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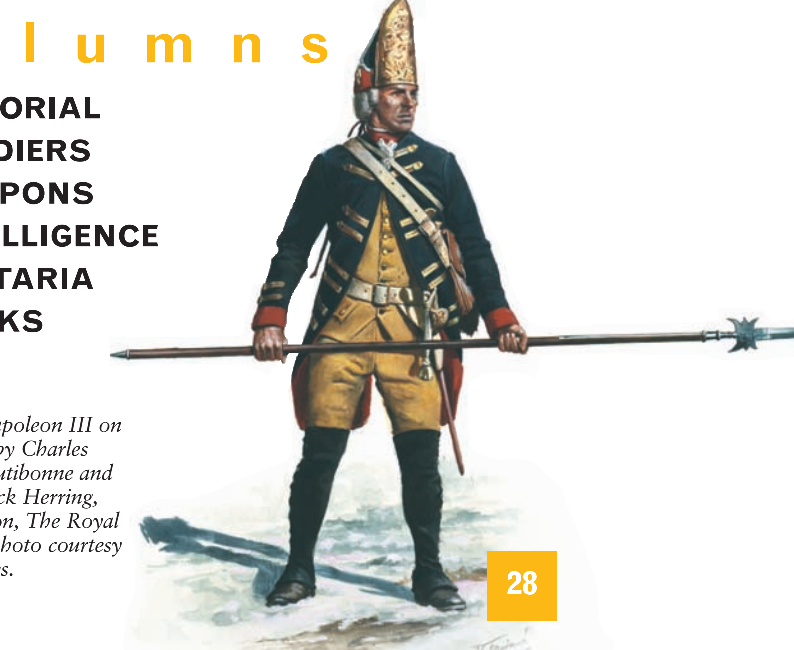

COVER: Napoleon III on Horseback, by Charles Edouard Boutibonne and John Frederick Herring, 1856. London, The Royal Collection. Photo courtesy of akg-images.

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The famous painting, *Washington Crossing the Delaware,* has had its share of historical detractors.

ALMOST FROM THE TIME IT WAS COMPLETED IN 1850, Emanuel Leutze's famous painting, *Washington Crossing the Delaware,* has attracted more than its share of artistic detractors. These critics have pointed out various mistakes the painter made in the historical details, from depicting the wrong types of flag and boat to placing the late-night crossing in broad daylight. As Pulitzer Prize-winning author David Hackett Fischer has said, "The debunkers were right about some of the details in the painting, but they were wrong about others. The larger ideas in Emanuel Leutze's art are true to the history that inspired it."

Leutze, a native of Wurttemberg, Germany, came to America in 1825 with his revolutionary father, Gottlieb, who had been taken part in a failed attempt to depose the Russian-born king of his city-state. After his father's death, Leutze returned to Germany to study art, and soon became embroiled in the revolutionary spirit that was sweeping Europe in the late 1840s. The Forty-Eighters, as they were called, instigated popular uprisings in Germany, France, and other European countries, but all were put down brutally by those in power.

Leutze, disillusioned and demoralized, turned to the memory of a more successful revolution for inspiration. Recruiting American tourists and students to serve as models, he completed his giant painting, *Washington Crossing the Delaware,* at his studio in Dusseldorf in 1850. The work was 12 feet, 5 inches high and 21 feet, 3 inches wide, and showed George Washington and his men making their dramatic crossing of the icy Delaware River above Trenton, New Jersey, on Christmas night, 1776.

A fire at his studio damaged the painting soon after it was completed, but Leutze repaired the work and displayed it widely across Europe, winning a gold medal in Berlin. The original became the property of the Bremen Art Museum. Leutze sent a stroke-by-stroke copy of the painting to America, where it was housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. (The original was destroyed by British bombers during World War II, a raid some have seen as a final act of retribution for the American Revolution.) During the Civil War it was displayed in the rotunda of the Capitol Building in Washington, D.C.

Critics were quick to point out that the flag being held by future president James Monroe in the painting did not come into being until 1777. Others have noted that Leutze failed to show the actual type of Durham boat used in the crossing, replacing it with a smaller, more precarious rowboat. Washington himself is shown as being a good deal older than the vigorous 44-year-old he was in 1776—more like the elderly, iconic figure he is in Gilbert Stuart's equally famous painting. And the time, or at least the lighting, is wrong: the patriots made their crossing in near-total darkness, not the blue-white glow of Leutze's painting.

But as Fischer points out, the artist was not attempting a photographic-quality image of the event, but a symbolic rendering of a historical moment that also encapsulated the entire perilous undertaking of the revolution. The 13 different types of men (and one woman) that Leutze places in the boat with Washington are emblematic of the various types of colonists who were making their stand against British imperialism. They include a New England seaman, a Scottish immigrant, an African-American, a woman wearing men's clothing, western frontiersmen, northern farmers, a Baltimore merchant, and a Virginia aristocrat, James Monroe.

As the European artist Emanuel Leutze realized, the American colonists on the icy Delaware River that night were all in the same boat—literally and figuratively. By following the stalwart courage of George Washington, they managed to cross safely to the other side. *Washington Crossing the Delaware* may not be great history, but it is great art. □

Roy Morris Jr.

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By Jeremy Green

Exiled Polish Prince Joseph Poniatowski found a home—and a marshal's baton—in Napoleon Bonaparte's Grande Armée.

POLISH PRINCE JOSEPH PONIATOWSKI, A GREAT HERO OF NAPOLEONIC legend, ultimately was a man without a country. Born on May 7, 1762, the prince at first enjoyed the luxurious life of a nobleman because of his ties to the ruling family of Poland. (His uncle, Stanislaus Poniatowski, ruled Poland as King Stanislaus II.) Readily adopting a military career, the prince joined the Imperial Army when Austria, one of Poland's three patron states, declared war on Turkey in 1788. He won praise for his performance during the Battle of Sabac, in which for the first time—but hardly the last—he was wounded.

©Private Collection/Agra Art, Warsaw, Poland/The Bridgeman Art Library

Napoleon Bonaparte with Polish Prince Joseph Poniatowski at the Battle of Leipzig. Poniatowski was killed later that day.

Recalled to Poland by his uncle, the prince was given the rank of major general and labored zealously to improve the national forces. The next year, when Poland was threatened by an armed intervention from Russia, Poniatowski was appointed commander of the Ukraine Division at Braclaw-on-Bug. When war broke out in earnest in May 1791, he became commander in chief of the Polish Army and took control of the effort to guard the banks of the Dniester and Dnieper Rivers. Aided by his able assistant, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Poniatowski displayed great ability, conducting a brilliant fighting retreat and turning on his pursuers whenever they pressed too closely. At Polonna, he inflicted 3,000 losses on the Russians. Against an invading army four times as large as his own, the prince managed to defeat the Russians again at Zielence and Dubienka.

Poniatowski was organizing a last-ditch defense of Warsaw when word came that the king had agreed to an arbitrated peace. Under the Convention of Targovica, signed in 1793, Russia and Prussia divided Poland between them, and Stanislaus, the last Polish king, was overthrown. A year later, Polish nationalists revolted against the foreign dominators. Kosciuszko, who had recently returned from helping the Americans achieve victory over their British oppressors, now sought to destroy the European powers that had plundered his Polish homeland. During this time, Poniatowski took command of one of Kosciuszko's divisions. The Poles, although at first successful, were decisively defeated at Maciejowice, and the wounded Kosciuszko was taken prisoner. Poniatowski made his way to Warsaw, where he was determined to withstand Marshal Alexander Suvorov's Russian legions.

The Poles in Praga, on the other side of the Vistula River, fortified themselves and arranged 100 can-

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

nons overlooking the bridge. This awesome array of artillery, however, did not prevent the indomitable Suvorov and his massive Russian columns from driving the Poles back across the bridge, which soon collapsed from the tremendous weight of the crowds of people, soldiers and civilians, seeking to escape across it. Thousands of Polish patriots perished in the swirling currents of the river beneath them. Those who survived were struck down by Cossack lances. Over 11,000 bodies of men, women, and children lay dead in the streets of Praga and along the banks of the Vistula.

After Warsaw fell, a disheartened Poniatowski traveled to Vienna. Although the Russian Czarina Catherine the Great, the former lover and patron of King Stanislaus, tried to convince Poniatowski to return to Poland as her personal representative, the unhappy memories of his homeland being divided like a carcass among wild animals still burned in Poniatowski's heart, and he continued to spurn her offers.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Napoleon's victory over the Russians at Friedland in June 1807 opened a new world of possibilities for Poniatowski. Prussia was forced to cede her Polish territory under the Tilsit Agreement, and Poland, now under French protection, became the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Poniatowski became the duchy's new minister of war. In 1809, Austria renewed the war with Napoleon, and an army of 30,000 Austrians marched forth to liberate Germany from French control, once again destroying any hopes of Polish independence. The Duchy of Warsaw was drawn into the fighting on the side of the emperor. Against the formidable Austrian army, Poniatowski surprised the Austrians near Gallicia and captured 1,500 prisoners. For the time being, Poland was free of Austrian control.

As Napoleon moved more troops into Austria, the Austrian army in Poland, under Archduke Ferdinand, was recalled to Austria to meet the increased French onslaught. Meanwhile, Napoleon rushed to the front to take command of the Grande Armée. In a series of brilliant strokes, the French crossed the Danube River and inflicted heavy losses on the Austrians under Archduke Charles. In July 1809 the French forces, led by Marshals Andre Massena and Louis Davout and General Jacques Macdonald, smashed the Austrian army at Wagram, inflicting nearly 43,000 casualties on their opponents and forcing the Austrians once again to the treaty table. Napoleon had near-total control of central Europe.

After Napoleon's victory at Wagram, the French emperor rewarded his loyal Polish minister of war with an increase of territory and inhabitants. Slowly, Napoleon was restoring all of Poland. Yet the emperor was hesitant to arouse the anger of Czar Alexander I of Russia, who feared the rebirth of Polish nationalism. The mutual distrust between Napoleon and Alexander led to renewed hostilities in the spring of 1812. Napoleon mustered a half million men in Poland for the conquest of Russia. Initially, Poniatowski opposed the expedition. But Napoleon was determined to put an end to Alexander's treachery, and Poniatowski conceded and supported the emperor with 40,000 Poles, which became the V Corps in Napoleon's Grande Armée. Years later, in exile at St. Helena, Napoleon explained his calamitous decision to invade Russia. "I wanted," he said, "to establish a barrier against [the Russians] by restoring the Kingdom of Poland and putting Poniatowski at its head as king."

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ABOVE: Poniatowski, riding a white horse, in the midst of battle.
LEFT: The prince in full military regalia. Napoleon called him "a noble character, full of honor and bravery."
LEFT TOP: Poniatowski's body is recovered from the Elster River five days after his death.

During the ensuing campaign, Poniatowski

again distinguished himself as the head of his beloved Polish troops at the Battles of Smolensk and Borodino. The prince had witnessed the degradation of his country by Russian power, the sacking of his capital by Russian barbarians, and the butchery of its women and children by Russian soldiers. Now the day of vengeance had come. However, Poniatowski remained a cautious and controlled commander of his forces. Count Phillipe De Segur, Napoleon's aide-de-camp during the Russian expedition, recalled that Napoleon "listened to the words of Poniatowski who was as frank and wise in counsel as he was brave in battle."

Despite a series of victories, the French were drawn deeper and deeper into the vast Russian homeland. As usual, the best Russian commander was "General Winter." The brutal cold, together with the attrition from battle losses and the sheer physical exhaustion caused by the long march into Russia, sapped the French army, and Napoleon fell back after burning Moscow. The subsequent retreat quickly became a military and logistical nightmare. Hounded by Russian hit-and-run attacks on its flanks and rear, the Grande Armée suffered cruelly. By the time the last French soldier had left Russian soil—legend has it that it was Marshal Michel Ney—Napoleon's once magnificent army had been reduced to some 10,000 starving stragglers. In all, the emperor lost nearly 400,000 troops, 175,000 horses, and 1,000 pieces of artillery—along with his reputation for infallibility.

His soldiers fought courageously but suffered the rigors of the retreat alongside the French, and Poniatowski had only 800 men under arms left when the retreating army returned to Smolensk. The militarily astute prince had realized early on that a complete victory over the Russians would be nearly impossible to achieve. During the subsequent campaign, Poniatowski nevertheless contributed magnificently to Napoleon's victory over General Mikhail Kutosov at Borodino and would not desert his French benefactor even as the retreating Grande Armée collapsed all around him. The spring of 1813 would find the loyal Pole ready to take up arms once again on behalf of Napoleon.

In 1813, Napoleon stood at bay, hounded on all sides by ravening enemies who smelled blood and sensed victory. The Prussians, who had agreed in the Treaty of Tilsit to support Napoleon against the Russians, had done little to help in that misbegotten campaign. They now revolted and joined hands with Russia, Great Britain, and Sweden in a new coalition to break the French grip on Europe.

Once again, Napoleon raised a new army with remarkable speed and moved into the Elbe Valley. Poniatowski and the V Corps were given the task of guarding the passes through the Bohemian mountains and defending the left bank of the Elbe River. Meanwhile, Napoleon defeated the allies at Lutzen, Bautzen, and Dresden, but could not succeed in crushing them totally. Napoleon's subordinates, without his uncanny genius in battle, were badly defeated at Grossbeeren, Katzbach, and Kulm. The emperor turned to his old standby, Poniatowski, and gave him command of the VIII Corps of the dwindling Grande Armée.

The great Battle of the Nations, also known as Leipzig, took place from October 16 to October 19. Against Napoleon's 200,000 men stood 300,000 Russians, Prussians, Austrians, and Swedes. Poniatowski's 7,000 men composed the right wing of Napoleon's position at Leipzig. The first day of battle cost the French 25,000 men and the allies 37,000. Yet the French held their lines, and Poniatowski, for fearlessly holding his ground on the battlefield against repeated enemy onslaughts, was awarded the French marshal's baton by the emperor. He would not have long to enjoy the honor.

At 9 o'clock on October 18, the last agonizing day of the Battle of the Nations began near Leipzig. Nearly half a million men engaged in mortal combat, and nearly 2,000 cannons belched fire and smoke that ripped across the battlefield. Clouds of dust filled the air. Amid the roar of the artillery could be heard the shrill neighing of thousands of horses, the faint strains of martial music, the hearty cheers of advancing columns, and the pathetic cries of the ghastly wounded. Poniatowski distinguished himself again and again, firmly holding his position against the united attacks of superior enemy artillery, cavalry, and infantry. From dawn to nightfall, the Polish troops clung tenaciously to their position. Napoleon, however, realized that he was beaten and gave orders for an evacuation over the Elster River.

The impossible task of acting as rear guard to cover the retreat was assigned to Napoleon's

Continued on page 74

FROM SLAVE TO SOLDIER

In a Capitol Hill ceremony, Oscar Marion was finally recognized for his service to his country, 223 years after serving in the Army. Marion, a slave, served his country during the American Revolution. President George W. Bush signed a proclamation from "a grateful nation" recognizing his "devoted and selfless consecration to the service of our country in the Armed Forces of the United States." The commemorative ceremony took place on December 15, 2006, and included presentations by Diane K Skvaria, the U.S. Senate curator, and Dr. Debra Newman Ham of Morgan State University.

Oscar Marion was the slave of Francis Marion—the legendary "Swamp Fox"—who conducted guerrilla warfare on British troops in South Carolina. Oscar served at Francis's side and with the 2nd South Carolina Continental Regiment throughout the war, according to genealogist Tina Jones, Oscar Marion's distant cousin who discovered him while researching her family tree.

During her research, Jones found Oscar portrayed in a painting in the U.S. Senate, entitled "General Marion Inviting a British Officer to Share His Meal" by John Blake White, painted sometime between 1815 and 1825. In the painting, Oscar cooks sweet potatoes over a fire while Marion speaks to a British officer. The Senate Curator plans to relabel the painting to include Oscar.

As Francis's servant, Oscar would have been at the siege of Savannah in 1779, the siege of Charleston in 1780, and the Battle of Eutaw Springs in 1781. Francis Marion's exploits were popularized in the 2000 movie *The Patriot*. □

Kevin Hymel

U.S. Senate Collection Photo

Thanks to the efforts of a distant cousin, Oscar Marion (pictured at far left) was recognized for his service to his country.

By Peter A. Goetz

Corporal M2, America's first nuclear guided missile, played a key role in the development of post-WWII tactical nuclear weapons.

BELOW: The Corporal Type II (M2) mounted on an erector launcher. Eight U.S. battalions in Germany and Italy received the new missile in 1956. RIGHT: Successful test launch of the Corporal missile.

SIX DAYS AFTER THE ALLIES' D-DAY LANDINGS ON THE COAST OF Normandy in June 1944, Germany retaliated by launching its first Vergeltungswaffe, or Vengeance Weapon, at the city of London. The V-1 was actually a Fie-103 cruise missile designed by Robert Lusser of Fiesler Aircraft. Made from nonessential war materials and covered in sheet metal, the V-1 was powered by a revolutionary Argus As-14 pulse jet engine and carried a 1,870-pound warhead a distance of 150 miles. Although the Allies were never concerned that this buzz bomb could effectively turn the tide of war, they were disturbed that Germany could produce such an advanced weapon. They immediately considered countermeasures, with the American Army Air Force turning to a group of homegrown rocket enthusiasts for an answer.

The American rocketeers were led by Frank Malina, a graduate student at the Guggenheim Aeronautical Laboratory of the California Institute of Technology (GALCIT), who in 1936 had convinced a group of friends to begin research into a high-altitude sounding rocket. Malina's plans were based on the writings of Robert Goddard and funded by a private grant from Weld Arnold. He further appealed to Theodore von Karman, a distinguished Hungarian aerodynamicist on the staff at Caltech to support his research. With von Karman's backing, the group was able to find room in a laboratory on the Pasadena campus, where they became known collectively as the "Rocket Research Project."

Both: US Army Aviation and Missile Life Cycle Management Command

The first professional undertaking by the group was sponsored by the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) and the Army Air Force (AAF). In a 1938 contract entitled "Galcit Project #1," they were tasked with providing research into rocket systems for aircraft auxiliary propulsion. Satisfied with the results, the AAF decided to bypass the NAS and issue direct-contract renewals beginning in June 1941. The acquisition of intelligence about a large German missile and three British photographs of a V-1 caused the AAF to request an analysis from von Karman in July 1943. On August 2 came a follow-up request from Caltech-Air Corps

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Materiel Command liaison officer W.H. Joiner for a paper on long-range rockets. Delivered in November, the paper was written by Malina and an associate, Hsue-Shien Tsien, with a foreword by von Karman entitled “Memorandum on the Possibilities of Long-Range Rocket Projectiles.” It envisioned an orderly progression in rocket development to be provided by the group, now renamed the Jet Propulsion Laboratory (JPL).

Colonel Gervais Trichel, commander of Army Ordnance’s newly formed Rocket Research Branch, also received a copy of the JPL proposal from Robert Staver, the Caltech/Army Ordnance liaison officer. Although the AAF did not respond to the study, Trichel requested an expanded proposal along with the promise of $3.3 million in funding. According to Malina, the request “threw us into a proper dither.” Malina and von Karman replied on January 22, 1944, with a proposal for a 10-mile-range solid-fuel rocket, followed by a 12-mile-range liquid-fuel rocket to be supported by a ramjet motor. Upon obtaining design information from the first two phases of projectile development and the results of the special jet unit under phase 3, the design and construction of a projectile weighing 10,000 pounds or more and having a range on the order of 75 miles was to be undertaken. After much negotiation for refinement of deliverables and facilities, a contract was issued for Ordnance/California Institute of Technology (ORDCIT) in June 1944, just after the first V-1 attack on London.

Development of the 530-pound, solid-fuel “Private” rocket proceeded quickly, and testing was begun at Fort Irwin in the Mojave Desert in late 1944. At the time, the 14-ton V-2 ballistic missile designed by Wernher von Braun had begun a second reign of terror over London, falling out of the sky at supersonic speeds with a 1,650-pound payload of high explosives. This new development caused Trichel to cover his bets by issuing a second contract for long-range rockets, dubbed “Hermes,” to General Electric. A contract was also issued to Bell Telephone Laboratories for development of an antiaircraft missile to be known as Nike. In January 1945, the JPL facilities were acquired by the U.S Corps of Engineers and became a government-owned activity operated by the California Institute of Technology. The ORDCIT program was ordered to support all other guided missile contracts calling for specific missiles.

The Private solid-fuel program was completed in April after the testing of 41 Model A and F projectiles, and it achieved its goal of providing basic information about launching, stability, control, and verification of performance calculations. Victory in Europe was announced on May 8 and construction was begun at a new 40-mile-wide by 100-mile-long Army Proving Ground at White Sands, New Mexico, that June. The missiles for the final phases of ORDCIT would be tested here.

LEFT: WAC “baby” Corporal loaded atop a German V-2 rocket for testing at White Sands Proving Ground, New Mexico, in 1949.BELOW: Corporal Model E being prepared for loading at White Sands Proving Ground on August 3, 1951.

Both: White Sands Missile Range Museum

The WAC “baby” Corporal, an unguided liquid-fuel, 0.4-scale version of a full-scale tactical missile, was first launched that September. The rocket was 16.2 feet long, weighed 690 pounds, and was powered by a 1,500-pound-thrust liquid-fuel motor that used a combination of red fuming nitric acid as oxidizer and an aniline-alcohol mixture for fuel. A Tiny Tim solid-fuel rocket gave it a boost to provide flight stability during launch. WAC Corporal Models A and B provided much-needed basic information about the performance and design of liquid-fuel motors, as well as answered questions about the aerodynamics, structural integrity, and balance for larger missiles.

Corporal E, a full-scale prototype for the 75-mile-range tactical missile, had its initial test on May 22, 1947. The ramjet-powered third phase of ORDCIT was scrapped after JPL decided that a liquid-fuel rocket was more satisfactory for immediate development. By this time, postwar budget cuts had reduced government funding and the missile program had slowed dramatically. It was downgraded from weapons development to a research project. This was not altogether misplaced, considering the number of technical problems that would require solution.

Douglas Aircraft produced the Corporal E airframes, which were 30 inches in diameter by 39 feet, 8 inches in length. JPL built the engines, which used the same propellants pioneered in WAC Corporal B, but stored them in separate tanks connected to a multibottle pressurization system. Fully fueled, the missile weighed 9,250 pounds. Flow to the motor was started by burst-diaphragm valves. The motor generated 20,000 pounds of thrust for a maximum duration of 60 seconds and was cooled by the flow of fuel around the engine bell. The system needed complete redesign after round 3 to improve cooling characteristics owing to burnout in the motor’s throat region. The new motor had a remarkably light weight of 125 pounds and was a resounding success. Along with the motor came a redesigned 52-jet injection system.

A rudimentary guidance system supplied by Sperry Gyroscope provided attitude control around three axes during the missile’s vertical

ascent and the powered transition to the missile's desired trajectory. The autopilot received internal inputs from two gyrosyn gyroscopes to control roll and pitch and an A-12 vertical gyro for yaw. An early pneumatic control system proved unsatisfactory, and after considerable delay it was replaced with an electropneumatic design in round 5. Electric servos in the tail were used to adjust four movable fins. Because insufficient pressure was exerted at low speed for control, carbon vanes placed inside the jet and mechanically connected to the fins were used for launch adjustments. Telemetry and radar tracking produced by Gilfillian Brothers apprised ground control of the missile's trajectory. Following the testing of round 4, the operational guidance system was placed in development.

Corporal E also saw implementation of a new launching system that was carried over to the semimobile tactical missile. Four 10-foot-long, spring-loaded steel struts were placed equidistant around the small launch pad and provided support at a point one-fifth of the way up the missile's body. After the missile had risen approximately four inches on its trajectory, the struts automatically retracted, allowing for an unobstructed launch. This reduced stress on the lower missile body, allowing for the installation of additional inspection hatches and improved servicing characteristics.

In September 1949, the Russians exploded their first atomic bomb and Congress removed its restriction on tactical atomic weapons. This freed Army Ordnance to field a nuclear-armed missile. Because of delays in the Hermes program, Colonel Holgar N. Toftoy chose Corporal in December 1950 for a crash program to enter the service. Although the warheads initially considered for Corporal were conventional, chemical, or biological, the final choice of nuclear was based on Corporal's accuracy. Without guidance, Corporal could produce a circular-error probability, or CEP, of only 10 miles radius. With terminal guidance, it was hoped that accuracy would be increased to a highly theoretical 300 yards. The atomic warhead selected to arm Corporal was the W7.

The choice of the W7 warhead was based in part on a 30-inch diameter that was identical to the diameter of Corporal. Utilizing powerful new explosives and a 92-lens implosion system, the weight of the warhead was kept to 1,500 pounds. The penalty for the use of additional lenses was the need for more detonators and a more complex and powerful detonating system. A special innovation of the W7 warhead was an electromechanical screw system used to automatically insert the nuclear capsule into the explosive assembly in flight. This provided a

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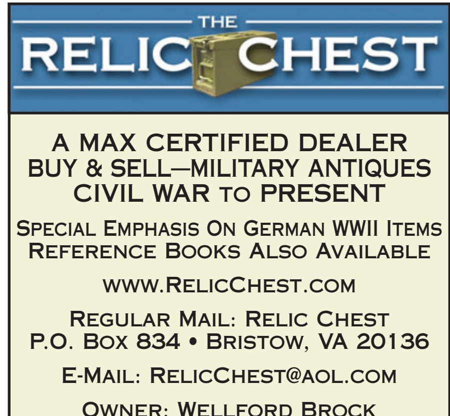

margin of safety in the event of a launch accident. The W7 employed composite plutonium or alloy cores that made the most efficient use of the limited quantities of fissile material available at the time and provided yields in a range from 2 to 40 kilotons. Manufacturing of W7 warheads was begun in 1952, and 300 were produced for the Corporal program. Corporal was never tested with a live warhead.

The last six Corporal E rounds were flown during the period between July 11, 1950, and October 10, 1951. A lightweight, transistorized guidance unit was installed in round 7. Recognizing the rapid pace of electronic advances, the interchangeability of guidance units was one of Corporal's initial design criteria. Round 11 provided the basic pattern for the future weapon with its characteristic delta fins and a payload section reconfigured to house a W7 tactical warhead. This increased the missile's length to 45 feet, 4 inches. Authority over the missile was assigned to the Ordnance Guided Missile Center (later the Army Ballistic Missile Agency) at Redstone Arsenal near Huntsville, Alabama, following its formation in April 1950. The first 27 operational Type I tactical rounds were manufactured by Douglas. But on December 10, 1951, a production contract for 200 missiles was signed with the Firestone Rubber Company at a staggering price of $13,695,000. Testing of the Firestone missiles began on August 7, 1952.

Sixty-four Type I missiles were launched in contractor evaluation and engineering test programs prior to deployment. The operational philosophy for Corporal was a vertical launch followed by a tilt of several degrees to one of a series of preprogrammed "zero-lift" or non-maneuvering trajectories after four seconds. Fuel shut-off at the proper moment was used to achieve the desired range. It was quickly realized that to establish accuracy, a new high-speed fuel shut-off was required. This new piece of hardware would undergo a continuous series of improvements. Type I Corporal missiles could engage targets at ranges between 30 and 75 miles, with a trajectory that reached a maximum altitude of 135,000 feet. The final speed of the missile as it descended on the target was between 1,500 and 2,500 feet per second, depending on the range.

Accuracy was further improved in the Type I missile by means a terminal correction provided by its new guidance unit. Unlike modern missiles in which the warhead and missile body separate, in Corporal the pieces remained joined until impact, contributing to trajectory variance. A pair of accelerometers added to the existing gyros provided fine control for the arrangement during descent. Exterior control used a modified SC-584 fire-control radar designated AN/MPQ-

U.S. Army

Corporal Type II erector launcher placing missile in upright position.

25. It provided trajectory information while two Doppler antennae measured velocity. Between 95 and 130 seconds into flight, a computer-calculated correction, based on telemetry and radar guidance, was sent to the missile to be implemented at impact minus 20 seconds. The maximum adjustment possible was 1,200 meters. Based on the likelihood of striking a target, the Doppler system sent an arming command to the warhead. Nevertheless, only a meager 27.1 percent of test rounds fell inside of a 300-meter radius. Mechanical and electronic reliability was a disappointing 47.1 percent.

The story of the development of Corporal's semimobile handling, launching, and servicing equipment was largely one of having to educate manufacturers in a new phase of the armament industry. Initially, a Corporal battalion consisted of two batteries or launchers, 250 men, and 35 vehicles. These vehicles and Corporal's shipping containers were designed by a combination of private industry and JPL, but ultimately they were produced by Firestone. They included a mobile erector launcher, missile-warhead transportation, propellant, service, compressor, guidance and computer vehicles, plus an electronic shop. The first tactical launch using this equipment occurred on July 7, 1953.

Launching Corporal was a complex process that took eight to nine hours. After getting within range of a target, the guidance site was selected. Then, in order for the missile to bear on the target, the portable launchpad was located at a firing site no more than 600 meters distant from the target line and no more than minus-200 to 2,800 meters from ground radar. After this was accomplished, the 4,400-pound missile body was removed from its storage container at a service site and placed on a test bed for assembly and installation of its fins. At this time, the firing station was set up. Following attachment of the missile body to a horizontal rail, the extremely hazardous fueling procedure was carried out by a crew wearing bulky protective clothing. After fueling, the systems were checked and "peaked," and the W7 atomic warhead was mated to the body. The erector-launcher then transported the 11,400-pound, operationally ready missile to the launch site. The missile was lowered vertically onto its launchpad and a registration mark on its body was placed into correct alignment with the target in order for it to guide accurately. Following the attachment of all necessary umbilicals, pressurization, and a final check, the erector and servicing vehicles were withdrawn and the missile was launched.

