1814 (Stuart Reid, Frontline Books, 2019, $39.95, hardcover) Wellington wrote several lengthy dispatches about the war as it happened. These are combined together for the first time in this volume.



Napoleon's Admirals: Flag Officers of the Arc de Triomphe, 1789-1815 (Richard Humble, Casemate Publishers, 2019, $45.00, hardcover) The names of 26 admirals are inscribed on the Arc de Triomphe in Paris. This book tells the story of each, along with a new appraisal of the Anglo-French Naval War.

tanks roared off down the street.

Next, an American police advisor appeared with a group of South Vietnamese police with him. Donohue listened as he tried to get the Vietnamese to go after the Viet Cong, but they were reluctant. In a Midwestern accent, the advisor told them he would lead them, so they agreed. As the advisor scrambled over a wall, an explosion blew him back over it. The Vietnamese grabbed his unconscious form, threw him into a pickup truck and raced away.

Donohue was now alone in the midst of a bloody, urban battle. He was a man with a mission, but he was not a soldier. Donohue was not affiliated with the CIA nor any military organization. However, he had served four years in the Marine Corps. At the time, he was a civilian and merchant marine who had disembarked from his ship with a mission to find his friends amidst the Vietnam War and give them messages of support from home and share a can of beer with them. Donohue's gripping story is told in his own words in ***The Greatest Beer Run Ever: A Memoir of Friendship, Loyalty and War*** (John "Chick" Donohue and J.T. Molloy, William Morrow Publishers, New York NY, 2020, 256 pp., photographs, $34.99, hardcover).

One night in 1967, Donohue sat drinking with friends in a bar in New York City. All of them had lost friends in South Vietnam and were bothered by the antiwar protesters and the turmoil of their country. One of them came up with the idea of going to Vietnam, tracking down their friends, and giving them beer and support. It was a bizarre, albeit altruistic, idea, and only Donohue was crazy enough to do it.

Donohue tells his story in plain, straightforward prose. The tone alternates between laughter-inspiring events and melancholy-evoking ones. A number of photographs accompany the text, showing his dangerous adventure through a nation at war. Most Vietnam memoirs focus on Special Forces, infantrymen, or aircraft pilots. This is the tale of a civilian who should never have been there, but went anyway out of love for his friends.

The Russian Who Saved the World: A Novel of the Cuban Missile Crisis (Capt. Steven E. Maffeo, USN, Ret., Focsle LLC, Annapolis MD, 2020, 269 pp., photographs, $15.00, softcover)

In October 1962, the world was on the verge of World War III as the United States and the Soviet Union were at odds over the placement of Soviet missiles on the island of Cuba. U.S. warships blockaded the island to keep the Soviets from reinforcing its defenses. Near Cuba, cruising beneath the surface of the sea, was the Soviet Projekt 641-class submarine B-59. Its captain was overwhelmed by stress and fatigue as hostile ships roamed the surface hunting his vessel. He finally decided to launch a nuclear-armed torpedo at the aircraft carrier USS *Randolph*, an attack that would almost certainly start a full-scale nuclear war between the two nations. Only one man, a passenger aboard B-59, had a chance to avert the situation and prevent a global conflict.

This thrilling new novel is a fictionalized account of perhaps the most critical moment of the 20th century. The author is a retired naval intelligence officer with prior non-fiction work to his credit. His expertise and in-depth research make this work authentic and suspenseful, revealing much about the Soviet submarine service of the Cold War. This book elevates the author into the ranks of a select few skilled in the genre of historical naval fiction.

Honoring Our Heroes

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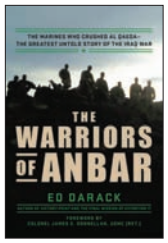
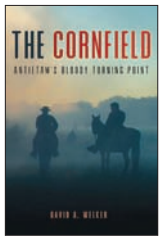


The Warriors of Anbar: The Marines who Crushed Al-Qaeda—The Greatest Untold Story of the Iraq War (Ed Darack, Da Capo Press, New York NY, 2019, 246 pp., maps, photographs, index, $28.00, hardcover)

Lance Corporal Mike Scholl sat in the turret of an up-armored Humvee, peering over the sights of his M240B machine gun. It was November 14, 2006. The vehicle was deployed 50 meters from the west bank of the Euphrates River in Haditha, Iraq. Scholl was part of a patrol moving through the town, alert for an attack by Al Qaeda fighters, who attacked the local Marines almost every day. He looked for signs of those fighters, for any telltale hint of an improvised explosive device or for the sound of a rocket-propelled grenade. Neither Scholl nor his fellow Marines could afford to let their guard down for even a moment.

