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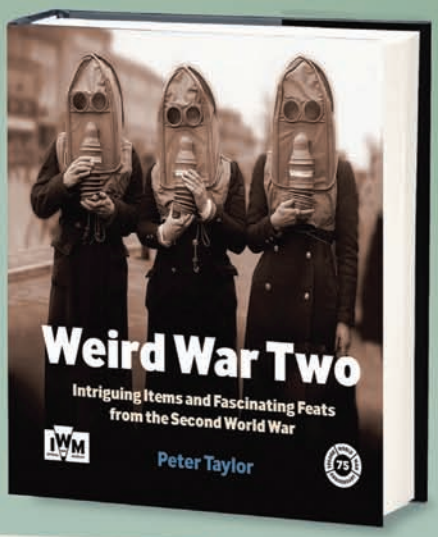

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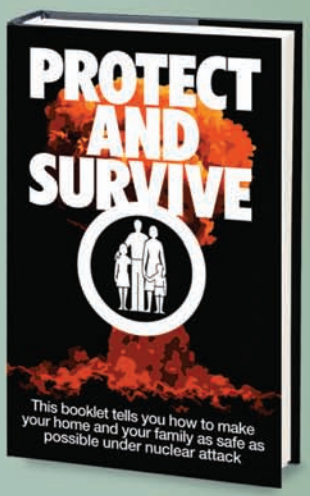

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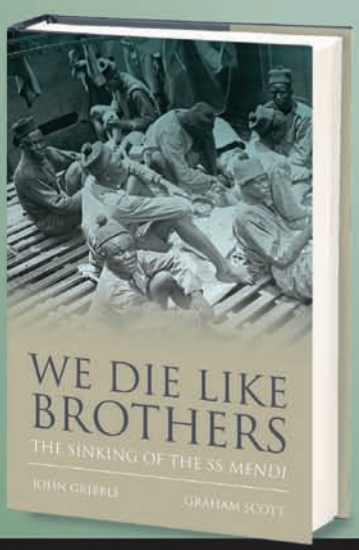

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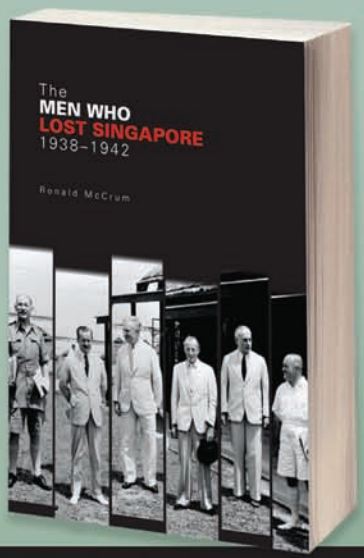

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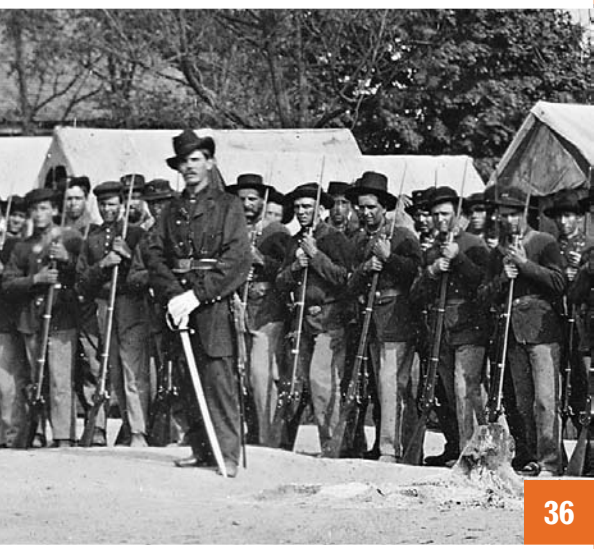

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A Sorrowful Death in the Alleghenies

RATHER THAN EMBRACE HIS APPOINTMENT TO command the Confederate forces in northwestern Virginia with enthusiasm, Brig. Gen. Robert S. Garnett expressed morbid dread. "They have not given me an adequate force," Garnett was overheard to say the day before he left Richmond for the battlefront in the Alleghenies. "I can do nothing. They have sent me to my death."

At the time, Garnett was serving as adjutant general of Virginia's volunteer army under Robert E. Lee. Garnett graduated from West Point in 1841 and served on the staff of Maj. Gen. Zachary Taylor during the Mexican-American War. Having served in the U.S. 4th Artillery Regiment, he was well qualified to step forward and direct the crew of a 12-pounder at the Battle of Buena Vista when its commander was seriously wounded.