Training and educational material were considered just as important as the development of the missile and its tactical equipment. Operating a sophisticated missile armed with an atomic warhead was far more complex than slapping a shell into a breech and yanking on a lanyard. The first JPL training school began operation in July 1951, with five ordnance and five field forces personnel. Graduates from the first two classes were assigned as instructors at guided-missile schools established at Redstone Arsenal and Fort Bliss, Texas. A printed maintenance plan for the guided missiles and their ancillary equipment followed. By March 1952, three Corporal field artillery battalions had been activated and a direct support company formed.

In February 1955, the 259th Missile Battalion and 96th Direct Support Company were sent to Germany armed with Type I missiles using the service designation Corporal XM2. The 246th and 247th Corporal battalions remained behind at Fort Bliss. The 259th was the only battalion to see overseas service with the missile. A design flaw in the Type I guidance system allowed a 1,000-watt transmitter operating on the Doppler frequency to jam it and bring down the warhead unarmed. Recognizing the problem, extensive improvements were made to the Doppler system and radio link as well as to the design of new servicing and launcher erector vehicles. When 456 missiles and sufficient ground equipment to equip six Corporal battalions, each with two firing batteries, were procured in late 1954, they were redesignated Type II (M2). A contract was awarded to Gilfillian Brothers in 1953 to produce an advanced set of guidance components and missiles to which the equipment was retrofitted in 1957 and became Type IIa. A Type IIb (M2A1) missile with quick-disconnect fins and an air turbine alternator instead of batteries went into production in 1958.

Seventy-eight contractor and engineering-user test firings of Type II missiles took place starting on October 29, 1954. These demonstrated a significant increase in accuracy, with 46.1 percent of the rounds falling inside a 300-meter radius. Reliability increased to 60.1 percent. The structure of Corporal field artillery

(FA) battalions was reorganized in 1956. Previously, they had a standard organization with a battalion headquarters and headquarters battery (HHB), two firing batteries, and a service battery. The battalion now became a single fire unit organization consisting of a headquarters and service battery (HSB) and one firing battery. In the spring of 1956, six of the new Corporal battalions armed with the M2 missile replaced the 259th in Germany. Two additional units were sent to Italy. There were now a total of 12 Corporal FA battalions, with four kept in reserve in the continental United States. Units were regularly rotated to provide for live-firing training at the White Sands Proving Ground.

Design of a Type III missile with an improved guidance system was cancelled in 1958 owing to the planned deployment of Sergeant, a JPL-designed tactical solid-fuel missile that rectified many of Corporal's shortcomings. Although extensively redesigned during its history, Corporal remained unnecessarily complex as a result of its transition from a research vehicle. This led to poor reliability, slow mobilization times, and a low cyclic rate of fire. General James N. Gibson described a single launcher Southern European Task Force (SETAF) battalion in 1960 as being able to fire four missiles during its first 24 hours in action and one every 12 hours thereafter. This assumed the first missile was fired at zero hour, with no intermediate moves. Corporal also needed a large number of trained personnel to support a single launcher, was susceptible to electronic countermeasures, and did not meet the desired dispersal distance between guidance and launchers for security. Demobilization was begun in 1963, and the last Corporal battery ended service in June 1964. On July 1, Corporal was declared obsolete.

Despite Corporal's limited deployment and short service life, the Army still holds the missile in high regard, mainly because it was the vehicle that enabled the Army to enter the technological age of warfare. Prior to Corporal, there was no body of established knowledge in the field of rocketry available to either industry or the military. Manufacturers had to be trained in the development and fabrication of missiles that had to function with a high degree of reliability, while the Army had to develop the arts of contract negotiation, execution, and administration. The Army also had to become adept at technical supervision to maintain control over its projects. Beyond this was the need to develop educational programs and facilities to train personnel in the proper maintenance and operation of its new weapons. For all these reasons, Corporal was considered "the embryo of the Army missile program." □

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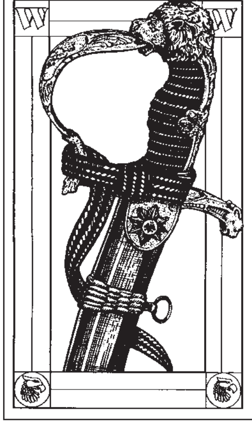

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By John W. Osborn, Jr.

WWI deserters faced summary execution, but T.E. Lawrence and others found the practice a "damnable judgment on our flesh and blood."

BRITISH ARMY PRIVATES THOMAS HIGHGATE, ERNEST JACKSON, AND Louis Harris shared a distinction in World War I that they undoubtedly would rather not have had. They were the first and last British soldiers to be executed for desertion in World War I, and their deaths created a bitter political dispute that reverberated through the decades until the end of the 20th century and beyond.

Imperial War Museum

The Deserter, by Sir William Orpen, depicts the mental anguish of desertion on both captive and captors. Some 266 British deserters were executed in World War I.

Highgate fled the fighting at Mons and was discovered, his uniform heaped at his side, hiding in a barn on the Rothschild estate by a gameskeeper. Now wearing civilian clothing, Highgate explained, "I want to get out of it and this is how I am doing it." Unluckily for him, the gameskeeper was a British ex-soldier who turned him in to authorities. On September 7, 1914, with the war barely a month old, Highgate faced a firing squad. Before his execution, he wrote out a will on the back of his Army pay book, leaving what little he had to his girlfriend in Dublin. Highgate was the first of 3,080 British soldiers to be sentenced to death for desertion and other offenses during World War I.

Ernest Jackson, serving in the 24th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, was an incorrigible shirker who, when given a second chance, deserted a second time. Private Louis Harris of the 10th West Yorkshire Regiment had been once rejected as unfit, then conscripted when the demands of war led to standards being reduced. He, too, deserted. On November 7, 1918, just four days from the Armistice, Jackson and Harris became the last soldiers in the British Army—the 345th and 346th, respectively—to be executed for desertion or various other offenses, around 11 percent of all those sentenced to death.

With soldiers attempting to flee at the rate of 10.26 per 1,000 men, desertion accounted for the overwhelming majority of military executions during the war—some 266 in all. To convict, a military court-martial had to be satisfied that the accused had run away with no intention of returning. Private A. Ingham of the Manchester Regiment was one such man. Arrested in civilian clothes on a ship about to sail from France, Ingham claimed to be an American. Private Edward Bolton of the 1st Chestershire Regiment was another offender. Bolton did not return from leave in England and was finally tracked down far from home, working in a civilian job under an alias.

Soldiers being court-martialed often were assigned officers with no legal training in mounting a defense,

just hours before their hearing. When convicted, they were not told of their sentence; they were only informed of their fate the night before their execution, when they were given a bottle of whiskey to drink for solace. For the first two years of the war, families were informed of their loved ones' executions, but protests led by reformer Sylvia Pankhurst resulted in families being told simply that their relatives had "died of wounds."

Private John McCauley and his Scottish battalion were lined up to witness one such execution. He recognized the condemned as a soldier he had trained with and realized that several members of the firing squad were from the condemned's hometown. "The thing that had been a man sagged at the stake" after the volley, wrote McCauley. "I still say that fear of facing a firing squad had little effect on the man whose nerves were shattered beyond repair and who eventually became panic stricken at the horrors surrounding him."

But Lt. Gen. Sir Aylmer Hunter-Weston had no such doubts. To him the deserters were cowards who "constitute[d] a serious danger to the war effort, and the sanction of the death penalty was designed to frighten men more than the prospects of meeting the enemy." He showed that he meant what he said in the case of Private John Bennett, only 19, who had fled in panic from his position at the Somme, returned hours later, and was charged with misbehavior before the enemy. His commanding officer suggested that Bennett was shell-shocked, and the review board suggested mercy, but, as corps commander, Hunter-Weston still had him shot.

The behavior of some condemned men was in stark contrast with the implication of cowardice that hung over them. Edward Bolton "was the calmest man on the ground," said the officer who supervised his execution. Medical Officer Captain M.S. Elser, assigned to handle the case of Private Frank O'Neill, 1st Sherwood Forresters, "thought that I would make it as easy for him as possible, so I took half a pint of brandy in a glass and told him if he drank that off he would know very little about it. He said, 'What is it?' I replied, 'Brandy.' 'No,' he said, 'I have never drunk spirits in my life, there is no point starting it now.' So, there it was, he who had run from battle showed a spurious sort of courage in the end."

One of the oddest executions was the joint one for Privates William Stone, Peter Goggins, and John McDonald, who were shot at dawn on January 18, 1917. Ironically, the trio had each been exempted from military service as too short, but

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they volunteered anyway and were placed in a special unit for undersized soldiers.

Conditions at Gallipoli were such that no less than 101 British soldiers deserted and were sentenced to death, although in the end only three were shot. After receiving a last-minute reprieve for being absent from guard duty, Private Davis of the Royal Munster Fusiliers went ahead and deserted twice more—the last time there was no reprieve. Private Salter, East Lanchashire Regiment, deserted and was caught and escaped three separate times before being found posing as an Australian soldier. Sergeant Robbins of the Wiltshire Regiment had a good record, unlike Davis or Salter, but had refused to go on a night patrol, claiming to be sick. He may well have been telling the truth—the trenches at Gallipoli at the time were flooded and freezing.

Two executions during the Battle of the Somme would have political repercussions for decades. On September 16, 1916, Private Harry Farr, a veteran of two years at the front and just released from the hospital for shell shock, refused to go forward again, saying, "I cannot stand it." He was dragged toward the lines screaming and struggling, finally breaking free and running away. Temporary Sub-Lieutenant Edwin Dyett, Royal Naval Reserve, was found in a destroyed house behind the lines; he claimed to have gotten lost trying to find his new unit. He was court-martialed the day after Christmas, and because he was only 18, the court and his division commander recommended mercy. Commander in Chief Sir Douglas Haig rejected the plea, and Dyett was shot on January 5, 1917, leaving a letter to his mother asking forgiveness "for bringing disgrace upon you all."

National Memorial Aboretum, Alrewas, England

Imperial War Museum

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LEFT: A memorial in Staffordshire, England, to soldiers shot by their own side. The statue was inspired by the fate of Private Herbert Burden, executed at the age of 17. CENTER: Twenty-four American deserters were sentenced to death in World War I, but none was executed. Here a straggler and a deserter are publicly humiliated at Florient. RIGHT: French soldiers escort a prisoner to his execution during the first year of World War I.

Even more tragic was the case of Lieutenant Eric Poole of the West Yorkshires. Knocked unconscious by an explosion at the Somme, Poole was sent back to the trenches still disoriented. He disappeared and was found wandering in the rear in a confused state. His brigade, division, and corps commanders all urged mercy, but Second Army commander Sir Herbert Plumer rejected their pleas on the grounds "of the inherent seriousness of the offense when committed by an officer."

Only one other British officer was executed in World War I, Lieutenant John Patterson of the Essex Regiment, who was convicted of murdering a military policeman while resisting arrest for desertion. The first British officer to be cashiered in the war, Lt. Col. John Ford Elkington of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment, was reinstated and restored to rank when he was found fighting heroically as a private in the French Foreign Legion.

Of Britain's Commonwealth allies, Canada executed 25 soldiers; New Zealand, five. Australia, over repeated protests from the British high command, limited the death penalty's application to mutiny and desertion to the enemy. Any death sentence had to be approved by the governor general, and no Australian was executed during the war.

The French cloaked their records in more secrecy than the British, and the number of executions is unclear, with figures ranging between 130 and 550, most of them shot in the war's first year. One of those early-executed poilus, Private Henri Flotch, 298th Infantry Regiment, wrote a farewell letter to his wife: "On November 27 [1914], about 5 PM after a violent bombardment lasting two hours we were in a frontline trench finishing our dinners when the enemy came over and made me and two others prisoner. In a moment of confusion I managed to make my escape. I followed my comrades, and later I was accused of having abandoned my post in front of the enemy. Twenty-four of us were brought before a court-martial yesterday. Six were condemned to death, of whom I was one. I am no more guilty than the others, but an example must be made. My pocket wallet will be sent to you and it contents."

Flotch and the others were posthumously pardoned in 1929. Other cases also became notorious. Private François Laurent was shot for wounding himself—the wound was later proven to be genuine. Private Lucien Bersot was executed for mutiny after refusing to accept the bloodstained trousers of a fallen comrade. A corps commander had to be talked out of having a whole company machine-gunned on the spot for refusing to advance, and he finally settled for six men being chosen by lot to be shot. All were pardoned posthumously after the war.

The incident of the "four corporals of Suippes" became a national scandal and the basis for a classic motion picture. During the Battle of Champagne in March 1915, divisional commander General Henri Reveilhac ordered his 21st Company, 336th Infantry Regiment into yet another useless assault. Exhausted from days of such attacks, none of the men followed their officers and NCOs over the top. Observing from a command post, Reveilhac went berserk and ordered a nearby battery commander to shell the regiment's trenches. When the artillery officer refused to fire, Reveilhac, still out of control, ordered a wire-cutting party from the company sent out in broad daylight, an

obvious suicide mission. Corporals Theophile Maupas, Louis Giraud, Louis Lefoulen, and Lucien Lechat and 16 other men went out on the mission, which was obviously hopeless. After spending a day pinned in shell holes under constant machine-gun fire, they crawled back, many of them wounded, in the dark.

Still in a rage, Reveilhac ordered a court-martial of the corporals at the town of Suippes. The verdict was a foregone conclusion. Either finally coming to his senses or losing his nerve, Reveilhac rushed a reprieve to the executioners; it arrived just as the volley of the firing squad was ringing out. A film based on the incident, *Paths of Glory,* directed by Stanley Kubrick and starring Kirk Douglas, was banned in France for 20 years. It remains one of the most powerful antiwar movies ever made.

The most notorious case involving the French occurred at Verdun the next year. Lieutenant Herduin, his company reduced to just 35 men and facing encirclement, violated a no-retreat order and withdrew, causing a collapse in the sector. Without even a trial, Herduin and a subordinate, Ensign Millaud, were shot. The military tried to quiet the resulting furor by claiming that Herduin's last words were: "Soldiers! You are going to shoot me; but I am not a coward, nor is my comrade, but we did abandon our post; we should have stayed there to the end, to the death. If you find yourselves in the same situation, do not retreat, remain to the end. And now, aim well, right at the heart! Proceed! Fire!"

The French officially reported that only 23 soldiers were shot for the notorious 1917 mutinies. "Without question there were many more executions than the French Army historians admitted—more, probably, than they even knew about," wrote Richard M. Watt in his groundbreaking account of the disorders, *Dare Call It Treason* (1963). "After all, a mutiny scarcely rebounds to the credit of any commander, and when executions involved in the suppression of revolt could be covered up by listing the deaths under some other category than execution, such as 'died of wounds' or 'killed in an accident,' there was a strong temptation to do so."

The American Expeditionary Force in France sentenced 24 deserters to death but shot none, although 10 soldiers were executed for murder or rape. The numbers fell disproportionately on blacks—five officers were listed among the deserters in an incident when the African-American 368th Regiment disintegrated under fire in the Argonne Forest on September 23, 1918, and six black soldiers were executed during the war, all for rape.

Compared with the British and French, the German Army was surprisingly lenient. Only 18 soldiers were executed during the war, with the Reichstag repeatedly rejecting the military's demands for stiffer penalties. The harshest army, surprisingly, turned out to be the Italian. Commander in Chief General Luigi Cardona declared, "The Supreme command desires that at all times and in all places, an iron discipline should reign throughout the army." He shot almost twice the number of soldiers than the British did. In return, he attained not a disciplined army but a demoralized one, and one that ultimately disintegrated at Caporetto. American novelist Ernest Hemingway later memorialized the summary executions at Caporetto in his classic novel, *A Farewell to Arms.*

After the war, the Edwin Dyett case became the centerpiece of a campaign to abolish the death penalty for desertion in the British Army. The effort was led in Parliament by Ernest Thurtle, who had been wounded as a captain in the war. The effort was stalled until it was found that the Army had quietly abolished the death penalty for striking a superior and for sleeping on guard duty. After last-ditch opposition in the House of Lords led by Viscount Allenby, commander of British forces in the Middle East, the abolition of the death penalty for desertion finally became law on April 19, 1930. A famous subordinate of Allenby's agreed. "It was such a damnable judgment upon our flesh and blood," said T.E. Lawrence, the legendary Lawrence of Arabia.

The issue, however, did not go away. The British military sought during World War II to have the death penalty for desertion restored, although statistics showed that discipline was no worse without it. In 1972, a member of Parliament urged the court-martial records of executed soldiers be destroyed, with the Ministry of Defence responding that they had to be kept on file. In 1993, the granddaughter of Private Henry Farr got a bill introduced to have executed deserters pardoned, but it failed. Finally, on August 15, 2006, the Defense Ministry announced that it would pardon Farr and 305 other soldiers who had been shot for desertion and other noncriminal offenses. Explaining that they would be pardoned as a group since there was not enough information to assess each case individually, Defense Secretary Les Browne said, "I believe it is better to acknowledge that injustices were clearly done in some cases, even if we cannot say which—and to acknowledge that all these men were victims of war."

In 2019, the official records of British World War I executions will become public at last, and the pathetic details of the long-abolished punishment will be open for all to see. □

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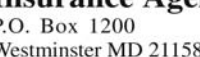

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By Helen Hannon

The many memorials to Charles Russell Lowell, who fell at the Battle of Cedar Creek, attest to his special place in his comrades' hearts.

THE UNIQUE PERSONA OF CHARLES RUSSELL LOWELL, A GIFTED Union cavalry officer from Massachusetts, inspired a series of memorials in his honor, ranging from famous monuments to obscure frontier forts. Each in its way sought to perpetuate the memory of Lowell, a shining presence who was mortally wounded at the Battle of Cedar Creek, Virginia, in October 1864.

Lowell was born in Boston on January 2, 1835, educated at Boston Latin and Boston English Schools, and graduated first in his class at Harvard College in 1854. After graduation, his first job was in a merchant house, but an interest in metallurgy brought him to the Ames Iron Works in Chicopee, Massachusetts. He next took a position at the Cooper Hewitt rolling mills in Trenton, New Jersey.

Serious lung problems compelled Lowell to leave iron working, and he accepted a post in the office of Boston businessman John Murray Forbes. His health continued to fail, and in hopes of recovery Lowell went to Europe in 1856. His health improved, and he took the opportunity to learn several European languages and tour extensively. While in Morocco, he became an excellent horseman, with even such skilled riders as the Arabs praising his ability. He also took lessons in swordsmanship and observed the military systems of the French troops in Algiers and the Austrians in Italy.

Returning home in 1858, Lowell worked briefly as a tutor for the Forbes family, then became treasurer of the Burlington and Missouri Railroad in Dixon, Illinois. An opportunity to again work in metallurgy brought him to the Mount Savage Ironworks in Cumberland, Maryland, in November 1860. After Fort Sumter was fired upon in South Carolina and Massachusetts troops were attacked in Baltimore in April 1861, Lowell went to Washington to obtain a commission in the army. He entered the service as a captain in the 3rd Regiment, U.S. Cavalry, on May 14, 1861. Physically, Lowell was 5 feet, 8 inches tall, light and agile—the ideal body type for a cavalryman. He participated in Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan's ill-starred Peninsula Campaign in 1862 and was brevetted a major for his services. He continued to serve as an aide to McClellan, distinguishing himself at the battles of Malvern Hill, South Mountain, and Antietam.

BELOW: The Union cavalry's final charge at Winchester in 1864. Lowell rides a white horse, with his sword raised. Custer is on his left and Captain Theodore Rodenbough is on his right. FAR RIGHT: Brig. Gen. Charles Russell Lowell.

Both: Library of Congress

Lowell accepted a commission as colonel of the 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry and returned to Boston to recruit the regiment. While in Boston, Lowell married Josephine Shaw on October 31, 1863. His new brother-in-law, Robert Gould Shaw, became colonel of the famed, colored 54th Massachusetts Regiment. An officer quoted in the *Harvard Memorial Biographies,* a collection of biographies of Harvard Union war dead, recalled, "I shall never for-

get the effect of his [Lowell's] appearance. He seemed a part of his horse, and instinct with a perfect animal life. At the same time, his eyes glistened and his face literally shone with the spirit and intelligence of which he was the embodiment. He was the ideal of the *preux chevalier.*"

The main task of Lowell's regiment in Virginia was to contain Confederate Colonel John Singleton Mosby and his cavalry. By July 1864, Confederate Maj. Gen. Jubal Early had been stopped in his offensive against Washington. On July 26, Lowell was put in charge of a provisional brigade that included the 2nd Massachusetts and men from various dismounted camps around Washington. Later, Maj. Gen. Phil Sheridan combined Lowell's command with Brig. Gen. John Buford's former brigade of regular cavalry and artillery, which he designated the Reserve Brigade. They were in action every day for weeks.

At the ensuing Battle of Cedar Creek, on October 19, 1864, Lowell was hit twice by enemy bullets. The first bullet did not break his skin, but collapsed his lung. He refused to leave the field because it had not drawn blood. He needed assistance, however, to get back on his

Photo by Helen Hannon

GAR monument at Mount Hope Cemetery in Boston before its recent restoration.

horse and could only whisper his orders. When the regiment charged, he was hit again and paralyzed. Lowell had survived 13 horses shot out from under him, but his luck had run out. He lived until 9 AM the next day, issuing final orders and sending messages to his family. The orders promoting him to brigadier general had been signed on the same day that he was mortally wounded.

Sheridan mourned Lowell's loss. "I do not think there was a quality I could have added to Lowell," he said. "He was the perfection of a man and a soldier. I could have been better spared." Fellow cavalryman George Armstrong Custer said with equal conviction, "We all shed tears when we knew we had lost him. It is the greatest loss the Cavalry has suffered." Those who knew him considered his death a national loss. Maj. Gen. William Dwight, seeing Lowell go by at Cedar Creek, would later write, "They moved past me, that splendid cavalry. Lowell got by me before I could speak, but I looked after him for a long distance. Exquisitely mounted, the picture of a soldier, erect, confident, defiant, he moved at the head of the finest body of cavalry that today scorns the earth it treads."

The day of Lowell's funeral started out with intense rain, but the sun went in and out that morning. The sun came out again as the cortege

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entered Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Mourners stood around the elevated mound of the grave, and the opening was concealed with evergreen boughs and flowers. The pallbearers lowered the coffin slowly and three volleys of musket fire were discharged.

The site was quite different from what it is today. Mount Auburn was relatively new in 1864, and there weren't many burials. Today, Lowell's grave is easily found on the family lot. His monument is a simple granite stone. Rounded at the top, it is 28 inches high, 15 inches across, and five inches wide. The only decoration is a set of crossed sabers over his name. Aside from basic family information, only the 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry is listed on the stone. Although entitled to burial with the full honors of a brigadier general, the family used Lowell's rank of colonel. As Dr. George Putnam stated during his oration at the funeral, it was the title "most familiar and endeared to his family and friends."

A more distant memorial to Lowell was located in Tucson, Arizona. On July 29, 1866, C Troop, 1st Cavalry, arrived at Camp Tucson. William Dean, their captain, had been consistently ill and was not well enough to assume command duties. First Lt. Charles H. Veil, who had served on Lowell's staff as provost marshal, renamed the post Camp Lowell. Veil wrote that Lowell "was a young and gallant officer and had he lived would have made a record second to none." Keeping order in the rough-and-ready Tucson settlement was difficult, drunkenness being the most severe problem. In March 1873, Brigadier George Crook, another veteran of Cedar Creek and the battles in the Shenandoah Valley, ordered a new post built seven miles out of town. It retained the name Camp Lowell until it became Fort Lowell in 1879. The troops there provided escort duty and when necessary saw action in the Indian Wars. Among the people who served at the fort was Walter Reed, who later would become well-known for his work against yellow fever. Another was Achilles La Guardia, bandmaster of the 11th Infantry and the father of Fiorello LaGuardia, the future mayor of New York City. The facility was closed in 1891.

On October 29, 1873, Charles Russell Lowell Post No. 7 of the Grand Army of the Republic dedicated a cemetery lot and monument for the interment of all Civil War soldiers at Mount Hope Cemetery in Boston. On the lot the post placed a striking memorial consisting of four cannons. Mount Hope Cemetery, done in the elegant style of Mount Auburn Cemetery, was the first "garden" cemetery in the United States.

Photo by Helen Hannon

Photo by Anthony Artuso

ABOVE: Lowell's tombstone (left) in Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Mass. Lowell memorial (right) at the Wayside Inn in Middletown, Va., not far from where he died. BELOW: Lowell is featured on the Soldiers and Sailors Monument in Boston Common (top). Fort Lowell in Tucson, Arizona, was built in 1866; today, a sign (bottom) marks its site.

It has elaborate memorials to veterans of the Civil War, Spanish-American War, and the two world wars. The monument was recently restored with funding from the George B. Henderson Foundation and the generosity of Albert H. Gordon and John Lowell.

In 1869, a memorial was proposed for "those sons of Cambridge who had perished in the war recently brought to a close." The Cambridge Common was chosen, in part, because this was where George Washington first took command of the American Army during the Revolutionary War. The memorial is over 55 feet high and specifically placed so that it can be seen from every point in the cemetery. The official dedication took place on Wednesday, July 13, 1870. Throngs of people were in the street. Lowell's name was the first name on the first tablet, prominently centered above the 470 Cambridge men who had laid down their lives in defense of their country.

James Russell Lowell, Lowell's uncle, played an active role in the next memorial to his nephew. He wrote to Mrs. Sarah Shaw, the mother of Lowell's widow, Josephine Shaw Lowell, and Colonel Robert Gould Shaw in September 1876, explaining that he had been asked for a photograph of his nephew "for [Martin] Milmore, the sculptor who wishes to put him among the figures on the Soldier's Monument for Boston Common." The Soldiers and Sailors Monument was dedicated on September 17, 1877, the 15th anniversary of the Battle of Antietam. There are four bronze reliefs on the monument. Lowell, Shaw, and 38 others are featured on the monument. The regiments are marching past the State House after receiving their flags from Governor John Andrew. The reliefs were made by the Ames Foundry in Chicopee, Massachusetts—the same foundry where Lowell worked when he was 19 years old.

Photo by Helen Hannon

Photo by Robert J. Torrez

Memorial Hall was the first large-scale fundraising project by the Harvard alumni. In 1865, the Committee of Fifty was formed to spearhead the drive for subscriptions. Located just outside the famed Harvard Yard, Memorial Hall was intended to stand alone and serve as a conspicuous reminder of the Harvard men who had died fighting for the Union in the Civil War. Designed by Henry Van Brunt in Ruskin Gothic style, it is really three buildings: a memorial chamber, a banquet hall, and a theater. The transept is surrounded by marble plaques listing the names of the fallen. The plaques are in order of the school the students attended, their class year, dates of death and, if known, the battle where they they lost their lives. Harvard men who died fighting for the Confederacy are not represented. Lowell's plaque is located on the Annenberg Hall side of the building.

Another tribute to Lowell in Memorial Hall is an Italian marble bust by sculptor Daniel Chester French, who is probably best known for the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. The bust was commissioned primarily on account of the efforts of Rev. Charles Humphreys, the chaplain in the 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry. In his autobiography, Humphreys wrote that French regarded the Lowell commission as a very important work and was anxious to do his best because he considered Lowell an inspiring subject. The sculptor later wrote that it "is one of the few things of mine upon which I can look without more regret than pleasure." It was placed in Memorial Hall on March 8, 1886. The best proof Humphreys had of the sculptor's success was the satisfaction of Lowell's widow. Humphreys originally had difficulty getting her permission for the bust, but after visiting the sculptor, she wrote

Humphreys, "It is wonderful that Mr. French should have been able to get so much character into the bust, and I am perfectly satisfied to have it remain as a likeness of Colonel Lowell."

Dixon, Illinois, the home of President Ronald Reagan, also features a Lowell memorial. Many of the people who use Lowell Park know that Reagan worked there as a lifeguard when he was a young man, rescuing some 77 people from drowning. In 1859, Lowell, then working for the Burlington and Missouri Railroad, bought approximately 200 acres about four miles outside of Dixon. He purchased the land partly as an investment, but also because he thought it was so beautiful. In her lifetime, Mrs. Lowell always refused to sell or lease the Dixon property. When she died in 1905, their daughter Carlotta Lowell made arrangements to turn the land into a public park. Miss Lowell commissioned Olmsted Brothers to do a study of the site. Olmsted Brothers evolved from the original company founded by Frederick Law Olmsted, one of America's most renowned landscape architects. Olmsted designed many prominent projects, among them, Central Park in New York City. On May 8, 1907, a board of five commissioners was appointed and Lowell Park became a reality.

Photo by Helen Hannon

Bust of Lowell by Daniel Chester French, Memorial Hall, Harvard University.

The Massachusetts National Guard Military Museum and Archives in Worcester, Massachusetts, has a copy of the Memorial Hall bust of Lowell. Daniel Chester French gave Humphreys a replica of the Lowell bust in gratitude for his efforts regarding the sculpture. Shortly before his death, Humphreys gave the bust to the Massachusetts Department of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States. It ended up in a private home and was reclaimed in the 1980s by military archivist James Fahey, who brought it to the archives then located in Natick, Massachusetts. After the Natick facility was closed, the bust was moved to its current site in Worcester, where it is now prominently placed in the Civil War Room.

On June 5, 1890, Major Henry Lee Higginson formally transferred ownership of 31 acres of land to Harvard University. In his donation speech to the Harvard students, he emphasized that the gift was without conditions—but that he would like the grounds to be called "The Soldiers Field" and be "marked with a stone bearing the names of some dear friends—alumni of the University, and noble gentlemen." Higginson, who founded the Boston Symphony Orchestra, acknowledged that "thousands and thousands of other soldiers deserved equally well of their country, and should be equally remembered and honored by the world. I only say that these were my friends, and therefore I ask this memorial for them." In a dedication speech, he described each man: James Savage Jr., Charles Russell Lowell, Edward Barry Dalton, Stephen George Perkins, James Jackson Lowell, and Robert Gould Shaw. They were all "men of mark, either as to mental or moral powers, or both, and were dead in earnest about life in all its phases of various talents and they had various fortunes. These men are a loss to the world, and heaven must have sorely needed them to have taken them from us so early in their lives."