As the young Marine scanned the area beyond the barrel of his weapon, a grenade flew out of an alley and exploded near two Marines on foot. As the two men checked each other for injuries, other Marines looked for the grenade-thrower, but found no one. The attacker had simply melted back into the city. And none of the Marines could see another enemy fighter about to use a six-volt battery to set off a hidden bomb nearby.

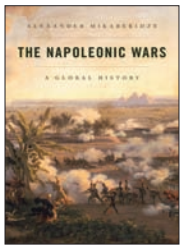
The Marines sent to Anbar Province, Iraq, fought with perseverance and courage against an elusive and deadly foe. This new book tells the story of 2nd Battalion, 3rd Marine Regiment, as they struggled to restore peace to one of the country's most violent regions. It is a well-written, descriptive, and highly readable work revealing what American troops in Iraq experienced.



The Cornfield: Antietam's Turning Point (David A. Welker, Casemate Publishers, Havertown PA, 2020, 384 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, $34.95, hardcover)

The morning phase of the epic clash at Sharpsburg turned on control of an area forever known as the Cornfield. The 30-acre Cornfield changed hands repeatedly as both sides attacked and counterattacked. Union Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan demanded that the position on the Confederate left flank be taken. The Union I and XII corps, as well as a division of the Union II Corps, were wrecked trying to obtain the objective. Approximately 5,000 Confederates faced 8,700 Federals in the Cornfield-Dunker Church sector. Of the 13,700 men engaged, 4,368 became casualties.

The author of this new work argues McClellan's faulty tactics led to the bloodbath in the Cornfield. The morning action is described through a combination of gripping personal accounts, many of which are published for the first time. The work is a tantalizing narrative that sheds new light on the famous battle that became known as the single bloodiest day in the American Civil War.



The Napoleonic Wars: A Global History (Alexander Mikaberidze, Oxford University Press, Oxford UK, 2020, 960 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $39.95, hardcover)

The series of conflicts known as the Napoleonic Wars were, for all intents and purposes, a world war. They began with the revolution in France and continued until Napoleon Bonaparte was finally defeated in 1815. The Napoleonic Wars constituted empire-building on a global scale. While the fighting in Europe seemed the main event, the combatants also struggled in the Americas, Asia and Africa. Napoleon's success forced disparate states to form various alliances to oppose him. It took years of military and political maneuvering to bring about his end. Like other world wars, the Napoleonic Wars had long-lasting effects across the globe. The wars resulted in the Louisiana Purchase in North America, beginning the rise of the United States to world-power status. The wars' end also cemented the *Pax Britannica* that would last for the rest of the century.

A worldwide perspective makes this new book stand out from most histories of the Napoleonic period. The author argues that the wars affected subsequent events outside Europe more so than within it. He lays out the work in three parts: First, he shows how the French Revolution paved the way for the wars. Next, those conflicts are explored in a chronological, global perspective. Then, he chronicles the fall of the empire and the wars' aftermath, along with its lasting influences on modern times. It is a work of expansive breadth and great depth.

Army of the Roman Emperors: Archaeology and History (Thomas Fischer, Casemate Publishers, Havertown PA, 2019, 464 pp., photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $45.00, hardcover)

The army of Imperial Rome was actually quite small by modern standards. Many estimates place its strength at no more than 500,000 troops. Nevertheless, this force carried out myriad tasks out of all proportion to their numbers. They not only fought external enemies and internal threats, but also performed taxation, customs and policing roles across the empire. When not engaged in these functions, they built roads, ships, and buildings. Roman soldiers also acted as marines. Roman fleets are rarely discussed today, but they formed an important part of the empire's military power.