Tragedy stalked Garnett. While serving at Fort Simcoe in the Washington Territory his wife and only child, who resided with him at the fort, both died of fever in September 1858. "One day he went off on a mission," wrote Mary Boykin Chestnut. "They were gone six weeks....When he came back, his wife and child were underground."

In the wake of the Confederate defeat at Philippi on June 3, 1861, the Confederate government promoted Garnett to brigadier general and sent him off to stabilize the situation in the Tygart Valley. But Brig. Gen. George B. McClellan defeated part of his army at Rich Mountain. Garnett then led 3,500 Confederates at Laurel Hill on a retreat through rugged terrain with a Union force in hot pursuit.

Garnett's intention was to gain the Cheat Valley and from there make it to Staunton. Garnett refused to leave his wagons and artillery behind, and it slowed his column considerably. When the two-mile-long column reached Shaver's Fork of the Cheat River, it found the tributary had risen considerably from the heavy rains. Garnett deployed the 23rd Virginia and 1st Georgia Regiments as a rear guard to protect his wagons. He planned to have one regiment pass through the other and reform in leapfrog fashion to keep the Yankees at bay.

The Federals struck on July 13. After the Confederates had forded the twisting river twice, a sharp action took place at Corrick's Ford where Confederate wagons had a difficult time crossing through the swift-flowing water. Three Rebel guns atop an 80-foot ridge banged away at the Federals. Colonel William B. Taliaferro's 23rd Virginia beat back two Federal assaults in a 30-minute clash in which the Virginians suffered 30 casualties. At the next crossing located a half-mile downstream, Garnett posted 10 sharpshooters behind driftwood on the riverbank. Taliaferro urged Garnett, who was mounted, to ride to safety. "The post of danger is now my post of duty," replied Garnett.

While Garnett and an aide, Sam Gaines, were posting the men, they heard a wounded Rebel screaming in agony on the far bank. Gaines rode back to retrieve the soldier, who had suffered a horrible wound in the lower face. By then, sharpshooters on both sides were sniping at each other. Bullets zipped through the air. Black smoke hovered over the rushing water.

Gaines ducked, and Garnett gently scolded him for it. Sergeant R.F. Burlingame of the 7th Indiana Regiment was one of the Federal sharpshooters tracking Garnett. At the moment that Garnett turned in his saddle and ordered his men to retire, he was struck in the back. He tumbled hard to the ground, dying almost instantly. The Rebels had withdrawn, leaving Garnett's body to the mercy of the Yankees.

The Federals broke off their pursuit. They returned Garnett's body to his family for burial. He was the first of many generals to fall in the long war.

— *William E. Welsh*

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WARFAREHISTORYNETWORK
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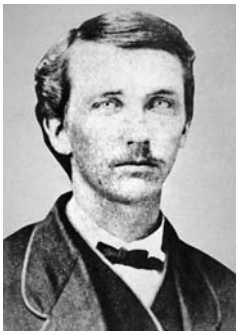
By David A. Norris

Kansas Brigadier James Henry Lane's zealous prosecution of the Union cause made him a marked man in the western theater.



Quantrill's raiders carried out the infamous mid-war raid that resulted in the slaughter of noncombatants in Lawrence, Kansas. ABOVE: Lane's arch enemy, Confederate Partisan William Quantrill.

AT DAWN ON AUGUST 21, 1863, 450 CONFEDERATE IRREGULARS under William C. Quantrill descended on the town of Lawrence, Kansas. To Quantrill's men, Lawrence was a center of Union loyalty and the focal point of their hatred. They would leave the town in ashes and its streets filled with dead men. At the top of their lethal agenda in Lawrence was the capture of the number one enemy of the secessionist Border Ruffians of Missouri: U.S. Senator James Henry Lane of Kansas.

Born in Indiana in 1814, James Henry Lane was the son of lawyer and congressman Amos Lane. Lane followed his father into the practice of law but left the bar when war broke out with Mexico in 1846. He subsequently was chosen as colonel of the 3rd Regiment of Indiana Volunteers and distinguished himself at the Battle of Buena Vista.

After the war ended, Lane went into politics. Service as lieutenant governor of Indiana was followed by one term in Congress. When his term was up, he moved to the Kansas Territory in 1855.