The most recent memorial to Charles Russell Lowell is located beside the Wayside Inn in Middletown, Virginia, not far from the site where Lowell died. A simple granite monument honoring Lowell was placed there in 1990.

It was a tragedy that such a remarkable man as Lowell was lost in the war. Yet the high standards he set played a part in the lives of unknown numbers of people. Two of the people he most influenced, Henry Higginson and Josephine Shaw Lowell, became noted philanthropists. Unknown numbers of lives were made better by the efforts of these two people, under the inspiration of Lowell. Beginning with the people in his life and progressing to the present day, Lowell's influence is still playing a positive role in the world. □

Special thanks to: Edward Burdekin; James Fahey; Albert H. Gordon; George B. Henderson Foundation; Henry Lee; John Lowell; David Mittell; Dee Morris; Brian C. Pohanka; Anthony M. Sammarco; Wayne Stark; Robert J. Torrez; Staffs at the Arizona Historical Society; Boston Art Commission; Commonwealth Museum; Baker Library, Harvard University; Harvard University Archives; Massachusetts Archives; Massachusetts Historical Society; Massachusetts National Guard Museum and Archives; Mount Auburn Cemetery; Mount Hope Cemetery.

THE HESSIANS

With Great Britain facing a manpower shortage in its efforts to suppress its rebellious American colonies, the Crown turned to the various German states for a ready supply of well-trained soldiers.

BY JOSEPH C. SALAMIDA

"HE IS AT THIS TIME TRANSPORTING LARGE ARMIES of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny," Thomas Jefferson said of King George III in the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson, as usual, was telling the truth. As early as August 1775, when news of the engagement at Breed's Hill reached Germany, Prince Friedrich Wilhelm II of Hesse-Cassel quickly offered his ranks of well-trained soldiers to the hard-pressed British monarch. With the influential prince of Hesse-Cassel being an exemplar throughout Germany, many other princes followed, making their regiments available as well to the British cause. They would play a large role in some of the most famous and decisive battles of the Revolutionary War.

The use of mercenary soldiers was a practice that dated back as far as ancient Egypt. Almost every country in the eastern hemisphere at one time or another had contracted its military to other countries for profit. In the West, many among Europe's noble classes viewed the selling (or renting) of their armies as an honorable way out of debt. In 18th-century Germany that was certainly the case. The growing hostilities that engulfed the American colonies prior to the outburst of open warfare at Lexington and Concord made the various princes of Germany well aware that the looming conflict in the American colonies could be a lucrative market for their own military.

Under General Benedict Arnold, Patriot forces drive off Hessian mercenaries at Breyman's Redoubt during the Battle of Saratoga. LEFT: Hessian sergeant of Rall's Grenadier Regiment at Trenton in 1776.

ARE COMING!

Both paintings by Don Troiani, www.historicalartprints.com

Library of Congress

German civilians are dragooned into service in America by ruthless recruiting forces.

At the beginning of the American Revolution, the state of manpower in the British Army was dire, with many of Great Britain's regiments scattered widely throughout the world. His Majesty welcomed the assistance of his fellow Europeans. But while the princes of Germany immediately offered the use of their armies, they had not been the first choice of Great Britain's leaders. Owing to extended family ties, Russia had been the king's preference. A distant kinswoman of George III, Empress Catherine the Great controlled the Russian Army. British statesmen approached the court of St. Petersburg with the idea of enlisting Catherine's troops for the North American campaign. The Russians, said one British officer, were the best choice for such duty since they did not speak English and were "less likely to be seduced by the artifice and intrigue of these holy hypocrites." Certainly, the British idea of using wild Russian troops provoked fear within many of the inhabitants of the colonies. Writing to Jefferson, fellow patriot Richard Henry Lee commented on the weak state of the American army: "We find ourselves greatly endangered by the armament at present here," wrote Lee, "but what will be our situation the next campaign when the present force shall be increased by the addition of twenty or thirty thousand Russian?"

Within a short time, the idea of using Russian troops was set aside. Other countries were considered, including the Netherlands and Prussia. But Frederick the Great wanted nothing to do with the British, saying that the thought of lending his cherished army to Great Britain was akin to selling off his prize cattle to have their throats cut. (He supposedly imposed a tax equal to that placed on cattle on all mercenaries crossing his border en route to America.) Some members of Parliament even went so far as to suggest hiring an army of Moors from the ruler of Morocco. Finally, Germany was looked to as a source of manpower for Great Britain's North American war effort. It was a logical choice. Under Friedrich Wilhelm, the landlocked state had developed a sophisticated army, one that enjoyed the support of an overwhelming majority of its citizens. The prince, who idolized Frederick the Great, modeled his army after the Prussians. He encouraged aristocrats to send their sons into the army, and at one time more than two-thirds of all Hessian nobles were in the pay of the military. With a standing army of 12,000 men and another 12,000 in the militia, Hesse-Cassel had a ratio of one soldier for every 15 civilians, as opposed to a 1-in-300 ratio in Great Britain.

Friedrich's army was well-trained and -educated, with its officers receiving advanced instruction at the Collegium Carolinium in Cassel, where they studied foreign languages, mathematics, and engineering. While the highest ranking officers came from the ranks of the aristocracy, most of the other officers came from the hard-working middle class. The men in the ranks were culled from the peasant class and were carefully segregated into appropriate units: the Jägers, or light infantry, were made up of the sons of gameskeepers and foresters; artillerists tended to be the sons of industrial workers from the cities. At the bottom of the hierarchy were the *entbehrliche Leute,* or expendable people. These were the school dropouts, servants, unemployed tradesmen, or wandering homeless youths who were seized off the streets by hard-boiled recruiting gangs. All were indoctrinated with the German concept of *Dienst,* or sense of service, and swore a personal oath to Prince Friedrich.

With its critical manpower shortages in mind, Great Britain approached the various German princes with a contract for enlisting their regiments. Parliament wanted the North American rebellion crushed as quickly as possible, hopefully in "one campaign," as Lord George Germain quipped. The act of putting down the rebellion required the use of experienced soldiers. Knowing that the various principalities throughout Germany could meet those demands, the Crown sent Colonel William Faucitt to Germany to procure disciplined troops for the North American front. Faucitt traveled to the principalities of Brunswick and Hesse-Cassel, which offered a total of nearly 10,000 troops to crush the growing American rebellion. By mid-December 1775, a contract was drawn up between the parties involved.

The American conflict was not the first time Great Britain had utilized foreign mercenaries within its ranks. When the "Great Pretender," Bonnie Prince Charlie, led his Scottish clansmen against the army of King George II in the Jacobite Rebellion, the king's army employed German mercenaries to put down the uprising that entangled the highlands. The Germanic princes were not particular—they would hire out their troops to any country that could provide a large enough subsidy. Although Great Britain was Germany's best customer, it was not Germany's only patron. In the late 17th century, during a conflict with Turkey, Italy employed thousands of Germanic mercenaries. During the period of the American Revolution, Germany was made up of seven different principalities: Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Hanau,

> **"No one was safe** from the seller of souls. Persuasion, cunning, **deception,** force—all served. Strangers of all kinds were arrested, **imprisoned,** sent off."

Brunswick, Anhalt-Zerbst, Waldeck, Anspach-Beyreuth, and Hannover. All would eventually provide troops to the British war effort, with Hesse-Cassel's 18,970 soldiers representing more than 60 percent of the military manpower provided by Germany.

As Great Britain began the process of acquiring foreign mercenaries, the inhabitants of the American colonies feared the presence of such grizzled soldiers in their midst. Patriotic pamphleteer Thomas Paine spoke for many when he said, "Of all the acts of transcendent folly and wickedness perpetrated by the British Ministry, none could do more to convince the Americans of the necessity of an immediate declaration of independence than the hiring of foreign mercenaries." Many colonists viewed the German soldiers as fearsome, if not gruesome, creatures who would literally eat their children for breakfast. What many of the colonists did not realize was that these same German soldiers, in time, would help change the very culture of the new American republic.

Efforts in recruiting the regiments that were to be sent to North America were harsh. Each county of a state was required to supply its prince with a certain number of men, and many were hastily pressed into the mercenary trade. Recruiting officers were not choosy in their efforts to fill the ranks of the army. If an individual cut a healthy appearance and was under the age of 60, he was almost guaranteed a position in the prince's ranks. Men of all lifestyles were dragged into the service. Drunkards, tradesmen, drifters—anyone needing the basic necessities of life—found themselves approached by recruiting parties.

JOHAN GOTTFRIED SEUME WAS APPROACHED BY one such "seller of souls." Leaving his position as a theological student at the University of Leipzig, Seume had just set off for Paris to pursue other ambitions when he was arrested and escorted to Ziegenhayn along with other recruiters' targets—including a monk—to find himself being pressed into the ranks of Hesse-Cassel. "I gave myself up to my fate, and tried to make the best of it, as bad, as it might be," Seume recalled. "No one was safe from the grip of the seller of souls. Persuasion, cunning, deception, force—all served. Strangers of all kinds were arrested, imprisoned, sent off. I improved daily and soon I got the reputation of being the man who knew perfectly all the manual and how to execute quickly and easily all the evolutions and military formations on the parade ground." Those who did not adapt were beaten severely, and two of Seume's fellow recruits were hanged for desertion.

Transportation for the mercenaries was dependent on a variety of Dutch vessels. The voyage to North America was a long and cramped one at best. While officers enjoyed the privilege of sharing comfortable quarters, the enlisted men in the regiments were packed into the ships in "spoon fashion," as Seume termed it. For Seume, the voyage to the colonies proved quite uncomfortable. The space within the ships was cramped—"a tall man could not stand upright between decks," he complained. The food was as undesirable as the living conditions. A staple of the men's diet was a biscuit that was so hard that a story spread that it had been taken by the British from the French during the Seven Years' War. As for drinkable water, Seume said that it "stank between decks like Styx, Phlegethon, and Cocytus all together." Thick with filaments as long as a man's finger, the water had to be strained through a cloth before anyone could hold his nose long enough to drink it.

The prince of Brunswick's contingent arrived in America in the spring of 1776 at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, under the command of the Baron von Riedesel, while Staten Island witnessed the arrival of Hesse-Cassel troops under the command of Lt. Gen. Philip von Heister that August. Upon arrival, the Hesse-Cassel forces received a rude welcome of musketry and artillery fire from American positions on Manhattan Island. Upon landing on Staten Island, von Heister's troops found the countryside quaint and comfortable. They were astonished at the sight of lush orchards and gardens that complemented the comfortable homes of the people who lived there. Seeing a land of such

Both: Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

TOP: Soldiers in the Prinz Carl Regiment go through a drill in this 1784 drawing. ABOVE: Jägers, or light infantry, were made up of sons of gameskeepers and foresters and armed with rifles.

wealth and comfort was a mystery to the hired troops, who wondered why the American populace would ever revolt against the British crown in the first place.

Within the ranks of the mercenary contingent was a wide variety of nationalities. The towns throughout Europe that hosted German recruiting parties provided a melting pot of many nationalities. Besides men of German descent, there were many of Mediterranean origin. The regiments that had been hired out by the princes consisted of a variety of soldiers. Each battalion contained companies of musketeers, grenadiers, and fusiliers. While the use of these specialized troops had fallen somewhat out of fashion, the regiments utilized all different types of soldiers as regular infantry while in battle.

Along with the green recruits who had joined the army, there were many seasoned veterans with service records in other European armies, including those of Poland and Italy. Within the infantry, three types of soldiers made up the field regiments. Musketeers, grenadiers, and fusiliers were the mainstay of each of the principality's regiments. Each branch of infantry comprised myriad privates, orderlies, and musicians. The regimental organization often varied by principality and usually featured six companies, five being of battalion strength and the sixth composed of elite grenadiers. The musicians who accompanied the regiments were as important as the officers. Their job on the battlefield was to relay the signals by which the men would maneuver.

Besides the infantry, other types of troops were sold into service in North America. Such principalities as Hesse-Hanau and Hesse-Cassel answered Parliament's call by supplying a regiment of artillery each. The Jägers, or "huntsmen," were originally recruited from a variety of principalities. Their adaptation into the military originally came when Frederick the Great added them to his army prior to the Seven Years' War to act in the capacity of guides and protectors of reconnaissance missions. An American journal claimed that the Jägers had "plumed themselves much in the thought of their being a complete match for the American riflemen." Arriving in America, the first contingent of Jägers was under the command of Johan Ewald, who would prove to have a distinguished military career. Ewald led a command of disciplined, crack marksmen through many battles in New York and as far south as Savannah, Georgia. Utilizing the methods of *le petit guerre,* his marksmen attempted to counter the frontier riflemen in George Washington's army.

Like his British counterpart, the German soldier serving in North America received the measly sum of eight pence per day, along with whatever extra benefits could be had. If anyone was a true mercenary in Germany it was the princes—not their soldiers. Sitting comfortably back home in their palaces, the princes made large amounts of money for providing Great Britain with fighting regiments in America. Stipends were allotted to princes for delivering certain quotas of troops for the North American war effort, and bonuses were paid for soldiers who were killed in action, with three wounded soldiers counted as one dead.

Disembarking at Staten Island on August 14-15, 1776, a variety of regiments from Hesse-Cassel first set foot in America. Bouts of diarrhea, scurvy, and fever ran rampant throughout the ranks of the newly arrived troops. Following a period of rest and recuperation, the Germans were eager to fight the American army. Following their British counterparts, the German auxiliaries were trained in a variety of maneuvers, including open-order tactics as well as advancing in ranks of two, as opposed to the standard three that was common on the European front. This was done to permit easier movement through heavily wooded countryside and also to present a less-inviting target for colonial marksmen.

The Battle of Long Island in August 1776 was to be the first major action that the newly arrived Germans took part in. With various elements of General William Howe's British army taking position in a variety of locations on Long Island, the main encampment of the Germans lay at Flatbush. Utilizing their newly acquired skills in open-order drill and skirmishing, the Germans advanced from their positions at Flatbush toward the American lines. The battle opened up on the morning of August 27. Along with a variety of British regiments, the German army was deployed on the field of battle for the first time in America. The battle that developed on Long Island was a fierce contest between the well-trained and well-disciplined armies of the British crown and the fearfully undertrained but spirited American army. The presence of the German soldiers was felt immediately on both sides of the battlefield. Many of the British officers who were present at Long Island spoke of the Germans' bravery and soldierly conduct.

U.S. Army Art Collection

"Nothing could behave better than the Hessians, and particularly their yagers [sic] who are as much superior to those of the rebels," one admiring officer reported.

The battle soon turned into a rout of the Americans. The left flank gave way after the British came bursting through the woods following a surprise night march, and even the sight of Washington and other officers whipping and caning the fleeing troops could not prevent their flight. With the miter-wearing Germans at their heels, many of the colonials gave themselves up, dropping to their knees and begging the German soldiers for mercy as the Hessians' bayonets advanced upon them. American chaplain Philip Fithian recorded in his diary: "O doleful! doleful! doleful—Blood! Carnage! Fire! Many, many we fear are lost." The Hessians had been told—falsely—by the British officers that the Americans would show them no mercy, and they were encouraged to act similarly. "The Hessians and our brave Highlanders gave no quarter," one English officer reported, "and it was a fine sight to see with what alacrity they dispatched the rebels with their bayonets, after we had surrounded them so that they could not resist." Hessian Colonel Heinrich von Heeringen reported that "the English did not give much quarter, and constantly urged our people to do the like. The riflemen were mostly spitted to the trees with bayonets." A little ashamedly, perhaps, Heeringen added, "These people deserve pity rather than fear."

The campaign season of 1776 ended with Washington's army in full flight from New York into New Jersey. Howe's army quickly followed, scattering themselves at various locations throughout the colony of New Jersey. Two Hessian brigades under Colonels Johan von Rall and Carl von Donop took up positions at Bordentown and Trenton, situated along the New Jersey side of the Delaware River. Split between Rall and Donop were a variety of regiments, some English, but the majority being German. At Bordentown, Donop commanded his Hesse-Cassel regiment as well as a regiment under Wilhelm Knyphausen and the 42nd Regiment of Highlanders, the famed Black Watch. Farther to the north was the small town of Trenton, where Rall commanded a small force of infantry, a body of Jägers, and a detachment of British light horse.

WASHINGTON SOON LEARNED THE LOCATIONS OF THE enemy forces and began planning a desperate action against them. On December 24, reconnaissance detachments were sent out from the colonial army to observe the German positions. On Christmas Day, American parties had given their alarm to various German posts that dotted the countryside in the vicinity of Trenton. With his pickets being driven in by the skirmishing Americans, Rall was warned that an attack was imminent. On the evening of Christmas he received a dispatch stating plainly that Washington's army was headed toward him. But Rall was intent on playing cards, and simply put the message in his pocket, unread.

Crossing the Delaware at Chadds Ford, Washington advanced with his army during the night to surprise Rall's soldiers at daybreak on the 26th. Having been given no prior warning of Washington's advance by its commander, Trenton's German garrison awoke to find the colonials storming into the village. Quickly dressing and arming themselves, the Germans answered the call of Washington's muskets. Forming themselves in Trenton's streets, the troops held out with great determination against the Americans. The village streets quickly became engulfed in confusion. While rallying his troops, Rall was fatally shot in the side and taken into a nearby church to die. Hessian adjutant general Major Bauermeister conceded later that "an hour after sunrise, Lossberg's, Knyphausen's and Rall's regiments were surprised in Trenton by more than 10,000 rebels. They were badly treated and made prisoners, losing their guns, colors, guns, and all equipage." In all, the Germans lost 30 killed and 918 captured, including 23 officers, six brass cannons, and 1,000 stands of arms. American losses

LEFT: Continental forces overrun the Hessian position at Trenton in a surprise Christmas-night raid in 1776. BELOW LEFT: This Hessian Jäger rifle was made by Bernard Pistor in Cassel in 1769. BELOW: This Hessian fusilier cap of the Regiment Knyphausen was captured at the Battle of Trenton.

Both: Military & Historical Image Bank

were astonishingly low—three dead, including one unfortunate who froze to death, and six wounded.

Bauermeister confirmed that Washington's command had snared four standards from the captured Hessian regiments. As with any other army of the period, the regimental colors were of great importance. Those carried by Germany at this time were truly works of art. Along with priding themselves in their physical appearance, the troops of Germany were led into service by splendid works of craftsmanship. Ablaze with a variety of patterned designs and adorned with richly painted gold decorations and monograms, the German colors not only had symbolic meaning but also provided a decorative enhancement to the ranks of the army.

Following the American victory at Trenton, many of the inhabitants of the colonies realized that their previous views of the German mercenaries as both sub- and super-human were false. After the capture of the German garrison at Trenton, many of the Americans gathered to view the "barbaric" foreign troops. "They had come to see monsters, and were vexed to find that we looked like human beings," reported one Hessian officer who had been captured at Trenton. Shocked and amazed, the inhabitants had expected to see creatures of a different species altogether.

After the German disaster at Trenton, the Revolution blazed throughout the northern colonies for the next two years. While the middle colonies witnessed German mercenaries from the principalities of Hesse-Cassel, Canada received a contingent from the principality of Brunswick. Five personal regiments, along with a command of Jägers, artillery, and the personal regiment of the prince of Hesse-Hanau, as well as a regiment of dismounted Brunswick dragoons completed Baron von Riedesel's force. First arriving at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in the fall of 1776, these troops would eventually garrison various posts throughout the St. Lawrence River valley of Quebec.

Having toured the colonies widely during the **seven years** that they were there, many **German soldiers** chose to stay behind—an estimated **5,000** in all.

The year 1777 was one of great defeats for the British and enormous gains for the Americans. Lt. Gen. John Burgoyne, the experienced

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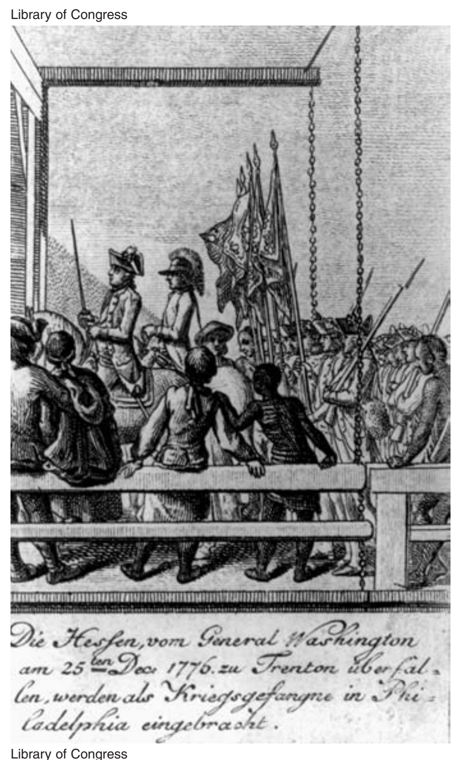

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cavalry officer and playwright, had devised a plan that would tie up the significant colony of New York, which in turn would separate the northern colonies from those of the south. After discussing these plans with members of Great Britain's elite, Burgoyne delivered his plan to Parliament for its approval. After receiving the members' agreement, Burgoyne arrived in Quebec in the spring of 1777. Preparations for the upcoming campaign were already under way. Alongside the various British and Loyalist regiments in Canada was Riedesel's command of Brunswickers, who numbered in the thousands. Like regiments from other principalities, the Brunswick regiments were named after their respective commanders. Regiments von Riedesel, Prinz Friedrich, von Rhetz, von Barner, Specht, and the regiment of the Erbprinz of Hesse-Hanau, the Prinz Ludwig dragoons, and a corps of Jägers and artillery completed Burgoyne's German element.

To complement Burgoyne's force, Lt. Col. Barry St. Leger led an expedition via the St. Lawrence and the Mohawk Rivers. Burgoyne planned to join St. Leger at Albany and sever the northern colonies from the south. Like Burgoyne's force, St. Leger's army was made up of regular troops and Native Americans, as well as 300 Hesse-Hanau Jägers. Following the lead of their British counterparts, the German troops made alterations to their uniforms. Breeches and the tall, tightly fitting gaiters had now been traded in for striped gaitered trousers. Campaigning within Burgoyne's army had even caused the German officers to compromise their baggage, reducing it to "nothing but their knapsacks." Besides the rigors of long wilderness marches and swarms of insects, the weather hampered the spirits of many of the Brunswick troops. "The heat in this vicinity is uncommonly severe, and exceeds that of the warmest day in our own country. Almost daily we are visited by thunderstorms," one German complained.

By late August, St. Leger's expedition had faltered, leaving Burgoyne to meet his fate within the next few months. Following the course of New York's Lake Champlain and the Hudson River, Burgoyne's Brunswickers performed with the harsh rigidity of a true European army. Meeting disaster near Bennington, Vermont, Riedesel's contingent was reduced with the killing of some 200 Germans and the surrender of some 700 from the same ranks. Not only was Burgoyne's German element reduced, but his corps of British regulars and Loyalist allies had also met the same fate as their German companions.

Accompanying Burgoyne's contingent on the journey from Quebec was a small army of women. Most were of the camp follower class, while a select few were of the status of lady. Among the ladies was the wife of the Baron von Riedesel, Frederika Charlotte Louise, Baroness von Riedesel. Accompanying her husband to the front from Brunswick, the baroness witnessed a multitude of important events that overwhelmed Burgoyne's army. Her experiences were recorded in a journal that would provide an in-depth look into the German experience during the American Revolution.

Following the course of New York's Hudson River southward, Burgoyne's force was to meet its fate at the hands of a large American force under the command of General Horatio Gates. Between September 19 and October 7, Burgoyne's Brunswick contingent was caught up in a series of heavily fought battles that seesawed through the trackless wilderness and rolling fields along the Hudson River at Saratoga. The pivotal point for Riedesel's Brunswickers came on the evening of October 7, when a large American force stormed the German redoubt from the rear. Named for Lt. Col. Heinrich Christoph Breyman, the fortified position guarded the majority of Burgoyne's Brunswick division.

Meeting heavy resistance, Burgoyne's army was forced to abandon its advance on Albany.

By early October, the elements of his polyglot army began a retreat that would end a few miles to the north at Saratoga. Under the pressures of constant American artillery fire, and a severely disarrayed communication and supply route, Burgoyne was forced to surrender his army on October 7. Throughout the autumn and early winter of 1777, Burgoyne's army, including his hired Brunswickers, set out for the various prisoner-of-war camps that encircled Boston. During the rest of the war, this Anglo-German force would travel to other prison camps throughout the colonies, with the majority of the Germans being imprisoned at camps at Reading, Pennsylvania, and Charlottesville, Virginia.

The Burgoyne surrender marked the end of elaborate campaigning in the northern colonies. The Battle of Monmouth Courthouse, New Jersey, in June 1778 marked an end to large land engagements in the north as well. The war shifted south, and so did the allied German presence. By 1778 large British contingents began setting foot in the Carolinas, Georgia, and the Spanish-held territory of Florida. Alongside the British regiments was a variety of German regiments. One facet of southern colonial life that attracted widespread German disapproval was slavery. "It is a sad sight when one views these people, who in their capacities and quality of intelligence yield nothing to the whites, sold like cattle in the market to the highest bidder," said one German eyewitness. Another claimed that "animals were treated better in Hesse than black slaves by Americans." Some escaped slaves joined the ranks of German regiments, either under arms or as musicians.

Several engagements took place along the coastline and the interior parts of the southern colonies. In the summer of 1779, a heated battle between a force of the Regiment von Trumbach, the 71st Regiment of Foot, and the loyalist Royal North Carolina Regiment beat back the Americans under the Rhode Islander Benjamin Lincoln at Stono Ferry, South Carolina. In April 1780, British General Sir Henry Clinton laid siege to Charleston, South Carolina. Within his force was an array of Germans, including Hesse-Cassel field Jägers under the command of Johan Ewald. The siege of Charleston would come to a close in early May when the Americans surrendered their entire force of 5,400 men—the worst American disaster of the war in terms of troops lost.

Besides Charleston and Stono Ferry, many more engagements in the southern colonies were to occur. The British garrisons at Pensacola and Mobile welcomed German troops into their ranks. Drawn mainly from the principality of Waldeck, these troops served in the defense of both posts during assaults made by Spanish naval forces in 1779 before they surrendered to the Spanish and became prisoners of war under French colors at New Orleans the next year.

During this period, German troops also took part in various minor engagements in the north, particularly along the New York frontier. Many of the Jägers who were once a part of St. Leger's expedition of 1777 now quartered among the Canadian populace as well as among the Abenaki Indians in the province of Quebec. These marksmen, under their commander, Johan von Kreutzburg, took part in several raids along the frontier of New York's Mohawk and Schoharie Valleys.

The close of the eight-year-long American Revolution took place at Yorktown, Virginia, in 1881. The regiments of von Bose, Erbprinz, and the Hesse-Cassel Jägers under Ewald supported Lord Cornwallis's army that was under siege by combined Franco-American forces led by George Washington. Not only was the

Continued on page 74

ABOVE: Brigadier General John Stark directs victorious American forces at the Battle of Bennington in August 1777. OPPOSITE: Hessian troops in full battle array at the Battle of Trenton.

Bennington Museum, Bennington, Vermont

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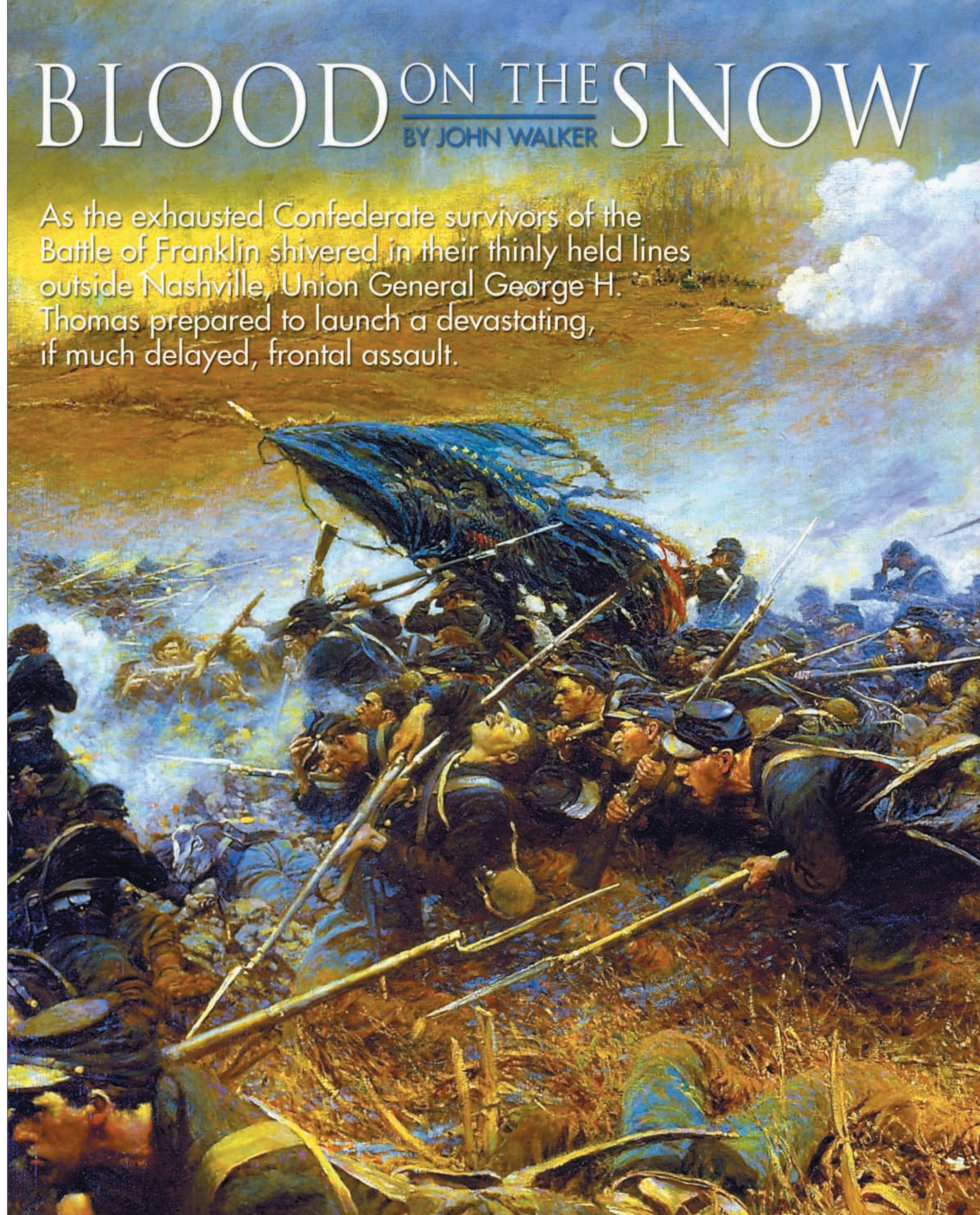
BLOOD ON THE SNOW

BY JOHN WALKER

As the exhausted Confederate survivors of the Battle of Franklin shivered in their thinly held lines outside Nashville, Union General George H. Thomas prepared to launch a devastating, if much delayed, frontal assault.