It is a difficult task to pull so much information about the Imperial Roman military into one volume, but the author has succeeded in this new work. He combines archeological findings with historical data to present the uniforms, weapons and equipment of Roman troops in great detail. The author pays great attention to the changes the army went through over the centuries, showing how it evolved to face new threats and opponents. He describes in great detail the various fortifications the legions constructed and how they defended them. The book includes more than 500 illustrations and maps.

The Battleships of the Iowa Class: A Design and Operational History (Philippe Caresse, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis MD, 2019, 522 pp., maps, photographs, bibliography, index, $120.00, hardcover)

The four *Iowa*-class battleships—the *Iowa*, *New Jersey*, *Wisconsin*, and *Missouri*—were the pinnacle of American battleship design. Built in the early years of World War II, they entered service just as the battleship was being eclipsed by the aircraft carrier as the chief warship of major navies. Despite this relegation from primacy, battleships still had useful roles to play.

The battleships escorted the carriers, bombarded shore targets in advance of amphibious assaults, and acted as command ships for fleets and task forces. The sheer firepower these ships possessed meant they were retained after the war. They saw service in the Korean conflict, and *New Jersey* was taken out of reserve to serve in Vietnam. In the 1980s, all four ships were modernized and reactivated in the growing competition with the Soviet Union during the late Cold War. Their final service occurred during the Gulf War.

This attractive coffee-table book is full of photographs, many in color, mixed with line drawings, charts, and informative text. The imagery is well-chosen, drawing the reader to keep turning pages to see what comes next. Extensive data is also provided on the ships' Cold War upgrades and actions. All four ships ended their careers as floating museums around the United States, and space is devoted to each vessel's final destination. □

WORLD WAR I COMES TO LIFE IN A VIRTUAL-REALITY EXPERIENCE NARRATED BY HISTORIAN AND PODCASTER DAN CARLIN

By Joseph Luster

War Remains

Genre: Virtual Reality • Platform: VR, PC • Publisher: MWM Interactive • Available: Now

Sometimes, a game comes along that can't quite be categorized in the same way as all the others. *War Remains* is just such a title; something that should be considered less as a game and more as an experience. That its narrative is housed within the unique and ever-evolving format of virtual-reality technology makes it that much more potent, and it doesn't hurt that the voice behind it is popular political commentator and podcaster Dan Carlin (*Hardcore History*).

Developed in coordination with MWM Immersive and Skywalker Sound, the aim of *War Remains* is to create an experience that puts the audience right in the trenches of the Western Front of World War I. It made its debut at the 2019 Tribeca Film Festival before heading out to other venues, and while the idea of using public VR headsets may sound crazy to those of us living through the pandemic, prior to all the restrictions it gave participants a chance to check it out early and see the sights and sounds of war exploding all around them.

If the idea of being thrust into what the game's Steam page aptly describes as a "nightmarish hellscape" sounds compelling, you can officially do so from the safety of your own home. *War Remains* made its way to Oculus, Viveport, and Steam in May—compatible with HTC Vive, Oculus Rift, and Valve Index headsets—letting those who can handle it take a guided tour through the atrocities of war with Carlin narrating the entire journey. It's a pure soldier's point of view in the face of one of history's most intense battlefields, and while it's not for everyone, it offers a perspective you'd be hard-pressed to find anywhere else.

War Remains is billed as an "immersive memory," and that sums the proceedings up pretty nicely. If you're not into *Hardcore History*, then the Dan Carlin angle isn't going to move the needle much for you, but if you have a compatible VR headset and five bucks to spare, it's definitely worth it for the short, immersive, and briefly enlightening glimpse into the horrors of the past.

Medieval Dynasty

Genre: Simulation • Platform: PC • Publisher: Toplitz Productions • Available: 2020

If you get a sense of pride from building something out of nothing, you've probably played and enjoyed your fair share of simulation games. One of the latest is *Medieval Dynasty*, a sim that comes from Render Cube, previously known for the very different cart-style racing game *Monster League*. *Medieval Dynasty* couldn't be any further from that one both in concept and execution, favoring realism and scope over cartoony visuals and arcady gameplay. It's an interesting move from the developer, and we'll be able to find out if it pays off when *Medieval Dynasty* lands on PC sometime this year.