In the U.S. Congress, Lane voted for the Kansas-Nebraska Act, a law that established Kansas and Nebraska as territories with the prospect of future statehood. This 1854 act superseded the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which admitted Missouri as a slave state while creating no new slave states farther north than the southern boundary of Missouri. Kansas and Nebraska were north of that line, but now by the doctrine of popular sovereignty, citizens of the territories would decide whether to allow slavery when they were admitted to the Union.

All images: Library of Congress

Large numbers of settlers poured into Kansas, some intent on turning it into a new slave state and others who supported the Free State cause. Previously in politics, Lane had shown little interest in slavery or abolition. In Kansas, he saw the prevailing political consensus was anti-slavery, and he threw himself wholeheartedly into the Free State cause.

A flood of new arrivals from nearby Missouri tipped the first Kansas elections toward a pro-slavery territorial government. By 1856, anti-slavery men were again the majority in Kansas. Led by Lane, they met at Topeka and established a parallel Free State territorial government. They chose Charles Robinson as their governor and picked Lane to represent the territory in Congress. The federal government recognized only the original pro-slavery territorial administration, so Lane remained in Kansas.

Violence flared in Kansas as pro-slavery Missourians called Border Ruffians clashed with armed Free State adherents called Jayhawkers. Border Ruffians sacked the Free

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State town of Lawrence in May 1856. In retaliation, abolitionist John Brown and his men rode to Pottawatomie Creek and, using swords, killed five pro-slavery settlers. More acts of revenge followed, and about 50 people were killed as stories and illustrations of the fighting in "Bleeding Kansas" were splashed across the nation's newspapers.

The Free State legislature appointed Lane a major general of militia, but his primary place was at the forefront of Free State politics. He was a remarkable orator, captivating crowds with his antislavery speeches. Over six feet in height, with gaunt, sharp features, Lane was called the "Grim Chieftain." He seemed to care little about his appearance. Even when later posing for photos at Matthew Brady's studio, he looked unshaven and disheveled, with his hair wildly awry.

In 1861, Kansas joined the Union as a free state. As one of the Free State movement's most prominent leaders, Lane earned both the permanent hatred of the pro-slavery faction and a spot as one of the first U.S. senators from Kansas.

When the American Civil War broke out in April 1861, Lane was in Washington. In the early days of the war, the small regular U.S. Army was widely scattered at distant postings. No troops were on hand to defend the District of Columbia. Senator Lane rounded up more than 100 men for an emergency volunteer company. Most of his men hailed from Kansas or elsewhere in the West, so they dubbed themselves the Frontier Guard. Hastily outfitted with new muskets, they wore their own civilian clothing. Lane's men drilled under the glittering chandeliers of their quarters in the East Room and stood picket duty around the White House.

By the end of April, several regiments of state troops reached Washington, and the Frontier Guards were no longer needed. Lane stood out as a reliable man of action amid the chaos and uncertainty of the first few months of the new administration and, on June 20, 1861, U.S. President Abraham Lincoln appointed Lane a brigadier general of volunteers, authorizing him to raise troops in Kansas. "I think two regiments better than three, but as to this I am not particular," wrote Lincoln, who held Lane in high regard.

Lane soon returned to the West and established Lane's Kansas Brigade, a unit that would eventually include several partially completed regiments. The regimental commanders were well known to Lane from prewar Kansas politics. Colonel James Montgomery, a militia officer during the border wars, headed the 3rd Kansas. Colonel William Weer, a former territorial attorney general, commanded the 4th Kansas, and Colonel Hamilton P. Johnson, a member of a state constitutional convention, commanded the 5th Kansas.

James Henry Lane was one of many individuals who became embroiled in the cycle of violence and retribution that engulfed the Civil War in Missouri.

The first three regiments of Lane's brigade were intended to include infantry and cavalry, each with an attached battery of artillery. The 6th Kansas and 7th Kansas, which were entirely of cavalry, joined the brigade later.

On the other side of the Kansas border, Confederate Brig. Gen. Sterling Price commanded an army of secessionist militia, the Missouri State Guard. On August 10, 1861, Price defeated Union forces under Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Lyon at Wilson's Creek in southwestern Missouri. With 6,000 men, Price had an open path to clear Union forces out of Missouri's western counties.

With Price on the move, Lane left Fort Leavenworth for Fort Scott, which was now the key to southeastern Kansas. Although the U.S. Army had shut down its post there in 1853, it left behind a growing town. Fort Scott provided a launching point for moves against Rebels in Missouri or south into the Indian Territory, which came under Confederate control when the U.S. Army evacuated its posts there in April. Adding his partly recruited brigade to a few Kansas companies already on hand at Fort Scott, Lane soon had about 2,000 men. Many of them were former Jayhawkers.