FOR THE BLACK-SKINNED, BLUE-CLAD SOLDIERS DEPLOYED ON THE EXTREME LEFT FLANK of the Union Army outside Nashville, Tennessee, the order to advance announced at dawn on December 15, 1864, was a long time coming. No unit of the United States Colored Troops (USCT), made up entirely of black enlisted men under the command of white officers, had been committed to major combat in the western theater since the bloody setback at Port Hudson, Louisiana, in May 1863. Now, almost 18 months later, two brigades of untested black troops were about to play a role in one of the most decisive battles of the Civil War.

Four miles south of the city, General John Bell Hood's ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-shod veterans of the Confederate Army of Tennessee waited grimly in their defensive works. This once-proud and formidable force had never been in such dreadful condition. Still reeling from the horrendous physical and psychological trauma it had suffered in the catastrophic defeat at Franklin, Tennessee, two weeks earlier, the army was so thinned, in fact, that it had only managed to extend a line of partially completed works four miles below the city, leaving sizable gaps between both flanks and the Cumberland River.

Led by Virginia-born Major General George H. Thomas, Union troops surge forward irresistibly from their defenses at Nashville in this late 19th-century painting by Howard Pyle.

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ABOVE: Extensive Federal defenses, including trenches, earthworks, and abatis, made Nashville one of the most heavily fortified cities on the American continent in the fall of 1864. LEFT: The Nashville railroad yard and depot, with the state Capitol in the distance. This George N. Barnard photo may have been taken during the battle itself.

If the battle-hardened veterans under Hood could achieve victory—an increasingly remote possibility—their stalled offensive into their namesake state could be resurrected. Accustomed to facing heavy odds, the renowned Confederate infantry, if victorious, could drive their defeated foes from Nashville, reclaim the capital city, and gain access to the vast Federal supplies there. With his troops rested and refitted, Hood could then push north, threatening Kentucky and Ohio, his army's ranks swelling with new recruits along the way. Union Maj. Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman might have to abandon his punishing march to the sea through Georgia and return to the defensive.

THREATENED WITH REMOVAL FROM COMMAND OF THE FEDERAL FORCES IN Nashville for refusing to attack Hood immediately, Maj. Gen. George H. "Pap" Thomas nevertheless continued his meticulous preparations not only to defeat the Rebel host in his front but to utterly destroy it. Thomas needed time to organize and deploy his large and heterogeneous forces, find mounts for a third of his 12,000-man cavalry, and gather the necessary transports to conduct a vigorous pursuit of the enemy in the event they were driven back from the outskirts of the city.

It was now December 1. Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield, the victor of Franklin, was safely inside Nashville with his five divisions, 62 guns, and almost 800 wagons. Other units were arriving daily to fill out Thomas's army. Hood had few options; he feared wholesale desertion if he retreated to regroup. He could attack Murfreesboro, 30 miles southeast of Nashville, where 9,000 Union troops under Maj. Gen. Lovell Rousseau were posted in strong works, but Thomas could reinforce Rousseau with more troops than Hood had in his whole army. Attacking Nashville, one of the most heavily fortified cities on the American continent, was out of the question. If Hood managed to bypass Nashville and push north, he risked attack from flank and rear.

When Hood arrived in front of Nashville, he adopted a tactic that Napoleon Bonaparte, the father of modern warfare, once called a form of deferred suicide: the passive defensive. Hood put his men to work putting up breastworks and waited for Thomas to attack him, while he prayed for the arrival of reinforcements. He implored his superiors in Richmond to get General Edmund Kirby Smith to send troops from the Trans-Mississippi Department, but the chances of substantial reinforcements arriving in time to help Hood were remote at best.

As the exhausted Confederate soldiers set

about digging trenches and throwing up breastworks south of the city, to one private "the lines looked more like the skirmish line of a regular army, than a regular army itself." Many of Hood's veterans had no overcoats or blankets, and their uniforms were in tatters. Those who had shoes—and as many as one in five did not—wrapped their worn boots in rags or gunny sacks. After a fierce storm hit Nashville on December 9, many soldiers began leaving bloody footprints in the snow.

On paper, Hood's army still looked formidable: three corps, nine divisions, 27 brigades. But after Franklin, the Confederate force in front of Nashville was down to about 23,000 infantry and 1,750 cavalry. Meanwhile, all the Federal units that would take part in the defense of Nashville had arrived safely. Three veteran divisions that made up Maj. Gen. A.J. Smith's XVI Corps were welcomed when they arrived on November 30 after an arduous trek across Kansas from St. Louis. The garrison and quartermaster troops had now been augmented by militia units, new levees, convalescents, detached units, three corps of infantry from three separate commands, and finally by a provisional detachment under Maj. Gen. James Steedman that included two brigades of U.S. Colored Troops. Upon arrival by rail from Chattanooga, the 1st and 2nd Colored Brigades were assigned positions on Thomas's extreme left flank along a front that stretched from Fort Negley east to the Lebanon Pike, close to the banks of the Cumberland River.

Hood's army had barely arrived when Thomas began receiving an almost daily barrage of telegrams from Maj. Gen. Henry Halleck in Washington and from Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, 500 miles away in City Point, Virginia, urging him to attack and destroy Hood immediately. On December 6, obviously not cognizant of the weakened condition of Hood's army, Grant wired Thomas: "There is great danger in delay resulting in a campaign back to the Ohio." He ordered him to attack at once. Thomas agreed, but the difficulties he faced convinced him that his army wasn't adequately prepared, and he decided to delay until at least December 9 or 10.

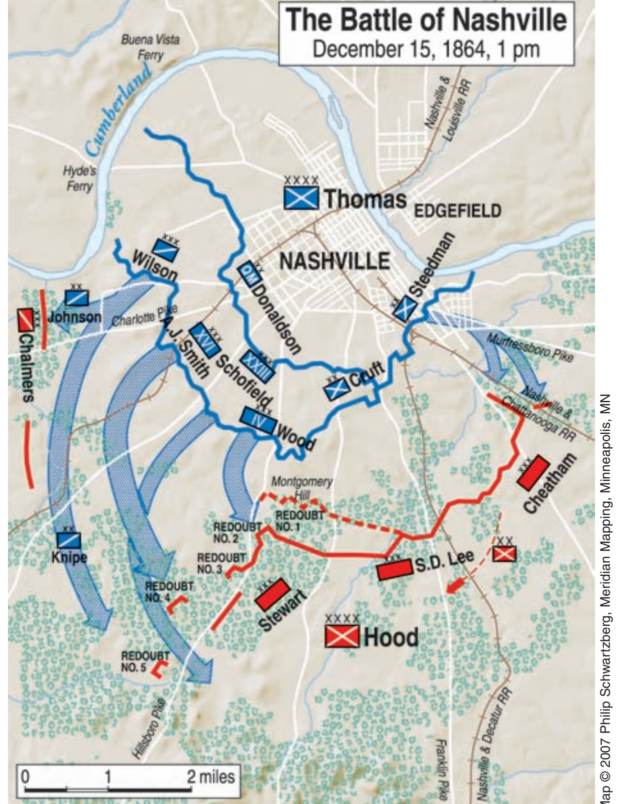
Grant, worried that a Rebel thrust toward the Ohio River would embarrass him for allowing Sherman to march away from Hood's army, decided to relieve Thomas, but then changed his mind. By that time, both armies were literally frozen in place and unable to move, the result of a fierce storm that had covered the ground with a blanket of ice and snow. The storm halted construction of a line of wood-and-earthen forts, or redoubts, that Hood had ordered built along both sides of the Hillsboro Pike to shore up his weak left flank.

ON DECEMBER 9, HALLECK WIRED THOMAS THAT GRANT HAD "EXPERIENCED much dissatisfaction at your delay in attacking the enemy." In reply, Thomas told Halleck, "I feel conscious I have done everything in my power, and that the troops could not have been gotten ready before this. If Gen. Grant should order me to be replaced I will submit without a murmur." Two days later, as the freezing temperatures continued to keep armies immobilized, Grant wired Thomas that he was still worried about the threat of a Rebel army moving toward the Ohio River. At that moment, Hood's soldiers were shivering in their trenches and fortifications while bitterly cold winds howled around them and Union artillery shells rained down. The Confederates' own artillery was silent, conserving ammunition for the battle to come. All along the line, vicious skirmishing and sharpshooting were taking place day and night.

The weather finally took a turn for the better on December 13, and the morning of the 14th brought clear skies and a warm sun. The suffering of the Confederates in their trenches eased, but when the ice and snow began to melt, Hood's army found itself mired in a sea of mud. Thomas was ready to launch his attack. He called his commanders together, told them the attack would begin on the morning of December 15, and meticulously explained the role of each corps. He would sally forth with a combined infantry and cavalry force of 54,000 men while leaving 9,000 to man the city's defenses.

It would be none too soon. Grant was en route to Washington and planned to travel to Nashville by rail to personally assume command. Thomas chose a tactic favored by the other Union commanders. Steedman would move out at first light against the Rebel right and conduct a strong demonstration, tying down as many enemy units as possible in an attempt to mislead Hood about where the major attack would be made. On the far right, Brig. Gen. James Wilson's entire body of cavalry, together with Smith's infantry corps, would make a grand left wheel, assaulting and overlapping the enemy left. In the center, Brig. Gen. Thomas J. Wood's corps would serve as the pivot for the wheel and threaten the enemy salient on Montgomery Hill, a mere quarter mile south of Thomas's command post on Lawrence Hill. Schofield's corps would be held in reserve between Smith and Wood, to be used according to developments on the battlefield. Apprised of the war council at the last second, Grant muttered to his staff, "Well, I guess we won't go to Nashville," and settled in to await word from the front.

The morning of December 15 broke warm and sunny, but a thick fog obscured the field until late morning. The fog and the uneven nature of the ground partially hid the first movements of Steedman's units when they sallied forth on the left, two hours late owing to the fog. The Union



ABOVE: Following the debacle at Franklin, Confederate General John Bell Hood attempted an incomplete encirclement of Nashville—only to be attacked himself. TOP: Major General Benjamin Franklin Cheatham.

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Map © 2007 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN

vanguard consisted of the 1st Colored Brigade under Colonel Thomas Morgan, the 2nd Colored Brigade led by Colonel Charles Thompson, and a motley brigade of white convalescents, conscripts, and bounty jumpers under the command of Colonel Charles Grosvenor.

Hood's right rested on a deep railroad cut between the Nolensville and Murfreesboro Turnpikes. Raines Hill, astride the former, was an imposing terrain feature held by veterans of Maj. Gen. Benjamin Cheatham's corps. A concealed lunette just to the east, across the tracks of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, was occupied by 500 survivors of the late Brig. Gen. Hiram Granbury's Texas Brigade. From Nolensville Pike, Hood's line ran west across Franklin Pike, past Granny White Pike, to where Redoubt 1, the true salient of Hood's left, lay just east of Hillsboro Pike. From there the line "refused" at a right angle to Redoubt 2, also on the east side of the pike. The Confederate line stretched diagonally across the pike to Redoubts 3, 4, and 5. A division of Lt. Gen. A.P. Stewart's corps was set behind a stone wall that ran parallel to Hillsboro Pike, constituting the extreme left flank of the Confederate works.

A little after 8 AM, Steedman's three brigades, 7,600 strong and augmented by two batteries of artillery, advanced toward Cheatham's works, driving back the Confederate skirmish line. The brigades of Grosvenor and Thompson advanced directly on the main works, while Morgan's three regiments of 3,200 black troops moved out to the left directly toward the hidden lunette. When Grosvenor's columns came within range, they were shredded by withering artillery and musket fire and fled in disarray out of range, where they were content to remain for the rest of the day.

Next came Thompson's brigade, which received the same harsh reception and also stalled. The Confederate veterans waiting inside the lunette held their fire while Morgan's troops continued forward. When the black troops moved onto the cut and within range, the Tex-

BLACK SOLDIERS, BLUE UNIFORMS

Although several overzealous Union Army field commanders organized African Americans into ad hoc militia units early in 1862 and several black regiments were mustered into service later that year, it wasn't until after President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation took effect on January 1, 1863, that the federal government began actively recruiting and enlisting black soldiers and sailors.

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In late 1862, after battlefield reverses slowed white enlistments to a trickle, Lincoln was convinced that emancipation and enlistment of blacks were crucial to winning the war. He initiated one of his most controversial and revolutionary policy directives: slaves in areas still in rebellion would be liberated, free blacks in the North and occupied South would be enlisted, and, eventually, blacks in loyal slave-holding and border states would be enlisted as well. All would serve exclusively under white officers.

The president was treading on extremely sensitive ground—widespread racial discrimination was rampant in the North, and many senior Army officers and large numbers of their men strongly opposed the idea of blacks in uniform. Even after Lincoln made it clear that he expected his generals to comply with his new enlistment policies, Maj. Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, overall commander in the vast western theater, blatantly hindered recruiting efforts there. Like many Union officers, Sherman was willing to utilize blacks in menial positions such as laborers, teamsters, railroad guards, and cooks, but he steadfastly refused to deploy black regiments alongside white units.

Free blacks in the North had thronged to enlistment offices after the war began but were turned away. Federal law made it illegal for them to serve in the army or in state militias. In May 1861, Maj. Gen. Benjamin Butler, commander at Fortress Monroe, Louisiana, declared escaped slaves "contraband of war" and refused to return them to their owners, instead putting them to work in support roles. Lincoln let Butler's policy stand. Three months later, Congress passed the First Confiscation Act, which was designed, in effect, to deprive the Confederacy of its huge black labor force.

When Butler assumed command of Union forces in Louisiana, he faced an imminent attack and appealed to blacks to join his forces. The first units of Butler's "Corps d'Afrique" were two 500-man regiments—the 1st Louisiana Native Guards, free blacks with black officers and a white commander, and the 3rd Louisiana Native Guards, former slaves with an all-white officer corps. Butler's acceptance of the 1st Regiment with its black officers intact was unprecedented.

The men who joined the 1st Regiment were the elite of New Orleans black society: doctors, craftsmen, educators, and landowners, some of whom owned slaves themselves. Their ancestors had fought alongside Andrew Jackson against the

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ABOVE: Company E, 4th U.S. Colored Infantry, at Fort Lincoln in Washington, D.C. TOP: Black Union soldier proudly flourishing his pistol. OPPOSITE: Pickets of the 1st Louisiana Native Guard patrolling the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad.

ans rose and delivered a terrible volley of musket fire into their ranks. Southern artillery then let loose a torrent of shells, and fire coming from the works west of the cut caught Morgan's men in a deadly crossfire.

Under such a pounding, Morgan's troops were forced to fall back. They quickly regrouped and reformed for another advance, as did the four regiments of Thompson's brigade. The black troops came on once more, only to be halted again. This went on for a good two hours. At 11 AM further advances were halted, but the attackers remained within musket range of the Confederate works and stayed in contact with Cheatham's right flank for the remainder of the day's fighting. The black units had done everything asked of them, suffering severe losses in the process.

On the Union right, the corps of Wilson and Smith were delayed for some time while several divisions of infantry were being aligned properly. At 10 AM the commanders began moving their two corps, seven full divisions in all, out of their works to initiate the grand movement of the day. Wilson's troopers, 9,000 mounted and 3,000 dismounted, moved out in a westerly direction, parallel to Charlotte Pike, then they wheeled to the left, crossed the pike, and moved southward toward Harding Pike. The first Rebel forces Wilson's men encountered were the skirmishers of the understrength, 700-man brigade of Brig. Gen. Matthew Ector (who was not present, having lost a leg at Atlanta). Hood had placed the brigade behind Richland Creek, between Charlotte and Harding Pikes, to provide some help to General James R. Chalmers's badly outnumbered cavalry brigades. Wilson's troopers advanced rapidly on Ector's small force, capturing a number of prisoners and wagons, but the bulk of the defenders fired off a couple of volleys and then headed back toward the main Confederate works on Hillsboro Pike as ordered. Chalmers's outnumbered force put up a spirited defense on Charlotte Pike, holding back an entire division of Wilson's

British. Now, with their city occupied, and after first offering their services to the Confederacy, they joined Butler. On September 27, 1862, he mustered in the 1st Louisiana Native Guards, the first unit of black soldiers officially accepted into the U.S. Army. Butler would be replaced by Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Banks later that year; Banks strongly opposed the idea of black officers and relegated the Guards to garrison duty while he began purging the units of their black officers by any means he could devise.

In 1862, U.S. Senator Jim Lane resigned to accept a commission as a brigadier general and recruiter in his home state of Kansas. Without waiting for authorization, he raised a regiment of blacks, cavalierly assuming that the War Department would approve. Ordered twice to abandon the project, he refused. In January 1863 Lane's stubbornness paid off when Federal authorities, who had by now passed the Second Confiscation Act and the Militia Act authorizing the president to employ blacks as he deemed necessary, accepted his units into service.

The performance of black soldiers in three battles over a two-month period in 1863 erased any lingering doubts as to their worthiness for combat roles and hastened a massive surge in recruitment and enlistment of African Americans. In late May, the 1st and 3rd Louisiana Native Guards advanced as part of Banks's XIX Corps on the Confederate bastion at Port Hudson, Louisiana. On May 27, they launched an ill-advised frontal assault against the fortified works. Against overwhelming odds, the two regiments mounted several heroic but futile attacks. Their ranks shredded by sustained artillery and musket fire, the black regiments withdrew after suffering horrendous casualties.

Two weeks later, three regiments of raw, virtually untrained blacks, most of whom were runaway slaves who had been laboring in the fields of Mississippi and Louisiana a few weeks earlier, distinguished themselves in the defense of Union positions at Milliken's Bend, Louisiana. Attacked by a numerically superior Confederate force, the blacks fought back ferociously; the battle escalated into a savage hand-to-hand melee that turned into one of the bloodiest small engagements of the war. The three regiments, one of which was issued outmoded muskets just the day before the attack, fought the Confederates but suffered appalling casualties.

On July 18, a state regiment of black volunteers, the 54th Massachusetts, led a Union assault on Battery Wagner in South Carolina, another heavily fortified Rebel outpost. Although the attack failed and the 54th suffered heavy losses, the unit's bravery in the face of terrible odds was unquestioned.

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The conduct of the black soldiers on three separate battlefields did much to change racial stereotypes rampant in the North. People who had ridiculed the idea of putting blacks in uniform now endorsed it. Eight months after Fort Wagner, the 20th U.S. Colored Infantry, raised entirely within the state of New York, paraded through New York City and was cheered by whites and blacks alike. It had been only eight months since the infamous draft riots there.

By August 1863, 14 regiments of U.S. Colored Troops (USCT) were in the field. The surge in enlistments helped fill the ranks of depleted Union units. By the critical summer of 1864, more than 100,000 blacks were under arms. Unfortunately, the blacks who flocked to the uniform had to deal with limited opportunities for advancement to the officer corps, inadequate training, substandard equipment, lower pay, and inferior medical care. About one in five blacks died from disease, compared with one in 12 whites.

Almost 180,000 African Americans served in the Union Army by war's end, a little over half coming from the 11 seceded states; 7,122 whites served as officers in USCT units. Black units fought in 449 engagements. On December 15-16, 1864, two black brigades took part in the decisive battle of Nashville, which effectively ended the war in the western theater and was the only major Union victory in which colored units participated.

What had begun as a war to preserve the Union was transformed, in large part owing to military expediency, into a war for black liberation. African American men joined the Union ranks to escape slavery, destroy the Confederacy, prove their loyalty to the United States, and pursue their dreams of freedom and citizenship for themselves and future generations of black Americans. □

troopers, but it was simply too small to be much of a factor in the rest of the day's fighting.

Smith's corps moved out simultaneously with Wilson's men. Bearing left, the corps moved across Harding Pike and advanced toward the Rebel works strung out along both sides of Hillsboro Pike. When reports began streaming in to Stewart about large movements on his left, he was well aware of what was happening—the enemy was trying to turn his flank. He immediately requested reinforcements. Hood ordered Maj. Gen. Stephen D. Lee, whose corps had scarcely been touched, to send one division to Stewart and ordered Cheatham to dispatch Maj. Gen. William Bate's division to the left as well.

AS THE TWO UNION CORPS, MORE THAN 20,000 STRONG, MOVED FORWARD across Harding Pike and approached the mile-long extension of the Confederate left along Hillsboro Pike, three of Hood's Redoubts—3,4, and 5—nestled along the west side of the pike, came into view shortly before noon. Each of the forts boasted a four-gun battery of 12-pounder smoothbore Napoleons, fairly accurate up to about half a mile. Inside the works, 50 cannoneers and 100 dug-in riflemen had been told to hold their positions at all hazards.

Between noon and 1 PM, while in the Union center Wood was about to get the order to attack Montgomery Hill with his corps, Wilson and Smith opened fire with their rifled pieces on Redoubts 3, 4, and 5; after a good hour's bombardment, the blue columns advanced again. The Confederates answered with volleys of double-shotted canister, halting the blue waves at least temporarily in front of Redoubts 3 and 4. Redoubt 5 was left exposed on Stewart's far left. Hit from front and flank, Redoubt 5 fell fairly rapidly, with the loss of its four guns, overwhelmed by a brigade of Wilson's dismounted troopers and a brigade of Smith's infantry.

The captured fort's guns were quickly turned on Redoubt 4, next in line, which was already being heavily shelled by the 16 guns placed in its front by Smith and Wilson. Inside Redoubt 4, Captain William Lumsden, a Virginia Military Institute graduate and former commandant of cadets at the

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Union troops crest a hillside outside Nashville as the Confederates start to pull back on the afternoon of December 15, 1864.

University of Alabama, blazed away at the enemy with his gunners and 100 riflemen of the 29th Alabama. At 11 AM, Lumsden called to the officers and asked them to stay and help him hold the small fort. They replied, "It can't be done. There's a whole army to your front." It took almost three hours after the commencement of the initial artillery barrage before the attackers could finally overwhelm Lumsden and his garrison. When the end was near, Lumsden cried out, "Take care of yourselves, boys," and scrambled back with the survivors to the main Confederate works west of Hillsboro Pike. It was by now almost 3 PM; with the reduction of Redoubts 4 and 5 complete, the Union batteries displaced forward to focus their attention on the stone wall running along the eastern side of the pike.

Hoping that Wilson could extend his attack even further against Hood's flank and rear and possibly even gain a foothold on the vital Granny White Pike, Thomas ordered Schofield to move up with his two divisions, held in reserve near the Union salient on Lawrence Hill, into the pocket between Smith's corps and Wilson's cavalry. This movement went off without a hitch, and soon Schofield's corps of about 12,000 men was in position to join the general attack threatening to bury Hood's left along Hillsboro Pike.

By early afternoon it was almost time for Wood's anxious soldiers to play their part in the massive left wheel. All morning, the men of Wood's IV Corps, the largest in Thomas's force at 16,645 strong, had waited near Lawrence Hill while Steedman's corps moved out to their left and Smith and Wilson's on their right. Almost all the men were veterans of Franklin, where Wood had assumed command after Maj. Gen. David S. Stanley was wounded. Still a brigadier, Wood was trying to erase what he felt was an unfair stain on his record dating back to the Battle of Chickamauga, 15 months earlier, when he had obeyed a faulty order to pull his men out of line immediately before the massive Confederate breakthrough. Now Wood's corps advanced on the Rebel salient on Montgomery Hill, which was nothing more than a line of nearly empty works manned by a skeleton force of skirmishers.

From his post on the near side of the valley, Wood marveled at the imposing sight of his attackers. At about 1 PM, the pickets of Maj. Gen. William Loring's division looked out from their trenches along the crest of the hill and spotted Wood's blue lines coming up the slope toward them. The handful of butternut-clad infantrymen fired off a few volleys and then prudently headed for the rear. In a matter of minutes, Wood's legions came up and over the parapets and into the barren line of works, capturing a small number of prisoners. The assault, although successful, had only driven out the advanced forces of Stewart's corps; the main Rebel salient at Redoubt 1 was still intact.

While Wood was attacking, the fighting farther west continued unabated. Under an umbrella of artillery fire, Brig. Gen. John McArthur's division advanced on the stone wall along Hillsboro Pike, routing the defenders with surprising ease. The two brigades there were reinforcements whom Hood had withdrawn at about noon from his center, and when they arrived they had been placed on Maj. Gen. Edward Walthall's left opposite Redoubt 4. Walthall's three brigades had been taking a ter-

rible pounding for several hours from the Union artillery and had been holding firm, but when the units on their left collapsed, they began to give ground as well. By now, Stewart could see disaster looming. Two more brigades from Lee had come up, but they were little help holding back the blue wave that had breached Hillsboro Pike. A brigade of McArthur's division advanced on Redoubt 3, and, although the defenders there greeted the attackers with a fierce blast of grapeshot and canister, the Federals pushed forward and carried the fort and its four guns. When they began taking fire from the defenders on Redoubt 2, McArthur's men stormed that fort and took it as well.

After the success of his initial attack upon Montgomery Hill, Wood realized that Redoubt 1, on a high hill to his front, was the crucial Rebel position, and he brought up two batteries of six guns each to deliver a converging fire on the salient. The vital angle in Stewart's line, with Walthall's division to its left and Loring's to its right, was being held by a brigade under the command of Brig. Gen. Claudius Sears. After a half hour of furious shelling, Wood ordered Brig. Gen. Washington Elliot to attack the salient. At 4:30 PM, angry because Elliot had delayed his attack, Wood ordered Brig. Gen. Nathan Kimball to do the honors instead. With darkness approaching, Kimball promptly sent his division forward, and within minutes it breached the crest of the hill from the northeast. The men of Elliot's division were close behind, as well as a brigade of McArthur's coming in from the west. Four guns and a number of prisoners were taken.

Stewart, his left overlapped by Wilson and his line along Hillsboro Pike crumbling, saw the inevitable coming and ordered Walthall and Loring to fall back. He was establishing a new line near two hills that shielded Granny White Pike. While Stewart's corps was withdrawing in fairly good order, Colonel David Coleman's troops, cut off during the fighting along Hillsboro Pike, fell back to Shy's Hill, where they were met by Hood, who told them to hold at all costs. Bate's division, which had arrived after marching over from the right flank, was ordered into a defensive position on a hill north of Coleman's brigade. A division of Schofield's corps, hungry for action, came up and drove Bate's division off the hill, but when night fell the fighting ended and both armies bivouacked in place.

After Hood ordered Lee and Cheatham to withdraw their corps, Stewart pulled his various units together into a fairly solid line that connected at its northern end with Lee's unshaken left flank. Stewart's task was made easier by confusion in the Union lines caused by wild celebrations of victory. The intermingled units of Smith, Wood, Schofield, and Wilson, whose dismounted troopers had skirted Stewart's left and gained a foothold near Granny White Pike, halted for the night in the open fields.

Hood's left had taken a frightful pounding. Lost were 16 artillery pieces and some 2,200 soldiers, more than half of whom were captured when the Confederate left caved in. Thomas, believing that Hood might retreat, made plans for a pursuit, but several officers who knew Hood well, including Schofield, assured their commander that the battle was far from over. That night Hood established a new line of works along a span of hills two miles south of his original position. His men feverishly threw up breastworks along the front and heavily fortified two hills that would anchor the new line, Shy's Hill on the left and Overton Hill on the right.

Hood instructed Cheatham, whose corps moved from the right flank to the left, to have Bate's division join Coleman's depleted brigade on Shy's Hill. When the alignments were made, Hood had some 5,000 infantry on his left, 1,500 of them on Shy's Hill. Anticipating a repeat of the first day's tactics by Thomas, Hood told his chief engineer, Colonel S.W. Prestman, to select a line on which the reformed defenses could adequately protect the army's left flank. The line Prestman chose was not at the military crest of Shy's Hill, but farther down the reverse slope. If the Union attackers detected this flaw, they would be able to mass large numbers of troops in front of the hill, shielded from direct rifle fire, for a massive assault.

Maj. Gen. James Steedman

Lt. Col. William Shy

Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas

Maj. Gen. John Schofield

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"I BEHELD FOR THE FIRST AND ONLY TIME A CONFEDERATE ARMY ABANDON THE FIELD IN CONFUSION."

To complete his new line, Hood put Stewart's exhausted corps in the center and Lee's corps on the right. Two fresh divisions, those of Maj. Gens. Henry Clayton and Carter Stevenson, which had seen only light action on the previous day and hadn't been committed at Franklin, dug in astride the Franklin Pike and on the crest of Overton Hill. The line on Lee's right bent back sharply to the southeast of the pike. Thomas had decided to combine Wood's corps with Steedman's provisional division to batter Hood's right, in hopes of turning Hood's flank and gaining a foothold on the crucial Franklin Pike. The assault by Steedman's brigades would be an all-out attack, unlike the demonstrations of the first day.