When we talk about starting from scratch, we mean it. Set in Europe in the Middle Ages, *Medieval Dynasty* finds you in the role of a poor but skilled hunter and farmer with grander ambitions. You'll start by gathering resources, hunting, and crafting equipment for your home, building it and improving upon it before moving on to other aspects of the community. Next thing you know, you'll be able to move from the construction of a small outpost to the development of a truly impressive village.

Over the course of your village's expansion, you'll have to tend to your own personal growth, which includes starting a family, producing heirs, and attracting new villagers to help scale exponentially and eventually push your humble village beginnings in the direction of becoming a dynasty. Render Cube is aiming for an imposing level of realism here, from seasonal changes, day/night cycle, and realistic weather conditions to the interactive environment, expansive crafting-and-building options, and a high level of character development with the help of a detailed skill tree. If all goes according to plan, it certainly seems as if there's going to be a ton to do when the full game is available.

At the time of this writing, there's a general 2020 release window attributed to *Medieval Dynasty*, but hopefully we'll be closer to the launch when this issue is in your hands. Heck, it could already be out in some form, so give it a gander on Steam if you're looking for a potentially engrossing way to scratch that simulation itch. □

WEAPONS

Continued from page 13

for Manila during much of the savage street fighting. For its role in Manila, the battalion received the Presidential Unit Citation. The M18 saw little action in the invasion of Leyte that began in October 1944, but it was used with some degree of success during the le Shima phase of the Okinawa campaign the following year.

The final assessment of the M18's design was that it was a disappointment. The engineering of any armored fighting vehicle has to involve compromises between firepower, speed, and armor protection. This was particularly true for the U.S. tank destroyers, given that the weight restrictions placed on their respective designs meant even greater compromises in firepower or armor protection.

Of course, the first role of a tank destroyer is to destroy enemy tanks. With regard to the M18, it did not have sufficient firepower to carry out its mission. Bruce's obsession with speed had negatively affected the design and resulted in a poorly balanced vehicle, owing to a flawed tactical doctrine that completely ignored the evolution of the enemy's sophisticated armor capability.

The U.S. Army Tank Destroyer Command, for all intents and purposes, had pursued the wrong balance. From the time it came into service in 1944, the M18 was incapable of defeating the later-designed German tanks in normal combat conditions. Tank-destroyer crews had to quickly learn how to perform exceptional maneuvers. Even though many of the M18 crews liked the Hellcat's high road speed, there is little evidence that these speeds resulted in a significant advantage on the battlefield. High road speed has little to do with mobility in off-road combat.

Additionally, the M18's thin armor and open-turret roof did not encourage experienced crews to speed forward when involved in close combat as anticipated, but rather to move in more slowly and be more cautious to avoid exposure to enemy sniper and artillery fire. These design shortcomings, combined with an unrealistic combat doctrine, meant that M18 battalions were not primarily used for tank fighting, but were more apt to be used in alternate roles for which they were not particularly suited.

The M18 crews did have many successes, but these were mainly due to the crew's ingenuity and ability to improvise, not the weapon they were given to work with.

The quest of building a superb tank destroyer ultimately eluded the U.S. Army in World War II. Although the name Hellcat called to mind a ferocious beast, the M18 was unable to live up to such a reputation against formidable German armor. □

VALOR

Continued from page 17

from entering the camp. During these efforts, he was wounded a fourth time when shrapnel struck his face and upper body.

Donlon showed "great courage and coolness under fire," stated his Medal of Honor citation. "Without hesitation, he left his sheltered position and moved from position to position around the beleaguered perimeter while hurling hand grenades at the enemy and inspiring his men to superhuman effort."

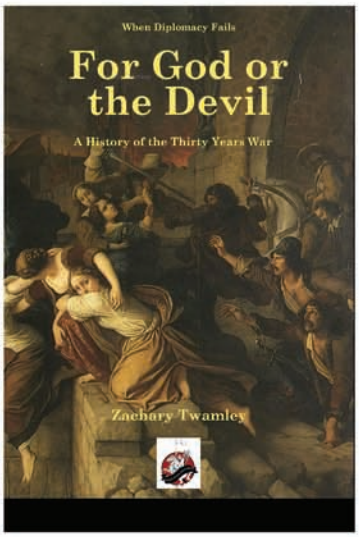
The beleaguered A team heard the welcome roar of friendly aircraft a few minutes after 4 AM. "[The flare ship] brought a lot more than light," Donlon said. "It brought hope to us in the camp, and it must have discouraged the VC, for little by little, their firing tapered off. A flare ship is usually followed by an air strike, and they knew it. Within minutes, they began to withdraw, but they were far from through with us."