Political divisions hampered the Union war effort in Kansas. Normally, a state governor would establish volunteer regiments and choose their field and staff officers. With Lincoln's open-ended commission, Lane competed with Governor Robinson for new recruits. Both men could reward political allies with officer commissions.

In the late summer of 1861, Lane, who was certain that Price intended to attack Fort Scott, pleaded for reinforcements. Robinson believed that Lane was a greater danger to Kansas than the secessionists of Missouri. "Some parties are interested to have war on our border, and consequently may not be impartial in their reports," the governor wrote Department of the West commander Maj. Gen. John C. Fremont on September 1. "What we have to fear is that Lane's Brigade will get up a war by going over the line, committing depredations, and returning into our State. This course will force the secessionists to put down any force we have for our own protection, and in this they will be joined by almost all the Union men in Missouri." He urged that Lane's men be sent deep into Kansas away from the border.

Rebel troops crossed into Kansas and captured several dozen mules at one of Lane's camps on September 1. With 600 men, Lane went in search of the Rebels. He decided to concentrate his remaining forces at Fort Lincoln. The remaining Union troops looted Fort Scott before abandoning the town.

A dozen miles east of Fort Scott at Dry Wood Creek, just inside Missouri, Lane caught up with the Rebels on September 2. Fighting began about 4 PM. A shot from one of the Union guns, under the command of Scottish-born Captain Thomas Moonlight of the 1st Kansas Battery, wrecked one of the Confederate cannons.

Heavily outnumbered, Lane withdrew after a two-hour clash. Five Union men were killed and six wounded. Because of the raid on the previous day, the clash at Dry Wood Creek was also known as the Battle of the Mules. In a

paradoxical twist of fate, the Missourians were unable to pursue Lane's men because heavy rains flooded Dry Wood Creek that evening. Price turned north toward Lexington, Missouri.

In a September 8 letter to Lane, the commander of Fort Leavenworth, Captain William Edgar Prince of the 1st U.S. Infantry, expressed the regular army's concerns about the behavior of his troops: "I hope you will adopt early and active measures to crush out this marauding which is being enacted in Captain [Charles R.] Jennison's name, as also yours, by a band of men representing themselves as belonging to your command," wrote Prince.

Jennison, a veteran of the antebellum border war, would later rise to command the 7th Kansas Cavalry, known as Jennison's Jawhawkers. Company K, which was filled with particularly ardent abolitionists, was commanded by Captain John Brown, Jr., son of the famous leader of the 1859 attack on the arsenal at Harpers Ferry. The regiment combined abolitionist zeal with looting and horse theft, so much so that a common joke had it that the pedigree of many a Kansas horse was "out of Missouri by Jennison."

Lane left Fort Lincoln and moved into Missouri on September 10 with 1,200 infantry, 600 cavalry, and two guns. The Kansas Brigade was not really in pursuit of Price, but intended to punish the secessionists of the border country. Lane and his officers paid little heed to the admonishments in Prince's letter. Reports of looting and arson followed in the path of the Kansas Brigade.

At Morristown, Missouri, on September 17, Colonel Johnson led an impulsive cavalry charge with the 5th Kansas. Just after uttering his last words, "Come on, boys," Johnson was shot dead. Lt. Col. John Ritchie, a prewar abolitionist leader, replaced Johnson. After taking the town the Kansans arrested five citizens, tried them before a drumhead court-martial, and shot them.

On September 23, part of Lane's expedition under Colonels Ritchie, Weer, and Montgomery captured the town of Osceola. Located at the head of navigation on the Osage River, the little town numbered 267 inhabitants in the 1860 Census. Osceola was the seat of St. Clair County. It was an odd coincidence that the county was named for General Arthur St. Clair, who was the grandfather of Lane's wife Mary.

A handful of militia under Captain John M. Weidemeyer fired on the Unionists outside of town. In a short skirmish, the heavily outnumbered Rebels suffered several casualties before they were driven away.

Anger at enemy militia firing on them plus

lingering resentment from the 1850s border war provoked a harsh fate for Osceola. Captain Moonlight bombarded the courthouse while the troops swept through the shops, stores, and homes. After carrying off what they wanted, the Kansas men set fire to the buildings including the home of Lane's fellow U.S. Senator Waldo P. Johnson.