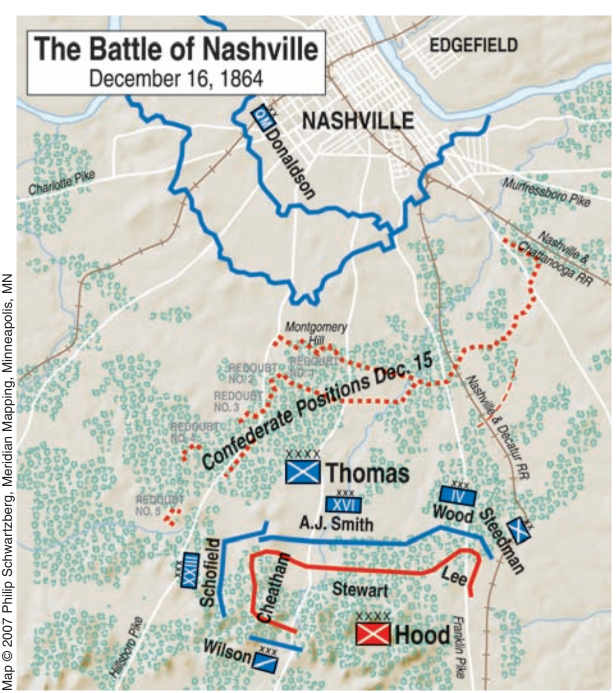
AT FIRST LIGHT ON THE 16TH, WOOD ADVANCED HIS CORPS TOWARD FRANKLIN Pike, pushing back the lines of Rebel skirmishers. Wood put one division on the pike and one on its left. With his third in reserve, he began moving south toward the new Rebel line. About a half mile from Lee's new works, Wood's corps encountered a heavy enemy skirmish line in front of Overton Hill. He brought his reserve division into line, and the entire IV Corps advanced, three divisions abreast, driving Lee's skirmishers back into their lines under heavy musket and artillery fire. Wood then halted the column to await the major assault set for later that afternoon.

At 6 AM, Steedman had moved forward to find the Rebel works to his front abandoned. He continued along Nolensville Pike, feeling for the new Confederate front, and took up position between Nolensville Pike and the left of Wood's corps. There he remained until early afternoon, when he was ordered by Thomas to connect with Wood's left and prepare for an assault. Meanwhile, on the Union right, Wilson went into action at 9:30 AM, intending to move his dismounted troopers forward, connect with Schofield's right flank, and hit the Rebels on the hills to his front.

But the wet, muddy terrain and unexpectedly fierce resistance halted Wilson almost immediately, and when Thomas rode over to confer, Wilson suggested that his entire body of cavalry move over to Hood's right and have a go at it there. Thomas refused.

Other than the skirmishing on the Confederate right, no serious fighting took place until late in the afternoon. The morning hours were marked by an extremely accurate and continuous Union artillery barrage along the length of Hood's new line, with Shy Hill and Overton Hill taking especially heavy punishment. The Confederate smoothbores, fewer in number, were no match for the more than 100 Union rifled pieces that tore into the breastworks the gray-clad infantry had worked so hard to throw up the night before. Bate's division on Shy's Hill suffered under a particularly galling crossfire from three directions. A short distance to their front, one of Maj. Gen. Darius Couch's batteries was firing at them from almost point-blank range, and during the course of the day delivered a staggering 560 shells onto their works.

DURING THE MORNING AND EARLY AFTERNOON HOURS, THE UNION TROOPS on Lee's front launched a number of probing attacks. When it seemed that the fighting on his right might escalate, endangering his hold on Franklin Pike, Hood withdrew three brigades of Smith's division from their positions left of Shy's Hill and sent them to support Lee on the right. This decision would come back to haunt Hood—by the time these troops arrived, the attack on Overton Hill had been repulsed and there wasn't enough time for them to get back into position on Bate's left.



Lt. Gen. A.P. Stewart's exhausted corps formed the center of the Confederate defensive line on the second day of the battle, with Maj. Gen. B.F. Cheatham on the left and Maj. Gen. S.D. Lee on the right.

Lee's front had been taking heavy and accurate artillery fire, but the bulk of Hood's artillery at Lee's rear answered back furiously. At about 3 PM, with light rain falling, Wood felt that the time was right to overrun Overton Hill. He sent his columns forward. The brigade of Colonel Sidney Post took the lead, with that of Colonel Abel Streight in support. Steedman's two USCT brigades, seven regiments in all, moved up on Post's left as the assault began.

Wood's attackers reached the base of Overton Hill and moved steadily up the slope through a hail of Confederate musket, grapeshot, and canister fire. At the outer edge of the works, Post was wounded and Lee's infantrymen rose in their trenches and delivered a terrible volley of musket fire that brought the advance to a sudden halt. Wood recalled later, "After the repulse our soldiers, white and colored, lay indiscriminately near the enemy's works at the outer edge of the abatis." Steedman's 13th Regiment, made up primarily of contrabands, suffered heavy losses in its baptism of fire—55 killed and 165 wounded. Its loss of 40 percent of its strength constituted the greatest regimental loss of the two-day fight on either side.

Meanwhile, on the Union right, Wilson's gamble paid off. With two mounted and two dismounted divisions, he had finally forced Chalmers to give ground and had strengthened his foothold on Granny White Pike. Wilson's troopers captured a courier who was taking a message from Hood to Cheatham that read, "For God's sake, drive the Yankee cavalry from our left and rear or all is lost." Wilson now felt that victory was at hand. Once he had managed to gain Cheatham's rear, he would join Schofield in a general attack.

For two solid hours, Wilson sent couriers to Schofield, urging him to begin his attack, and finally Wilson proceeded to Schofield's headquarters in person. By this time, the attacks on Overton Hill were subsiding, and Thomas was en route to Schofield's headquarters as well. Schofield was being strangely hesitant. Having already received one full division of reinforcements, he was now requesting another before he would begin his attack, fearing heavy losses if he attacked Hood's breastworks. Thomas bluntly told him, "The battle must be fought, even if men *are* killed."

While Thomas was imploring Schofield to begin his advance, the group of officers suddenly witnessed a brigade of McArthur's division, under Colonel William McMillen, advancing toward Shy's Hill without waiting for permission. Thomas turned to Schofield and said, "General Smith is attacking without waiting for you. Please advance your entire line." With this direct order, Schofield finally advanced.

Cheatham's soldiers, battered by Union artillery, now faced corps-sized attacks to their front and flank. They could also see Wilson's dismounted cavalrymen rushing over the hills to their rear. With his left under so much pressure, Cheatham brought up reinforcements and bent his far left flank into the shape of a fishhook, until he had one line of infantrymen firing to the south and another line firing to the north. Only 100 yards separated the two lines. Hood pulled Coleman's brigade off Shy's Hill to set up a front on the extreme left, on the east side of Granny White Pike, to hold off Wilson when he was reinforced by another brigade. Bate had to further thin his lines on the hill to cover the position vacated by Coleman's troops.

The brigade on Bate's extreme left, that of Brig. Gen. Daniel Govan, was driven back down the hill and into a field behind Bate's division. Govan's brigade was the only one left on Bate's flank, the other three brigades having

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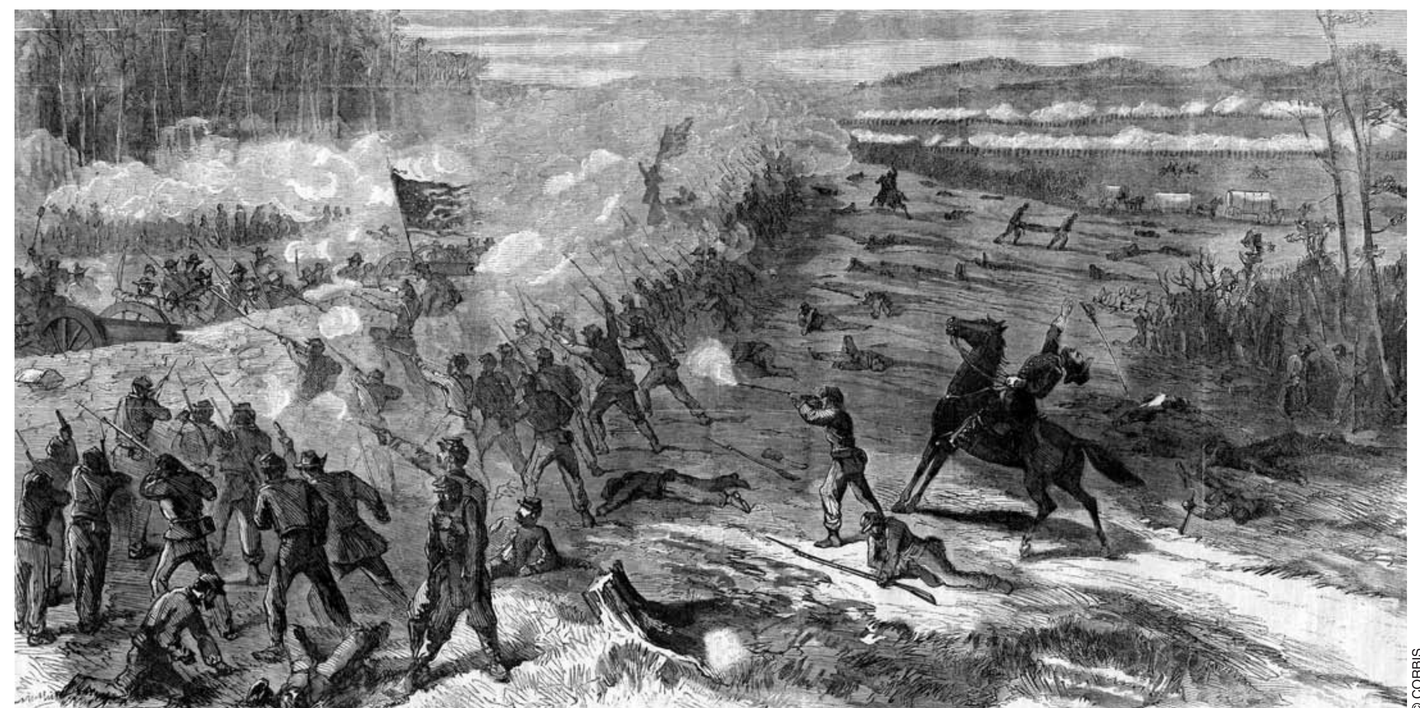

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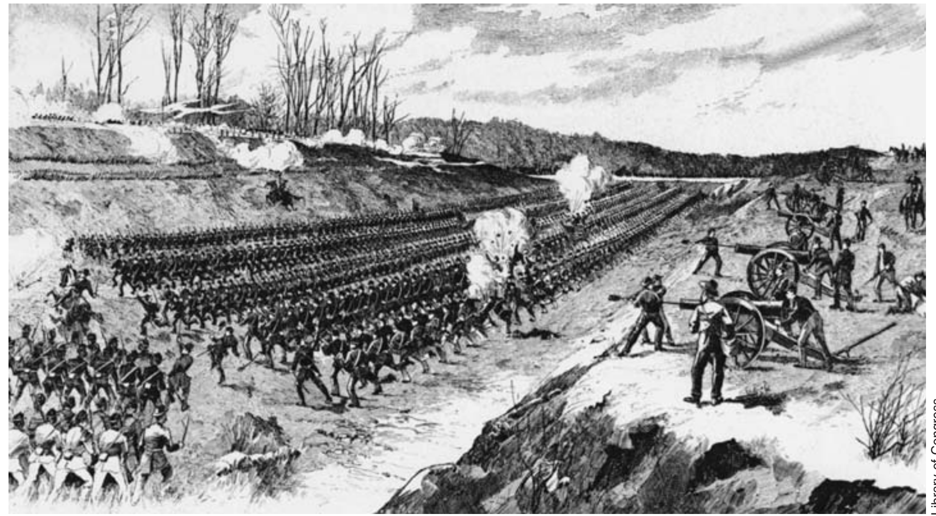
ABOVE: Charge of the 3rd Brigade, 1st Division, XVI Corps at Nashville. The corps was commanded by Major General A.N. Smith. RIGHT: The five regiments of Colonel Philip Sidney Post's brigade follow their mounted commander up the slopes of Overton Hill into the face of Confederate artillery. Post won the Medal of Honor that day.



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been sent to support Lee, and had been tasked with covering a front originally assigned to an entire division. Minutes later a fatal breach occurred. Union infantry had massed in strength, almost undetected, on the steep slope to the front of Shy's Hill, and as they came up and over the hill they encountered the 20th Tennessee under Colonel William Shy. As other units began fading away, Shy and his men stood firm, and the fighting escalated into savage hand-to-hand combat. Shy's men continued firing until they ran out of ammunition and were surrounded. Shy was shot in the head and killed, and almost half his unit was killed or wounded. The 37th Georgia, on Bate's left, also fought savagely until it was overrun and virtually wiped out.

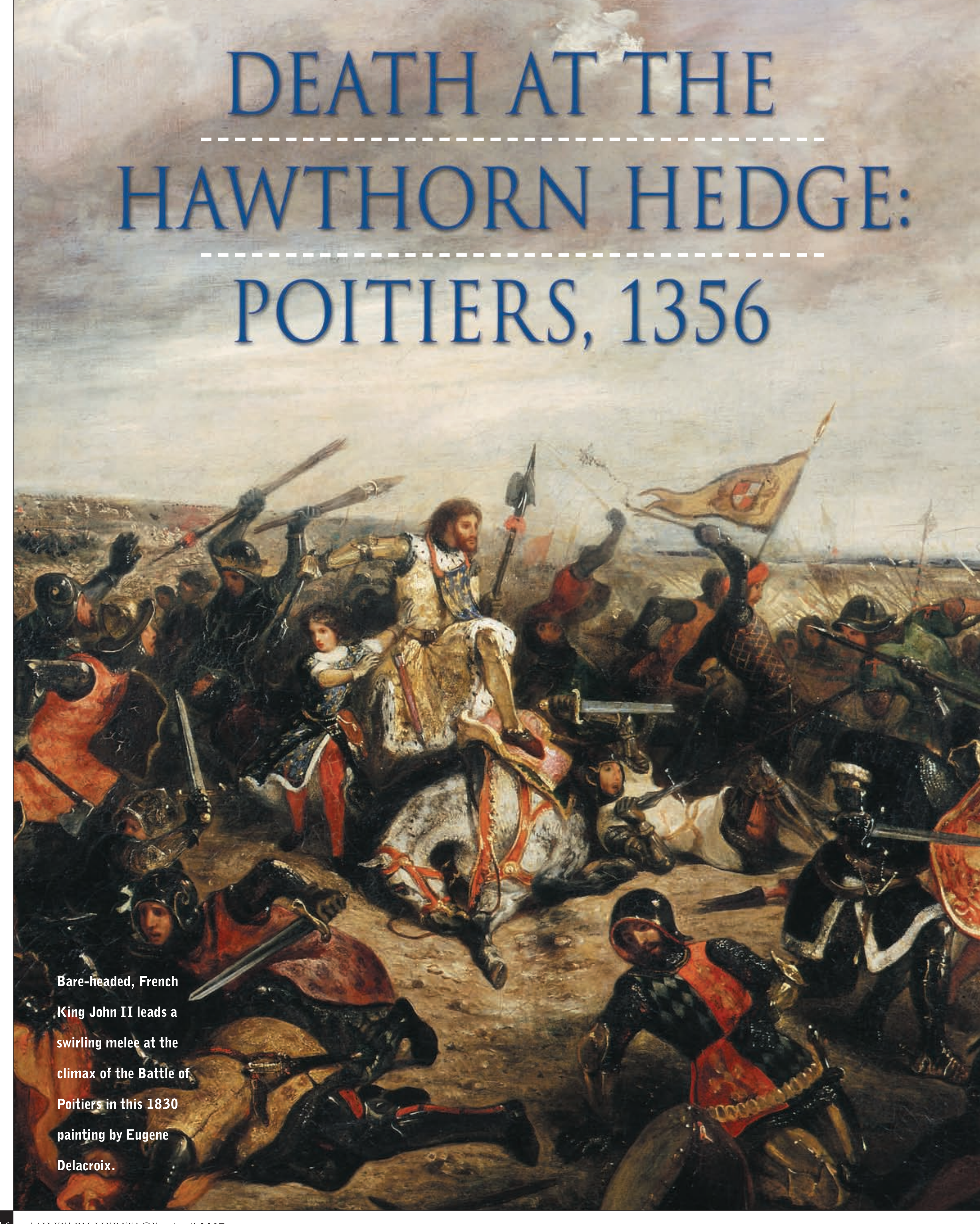
WITH SMITH TO THEIR FRONT, Schofield to their left, and Wilson coming up from the rear, Bate's men were buried under the weight of overwhelming numbers; all three brigade commanders were captured. "The breach once made," Bate recalled later, "the lines lifted from either side as far as I could see almost instantly and fled in confusion." Panic began to spread among Cheatham's units on the left and Stewart's in the center. Soon the bulk of Bate's three brigades turned and headed for the rear in full retreat. On the northeastern front, the men of Steedman's and Wood's corps, hearing the shouts of victory coming from the Union right, renewed their assaults without waiting for orders, capturing 14 guns and hundreds of prisoners.

The Confederate artillery commander, Maj. Gen. Edward Johnson, was captured along with almost all of his division and the remaining guns. The collapse came so quickly that the batteries' teams of horses couldn't be brought up quickly enough to draw away the guns. Watching from horseback, Hood was astonished. Only an hour earlier his lines had been holding, his men in the center and right waving their battle flags in defiance. He had even decided on a plan to achieve victory the next morning—he would withdraw his entire army during the night and attack the Union left at dawn. Now, with full darkness approaching, Cheatham and Stewart had caved in, their men fleeing en masse for Franklin Pike, the only remaining avenue of retreat. Hood, Cheatham, and other officers tried to rally the panic-stricken troops, but it was useless. Everywhere the woods were full of fleeing soldiers, many of whom dropped their weapons and packs to lighten their loads as they ran.

When the blue legions approached Lee's corps along the pike and on Overton Hill, one division wavered and broke, and a second faltered. Lee heroically rallied a group of retreating soldiers for a stand behind the center of his line, and this small force checked the blue columns

Continued on page 74

DEATH AT THE HAWTHORN HEDGE: POITIERS, 1356



Bare-headed, French King John II leads a swirling melee at the climax of the Battle of Poitiers in this 1830 painting by Eugene Delacroix.

The Art Archive/Musée du Louvre Paris/Dagli Orti

THE BLACK DEATH THAT RAVAGED England and France for a half-dozen years in the mid-14th century served merely as a brief intermission between the first and second acts of the painfully protracted struggle known as the Hundred Years' War. The war flared anew in 1355 when English King Edward III's eldest son, Edward, Prince of Wales, landed with a sizable force in English-owned Gascony (called Aquitaine by the French) to help further his father's claim to the French crown. Following a successful offensive through southwestern France earlier that same year, the Black Prince, as the Prince of Wales came to be called, set out on another raid in the summer of 1356, this time through central France.

The primary goal of both raids was to advance Edward's claim to the English crown through his mother, Isabella, the daughter of King Philip IV. One of the thorniest issues was Edward III's position as Duke of Aquitaine. A king in his own right, he was loath to subordinate himself to another monarch, the French king, when it came to affairs involving England's continental holdings. Other circumstances that brought the nations to the brink of war were the continued French support for Scotland in its conflicts with England and English dominance of commercial trade with Flanders, then a key part of France.

In 1328, the French invoked the Salic law, which excluded women from the line of succession, to transfer the crown from Charles IV, the last of the Capetian dynasty, to Philip VI, the first of the Valois line. Meanwhile, the young English monarch, just 16 at the time, stated his own claim to the crown, but he was in no real position to contest the transfer. Now, nearly a decade later, Edward III had firmly established himself as king, and the issue again had come to a head. In 1337, Philip announced that the English were no longer entitled to their lands south of the Loire. In response, Edward III proclaimed himself king of France the following year and orchestrated a *chevauchée,* or raid, into northeastern France, but he hastily withdrew when Philip marched out to meet him with a larger army. The first decisive battle of the Hundred Years' War occurred when English ships defeated the French Navy near the port of Sluys in 1340. When the French invaded Gascony in 1346, Edward III responded by preparing a fresh invasion of northern France.

BY WILLIAM E. WELSH

THE SECOND DECISIVE ENGLISH VICTORY OCCURRED IN NORTHEASTERN FRANCE at the Battle of Crécy, on August 26, 1346. Edward III landed near Cherbourg in Normandy with a large army that included the Prince of Wales and fought his way overland toward Flanders, deciding at last to give battle near the village of Crécy in Ponthieu. After his victory, Edward marched north to Calais, which he captured after a year-long siege.

Neither of the two opponents in the Hundred Years' War was immune from the Black Death. Like the wind filling the sails of the ships that carried the disease, the bubonic plague whisked west from the Black Sea along popular trade routes. It arrived in Marseilles, France, in January 1348 and at Bristol, England, in September of the same year. No sooner had the sailors tied off their ships at the wharves than the Black Death came ashore and took up residence in the thriving port cities. It gobbled up great swaths of the urban populations and then turned its attention to the countrysides, where it foraged for victims through castles, villages, and hamlets in an effort to satisfy a seemingly insatiable hunger for death. Fully one-third of the population of Europe perished in two years' time.

When the plague finally ebbed in 1355, the curtain quickly rose on the second act of the Hundred Years' War. In another quest for the French crown, Edward III ordered the Black Prince to sail at once to Bordeaux with a hand-picked army to join a three-pronged attack similar to the one that had led to the victory at Crécy. Bordeaux lay in the English duchy of Aquitaine, which had been acquired by the English as a fiefdom when Eleanor of Aquitaine married Henry, Duke of Normandy, who subsequently became King Henry II of England in 1152. The English had lost large chunks of Aquitaine over the next two centuries as the French crown tried repeatedly to wrest the duchy from them.

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"Black Prince" Edward, Prince of Wales, on his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral.

In 1355, Gascon nobles loyal to Edward III traveled to England to beseech their lord for assistance against the French. They requested that Edward send a military force to assist them in countering the inroads made by their nemesis in the region, Jean d'Armagnac, who was the French king's lieutenant in the Languedoc region. Their request fitted in nicely with Edward's desire to renew his quest for the crown by striking at the heart of France from several directions at once. This time the English would face off against a new French king, John II, who had succeeded Philip VI to the throne in 1350.

To weaken John's grip on his nation, Edward III resorted to the familiar medieval strategy of the *chevauchée*. These lengthy raids, which lasted weeks or even months at a time, were designed to show the population in a particular region that they could not rely on their king for protection. Edward envisioned three *chevauchées* in 1355—one he would lead himself in northeastern France; one that Henry, Duke of Lancaster, would lead through Brittany; and one that the Black Prince would conduct in southwestern France to avenge the Gascons. Lancaster's voyage to Brittany was postponed in response to changing circumstances. Meanwhile, Edward III advanced from Calais but retreated in the face of a much larger foe. Upon his return to England, Edward marched north to fight the always troublesome Scots. It fell to the Black Prince to conduct the only major *chevauchée* against the French in 1355.

The fleet that transported the prince's 2,200-strong army arrived in Bordeaux on September 20. Nearly a third of the force consisted of hardy archers recruited from Cheshire, a county that lay hard by the border of northern Wales. The other two-thirds of the invasion force consisted of men-at-arms recruited either by the prince himself or by the half-dozen magnates who accompanied him to Gascony. Once in France, the prince tripled his force with the addition of as many as 4,000 Gascon troops loyal to the English crown. On October 5 the *chevauchée* got under way, with the raiders heading for the region of Armagnac. Rather than turning back after they reached the opposite end of the province, the prince made the bold decision to continue into the Languedoc region, which previously had been spared the ravages of the English.

French forces based in Toulouse under the Count of Armagnac and the Constable of France were no match for the prince's army. The English army returned laden with plunder to the safety of Gascony on November 28, having suffered no substantial losses. In nearly two months of campaigning, the Black Prince's army had made a circuit of 684 miles from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean and back again, during which time they burned and sacked 500 castles, villages, and settlements and brought back enough booty to fill a thousand carts.

The prince sent Sir Richard Stafford, one of his lieutenants, back to England in March to raise new levies for his army and to replenish his dwindling supply of arrows in preparation for another large-scale *chevauchée*. Both recruits and arrows were in short supply because English armies had been embroiled in simultaneous conflicts in France and along the Scottish border. The prince requested 1,000 new bows and 2,000 sheaves of arrows from the king's ordnance, but received substantially fewer. Meanwhile, Stafford helped recruit 600 additional bowmen from Cheshire and other English counties. In addition, 125 more men-at-arms signed on to fight with the prince. Stafford and the reinforcements arrived in Bordeaux on June 19 and were quickly assimilated into the prince's army.

The now-familiar strategy of a multipronged attack against the French was launched once again in late summer 1356. While the Duke of Lancaster and the Prince of Wales led *chevauchées* in northern and central France, respectively, a force led by King Edward III was blocked from crossing the Channel by an Aragonese fleet allied with the French. Lancaster landed in Normandy about the time the prince's reinforcements arrived in Bordeaux. At the head of a 2,000-man force, the duke overran several French-held towns during the first week of July. He also reinforced the strategic fortress of Breteuil, held by a Navarrese garrison allied with the English, before executing a rapid retreat when a large army under John II reached the fortress on July 12. Aware that the Black Prince was planning a second major

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TOP: First known portrait of John II, dated 1360, the year he was released from an English prison. ABOVE: English King Edward III.

chevauchée into the heart of central France, Lancaster sent word that he would attempt to rendezvous with him in the vicinity of Tours. While John began a protracted siege of Breteuil, Lancaster slipped into Brittany and launched a second *chevauchée* south toward Touraine, where he hoped to join forces with the prince.

The objective of the prince's second *chevauchée* was Orleans, in the Loire Valley. The purpose was much the same as the so-called Grand Chevauchée of 1355. Just as he had damaged the schemes of Jean d'Armagnac, the prince hoped to do the same to the reputation of the Count of Poitiers, who was King John's third son and new lieutenant in the Languedoc region. As they had done during the previous *chevauchée,* the English intended to ravage the French countryside through which they marched, burning towns, villages, and farms to show those loyal to the French crown that they were inadequately protected. At Bergerac, in Guyenne, the prince assembled an army of about 9,000 troops. Leaving behind a garrison of 3,000 to protect Gascony, he left Bergerac on August 4, crossed the Vienne River 10 days later, and instructed his troops to unfurl his banner to signal that the destruction was to begin immediately.

As the prince's army marched north, John set plans in motion to contest his advance and bring his army to battle. To do so, he had to extricate himself from the siege of Breteuil, which had dragged on for more than a month. If the fortress could not be carried by arms, it might be carried by bribery, the French monarch decided. To appear victorious, the king paid the Navarrese a large sum of money to abandon the castle and relocate to their fortifications on the Cotentin peninsula. Once free of that commitment, John marched his army to Chartres, where he hoped to assemble a more mobile force to pursue the Black Prince. While the French king waited for reinforcements, which included a contingent of Scots under Lord William Douglas, the Count of Poitiers followed orders from the king to countermarch to Tours to protect the key crossings over the Loire River.

Less than two weeks after the prince had crossed the Vienne, an advance party led by the Captal de Buch seized the fortified town of Vierzon on the Cher River. On August 26, the Gascon leader oversaw the pillaging of the town, which he then put to the torch after his troops had carried off everything of value. At this point, the outriders of each army made contact and fought a series of sharp skirmishes. The English knights John Chandos and William Audley crossed the Cher with their scouts and reached the town of Aubigny on August 28. Their orders were to seize an unprotected river crossing. Above Aubigny, the English reconnaissance party tangled with an enemy column led by Phillippe de Chambly, who went by the name of Grismouton and was one of several French scouts sent to delay the English until the king arrived with the main army. Although the English overpowered the French, who fled the field, Chandos and Audley failed to seize a crossing.

THE BLACK PRINCE'S ARMY FAR OUTNUMBERED THE FRENCH SCOUTS OPERATING south of the Loire. On August 28, lead elements of the prince's force arrived at Romorantin, deep behind enemy lines. The prince was desperately trying to make contact with friendly forces under the Duke of Lancaster on the north bank of the Loire River, while enemy forces under King John were converging on his position in an effort to bring the invaders to bay. As the English moved west along the valley of the Cher River, they encountered 300 lancers led by the French nobles Amaury de Craon, Jean le Maingre (also known as Boucicault), and Hermite de Chaumont. The small force, which had been shadowing the English for almost a week, ambushed the scouts riding ahead of the main body of the English army. Following a sharp clash, the French sought refuge inside the castle of Romorantin.

The English made a coordinated attack on the walled town on August 31. English and Welsh archers fired cascading volleys of arrows to drive the defenders from their posts and allow their own men-at-arms to carry the position. The same procedure was repeated later that day for the outer curtain of the citadel. Still the French refused to surrender, retreating to the safety of a large stone keep. The battle grew in intensity as the English employed all the fiendish tools of siege warfare over the next three days in an effort to force the defenders to capitulate. They built stone-throwing machines and assault towers, began digging under the walls, and launched simultaneous assaults from different directions. They also set fire to a tunnel their miners had dug beneath the castle's foundations. The fire spread out of control, eventually engulfing the castle in flames. The following day, the defenders agreed to an unconditional surrender. The Black Prince tarried

> The two sides were soon gripped in a swirling melee in which swords and axes tore holes in armor and mangled bodies and limbs.

in Romorantin until September 5 before continuing west along the old Roman road toward Tours and Poitiers.