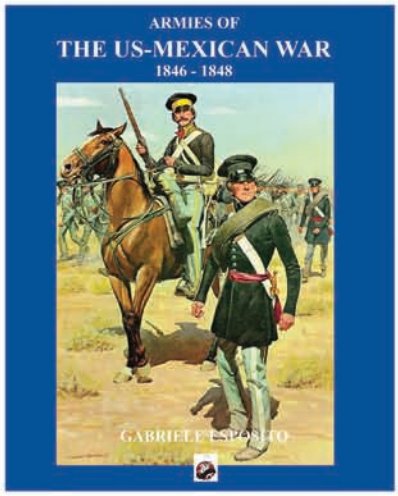
Desperate to force the survivors of the camp to surrender, the VC began using a loudspeaker. An interpreter told Donlon that the speaker was instructing the Americans to lay down their weapons and surrender, or else. "We are going to annihilate your camp. You will all be killed!" the communist soldier continued. Donlon's response was to direct 10 rounds of white phosphorous mortar rounds at the speaker's suspected position. Nung soldiers manning machine guns also directed their fire at the target; however, they failed to silence the enemy soldier on the loudspeaker. Shortly afterwards, enemy troops began operating a 60mm mortar from within the camp. Donlon directed Woods to target the suspected position with the 81mm mortar he was operating, which successfully knocked out the enemy mortar.

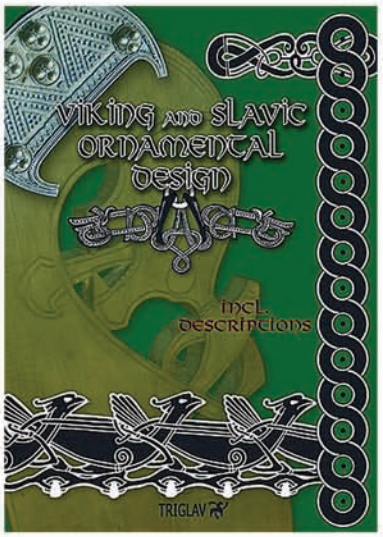
About that time, the sun began to slowly rise, and the enemy withdrew. From the initial onslaught to the enemy's last desperate efforts to seize the camp before daylight, Donlon's leadership made the difference between victory and defeat. "[Donlon's] dynamic leadership, fortitude, and valiant efforts inspired not only the American personnel but the friendly Vietnamese defenders as well and resulted in the successful defense of the camp," stated the medal citation.

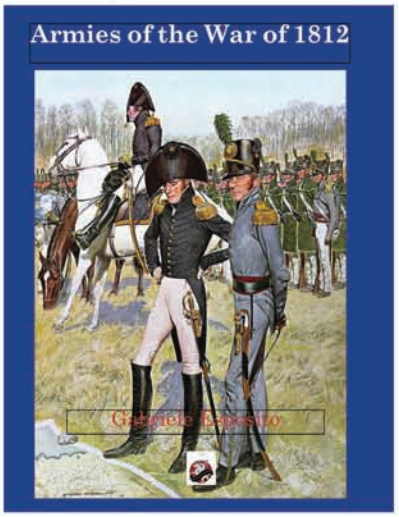
The Americans counted 54 enemy dead left behind, although many more were likely killed. Within Team A-726, Alamo and Sergeant John Houston died, as well as Warrant Officer Conway. Alamo and Houston posthumously received the Distinguished Service Cross. The other team members received either the Silver Star or Bronze Star. "The Medal of Honor which President Johnson awarded me belongs equally to all of us," Donlon said. □