The raiders "destroyed fully 100 houses, the larger portion business houses of all kinds, stores, offices, etc.," wrote Thomas D. Hicks, a witness to the damage. He recalled citizens later salvaging "salt, coffee, and many other articles ... in a damaged condition" and finding amid the ashes nails "melted in masses." In doomed warehouses and stores were hundreds of barrels of whiskey. Conscientious officers ordered their men to break open the barrels and pour out the contents. Some soldiers and civilians dipped containers into the streams of whiskey flowing from the smashed barrels. A rivulet of "whiskey on fire ran down a ravine 200 yards to the Osage River," wrote Hicks. Some accounts claimed that the raiders drank so much stolen liquor that many of them could not sit their horses, and they left Osceola piled into wagons and carriages.

The sack of Osceola became an infamous landmark in the growing cycle of violence and retribution that engulfed the Civil War in Missouri. Primary sources regarding Osceola, as well as other events of the bitter warfare in Missouri, are highly partisan and often contradictory. Even the size of the town of Osceola is disputed. Secessionists estimated the population at up to 2,500, although the U.S. Census of 1860 counted 267 free inhabitants.

Pro-Confederate sources stated that the raiders arrested nine or more men, held a quick court-martial, and then shot them. Lane "murdered no person after capture [and] I never saw any abuse of women," Hicks claimed. It seems no executions took place in Osceola, and these accusations were echoes of the very real shootings in Morristown.

Lane was actually several miles away from Osceola when his men hit the town. He tried to explain away the destruction. "The enemy ambushed the approaches to the town ... and took refuge in the buildings of the town to annoy us," wrote Lane. "We were compelled to shell them out, and in doing so the place was burned to ashes." News of the looting and destruction alarmed Lane's superiors and angered Missouri Rebels. More than ever, he was a marked man to the secessionists. Two years later, the destruction of Osceola would echo in one of the most infamous incidents of the Civil War.

With Lane's help, Union forces tightened their control of western Missouri, but higher commanders saw a greater problem. Lane's soldiers acted more like 1850s Jayhawkers than regular soldiers and seemed to eye every resident of Missouri as a rebellious traitor. Actually, Lane's raids slashed through a region that still had many neutrals and loyal Unionists. Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck fretted that Lane and his uncontrollable men would make western Missouri "as Confederate as Eastern Virginia."

Complaining of interference by Robinson and Union military commanders, Lane wrote Lincoln on October 9. He asked for 10,000 troops and command of a new military department consisting of Kansas, the Indian Territory, and part of Arkansas. Lane also stated that if given this assignment and freed from petty interference from government and military officials, he would resign his senate seat; if not, he would be compelled to give up his role in the army and return to politics.

A new Department of Kansas was created in November 1861. But, wary of Lane's hatred of Missourians and the troubles caused by his undisciplined brigade, the army gave the departmental command to Maj. Gen. David Hunter.

Lincoln still supported Lane, but his status as brigadier general was in doubt because it was illegal for a sitting senator (or other civilian government official) to hold military rank. Governor Robinson believed that Lane was ineligible to remain in the Senate. For months, Lane tried to hold on to his senate seat and his general's stars, even though Robinson tried to appoint a new senator in his place.

In January 1862 Lincoln chose Lane to lead an expedition into the Indian Territory. Lane squabbled with Hunter and refused to serve under him. Under pressure, Lane refused his general's commission in a February 16, 1862, letter to Lincoln. He chose to remain in the Senate.

Lane's Kansas Brigade was dissolved between February and April 1862. This was due in part to the brigade's controversial and heavy-handed treatment of Missourians. "I will now keep them out of Missouri, or have them shot," Halleck warned Washington of the Jayhawkers on March 25, 1862.

The unusual structure of Lane's brigade did not fit the War Department's model, so its units were broken up and reorganized as traditional regiments. Its infantry companies became the 10th Kansas Infantry, and the cavalry and artillery companies were transferred to regiments in their respective branches of the service. The new organizations were out of Lane's control and, like other state volunteer regiments, under the governor of the state.

Pro-Union Jayhawkers led by Colonel Charles Jennison attack civilians in Missouri. The U.S. Army faced a formidable challenge controlling irregulars prone to marauding.

Even without a general's commission, Lane still kept an active hand in the war. He pushed to raise the 1st Kansas Colored Volunteers, arguably the first regiment of African American troops in the Union Army. Their organization began at Fort Lincoln in August 1862. Although its 10 companies were not officially mustered in until early 1863, the regiment saw action at Island Mound, Missouri, on October 29, 1862.