Because the French forces had mobilized to prevent the English army from crossing the Loire, the prince abandoned his original objective of Orleans and focused instead on effecting a junction with Lancaster. The prince's scouts probed the Loire for a crossing above Tours, but they found the bridges either too well guarded by the enemy or destroyed altogether. While he waited at Montlouis for word from Lancaster, the French converged in various columns on Tours. On Septem-

THE GRAND CHEVAUCHEE OF 1355

The Black Prince and His Forces Gained Valuable Experience—and Booty—on Their First War Ride Through France.

The Black Prince's English army would serve as one part of a three-pronged attack, similar to the one that preceded the Battle of Crécy nearly a decade before, to press his father's claim to the French throne. Earlier that year, a number of Gascon nobles had entreated Edward III to send a sizable force that would enable them to regain those parts of Gascony lost to enemy forces led by Count Jean d'Armagnac, who had been appointed in 1352 to serve as French King John II's lieutenant in southern France. The county of Armagnac abutted the remaining English holdings in the Duchy of Aquitaine.

The prince, as the first member of the English royal family to visit the duchy since Edward I more than a half century before, was greeted with great fanfare upon his arrival in Bordeaux. When informed of the atrocities inflicted by Armagnac on English subjects in Aquitaine, or Gascony as the English referred to it, the prince vowed to avenge them by leading his army as soon as possible into the heart of Armagnac's hereditary lands.

The English force consisted of 1,400 men-at-arms, 700 infantry archers, and 100 Welsh spearmen. To this was added about 4,000 Gascons led by Jean de Grailly III, the Captal de Buch. This Gascon noble had been in England at the time the expedition was organized, and he sailed to Bordeaux with the Black Prince.

The upcoming *chevauchée de guerre,* or war ride, would be the Prince of Wales's first independent command. Although raiding had long been a feature of medieval warfare, the English raised it to a new level through tighter organization of the forces involved and by burning and pillaging everything in their path except church property. Such destruction showed their enemy that the king could not protect his subjects and crippled the economy of the region. Although the raiders were prepared for battle, there was no guarantee that the enemy would oblige by consenting to a pitched battle.

Accompanying the Black Prince on the chevauchée were six magnates, all of whom had served in the successful campaign that culminated in the English victory at Crécy in 1346. The six were Robert de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk; Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick; John de Vere, Earl of Oxford; William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury; Sir Reginald Cobham, marshal of the army; and Sir John Lisle. The English army spent a fortnight in Bordeaux preparing for the raid before leaving Bordeaux on October 5.

After a week's ride the army arrived on the outskirts of Armagnac. To find enough forage to supply all of its parts, the English army divided itself into three columns. Warwick led the vanguard, the Black Prince commanded the main body, and the Earls of Suffolk and Salisbury oversaw the rearguard.

As its first order of business, the army recaptured the town of Arouille, near the border of Armagnac. After some fighting against militia guarding the border, the Black Prince's army managed to capture both the castle of Montclar and the fort at Estang. The initial clash resulted in Lisle's death. A founding member of the Order of the Garter, Lisle was struck by a crossbow bolt in the storming of Estang and died the following day.

Although the Black Prince's army reached the opposite end of the county of Armagnac by October 23, the prince decided it was too soon to return to Bourdeaux. Leaving a trail of destruction behind it, the English army crossed into the county of Astarac and rode south of Toulouse where the Count of Armagnac had taken refuge with a sizable force. The pace of the march slowed considerably as the English army negotiated a series of high ridges as it journeyed east.

By October 26, the Black Prince was within a day's march of Toulouse to the north. Armagnac assumed that the Black Prince would see the swift-running Garonne River as a natural barrier and return to Gascony. But in a daring move, the English army forded the upper stretch of the Garonne and the equally intimidating Ariege River beyond it—all in a day's march. Beyond the Ariege lay the lush region of Languedoc, whose population had considered itself safe from the English.

The chronicler Jean Froissart described the English method of attack: "When the English arrived, they spread out around the town and their assault parties began to throw themselves against the walls. Their archers were formed up into divisions and fired volleys of arrows so dense that the defenders could not hold their positions on the walls. Then the assault parties pressed their advantage and poured across the defenses to capture the place." It was a tactic that would be repeated countless times—on both the march out and the one back.

When the English army crossed into Languedoc, Armagnac immediately withdrew his forces to the safety of the Toulouse fortress. While the Black Prince was destroying the countryside south of Toulouse, Armagnac was joined by both Marshal Jean Clermont and Constable Jacques de Bourbon with their retinues. Although the combined forces in all likelihood outnumbered the Black Prince's army, the French army consisted mainly of militia and mercenaries, with only a small number of men-at-arms. For that reason, it would be no match in a pitched battle with the more cohesive English force. Despite repeated verbal scoldings by the constable, Armagnac would not venture forth from Toulouse until the Black Prince was on his way back to Gascony.

The English chevauchée drove deep into the heart of Languedoc. The Black Prince generally avoided attacking the larger fortresses he encountered, as that would only bog down his advance. Often a commercial town was separated from the fortress or citadel with which it shared its name. This was the case of the daunting citadel at Carcassone, which the English force reached on November 3. The virtually impregnable castle, with its double curtain walls, multiple towers, and fortified gateways, gazed down on the town from a ridge on the opposite side of the Aude River.

Although the townspeople offered the Prince of Wales a

handsome sum to spare their town, he declined on the grounds that he was not permitted to grant such terms to rebellious subjects who resisted his father's claim to the French crown. The town was put to the torch, and the chevauchée continued east over roads, most of which were in very poor condition, toward the Mediterranean.

Five days later, the English army entered the town of Narbonne, a once great port on the Mediterranean. Like Carcassonne, the town and citadel at Narbonne were on opposite sides of the Aude River where it entered the sea. The English managed to capture the city after a brief fight, but they were under constant bombardment from artillery inside the citadel that flung missiles into the town both day and night. The English were forced to withdraw when the forces inside the citadel set the town on fire with flaming arrows. The English had a difficult time disengaging on November 11 as angry townspeople poured out of the citadel and fell upon stragglers. Nevertheless, the English rode off with many wealthy captives who were later ransomed for handsome fees.

Rather than take the same route back, the raiders chose a parallel route in order to find fresh food and forage for their horses. Although the Black Prince and his subordinates focused their energy primarily on returning safely to Gascony with their booty intact, they nevertheless continued to burn villages on their return march. About a week later, the English army recrossed the Ariege and Garonne Rivers in heavy rains, barely making it single-file across the Garonne before it became impassable.

Once the English army reached the west bank of the Garonne, the men and horses rested. Armagnac, accompanied by Bourbon and Clermont, took

Black Prince Edward led two extensive *chevauchees,* or raids, through central France in 1355-1356, climaxing at the Battle of Poitiers.

advantage of the exhausted condition of their enemy and cautiously advanced on their foe. For the next three days the armies were within striking distance of each other as the English army renewed its march west and prepared to cross the Save River. Armagnac was looking for an opportunity to strike either the English right flank or rear guard. As the Black Prince's army closed to within a day's march of the Save, the French advanced boldly in five columns to block their way. But the Black Prince drew blood first by sending a strong reconnaissance force to drive off the French. They returned with 30 captured French knights.

Rather than returning to Toulouse, the French crossed the Save and took up a position on November 22 at Gimont astride the Black Prince's line of march. The English force followed the French across the Save. When the sun rose the following day, the Black Prince's army was deployed for battle south of the town, but the French had fled during the night. Finding the road clear, the English resumed their march. A French prisoner told the English that a bitter dispute between Armagnac and Bourbon over strategy was partly to blame for the lack of determination on the part of the French. All things considered, Armagnac may have taken the safest course by avoiding open battle against the better-led English.

The English force returned to Gascony on November 28 laden with plunder. The raiders had marched 684 miles from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean and back in just under two months. In the process, they had burned and pillaged about 500 castles, villages, and settlements and substantially reduced the prestige not only of the Count of Armagnac but of the French crown itself. In a letter to William Edington, the Bishop of Winchester, the Prince of Wales informed the bishop that he had ridden through the land of Armagnac "harrying and wasting the country, whereby the lieges of our most honored lord [the king] whom the count had before oppressed, were much comforted."

The precise amount of the booty is impossible to quantify, but it is said to have been enough to fill 1,000 carts. What's more, the capture of prominent individuals taken along the way brought in a good deal of money as prisoners were ransomed periodically over the following months. The chronicler Froissart later wrote of the chevauchée: "You should know that in this journey, the prince and his men had very great profit."

Although no battles had been won and no large blocks of territory captured, the chevauchée was a resounding success, especially considering that the prince had risked the entire enterprise by pressing east into the heart of Languedoc. The raid served as invaluable experience for a similar raid by the Black Prince into central France the following year, which resulted in the Battle of Poitiers. When he addressed the Gascon troops who had served under him after the raid, the Black Prince promised them an equally profitable raid the next year. At that time, he could not foresee that the next chevauchée would bring more fighting and less plunder. □

ber 8, John arrived upriver in Meung-sur-Loire where he joined forces with the Count of Poitiers. Two days later the combined French army crossed at Blois to the south bank of the Loire and began a rapid march to overtake the Black Prince. Meanwhile, the French Dauphin Charles arrived in Tours on September 12 and joined forces with Marshal Jean de Clermont. Around that same time, Lancaster attempted to cross the Loire downriver from Tours at Les Ponts-de-Ce, but he was repulsed by the French. The Black Prince tarried four days at Montlouis for word from Lancaster, but he was forced to turn south when he realized that French forces were closing on him from both east and west. A papal delegation led by Cardinal Talleyrand approached the prince on September 12 to negotiate a peace, but the overture was rebuffed.

THE BLACK PRINCE REMAINED UNAWARE THAT THE DUKE OF LANCASTER WAS unable to reach him. He moved south from the Loire to the village of Chatellerault, where he waited for three more days for word from Lancaster. The prince already was in full retreat and the delay would prove costly if he wished to avoid battle with John's larger army. In the interim, the dauphin and Clermont joined the king's army as it marched south. Rather than follow in the footsteps of the prince, John stayed to the east in the hope that he could get ahead of the English and block their retreat to Gascony.

On September 17, the Black Prince finally abandoned hope of making contact with Lancaster and continued south. Sensing that the French main army was shadowing him, the prince left the open road for the safety of a more secluded path through the forest. By that time, John already had cut the English line of march. Having reached the town of Chauvigny on September 15, the French army crossed the Vienne River the following day and changed course from south to west to intercept the prince's army. When the prince reached the road from Chauvigny to Poitiers, he discovered to his surprise that the French had already passed by, headed in the direction of Poitiers. Fortunately for the English, the French were unaware of the exact location of their foe. The prince crossed the same road the French were on and continued south through the forest, hoping to regain the main road south of Poitiers. The prince's decision to move his entire army through the forest was an unusual one for a medieval commander and something that John did not expect. It was now the English army's turn to shadow the French. Thinking that the English were still ahead of him, the French monarch continued toward Poitiers.

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ABOVE: At the height of the battle, the Captal de Buch led the English cavalry around the French flank, raising the banner of St. George to signal an all-out attack. OPPOSITE: English bowmen devastated the flower of French chivalry at Poitiers, much as they would do half a century later at Agincourt.

The two armies clashed when Gascon scouts riding ahead of the main English army ran headlong into the French rear guard at La Chaboterie. When John heard of the fight at the manor there, he turned his army around and led it into camp north of the Roman road between Poitiers and the village of Savigny-Levescaut. The French army, camped in battle formation, had about 11,000 men altogether, comprising 8,000 mounted men-at-arms and 3,000 infantry and crossbowmen. To contest the French, the Black Prince had 6,000 men under his command, including 3,000 English and Gascon men-at-arms, 2,000 English and Welsh archers, and 1,000 Gascon infantry. By selecting the proper defensive position, he hoped to offset the French superiority in numbers and bring about an equal contest.

On the morning of September 18, the prince's army left the protection of the great forest between the Claim and Vienne Rivers and marched west along the banks of the Moisson River past the Benedictine abbey at Nouaillé. The English army turned north to meet the French by crossing the Moisson at the Gue de l'Homme ford. The prince's army marched north along a wagon track at the edge of the Nouaillé Wood behind the abbey and began deploying on rough terrain facing west. Rather than deploy the vanguard farthest from the ford, the prince purposely placed the rear guard at the front, in case a retreat became necessary. The rear guard under Salisbury commanded the English right flank, the prince commanded the center, and the Earl of Warwick commanded the left. Supporting Salisbury and Warwick were the Earls of Suffolk and Oxford, respectively. Anchoring both ends of the English position were bowmen deployed slightly forward in a favorable position to fire on the attackers advancing to engage them. Behind the main battle line the prince stationed a reserve of about 400 archers and a few hundred mounted men-at-arms under the command of the Captal de Buch.

The archers on the right flank, who found themselves on more level ground, dug trenches to make it difficult for a mounted foe to reach them. This was unnecessary on the English left flank, where the archers took up positions among the soft, marshy ground alongside the Moisson known as the Champ D'Alexandre, where enemy cavalry would have difficulty operating. A thick hawthorn hedge, which divided the rough terrain from the farm fields beyond, ran almost the entire length of the English battle line This natural obstacle afforded excellent cover for the dismounted English men-at-arms who would receive the brunt of the French attack. The hedge had two gaps wide enough for only about four or five men to pass through. This meant that the attackers would not only have to force the gaps but also cut additional openings to get at the English.

While the position taken by the English afforded them good cover to repulse an attack, their physical condition left much to be desired. Having marched more than 300 miles, the troops were near exhaustion. They were hungry and thirsty, having had no opportunity to forage for food or water on their trek through the woods the previous day. Cardinal Talleyrand tried to broker peace again on September 18, but the French would not agree to anything but unconditional surrender. John believed that he had the Black Prince trapped, and he planned to bag his prey the following day.

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The sun rose over the battlefield of Poitiers shortly before 6 AM on September 19. The English were in the process of withdrawing. The prince had ordered Warwick to begin pulling back his division before daybreak, and Warwick had been in motion for about an hour. The French were busy before daylight as well. They marched from their camp to the south side of the road to Poitiers and formed up opposite the English position, well out of bow shot. The French deployed in three large "battles," or divisions. The first division was nominally commanded by the 18-year-old Dauphin Charles, who was guided by experienced veterans such as the Duke of Bourbon. The second division was commanded by the Duke of Orléans, the king's brother, and included the king's sons, Louis and John, the Counts of Anjou and Poitiers, respectively. The third division was commanded by the king himself, who was accompanied by his youngest son, Philip.

Wary of making the same mistake that had doomed the French army under Philip VI at Crécy a decade before, the king agreed to try different tactics. He sent one of his most trusted and experienced knights, Eustache de Ribbemont, to reconnoiter the English position. Ribbemont reported back that the enemy position was strong, protected by a nearly unbroken hedge. Ribbemont suggested, and the king agreed, that the French should send two separate groups of cavalry under Marshals Arnaud Audrehem and Jean Clermont to clear the English archers from the wings. After this was done, the French men-at-arms would attack the main English line on foot. The idea of attacking dismounted was contrary to the way French knights were trained and equipped to fight. For the tactic to succeed, the king and his lieutenants would have to exercise tight control over their troops and maintain close communication between the various elements of the army to keep sufficient pressure on the English. It was a bold gamble intended to shake the curse of Crécy.

THE MARSHALS TASKED WITH DISPERSING THE BOWMEN ON THE TWO FLANKS OF the English army each led about 250 mounted knights. Clermont would strike the archers on the enemy right flank at the northern end of the Nouaillé Wood, while Audrehem would strike the archers on the enemy left flank near the Champ d'Alexandre. When Audrehem ascertained that some of the English were withdrawing, he called for an immediate attack before the English could escape. Although he was reluctant to attack the English in such a strong position, Clermont had no choice but to launch his attack at the same time.

Audrehem lowered his lance and led a disjointed charge across the open ground toward the Earl of Warwick's banners. The archers were not among the main column but were hidden in the marshes along the Moisson in a position that paralleled the French charge. As soon as the cavalry advanced, the English bowmen unleashed a torrent of arrows that mostly glanced off the

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John II is taken prisoner near the famous hawthorn hedge at Poitiers in this 15th-century French miniature.

armor plates on the front of the horses as they thundered over the open ground. Seeing the arrows fall ineffectively to the ground, Oxford ordered the bowmen to shift to the left, where they could fire at the unprotected flanks and rear of the French horses. English arrows were soon striking home and horses began crashing to the ground, throwing their riders headlong or pinning them under their bodies, while other horses refused to advance or turned back toward friendly lines. Audrehem's charge was broken before it even reached the English line. Audrehem was captured, while a badly wounded Lord Douglas was dragged to safety by his men.

CLERMONT LED HIS KNIGHTS STRAIGHT FOR ONE OF THE GAPS IN THE HEDGE ON the right flank of the English position. Salisbury's archers, who were well protected behind the trenches they had dug to impede the cavalry charge, fired rapid volleys, each of which contained hundreds of arrows. Capable of firing a minimum of 10 aimed shots a minute, the bowmen gave the charging horsemen a deadly greeting. When the French horsemen who survived the wall of arrows reached the hedge, they spurred their horses anew to pass through the breach. Suffolk, whose job was to support Salisbury's defense, rushed his men-at-arms to the opening to assist the archers in repulsing the enemy. The two sides were soon gripped in a swirling melee in which swords and axes tore holes in armor and mangled bodies and limbs. The elderly Suffolk, astride his horse, beseeched his men to hold the line. While Suffolk fed more men into the fray, Salisbury drew his sword and swung it until it dripped with blood. The French cavalry fought savagely, but without reinforcements it soon began to shrink back. Clermont, who had been accused of cowardice earlier by Audrehem for his reluctance to attack, was killed during the action. The French cavalry disengaged from the English right flank, and the survivors rode or walked away from the fight.

The cavalry charge, like the overture to a symphony, was a harbinger of larger assaults to come. When the last of the cavalry had left the field, the English watched awestruck as the 4,000 men who formed the dauphin's division began marching slowly toward them. The Black Prince moved all the archers from his reserve forward to contest the dauphin's attack. A rain of arrows fell on the French as they advanced across the open ground. The long French line engaged all three of the prince's divisions at once. While some of the French bunched up to force their way through the two gaps in the hedge, others hacked at the hedge to form new openings for themselves and those who pushed forward behind them. Those trying to advance through the hedge were pierced by arrows fired at near point-blank range.

The two sides grappled with each other in a fight to the death. The French had the most success against Salisbury's rear guard on the right flank. When the English line in that sector began to buckle, the prince rushed reinforcements on foot to restore the line. As time dragged on, the fighting disintegrated into a series of fierce local struggles that allowed the English to reinforce each point of crisis. The fighting in different sectors shifted forward, then backward, as the French tried to press any advantage. After two hours, French trumpets signaled a general retreat. During the two-hour ordeal, the Duke of Bourbon was slain and the dauphin's standard was captured.

From John's vantage point in the rear, it did not seem that the dauphin had in any noticeable way weakened the English position on the battlefield. With the outcome of the battle far from clear, the French monarch ordered both the dauphin and his other two sons in the second division to leave the battlefield to prevent their capture. The escorts who rode forth to carry out the king's orders could be plainly seen by all of the troops in the second division, many of whom interpreted the development as an indication that the battle was going poorly. After this was accomplished, it was time for the Duke of Orleans to advance with his division. But rather than advancing, the entire second division promptly retired from the battlefield without making any attempt to engage the enemy. Having witnessed the failure of the first division to break the English line, as well as seeing the king's sons removed from his division, the duke believed the day was lost and was loath to sacrifice his troops in a lost cause.

The battle did not stop simply because a third of the French army left the field. The king fully intended to defeat the English, risking possible death or capture to achieve his goal. While the second French division was retiring and the third division was preparing to advance, the

prince ordered his archers to replenish their arrows by removing them from the dead in front of the English line. Many of the prince's officers urged him to switch over to the attack. The most vocal was Chandos. "Ride forward, sir, the days is yours," he urged. "Let us make straight for your adversary the King of France, for it is there that the battle will be decided. I am certain that his valor will not allow him to flee."

But the Black Prince had another plan in mind. First, he reorganized his main battle line into one cohesive division. Next, he pulled some of the men-at-arms from the main battle line and instructed them to mount up. Then he instructed the Captal de Buch to take about 160 mounted men on a wide sweep around a covering hill into the rear of the French to fall on the enemy left flank. When the Captal de Buch was in position on a rise behind the French army, he was to display the banner of Saint George to signal the prince that he was launching his attack. At that time, the prince intended to unleash Audley with the rest of the mounted men-at-arms in a frontal attack on the French right flank.

The French king was resolved to press the last attack. "Forward, for I will recover the day, or be taken or slain," he said to his aides. When the officers gave the signal, a chorus of trumpets sounded the advance. The rank and file of the English army were stunned to see a fresh division advancing to the attack—they had believed the battle was already over. Fluttering above John's division was the crimson oriflamme, the great war standard of France, which was brought forth only in times of great danger when the fate of the nation hung in the balance. The French advanced behind a wall of shields to protect them from the English arrows. But the English archers had few arrows left to shoot so late in the battle. The French line paused, and a line of crossbowmen advanced to the front on both wings and fired their bolts at the English. Few if any found their target since the English were still well protected behind the hedge. When the advance resumed, those English bowmen with any arrows left fired them at the enemy, then drew their swords and daggers and joined the battle line.

Just at the moment when the two armies were about to clash on the edge of the Nouaillé Wood, the Captal de Busch raised the banner of Saint George and rode from the high ground on the east side of the Roman road down into the shallow valley where John's division was deployed. When he saw the Gascon's signal, the Black Prince ordered Audley to charge the French right flank. Audley scattered the crossbowmen and rode until he was behind the French right flank. Having a shorter distance to ride to reach the enemy, Audley was among the French even before the Captal de Buch had reached his objective on the opposite flank. Seeing the French pause in pressing their attack, the prince ordered a general advance all along the line of battle.

STRUCK ON TWO SIDES BY FIERCE CAVALRY ATTACKS, THE STRONGEST OF THE three French divisions lost all cohesion. Struggling for their lives, French men-at-arms fought in isolated groups that were quickly surrounded by the enemy. Gradually the French were forced south into the marshes of the Champ D'Alexandre. With their backs against the Moisson, there was no escape—only death or surrender. The chronicler Geoffrey le Baker captured the horror of those last minutes: "Then the standards wavered and the standard bearers fell. Some were trampled, their innards torn open, others spat out their own teeth. Many were struck fast to the ground, impaled. Not a few lost whole arms as they stood there. Some died, wallowing in the blood of others, some groaned, crushed beneath the heavy weight of the fallen, mighty souls gave forth fearful lamentations as they departed from wretched bodies." Any remaining French resistance was extinguished when Geoffrey de Charny, the knight holding the oriflamme, was struck down and the banner fell to the ground to rest among the dead and dying.

Not far from the oriflamme, the king fought on against fierce odds. Nearly overwhelmed on several occasions, he was saved when his 14-year-old son Philip shouted to him to watch his left or right as a new threat emerged. But once the banner fell, the king decided to surrender if he could find a knight who could protect him. A number of enemy soldiers grabbed at his clothing, but it was Denis de Morbeke, a French exile serving in the prince's retinue, who finally won the king's surrender. When other soldiers tried to seize the king from de Morbeke, Warwick rode up and demanded the prisoner on behalf of the prince.

> "Let us make straight for your adversary the King of France, for it is there that the battle will be decided. I am certain that his valor will not allow him to flee."

After eliminating all resistance in the Champ D'Alexandre, the English and their Gascon allies turned their attention to overrunning those parts of the French army retreating in the direction of Poitiers. When overtaken by their pursuers, many of the wealthy French knights surrendered, but hundreds of common men were slain on the road to Poitiers or massacred at the city gates when the townspeople refused to let them in. Altogether, the English captured about 1,000 knights worth ransoming. The French lost about 3,000 men, or one-quarter of their army, in the battle. The English lost substantially fewer.

Some of the captured knights were ransomed quickly so that they would not encumber the army's return march. On September 22, three days after the battle, the English took the remaining prisoners and the booty acquired from more than a month of campaigning in the French heartland and marched back to Gascony, arriving in Bordeaux on October 2. The defeat at Poitiers and the capture of King John was a substantial setback for the French crown. Through the Treaty of Bretigny in 1360, Edward was freed from his feudal obligations to the king of France, the French agreed to pay a large ransom to win John's freedom, and the English won control of a half-dozen additional provinces in southwestern France. Three years later, the Black Prince became ruler of the principality of Aquitaine, restored to its former greatness for a time, where he established an opulent court that lasted for nearly a decade until his poor health compelled him to sail home to England. After that, English control of Aquitaine, like its savior, withered away until it was no more than a memory of the great victory he had won at Poitiers. □

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{ BY RESA NELSON }

A TIME FOR HEROES

FOR THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, THREE HOLLYWOOD STUDIOS WAGED WAR over the right to make a new movie about the Battle of Thermopylae (480 BC), in which a few hundred Spartans kept an enormous invading Persian army at bay for three days. Universal considered a film called *Gates of Fire* that would have starred George Clooney (*Syriana*), but eventually gave up. Twentieth Century Fox wanted to remake its 1960s film, *The 300 Spartans,* but also lost heart. When the fighting ended and the dust cleared, Warner Brothers emerged as the victor. Its version, called *300,* opens in theaters on March 9.

The last thing Warner Brothers wanted to make was a run-of-the-mill sword-and-sandals movie. *300* is based on the graphic novel by Frank Miller (*Sin City*). The filmmakers' goal was to translate the graphic novel, panel by panel, to live-action film. "We've made the choice to be very operatic about this," says production designer Jim Bissell (*Good Night and Good Luck, My Fellow Americans*). "We're not using this as a jump-off point to tell the historical version of the 300—we're telling Frank's version. It's about a very violent culture that had its plusses and minuses: the heroism, the integrity, and the virtues they espoused, but also the fact that throughout their entire lives, they trained to kill. It is material that lends itself to a very theatrical treatment."

The filmmakers added an element of fantasy. The movie is narrated by Dilios, the sole Spartan survivor, who leaves the battle to spread the story of the 300 Spartans. Dilios is a natural storyteller who believes the truth should never get in the way of a good story. Sometimes his exaggerations cross the line from reality into the realm of Greek mythology.

All photos courtesy of Warner Bros. Pictures

The fantasy narration is important to director Zack Snyder (*Dawn of the Dead*), a relatively new director with a passion for Miller's novel. A fan of both history and legend, Snyder's goal was to explore the battle from the perspective of a storyteller, not a historian. Snyder hopes this approach will capture the rawness of the energy and emotion of the battle. One of the first obstacles Snyder faced was how to recreate the ancient world. "Using giant sets with big painted backdrops was my original way of conceiving it," Snyder says. "But that got out of control and, really, it's not practical." Most epics that can

{ WARNER BROTHERS' EPIC NEW MOVIE, *300,* IS THE STORY OF THERMOPYLAE, A DEFEAT THAT BECAME A VICTORY AND ULTIMATELY A LEGEND. }

afford to film on location have a budget in the $100 million range (*300*'s budget is rumored to be less than a third of that), so Snyder's options were limited.

The solution was to go indoors, build a large desert terrain, and surround it on all four sides with 30-foot-high blue-screen walls. Thanks to the terrain's design, it looks like different locations when shot from different angles. "We created less of a naturalistic feel because we were going for a far more stylized look," Bissell says, "but we didn't want it to look like a cheap episode of *Star Trek* either."

From the ground up, the rest of the landscape was filled in later by using computer graphics (CG). "This is a stand-alone, evolutionary way to approach making a movie of this kind. It's the first time a real epic has been done this way. Zack is like an architect who's built all those pieces—the landscape, the drama, the storytelling, and the style—in order to have the building come alive. All the themes are historically accurate: freedom, sacrifice, nobility, heroism, romance, democracy. In the times we live in, you can't get enough heroes. *Troy, Kingdom of Heaven,* and *Alexander*—each was made the traditional way, for better or worse. They were old-fashioned, and we refer to this as 'new-fashioned.' It's like a sword-and-sandals movie without the sandals."

One of the ways in which *300* strives to be historically accurate is in its goal to replicate the sense and sensibilities of the Spartans. "All they did was train for war," says screenwriter Kurt Johnstad. "The Athenians recorded the history, but the Spartans had no pottery, no writers, didn't believe in the arts at all. They were soldiers and warriors before anything else. They believed in their family and their city, and that was pretty much it."

The actors and stuntmen enrolled in a "school of pain" created specially for them by trainer Mark Twight, a former professional climber known for training soldiers, athletes, and firefighters. Snyder was already familiar with the by-invitation-only gym Twight runs in Salt Lake City. "Zack had seen what happened to people who train there," Twight says. "His request was, 'I want to have a training program for all of these guys, something that we can put together that will make them into a team, that will translate on the screen so that it will really look like they've been working together and suffering together and living together all of their lives. And that should show through in the way that they fight and the way they are around each other.'"

Twight trained 30 actors and stuntmen for about two months before they appeared on film and then continued to work with them on set. Budget restrictions meant hiring a small cast. However, thanks to technology, a few dozen soldiers could be expanded into an army. The 30 men portrayed both Spartans and Persians. When a scene needed a lot of Spartans, all 30 men put on Spartan costumes. When there was a battle scene, 15 men dressed as Spartans and the other 15 dressed as Persians. Using CG to copy actors and their actions, the scene was then enhanced to make it seem as though thousands of soldiers were taking part.

Snyder asked Twight to give his men the physique of an ancient warrior, based on the principle of the survival of the fittest. "You see these big, enormous people in all the movies," Twight says, "which is distinctly a part of modern society. Were the bodies that we were able to shape for this movie realistic to the era? Yeah, closer than your Schwartzenegger type would be, because there was probably not enough food to eat [in 480 BC]. And certainly if you're carrying all of your food to go someplace or you're getting it from the land as you move along, there's not enough. If you're hiking all day, moving all day under your own

created a peninsula so the Spartans could see all these Persians come roaring across and merge onto the coastal roads and into the battle arena, which gives us the opportunity to have these fabulous fight scenes without really having to be confined by the road or the Hot Gates. When the Persians retreat, the Persian archers are poised all along this peninsula. They send a barrage of arrows that blocks the sun and you see a huge shadow come across the ocean right toward the Spartans, creating a wheatfield of arrows."