Not the Same Old History









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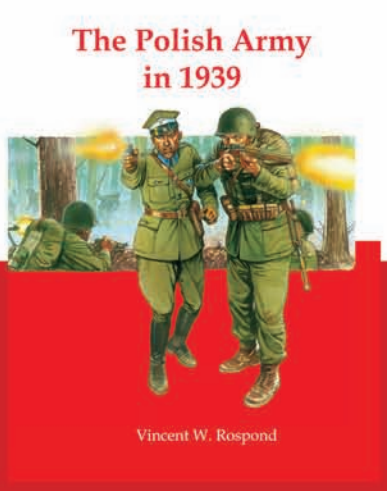

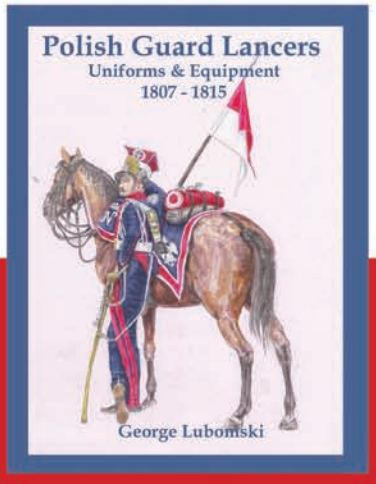

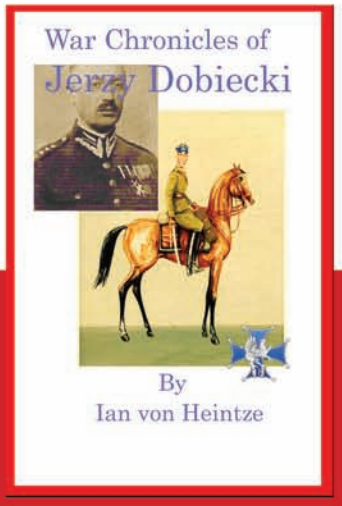

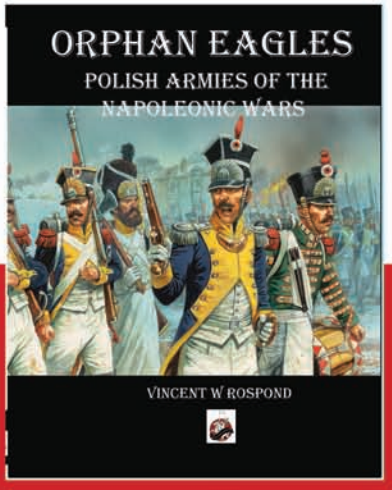

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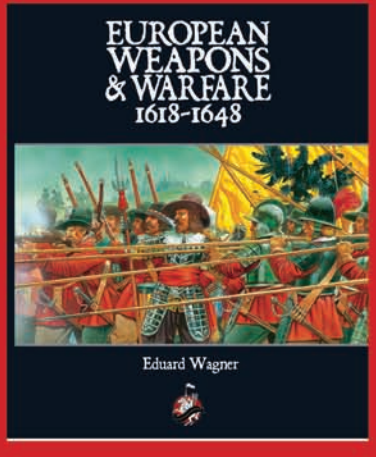

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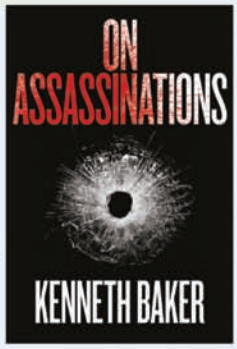

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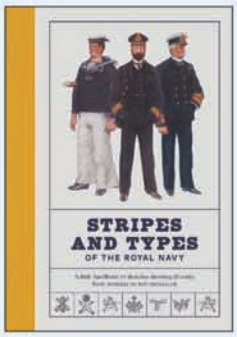

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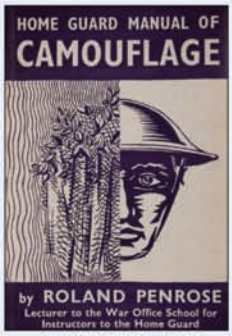

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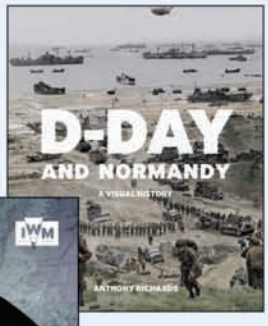

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