Stunt coordinator Damon Caro (*Fight Club, Mr. and Mrs. Smith*) designed a range of short fight sequences and taught them to the actors and stuntmen. Every fight sequence was choreographed, and battles were made up of many sequences, like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. The idea was to mix and match the sequences during filming. "These guys are dedicated and talented," Caro says, "and that's half the battle right there. The other thing is memory—the ability to remember the choreography. This is one of those films where you can believe the actors when they say, 'I did almost all my own stunt work.'"

The fight choreography was intense, and no one walked away unscathed. Gerard Butler , who plays King Leonidas, pulled a hip flexor, developed

power, the size is always going to be dependent on eating more calories than are necessary to fuel the activity that you're doing."

"Even though this is a story about Spartans wedged into a chasm who defend what is basically the doorway to southern Greece, Frank didn't put all the battles there," Bissell says about the graphic novel. "He put the battles on the coastal road, which opened it up and made it much more graphic with the crashing waves and the cliffs and the silhouettes of bodies falling off. He also had a coastal road that is an alternate way to get into southern Greece, and that's where the Spartans reinforce the Phocian Wall and force the Persians into the Hot Gates.

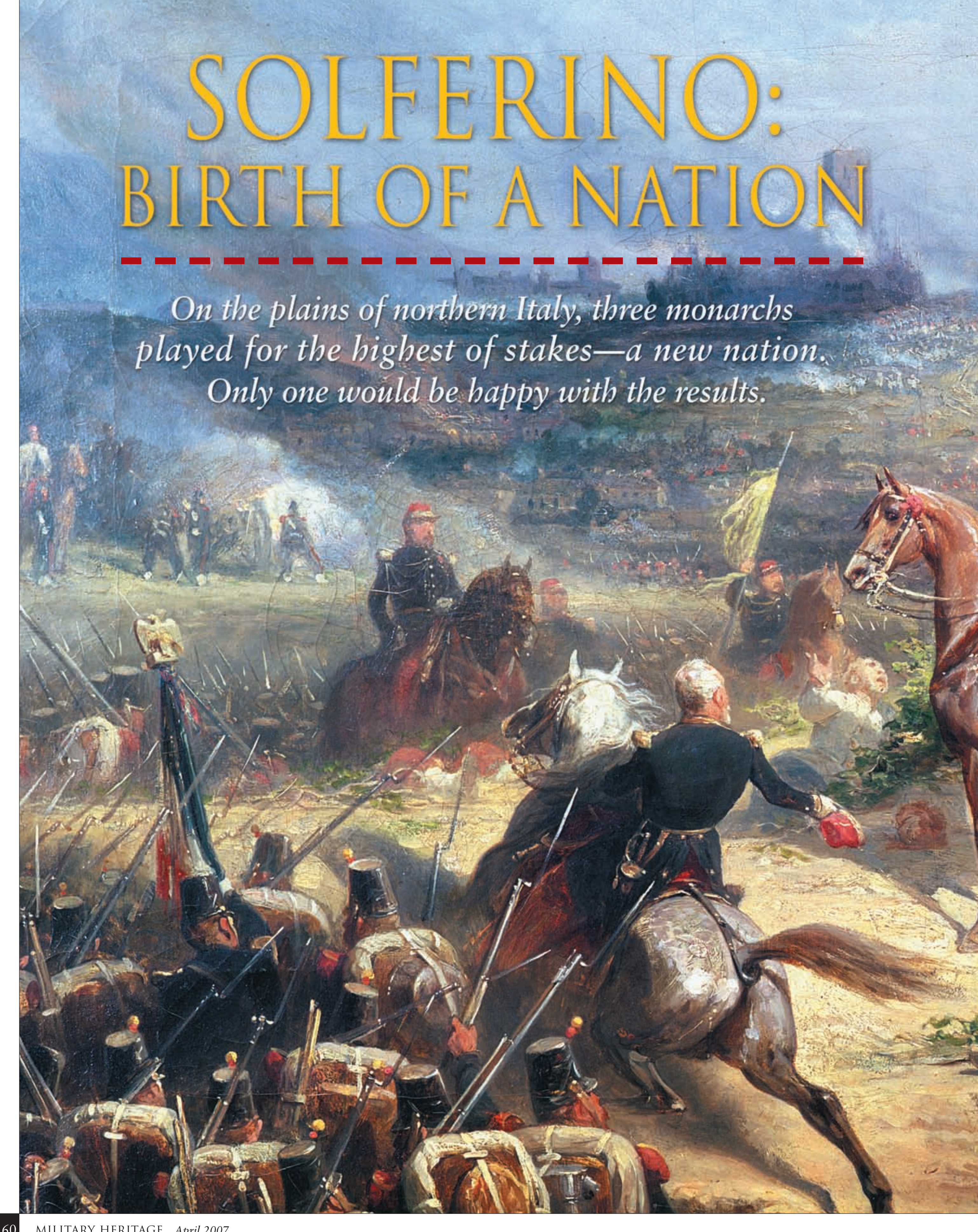
"That's fine, but we still have to get an idea of this mass of Persians coming at us. So I

tendonitis in his shoulders from pushing himself too hard during training, was whacked in the head three times by swords, and suffered a hand injury while trying to spear a fellow actor. Two stuntmen had to be carted off on stretchers.

Ironically, there was no fake blood on set, despite the fact that *300* promises to earn an R rating for its graphic violence. All the blood and guts are CG. "Zack will decide how much to dial it up or down," Canton says about the level of violence. "We can always adjust it. You hit the button and everything implodes. There's no blood on the stage at all." The movie is a different matter, befitting one of the bloodiest and most decisive battles in history—a defeat that became, through repeated retellings, both a victory and a legend. □

SOLFERINO: BIRTH OF A NATION

On the plains of northern Italy, three monarchs played for the highest of stakes—a new nation. Only one would be happy with the results.



Long columns of blue-clad French troops marched east though the sun-baked plains of northern Italy in late June 1859. Normally, Lombardy was blessed by the most fertile soil in the peninsula, nourished by the mighty Po River and its many tributaries, but this summer was unseasonably hot, scorching man and beast alike and desiccating the normally bountiful fields. The French troops pressed on, their spirits buoyed by the memory of past glories—glories they hoped to emulate, if not surpass, on this campaign. It was here that Napoleon Bonaparte had revealed his genius through a series of victories at Arcola, Rivoli, and Marengo some 60 years earlier. Many of the new Gallic soldiers had won laurels in the recent Crimean War against the Russians. There was little doubt in their minds that they could achieve an even greater triumph over a seemingly inept Austrian enemy.

BY ERIC NIDEROST

Emperor Napoleon III commanded the French army. Although he completely lacked his uncle's talent for war—who didn't?—he nevertheless felt compelled to continue the Napoleonic legend. Louis Napoleon was a master politician but an indifferent soldier. He had attended a Swiss military academy as a young man, but had no experience as a field commander on active service. In truth, he was completely unsuited to be a leader of large armies, but tradition demanded that he follow in his famous uncle's footsteps. Accordingly, the goateed, 51-year-old emperor ordered his sweating columns toward the Mincio River, not knowing that a somewhat reinvigorated Austrian army—at least by Viennese standards—was in the process of forming against him. Both armies were groping in the dark. Intelligence was faulty, and Louis Napoleon had no real idea where the enemy might be. The French army did have some relatively modern elements to it, and an observation balloon actually detected Austrian movements. Unfortunately, the emperor downplayed the report.

French Emperor Napoleon III, center, directs action at the height of the Battle of Solferino. Painting by Adolphe Yvon.

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The French army was always known for its reckless courage and offensive spirit, its irresistible élan. On the march, however, the French sometimes looked more like an army of vagabonds than a professional fighting force. Columns were ragged, uneven, and at times almost slovenly. Red-trousered soldiers walked along singly or in bunches. It was torture wearing the heavy packs and blue woolen tunics in the suffocating heat, and the temperatures were made worse by clouds of choking dust kicked up by thousands of tramping feet. Although they didn't know it, these sweat-drenched Frenchmen were marching toward one of the greatest battles of the 19th century.

THEIR FOOTSORE PROGRESS WAS MORE THAN JUST a march to battle—it was the first fitful, halting steps to the rebirth of Italy as a unified country. In the mid-19th century, "Italy" was more an expression of geography than a true nation. The Italian boot was a patchwork of independent states, the most important of which was Piedmont-Sardinia. The duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena were insignificant entities, and the southern half of the peninsula was dominated by the semimedieval and corrupt Kingdom of the Two Sicilys. Central Italy was ruled by Pope Pius IX, the head of the giant Catholic Church.

Most of the Italian population, some 27 million souls, was composed of illiterate peasants, but by the mid-1800s there had been stirrings of patriotism and nationalism. This nascent nationalism was centered in part on the desire to expel the Austrians from Italian soil. Austria ruled Lombardy and Venetia, important provinces on both a cultural and historical level. A united Italy would be unthinkable without them. Expelling the Austrians would be no easy task, but one man believed he had a workable plan. Camillo Benso, Conte di Cavour, was the prime minister of Piedmont-Sardinia. A hard-headed realist, thoroughly Machiavellian in thought and deed, Cavour realized that Sardinia wasn't strong enough to tackle Austria alone in open warfare. A decade earlier, the so-called First War of Italian Independence had ended in crushing defeat at the hands of the powerful Austrian empire.

With that in mind, Cavour hoped to enlist the aid of France's Napoleon III. Once the Austrians were expelled from the peninsula, Italy might be united under Sardinia's King Victor Emmanuel II. Cavour arranged to secretly meet Napoleon at Plombières, France, where the French monarch customarily took the waters. The cloak-and-dagger aspect of the encounter appealed to Louis Napoleon, who delighted in

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TOP LEFT: Italian King Victor Emmanuel II. TOP RIGHT: Camillo Beno, Conte di Cavour. CENTER: Austrian monarch Franz Josef in later life. ABOVE LEFT: General Achille Bazaine. ABOVE RIGHT: Napoleon III.

subterfuge and backdoor deals. The pair met on July 19, 1858. An inveterate conspirator, Louis Napoleon didn't even bother to inform his foreign minister, Count Alexandre Walewski, of the clandestine negotiations. The emperor could be ruthless if his personal power was threathened, but he retained much of the dreamy-eyed romanticism of his youth. He sympathized with the poor and downtrodden, and genuinely wished Italy to be free of foreign control. As a young man of 23, full of ardor and idealism, Louis Napoleon had actually fought alongside Italian patriots in an abortive uprising. Now, almost 30 years later, he was willing to help unify Italy under Piedmont-Sardinia's House of Savoy.

After Austria was defeated, Louis Napoleon was planning to add Lombardy, Venetia, and the duchies of Modena, Parma, and Lucca to Piedmont-Sardinia, creating a Kingdom of Northern Italy. Remaining Italian states would fall into Piedmont's orbit with the creation of a loose confederation under the nominal aegis of the Pope. The conspirators were in general agreement, but Louis Napoleon insisted that France receive due compensation for her help. The emperor wanted to annex Savoy and Nice, although a final settlement would have to wait until Austria was defeated.

The next few months saw increasing tension between Austria and Piedmont-Sardinia. Austria had gotten wind of the secret meeting at Plombières—yet another reason to stifle Piedmontese ambitions before they got out of hand. In the spring of 1859, Austria demanded that Piedmont-Sardinia demobilize its forces and withdraw its troops along the border. To Cavour, this was a heaven-sent ultimatum, one that he gleefully rejected. The Franco-Austrian War of 1859, also called the Second War of Italian Independence, was now a reality.

Austria's plan was simple and direct: invade Piedmont, take its capital at Turin, and crush the Piedmonese army before the French could intervene. On paper, at least, it seemed an easy task. The Austrian Second Army was massed along the Ticino River, the waterway marking the boundary between Piedmont-Sardinia and Austrian-controlled Lombardy. The Austrians were a mere 75 miles from Turin. The Second Army numbered 107,000 men and 364 guns, while the Piedmontese army could only muster some 60,000 troops.

The Austrian army seemed a formidable force, but the coming campaign would reveal serious weaknesses. The infantry was generally dressed in traditional white tunics, although as summer progressed they donned *kittels*, linen tunics that were technically barracks or fatigue wear, but were useful in the torrid heat. The soldiers were armed with the Lorenz rifle-musket, an up-to-date weapon that was more accurate than a smoothbore. But a kind of dry rot had weakened the Imperial Army's command structure. There were too many incompetents in positions of responsibility, men who owed their ranks more to court connections than to any innate ability. This was particularly true of the Second Army's commander-in-chief, Field Marshal Count Ferencz Gyulai. He made an impressive appearance at Vienna reviews, but on campaign he was indecisive, overcautious, and slow.

By contrast, the Piedmontese army was well trained, its forces recently reorganized. Some of its light infantry units, like the feather-hatted

Napoleon III, right, meets with Marshal Marie Patrice de MacMahon outside the village of Magenta en route to Solferino.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Bersaglieri, were renowned as tough and courageous fighters. King Victor Emmanuel himself was a good soldier with sound military instincts. The Piedmontese army did have some weaknesses—many of its regiments were equipped with old-fashioned smoothbore muskets—but overall it was a formidable fighting force. The Piedmontese also had some rugged and controversial auxiliaries—the Cacciatori delle Alpi, or "Hunters of the Alps," a brigade of 2,000 irregulars led by Giuseppe Garibaldi. The fiery Garibaldi was an out-and-out revolutionary who had an unsavory reputation in conservative and church circles. Louis Napoleon consented to the Cacciatori with some reluctance, because such elements were also strong in France.

Austrian incompetence, not Piedmontese valor, saved the tiny country in the early weeks. The Austrian army crossed the Ticino, but soon its advance slowed to a crawl. Young Austrian officers spoke of taking Turin, but progress was glacially slow. At times the Second Army was marching four miles a day, its probes half-hearted and overly cautious. Heavy rains slowed progress, but a dilatory Gyulai bore most of the blame. Soon fear replaced inaction, as Gyulai worried about the French troops he knew to be pouring into Piedmont every day. The Austrian field marshal began to suspect that the French would advance south of the Po River through Piacenza and cut his lines of communication. Gyulai ordered his army to retire lest they be caught and attacked from behind.

In reality, the French and their Piedmontese allies intended to thrust north, not south. The addled Gyulai had thrown away Austria's last chance for victory, at the same time handing the initiative to the enemy. In the meantime, the French had been far from idle. An expeditionary force of over 100,000 men was to get under way as soon as the first Austrian whitecoats crossed the Ticino. Part of the army embarked on ships for a sea journey to Genoa, but other French regiments traveled by train into northern Italy via the Mont Cenis Pass—the first time in history that the railroad was used to transport troops on a military campaign. The highly efficient French railroads managed to send 8,000 men and 500 horses a day into Italy, without compromising or upsetting civilian train schedules.

The French army was a heady mixture of pride, panoply, and panache, eager to come to grips with the enemy and win fresh battle honors for the Second Empire. It had performed well in the Crimean War, and to many soldiers the very name Napoleon was a talisman of glory and a harbinger of victory. The infantry was dressed in shakos, long blue tunics, and red trousers and carried the Minie rifle-musket. Grenadiers of the Imperial Guard sported tall bearskin caps, hairy headgear that recalled the famous guardsmen of the First Empire. The hussars, lancers, and cuirassiers also wore colorful uniforms that echoed the country's illustrious past

Louis Napoleon lacked his famous uncle's military genius, but he did have some talents as an artillerist. He had recently reequipped the Imperial army with bronze four-pounder, muzzle-loading rifled cannons that were far superior to the old smoothbores the Austrians were using. The rifled cannons fired a conical shell with great accuracy at ranges up to 3,500 yards—twice the range of their Austrian counterparts. Louis Napoleon landed in Genoa on May 12, greeted by a triumphant Cavour and acclaimed as a hero by cheering citizens. The emperor attended an opera, but soon left for his headquarters at Alessandria. By May 17 a Franco-Piedmontese army of 160,000 men and 400 guns occupied a 50-mile front just north of Alessandria.

A skirmish at Montebello on May 20 predated the first real battle, 10 days later, at Palestro. A 14,000-man Austrian reconnaissance force bumped into a Franco-Piedmontese army of some 10,700 men under the personal command of Victor Emmanuel. The Austrians were sent packing and forced to retreat. The king was a passive observer at first, but as the battle progressed his blood rose and he couldn't restrain himself. Mounted on a gallant charger, he took part in the fighting at great risk to him-

Artist Gustave Dore's depiction of the skirmish at Montebello, which opened the Solferino campaign.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

self, winning an honorary corporal's rank in the French 3rd Zouave Regiment for his troubles. It was the last time a European monarch ever personally led troops into battle.

Piedmont-Sardinia was now safe from invasion and the Austrians were in full retreat. The next order of business was the liberation of Lombardy and Venetia. The Ticino River was the first obstacle to allied designs, a swift, unfordable stream that marked the Lombardy-Piedmont border. Milan, the capital of Lombardy, was a much sought after prize, but there would be problems getting to it. The main road to Milan crossed the Ticino at the village of San Martino. The Austrians had fortified the crossing by building a powerful redoubt on the west bank of the river. As events unfolded, the Austrians abandoned the redoubt, but tried to delay French progress by blowing up the San Martino Bridge.

Unfortunately for the whitecoats, they succeeded merely in damaging two arches. French infantry could easily cross, and the bridge could be patched up enough to allow cavalry and artillery over the river. Seven miles to the north of San Martino was another possible river crossing at Turbigo. Mulling things over, Louis Napoleon ordered Maj. Gen. Jacques Camou, commander of the Voltigeur Division of the Imperial Guard, to march on Turbigo and secure a bridgehead. These orders were carried out in typical French style, with drums beating and a band playing martial airs at the head of the column.

Camou reached Turbigo without any opposition, and by the early morning of June 3, three pontoon bridges had been thrown across the Ticino. Camou was joined by Maj. Gen. Marie Patrice de MacMahon's II Corps, and together they quickly brushed aside the weak Austrian opposition they encountered at Turbigo. Once the crossings were secured, Louis Napoleon decided to launch a two-pronged drive across the river. The ultimate objective was to clear the main road and advance on Milan. To this end, the Grenadier Division of the Imperial Guard would cross the Ticino at San Martino and continue on to the village of Magenta. MacMahon's II Corps would cross farther south at Turbigo, accompanied by the Voltigeur Division of the Guard and the Piedmontese army.

If all went according to plan, both spearheads would reunite at Magenta. This was a dangerous, even foolhardy, maneuver—Louis Napoleon was dividing his army at a time when he had no idea where the enemy's main forces were. There were no telegraph lines between San Martino and Turbigo, and the French would have to rely on old-fashioned horse couriers. The emperor was violating the most basic precepts of military science, a sign of both his inexperience and overconfidence. If one of his spearheads got into trouble, the other would be hard-pressed to come to its aid.

The Grenadiers of the Imperial Guard crossed the Ticino without incident, but soon clashed with Austrian forces who had positioned themselves behind the Naviglio Grande canal. There were two intact bridges over the canal, one at Ponte Nuovo, which carried the main road to Milan, and a railroad bridge just to the south. The Grenadiers attacked without hesitation, beginning the Battle of Magenta. It was a soldier's battle, with little rhyme and less reason. Positions were taken at the bayonet, briefly held, then relinquished when opposing forces counterattacked. Louis Napoleon eventually arrived on the scene, but he was less commanding general than helpless observer of events seemingly out of his control.

More and more units were sucked into the bloody vortex, yet neither side seemed to gain the upper hand. Fighting was particularly fierce at Magenta, where every house and street was fiercely contested. Austrian sharpshooters, Jägers from the mountainous Tyrol, picked off French officers with chilling ease. The French Zouaves distinguished themselves at Magenta, colorful in their Algerian-inspired uniforms. This fame came at a high cost, however. One survivor noted that "squeezed in the narrow streets, our men seemed in their desperate attacks to take the houses corpse by corpse."

The Austrians finally withdrew, giving the French a hard-won victory at the cost of 4,600

killed, wounded, or missing. Austrian casualties were even higher. The Piedmontese army, for its part, had not marched to the sound of the guns, and in fact had not even fired a shot, yet Italian newspapers trumpeted Magenta as a Franco-Piedmontese triumph. The French, having borne all of the fighting, were not pleased with their ally's dubious claims, but any residual bad feelings were washed away in a tide of continuing victory. The Austrians fell back, establishing a new defensive line along the Mincio River. On June 8, Louis Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel entered Milan in triumph, capping liberation festivities by attending an opera at the world-famous La Scala. Lombardy was free, but the Austrians were far from defeated. The campaign would continue.

On June 17, Louis Napoleon established his headquarters at Brescia, which was decorated in honor of the French emperor. Secretive as always, Louis Napoleon kept his staff in the dark most of the time. He would consult them from time to time, but even his closest aides had no idea of his plans. They complained that he "waged war like a conspirator." In truth, the emperor was improvising the campaign as he went along, hampered by his inexperience and a crippling lack of reliable intelligence.

WHILE THE FRENCH EMPEROR DITHERED, THE Austrian army made an attempt to regain the initiative. Emperor Franz Josef reinforced and reorganized his army, then sacked the incompetent Gyulai and took personal command. Like his French counterpart, the 28-year-old Austrian monarch lacked experience, but he was determined to regain the advantage that Gyulai had so foolishly lost. The Austrian army, now numbering some 133,000 men organized into nine corps and supported by 400 guns, began the offensive by recrossing the Mincio and advancing west. At the same time, completely ignorant of enemy maneuvers, Louis Napoleon urged his columns eastward. The stage was set for a set-piece battle on the largest scale.

The two armies literally blundered into each other in the early morning hours of June 24. Leading elements of the French advance guard ran into Austrian pickets, forcing them back to their main line. The Austrian line was improvised but strong. They held the high ground, which would make them particularly hard to dislodge in a fight. The Austrian center was at Solferino, a village perched atop a series of hilly ridges that resembled a giant's backbone. The village was in the shadow of Solferino Castle, a medieval fortress now crammed with Austrian infantry and artillery. Altogether, the battle front stretched some 15 miles, from Pozzolengo in the north, past Castiglione, Solferino, Cavriana, and Medole in the center, to Castel Grinaldo in the south.

When Louis Napoleon began to receive reports of heavy fighting, he could scarcely believe it. Mounting his horse, he galloped over to the village of Castiglione and climbed its church's bell tower for a better view of the impending crisis. From his perch he could clearly see skeins of white-coated troops massing on the

THE CREATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS

HENRI DUNANT, a 31-year-old Swiss banker, was a more or less inadvertent eyewitness to the Battle of Solferino in June 1859, and its myriad horrors left an indelible impression on him. Like most people of the Victorian Age, Dunant had a romantic notion of war, reinforced by the epic battle paintings common to the period. Before the battle began, he was actually looking forward to the spectacle about to unfold before him like an epic sporting event

The ensuing 15-hour slaughter stripped him of all such delusions. War was not just colorful battle flags waving in the breeze, but death, dismemberment, blood, and agony. Thoroughly and permanently shocked, Dunant did what he could to tend the wounded after the battle, organizing volunteers from anyone who was willing to roll up his sleeves and help. He recruited Italian peasants and even English tourists to help him on his mission of mercy.

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Henri Dunant

Dunant was changed by what he had seen at Solferino. He felt there must be a better way to aid sick and wounded soldiers. He wrote an empassioned pamphlet, *A Memory of Solferino*, that graphically detailed the sufferings of the wounded. It is powerful reading even today, and its publication caused a sensation throughout Western Europe.

Back in his native Geneva, Dunant began to develop ideas on how to aid the victims of battles. It took time, but in 1863 Dunant and four other Geneva residents formed a committee that became the ancestor of the International Red Cross, named in honor of their native country's flag. Within a few years there were national committees devoted to the aid of the wounded in nearly every country in Europe, all sprung from the seed that Dunant and his colleagues had planted in 1863.

Dunant devoted himself completely to the Red Cross movement, but his single-mindedness came at a price. He neglected his business affairs to the point that he went bankrupt and heavily in debt. Still, during his years of greatest fame, between 1863 and 1867, he was an international celebrity of a sort, honored for his humanitarianism. Louis Napoleon supported the movement, and Empress Eugenie met personally with Dunant.

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Clara Barton

The Franco-Prussian War in 1870-1871 saw the first fruits of Dunant's labor, as volunteers did much to ease the suffering of soldiers on both sides of the conflict. American-born nurse Clara Barton was one such volunteer, and she bore the Red Cross's message home with her, founding the American Association of the Red Cross in 1881.

Meanwhile, Henri Dunant drifted into obscurity. Thirty years later, when he was an old man, poverty-stricken and sick, he found refuge in a hospital in Heiden, Switzerland. A reporter rediscovered him there in 1895, and he enjoyed some long-delayed honors in the last years of his life, including a share of the first Nobel Peace Prize in 1901. He died in 1910, but the humanitarian movement he founded lives on.

Today, there are over 185 Red Cross and Red Crescent societies all over the world giving aid and comfort to those in distress. The Red Crescent became the symbol of the movement for Muslim countries, an obvious nod to history. In Islamic countries, a red cross is still a touchy symbol, too similar to the emblem worn by European crusaders in the Middle Ages. □

heights from San Martino to Cavriana. Four miles west of Cavriana, Louis Napoleon could make out General Adolphe Neil's French IV Corps hotly engaged at Medole.

Medole fell, but the French advance soon bogged down. A merciless sun beat down on friend and foe alike, and the dust-choked ravines and steep gullies were hard to climb under heavy Austrian fire. Louis Napoleon came down from the church tower and positioned himself near the center. Surrounded by his staff, the emperor chain-smoked cigarettes, a passive observer to the carnage he had helped to create.

The battle degenerated into a soldier's fight, brutal and bloody, where men tried to bludgeon their opponents into submission. There was no art in the battle, no finesse or intricate textbook maneuvers, just slaughter on an unprecedented scale. Louis Napoleon sat on his beautiful charger, surrounded by a glittering staff, but he was feeling anything but warlike. Clearly appalled by the horrors that assaulted his eyes, the emperor occasionally issued a terse order, but mainly he smoked cigarettes to ease his nerves. Later, enemies in Paris had a field day describing his behavior, but they mistook nausea for cowardice. Louis Napoleon had shown his courage on many occasions, and he was so near the fighting now that an aide was killed by his side. But the emperor hated bloodshed and was sickened by the slaughter of his men. "Oh, the poor fellows," he sighed. "Oh the poor fellows! What a terrible thing war is!" He was simply out of his element and lacked both the killer instinct and the indifference to physical suffering and pain of a great commander such as his uncle.

Louis Napoleon began to fear that Austrian reinforcements might attack his vulnerable right flank. There was no time to waste—the Austrians had to be defeated as soon as possible. The emperor decided on a frontal attack that would take the Austrian center at Solferino. The massive castle and village would be tough nuts to crack, but there was no other way to break the back of the Austrian defense. Louis Napoleon sent a message asking Victor Emmanuel for support. Unfortunately for the emperor, the Piedmontese monarch had his own hands full and turned down the request. Around 7 AM, the Piedmontese advance guard had run into General Ludwig von Benedek's Austrian VIII Corps in front of Pozzolengo. A fierce fight erupted, prompting Benedek to dig in on the heights west of San Martino. The Piedmontese army found itself fully engaged with an enemy that contested every foot of ground.

In the meantime, the superior French artillery hammered Solferino, shells raining down on the Austrians dug in on the heights. Gouts of flame and smoke blossomed on the dusty slopes, marking each hit, but it was clear the Austrians would not be dislodged by artillery fire alone. The long-suffering yet gallant French infantry would have to take the heights by bayonet and sheer guts. Louis Napoleon could see no other way to accomplish his goal. The Austrians were tough and resolute fighters, firmly positioned on the high ground. The French Grenadiers of the Guard had to manhandle their guns up a hill because the slopes were too steep for horses

On the right center a high slope was mantled by a copse of cypress trees. Cypress Hill was a key point, and its capture would lead into Solferino. Louis Napoleon ordered the Imperial Guard to take the hill. Fearsome apparitions in towering bearskins and greatcoats with red epaulettes on the shoulders, the Guardsmen clambered up the hillside under heavy fire, but nothing could resist their advance. After fierce hand-to-hand fighting, the Guardsmen took the hill and swept into Solferino. The Austrians gave ground but did not give up, transforming each building into a miniature fortress. The butchery continued.

The other side of Solferino was attacked by the men of the French I Corps. General François Achille Bazaine's 3rd Division went forward, only to be repulsed by heavy fire. They quickly reformed and marched up the hill again, where they met such a withering fire that they had to retreat again. The dusty, scrub-covered slopes were carpeted by scores of blue-clad figures, some inert, some writhing in pain. Soaked in sweat, grimy with dust, and speckled with blood, the French soldiers formed again for a third try. Growing exhaustion, pain from wounds, and heat-induced thirst were numbed by the anesthesia of battle. As one soldier later recalled, "The smell of powder, the noise of the guns, drums beating and bugles sounding, it all puts life into you and stirs you up."

The third time proved the charm, and French troops managed to take the position, fighting their way up the slopes into a walled cemetery.

Map © 2007 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN

ABOVE: The Austrians held the high ground at Solferino, with their forces stretched along a 15-mile-long series of ridges east of the village. OPPOSITE: The French 5th Hussars made repeated charges on the Austrian position at Solferino, adding to the fearsome toll of casualties.

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Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

"THE SMELL OF POWDER, THE NOISE OF THE GUNS, DRUMS BEATING AND BUGLES SOUNDING, IT ALL PUTS LIFE INTO YOU AND STIRS YOU UP."

The Austrians stubbornly defended the position—there were probably as many corpses above ground as below. In time, however, the whitecoats fell back, unable to hold off simultaneous attacks by the 3rd Division on one side and the Imperial Guard on the other. Solferino fell at 2 PM.

THE AUSTRIAN LINE WAS BROKEN, AND THE TWO halves of the Imperial Army were in danger of being crushed in detail. Franz Josef wanted to continue the struggle, but he was forced to accept the inevitable. A general retreat was ordered, with the remains of the Austrian army retiring behind the Mincio River. It was now around 3 in the afternoon, and gathering clouds produced a torrential thunderstorm that soaked victor and vanquished alike. Thunder mixed with the last salvos of artillery to produce a fearful din. The rain broke the almost tropical heat, but it also impeded allied pursuit of the retreating Austrians.

The next day dawned on a scene of unprecedented horror. The French had lost approximately 11,000 dead, wounded, or missing, while the Piedmontese had lost some 5,000. Austrian casualties were even greater—some 22,000. Henri Dunant, a civilian observer who later founded the International Red Cross, recalled, "Bodies of men and horses covered the battlefield; corpses were strewn over roads, ditches, ravines, thickets, and fields; the approaches of Solferino were literally thick with dead. Here and there were pools of blood."

Louis Napoleon had won the great battlefield victory he had sought for so long, but the horrific triumph left a bad taste in his mouth. His response to Solferino was typically laconic; he telegraphed his wife Eugenie merely that he had won a "great victory." The French emperor was shaken and nauseated by the carnage. He insisted on visiting a barn that had been converted into a field hospital. It was a vision of hell more terrible than the torments described in Dante's *Inferno*. Hundreds of wounded soldiers lay packed together, uniforms torn, filthy, and caked with blood. The stench of gore and excrement was overpowering. While the emperor watched, overworked surgeons casually tossed amputated arms and legs into a corner of the barn. The mound of bloodied flesh grew ever higher with each operation. Louis Napoleon quickly ended his tour of the hospital, emerging with reddened eyes and a deathlike pallor. Profoundly moved, the emperor went to the side of the barn and vomited, while his staff discreetly looked away. He had had enough, in more ways than one.

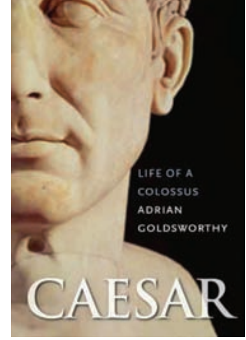
The Austrians retired into a region called "the Quadrilateral," a fortified area that included Mantua, Peschiera, Verona, and Legnano. Taking this position would be no picnic. With every likelihood that there would be battles even bloodier than Solferino, Louis Napoleon asked for an armistice, then personally met with Franz Joseph at Villafranca. A peace treaty was hammered out that granted Lombardy to Piedmont-Sardinia but fell far short of Napoleon's earlier pledge to liberate Italy "from Alps to Adriatic." The Piedmontese felt betrayed, but they had to agree to the terms.

Events soon outran Louis Napoleon's improvised peace. Piedmont-Sardinia annexed Tuscany, then quickly took over the Grand Duchies of Lucia, Modena, and Parma. By 1861, most of the papal states and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilys had also fallen into line. Italy was finally united under Victor Emmanuel, as the canny Cavour had hoped and planned. At Solferino, the French had done the lion's share of the fighting, but the Piedmontese had won the lion's share of the prize—nothing less than a new nation. □

By Al Hemingway

Military genius and brilliant politician, Julius Caesar ruled most of the known world at the time of his death in 44 BC.

TO SAY THAT CAIUS JULIUS CAESAR WAS ONE OF THE MOST influential men in world history is still something of an understatement. Undoubtedly the most famous Roman of all, he played a key role in converting the Roman republic into a fledgling empire when he crossed the Rubicon in 49 BC and ignited a bloody civil war. His countless military triumphs and political victories ultimately catapulted him to the post of virtual dictator of Rome, but also led eventually to his death.



In his new book, ***Caesar: Life of a Colossus*** (Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 2006, 581 pp., illustrations, index, notes, $35.00, hardcover), historian Adrian Goldsworthy closely examines the life of the man who at one time or another ruled over most of the known world. Caesar was born in 100 BC to an aristocratic family that was active in politics in the Roman republic. Caesar's father was a praetorian, an elected official who ruled lesser provinces, while his mother's family boasted several prominent consuls, important senior positions in the Roman army.

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A professional army with exceptional technical skills and expertise in seige warfare contributed greatly to Ceasar's military successes, both great and small.

After the premature death of his father, Caesar became head of the household at the tender age of 16. He quickly demonstrated loyalty and courage by defying the strongman Sulla after an uprising that left him in power, by refusing to divorce his wife and marry one of the new ruler's female choices. Fearing for his life, Caesar fled Rome.

Upon Sulla's death, Caesar returned home and began his meteoric rise to fame amid the tumultuous backdrop of the times in which he lived. Goldsworthy describes well how he manipulated Rome's politicians and, in some cases, even seduced their wives for political favors. The author also gives detailed accounts of Caesar's numerous military campaigns, which eventually expanded the Roman Empire from the Atlantic Ocean to Africa and the Middle East. Caesar's stunning victory at the Battle of Zela in Asia Minor in 47 BC was so overwhelming that he uttered, all too accurately, his now-famous words: "*Veni, vidi, vici* [I came, I saw, I conquered]."

Goldsworthy gives us a glimpse of Caesar's personal life as well. He was very family-oriented despite his legendary affairs. His daughter's sudden death left him grief-stricken, as did

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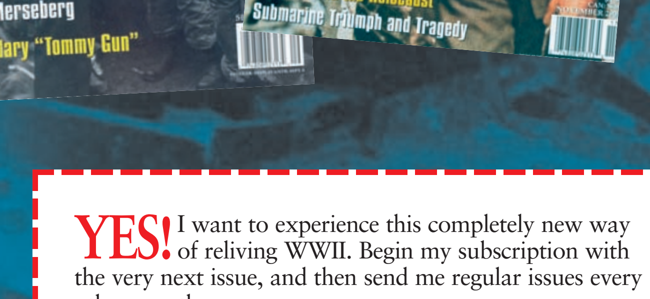

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the passing of his mother. As the titles and laurels bestowed upon Caesar increased, so did the number of his enemies, including one of his closest associates, Marcus Junius Brutus. In 44 BC, a plot was hatched to assassinate Caesar after Rome's aristocratic clans feared that he had acquired too much power. Luring him to the Senate under false pretenses, as many as 60 men fell upon the emperor, stabbing him to death on the lower steps of the portico. His famous final words were "*Et tu Brute* [You also, Brutus]." Caesar's death initiated a long and violent civil war, which eventually resulted in Caesar's nephew Octavian rising to power as the first Roman emperor, Augustus.

Since his death, the legend of Caesar has not diminished. As Goldsworthy writes, "Whatever the rights and wrongs of his actions, it is hard to imagine that in any way his life could have been more dramatic."

The Battle of Monroe's Crossroads and the Civil War's Final Campaign by Eric J. Wittenberg, Savas Beatie, New York, 2006, 336 pp., illustrations, notes, index, $32.95, hardcover.

In early 1865, much attention was focused on General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, which was desperately attempting to flee the grasp of Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant's Army of the Potomac in the waning days of the Civil War. Scant attention, however, was paid—then or later—to the bloody campaign being waged in North Carolina, where the weary butternuts of General Joseph E. Johnston's "patchwork of units" were attempting no less desperately to block Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman's surging forces from entering the Tarheel State and linking up eventually with Grant in Virginia.

At a remote intersection called Monroe's Crossroads, one of the largest and most significant cavalry battles of the war was fought. There, Lt. Gen. Wade Hampton's gray riders surprised the Federal cavalry of Maj. Gen. Judson Kilpatrick on March 10, 1865, and initially drove them completely from the battlefield. Kilpatrick himself fled the scene wearing only his nightshirt and escaped into a swamp.

Kilpatrick, dubbed "Kill Cavalry" by his men, had failed to put out pickets and sentries, allowing Hampton's horsemen to sneak up on the Federals while they slept. Despite these grievous errors, Kilpatrick managed to rally his men and launch a counterattack that turned the tide and pushed the Confederates from the camp.

As historian Eric J. Wittenberg points out, although the Confederates fled the scene, they did manage to halt the bluecoats long enough to allow Lt. Gen. William J. Hardee's troops to escape from Fayetteville and avoid being destroyed by Sherman's massive army. The author does an effective job of bringing the battle to life with numerous firsthand accounts of the soldiers in- volved in the action, much of which wasclose- quarter combat with sabers, pistols and even hand-to-hand fighting.

Included in the book are 29 maps that allow the reader to follow the events as they unfolded over 140 years ago. Another interesting facet of the book touches upon the mysterious woman who accompanied Kilpatrick on the campaign and later was abandoned rather ungallantly when he scampered nearly nakedfrom the Monroe house to avoid capture.

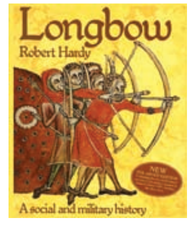
Wittenberg has delivered a very readable and captivating story of a neglected action of the Civil War. Monroe's Crossroads is a battle that has long been overlooked, but one that should be remembered, if for nothing else, for the valor and sacrifice of the men involved on both sides.

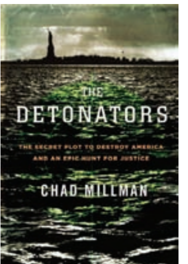
House to House: Playing the Enemy's Game in Saigon, May 1968 by Keith Nolan, Zenith Press, St. Paul, MN, 2006, 368 pp., illustrations, index, $24.95, hardcover.

When it comes to writing about ground combat during the Vietnam War, author Keith Nolan has few equals. His eleventh book deals with the period following the disastrous military defeat the Communists suffered during the 1968 Tet Offensive. Although Hanoi knew that it could not win on the battlefield, Ho Chi Minh and his followers realized that their "mini-Tet" would create psychological hardships and dissension back in the United States.

South Vietnam's capital city of Saigon was the main objective of the North Vietnamese forces. Communist forces infiltrated the Cholon area of the city and the suburbs of District 8. Bloody house-to-house combat followed for two weeks with elements of the U. S. Army's 9th Infantry Division doing battle with an unseen enemy that erected bunkers and used dwellings to conceal snipers and spring ambushes on the advancing soldiers attempting to oust them from Saigon.

Once again Nolan has given readers a gutsy look at the ferocious combat experienced by the "grunts" involved in the unenviable task of ejecting a tenacious foe from an urban area. Ironically, a very similar war is being waged today in Iraq, making Nolan's book all the more timely. Whether it is in World War II, Vietnam, or Iraq, house-to-house fighting remains an infantryman's worst nightmare.





Longbow: A Social and Military History by Robert Hardy, Sutton Publishing, 2006, 244 pp., illustrations, index, softcover.

British actor and archery enthusiast Robert Hardy has penned a comprehensive book dealing with the history of the longbow, from its earliest beginnings 8,000 years ago to the modern archery tournaments around the world today. Hardy describes in detail the use of the longbow in English military history and how it was decisive during the Battles of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. Soon the weapon was an important arm of the English army, and its archers were justly feared as the deadliest when it came to lethal accuracy.

The author devotes an entire chapter to the construction of the longbow, including materials used and how the weapon is carefully manufactured. Commonly asked questions are also answered on the use and care of the bow as well. The flight of the arrow and the style of the target are also mentioned and addressed.

Anyone involved in the sport of archery or hunting with a bow should consider getting a copy of Hardy's book. It could prove invaluable to those individuals already actively involved, as well as budding aficionados just starting out in the sport.

The Detonators: The Secret Plot to Destroy America and an Epic Hunt for Justice by Chad Millman, Little, Brown and Co., 330 pp., illustrations, index, $24.99. hardcover.

In the predawn hours of July 30, 1916, citizens of Jersey City, New Jersey, were suddenly awakened by an ear-shattering blast that registered 5.5 on the Richter scale. Windows were blown apart miles away, the earth trembled as far away as Maryland, and a 10-week-old baby was thrown from its crib. Accounts of fatalities vary but it is certain that three people were killed and scores wounded. The explosion was at the ammunition depot on Black Tom Island, a small piece of land situated in New York Harbor. Was the huge discharge a result of negligence on the part of workers at the site? Or was sabotage involved?

Writer Chad Millman attempts to answer these questions in his new book, taking the reader to the shadowy world of espionage around the globe in an attempt to sort out the characters involved in one of the most treacherous acts ever perpetrated on American soil.

Several years after the explosion at Black Tom Island, the Lehigh Valley Railroad presented its case before the German-American Mixed Claims Commission. They cited the 1921 Treaty of Berlin between Germany and the United States as grounds to bring suit against German saboteurs who they felt had perpetrated the heinous act. The court battle waged for years until finally in 1939, on the eve of World War II in Europe, the German government was forced to pay $50 million to all involved in the lawsuit.

Millman's account is an absorbing slice of history—even more so in light of the events of September 11, 2001.

Best Little Stories of the Blue and Gray with "General's Wives" by C. Brian Kelly and Ingrid Smyer-Kelly, Cumberland House, Nashville, TN, 2006, 352 pp., illustrations, index, $16.95, softcover.

The husband and wife writing team of C. Brian Kelly and Ingrid Smyer-Kelly has written another gem in their "Best Little" series dealing with offbeat stories from the Civil War. This one is chock-full of interesting vignettes from that tumultuous period in our nation's history.

Their book is divided into chronological order, from the beginnings of the conflict to Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House. The short stories are truly fascinating. One such tale involves Daniel Emmett, a songwriter for a traveling show called Bryant's Minstrels. In 1859, Emmett was approached to pen a new ditty for a performance scheduled for the following Monday. He soon had the music and began the song with the line, "I wish I was in Dixie." These words did not profess a yearning for his southern home (Emmett was born in Ohio), but rather the warmer climate where the production companies would travel to escape the harsh northern winters. Before long the song became a huge success and was adopted by the Confederacy. Ironically, Emmett was later scorned for writing "Dixie" and falsely labeled a secessionist.

There are many other fascinating tidbits in the Kellys' new book. The last chapter has profiles of four of the most prominent generals' wives: Grant, Lee, Sherman, and Jackson. For those readers looking for something a little different about our country's bloodiest war, *Best Little Stories of the Blue and Gray* is a perfect choice.

 By Eric T. Baker

Medieval III: Total War does "real" better.

It seem unlikely that there is a fan of tactical ancients or medieval combat who owns a computer who hasn't yet tried at least one of the games in Sega's *Total War* franchise. This series

of games has pushed the envelope on how much individual detail it is possible to display in mass computer battle while at the same time hewing to historical accuracy and terrific playability. On top of that, the *TW* games also include head-to-head combat over the Internet and strategic-level single-player campaigns.

Medieval II: Total War has everything the other games in the series have had, but it does them even better. The "Rockettes" look is almost completely gone with this game. In marching, the men don't keep perfect lines. Horses shake their heads at different times, and zooming in on a fight shows dozens of individual contests rather than two different sets of moves repeated dozens of times. The general milling and reforming that the game has always done well is still in effect, but it looks even more "real" in this version.

A game that does not inspire the same sort of praise for its graphics is *US Marine Scout Sniper* from Abandon Entertainment. This is a cell phone game, so the designers were working with much (much) smaller screens and much (much, much) less processing power than in a PC. That said, the graphics get the job done. Stylized as the characters and environments have to be, it is clear who is friend and who is foe and what can be shot over and what can't. The game was created in association with the US Marine Scout/Sniper Association (and a portion of the profits go to them), but this is more of a game than a simulation. That said, it is a fun, forgiving game that is just the right depth for playing on the small screen and keypad.

Tom Clancy's *Rainbow Six Vegas* from Ubisoft farms similar ground to *Marine Scout Sniper,* but does so much more realistically. *Rainbow Six* is the code name of an elite anti-terrorist squad. In this installment of the franchise, the three members of the squad start in Mexico, but are soon in Las Vegas where lots of bad guys are taking hostages, planting bombs, and defending secret hideouts. The story doesn't matter as it serves only as a frame on which to hang some very realistic and highly satisfying Special Forces assaults.

The best part of the game is how easy it is to plan and execute complex room clearing actions using both the player's character and the two computer-controlled ones. A few taps of the keyboard lets the player peek around corners or use snake cameras to identify the terrorists, and then a few more taps assigns the characters their methods of entry and their targets. The maps are arranged so that most rooms have multiple entries and for long stretches the game can be one smooth assault after another. That isn't the whole game as there are also set-piece battles and dangerous runs, but plotting and executing are the best part, and then even better if done cooperatively with up to three friends. □

***Washington's Spies: The Story of America's First Spy Ring* by Alexander Rose, Bantam, New York, 2006, 370 pp., illustrations, index, $26.00, hardcover.**

Intelligence-gathering is a necessary component to any army. Knowing the enemy's movements, his strength, and weapons are integral if victory is to be achieved.

During the Revolutionary War, the Continental Army was in its infancy, as was its intelligence arm. General George Washington's unlikely group of agents numbered only a handful, but their derring-do and cunning outmatched the British and provided Washington with invaluable information on Her Majesty's forces.

Included in the ragtag spy ring was a Quaker who wrestled with his morals, a whaler who relished the mystery and danger of being a spy, a bartender who drank more than his patrons, a Yale graduate who volunteered for the cavalry, and a farmer who complained to Washington repeatedly of various ailments and begged to return to his home. These individuals from diverse backgrounds would be dubbed the Culper Ring, and Washington would use them and their secret codes to watch the movements of the British.

At war's end, the members of the Culper Ring faded away to live their lives in relative anonymity. Their exploits were never fully realized by a grateful nation. This book gives long overdue recognition to the shadowy people who risked their lives to win America's freedom.

No True Glory: A Frontline Account of the Battle of Fallujah by Bing West, Bantam Books, New York, 2006, 376 pp., illustrations, index, $14.00, softcover.

Retired Marine Bing West traveled to Iraq and was imbedded with the leathernecks in the initial invasion of that country in 2003. He coauthored a brilliant account of the action in *The March Up*. He has followed up that success with his new book centering on the seizure of Fallujah, a known insurgent haven west of Baghdad.

Fallujah will rank as one of the toughest assignments ever handed to the U.S. Army and Marine Corps. With its maze of buildings and narrow streets, the city saw fighting that was reminiscent of Hue City during the 1968 Tet Offensive in the Vietnam War.

West interviewed hundreds of individuals involved in the campaign—everyone from the top commanders down to the "grunts" actually immersed in the deadly urban combat. The book concentrates on the week of November 7 through November 13, 2004, when the Marines confronted the insurgents in bloody house-to-house and hand-to-hand combat.

No True Glory is a powerful, no-nonsense look at the gritty, unflinching world of the infantryman in time of war. In the end, however, the American soldiers persevered at Fallujah and could claim an overwhelming, if short-lived, victory against the various factions then in control of the city.

Six Frigates: The Epic History of the Founding of the U.S. Navy by Ian W. Toll, W.W. Norton & Co., New York, 2006, 540 pp., illustrations, index, $27.95, hardcover.

When the United States won her independence from Great Britain, first and foremost on the minds of the Founding Fathers was the formation of a sound military to fend off other enemies from abroad. The building of ships to form a sizable sea-going navy was paramount to that thinking.

From the outset, the newly formed U.S. Navy received scant respect from the world powers of their day, Great Britain and France. These upstart Americans were new to the high seas and were not considered a force to be reckoned with. Then the War of 1812 was waged once again against Mother England.

When the Treaty of Ghent was signed in 1815, ending hostilities between the two countries, America's former masters had a grudging, newfound respect for the Americans, especially their navy. As Winston Churchill (himself half-American) wrote in his monumental *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, "Anti-American sentiment in Great Britain ran high for several years, but the United States was never again refused proper treatment as an independent Power. The British Army and Navy had learned to respect their former colonials."

11 Days in December: Christmas at the Bulge, 1944 by Stanley Weintraub, Free Press, New York, 2006, 256 pp. illustrations, index, hardcover.

In December 1944, Adolf Hitler gambled on his most audacious plan yet: a surprise attack on the Allies just before Christmas in 1944. What would become known as the Battle of the Bulge was the Nazi leader's last-ditch effort to defeat the British, Canadian, and American units then poised to strike at Germany itself.

Through various accounts from the top commanders down to the privates in the foxholes, Weintraub explains how the Americans fought off the German onslaught in spite of scant supplies and bone-chilling temperatures. The weather was dismal, and snow and low overcast skies prevented aircraft from flying missions to support the ground troops. Without air cover, the battle became an infantryman's war until the stormy conditions passed and the sun finally appeared.

Losses on both sides were harrowing: Americans suffered nearly 81,000 killed, wounded and missing. The German losses were even worse, with over 98,000 casualties. In addition, thousands of French and Belgian civilians were killed as well. The abortive German breakthrough at the Ardennes was costly for all involved. But in the final analysis, the Battle of the Bulge would prove to be the last turning point of World War II.

The Pirate Coast: Thomas Jefferson, the First Marines, and the Secret Mission of 1805 by Richard Zacks, Hyperion, New York, 2005, 432 pp., illustrations, index, $25.95, hardcover.

If you like intrigue, action, and suspense, then *The Pirate Coast* is the book for you. In 1805, nearly 300 American sailors and Marines were taken prisoner when the USS *Philadelphia* ran aground in Tripoli harbor. President Thomas Jefferson sent an unlikely individual, disgraced Army officer and diplomat William Eaton, on a covert mission to rescue the beleaguered Americans from the hands of the Tripoli pirates.

What transpired was an amazing story of endurance and courage in the face of overwhelming odds, as Eaton and his small party traveled across the harsh African terrain to free his fellow countrymen. Despite Jefferson's last-minute withdrawal of money and troops, the Americans reached their objective and successfully completed their task.

Eaton returned to the United States and publicly denounced Jefferson for his lack of support. The wily Jefferson soon went on the defensive and turned the tables on Eaton, who was himself publicly humiliated. Nonetheless, it was Eaton who deserved the credit for giving the country a newfound respect on the world scene.

The Few: The American "Knights of the Air" Who Risked Everything to Fight in the Battle of Britain by Alex Kershaw, Perseus Books Group, Cambridge, MA, 2006, 344 pp., photographs, index, $25.00, hardcover.

In 1940, Great Britain was fighting for her very survival against a determined Nazi Germany that was bent on subjugating the English in its ruthless quest for world domination. The British fought on valiantly and fully expected an invasion from Adolf Hitler's army at any moment.

A small band of pilots formed the nucleus of the Royal Air Force, which met the Luftwaffe in the skies over England. Outmanned and outnumbered, the RAF pilots managed to successfully outfight the Nazis. Eager to get involved, some Americans left the safety of the United States and volunteered to fly with the RAF.

Rebelling against America's neutral stance at this early point of the conflict, the inexperienced pilots, with minimal training, dared to meet top German aces and assist England in defeating tyranny. They became known as the "Knights of the Air" and were renowned in Great Britain. By the fall of 1940, the RAF had turned the tide and beaten back Hitler's fanatical air force. Sadly, only one American Knight of the Air would be alive when peace finally came in 1945. This book is a lasting tribute to his—and their—memory.

The Search for Corporal Dow by Eugene C. & Linda M. Solyntjes, Precision Shooting, Inc., 2006, 212 pp., hardcover.

The authors have written an excellent reference book surrounding a Sharp's rifle and the mysterious Union soldier who owned it. The story is an exciting sojourn that resulted in discovering the identity of Union Corporal William H. Dow, who first enlisted in Company I, 2nd Wisconsin Regiment, in 1861 and served for three years. Taken prisoner by the Confederates, Dow was released and later fought at Second Bull Run, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg. He mustered out but returned to the army and was assigned to Company K, 2nd Regiment, I Corps, where he was issued his Sharp's rifle. The old veteran survived the conflict and died in the Old Soldier's Home in 1927.

Included in the book are a multitude of websites, addresses, and various organizations to assist the reader who wishes to investigate a relative who may have served during that same period. Also, a history of various rifles and pistols photographed in color are in the book as well. □

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soldiers

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newest marshal. As Napoleon prepared to leave Leipzig, he turned to Poniatowski. "You will defend the suburb of the south," he said. "Sire," replied the prince, "I have very few men." Napoleon countered, "You will defend it with those you have." "We will remain," said Poniatowski. "We are all ready to die for Your Majesty." Deeply moved by the words, Napoleon tearfully embraced Poniatowski and then departed, scant hours ahead of the enemy.

The retreat began during the early morning hours of October 19. By early afternoon, the allies were attacking with such force that the French officer responsible for demolishing the Elster bridge panicked and blew up the span while it was still crowded with French troops. Poniatowski and his rear guard were cut off from the rest of the army and in danger of being swallowed up by the allies. Faced with the overwhelming onslaught of enemy forces, Poniatowski addressed his men for the last time. "Gentlemen," he said, "here we must fall with honor."

With sword uplifted and a small band of brave followers around him, the new marshal charged into the mass of enemy soldiers before him. Although severely wounded, Poniatowski managed to summon the strength to prevent the allies from capturing his men as they swam across the river to join their comrades. Finally, when loss of blood would no longer permit him to hold his sword, Poniatowski vaulted onto his horse and charged into the churning waters of the river. As his horse struggled up the steep opposite bank, the earth gave way, causing the horse to fall back on its rider. Too weak from his various wounds to swim, Poniatowski disappeared into the water and never rose again. His body was found five days later.

According to General Anne-Jean Savary, Napoleon's minister of police, "It was impossible to be more brave than was this prince: impetuous, magnanimous, and always amiable, he was as much esteemed by those against whom he combated, as regretted by the party whom he served." The allies staged a magnificent funeral for the fallen leader, whose family they had driven from the throne and whose country they had divided and plundered. The prince's followers, who had battled by his side to the last, pressed in silence around the coffin with tears streaming down their faces, as they gazed upon the last of the royal line, the only hope of Poland. "Poniatowski," said Napoleon, "was a noble character, full of honor and bravery." □

hessians

Continued from page 35

presence of the German army felt by the British Army but also by the American forces as well. Allying itself with the United States, France, under the approval of King Louis XVI, ordered an *expédition particulière* to be sent to assist the colonies with their rebellion. Under the command of Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau, was one German contingent, the Royal Deux Ponts, or Zweibrucken regiment. Through a series of political maneuvers between Rochambeau and Benjamin Franklin, the Royal Deux Ponts was chosen for American service. Following its arrival in North America, the regiment participated in the attack on Loyalist fortifications on Lloyds Neck, Long Island, in July 1781, as well as the defense of Newport, Rhode Island, in August of that same year.

In October 1781 the regiment joined the forces under Washington as he closed in on Cornwallis's army at Yorktown. On October 14, under the command of its colonel-commandant, the Count de Forbach, the Royal Deux Ponts participated in the assault on the British positions. With the surrender of a series of British redoubts, and with the French navy blockading Chesapeake Bay, the British forces were forced to surrender on October 19. Surrendering along with several thousand British and Loyalist troops were the German forces. Following the surrender ceremony, a German eyewitness of the Royal Deux Ponts described the regiments of the principality of Ansbach that were then with Cornwallis's army as "very handsome and neatly dressed, better even than the Hessians."

With the war finally at a close, the Germans evacuated their positions throughout the colonies and set sail for their homeland. Of the more than 18,000 German troops who had served in America, some 7,700 had died of wounds or disease. From Sandy Hook, New York, the various German regiments embarked for distant shores on November 25, 1783. It was not until April 20, 1784, that their transports would finally arrive in Europe. Some of their compatriots were not among them. Having toured the colonies widely during the seven years that they were there, many German soldiers chose to stay behind—an estimated 5,000 in all. Those who remained settled in such places as Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Nova Scotia, and other congenial locations throughout the colonies. A force that had come to fight the Americans stayed to help them build a new country. □

blood on the snow

Continued from page 45

long enough to allow Clayton to withdraw his division and form it in the woods astride Franklin Pike, half a mile away. Both armies were now in motion, heading south. The drizzle turned into driving rain, mixing with the snow on the ground. Franklin Pike quickly became clogged with thousands of shaken soldiers, abandoned wagons, and riderless horses. Hood later wrote, "I beheld for the first and only time a Confederate army abandon the field in confusion."

With the battle lost, Hood's task was to save as much of his army as he could. He sent Chalmers with his two depleted brigades to set up a barrier near Granny White Pike. Soon Wilson's four divisions arrived, and vicious, hand-to-hand fighting ensued in the rain and darkness, lasting long enough to enable Hood to get the bulk of his army safely onto Franklin Pike and headed south. Thomas arrived on the scene, miles in advance of the infantry. "Dang it to hell, Wilson!" cried the normally unflappable commander. "Didn't I tell you we could lick 'em? Didn't I tell you we could lick 'em if only they would let us alone?"

After two days of heavy fighting, both armies faced further hardships. In the coldest winter in Tennessee in decades, Hood's ragged army slogged through the rain, sleet, and snow, followed closely by Wood's infantry and Wilson's cavalry in a race for the Tennessee River. In his retreat Hood was aided by three factors: inclement weather that turned the roads to mud; lack of forage for the Union pursuers; and the excellent rearguard actions of Lee, Chalmers, and the redoubtable Forrest, who rejoined the army at Columbia. Just as Thomas had been badgered to attack Hood without delay in the first days of December, now he was urged by his superiors hundreds of miles away to mount a vigorous pursuit to complete the destruction of the fleeing enemy. Grant, as usual, had nothing good to say—it wasn't long before he was telling his subordinates that Thomas was "too slow to attack, not vigorous enough in pursuit."

When Hood's dispirited army finally crossed the Tennessee River into Alabama on the night of December 25-26, Thomas called a halt to his pursuit. The Confederate invasion of Tennessee was over, and the gallant Army of Tennessee would never again take the field as an effective fighting force. Despite what Grant and Halleck said—and would continue to say—about his alleged "case of the slows," Thomas had won one of the most decisive victories of the entire war. □

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