Guerrilla units only loosely affiliated with the Confederate or Union armies committed atrocities that inflamed the war along the Kansas-Missouri border into an uncontrollably dark and vicious conflict. Most deadly of the guerrilla war's raids was the destruction of Lawrence, Kansas, by 450 secessionist irregulars led by William Quantrill.

At dawn on August 21, 1863, Quantrill's force rode into Lawrence intent on killing every man they found. Quantrill's men specifically targeted Lane's house. They found his bed warm but empty. The Grim Chieftain heard the spattering gunfire, the shouts, and the screams in time to slip out of his house. He hid in a cornfield while smoke rose from the burning town. The raiders left Lawrence in ruins and killed over 175 townsmen.

Fatally wounded near the end of the war, Quantrill reflected on the years of bitter fighting in Missouri and Kansas. A witness claimed that the dying Quantrill stated that if he had caught Lane at Lawrence he "would have burned him at the stake."

Lane was reelected to the Senate early in 1865, but the end of the war brought him no peace. Shocking his political allies, he moderated his rhetoric and supported President Andrew Johnson's mild policies toward the former slave states. Amid a rising chorus of anger at what many Kansas voters felt was a betrayal and rumors of financial malfeasance, Lane's life fell apart. On a visit to Leavenworth on July 1, 1866, Lane put a gun to his head and pulled the trigger. Like his enemy Quantrill, he lived for several days before succumbing to his wound. Kansas journalist Milton W. Reynolds later summed up Lane as a "weird, mysterious and partially insane, partially inspired, and poetic character." □

By Christopher Miskimon

The Wild Weasel concept gave the U.S. Air Force an effective method for destroying North Vietnamese radar and air defense missile systems.

BELOW: A camouflaged F-105F Thunderchief armed with AGM-45 Shrike missiles on a Wild Weasel mission in 1966. ABOVE: Captains Allen Lamb and Jack Donovan before their historic mission in 1965.

CAPTAIN JOHN E. DONOVAN, AN ELECTRONIC WARFARE OFFICER, monitored the equipment in his F-100F Super Sabre fighter. It was December 22, 1965, and his plane was part of a strike mission searching out enemy antiaircraft sites. Two days earlier, a similar mission had gone badly, resulting in the loss of a plane and its crew. As the F-100F in which he was flying raced through the skies over North Vietnam, Donovan detected a signal from enemy radar known as a Fan Song. He notified the pilot, Captain Allen T. Lamb, who began maneuvering the plane to help locate the radar. Lamb took the plane down until the signal disappeared and then ascended until they picked it up again, using the mountains and valleys to help them avoid becoming a target themselves. The two men were flying over the southwestern section of the Red River Valley, which was situated northwest of Hanoi.

Streaking around a hill, Lamb took the F-100F up to 4,500 feet and began looking for the radar and its attendant SA-2 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs). He saw the SAM deployed in the middle of what looked like a village. He noted the tips of three missiles bristling out from beneath a thatched hut, which afforded the missile battery good camouflage. Wasting no time, Lamb radioed the accompanying F-105D Thunderchief fighter bombers to follow his lead. The F-100 swooped down on the enemy position and fired rockets to mark the target for the bombing runs. The F-105 strike succeeded in knocking out the battery. Debris from the destroyed SAM site flew 400 feet into the air amid a column of smoke.

The American aviators had little time to enjoy their triumph. Donovan detected another Fan Song radar. He could tell this one was already well into its attack cycle, detecting what was known as a high-pulse repetition frequency. This meant that the enemy was only about 30 seconds from launching. The operator would double the frequency at this point to provide a sharper radar image. The entire flight turned back toward its base in Thailand, dropping to low altitude to avoid the Fan Song. One victory was enough for the day. The team had successfully proven a new concept of air warfare designed specifically to target the radars that were vital for modern guided missiles to track their targets. The concept, which was code-named Wild Weasel, was coming of age.

As air warfare evolved during the latter half of the 20th century, aircraft had more to worry about than just enemy cannons and machine guns. Advances in rocketry led to powerful new antiaircraft missiles, and developments in electronics

All Photos: U.S. Air Force

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ABOVE: The F-100F flown by Captains Allen Lamb and Jack Donovan on the first successful mission of the Wild Weasel program in North Vietnam on December 22, 1965. RIGHT: A surface-to-air missile explodes next to an F-4 Phantom. During the final years of the Vietnam War, the North Vietnamese had as many as 200 SA-2 sites in North Vietnam.

greatly increased the capability of radar and guidance systems. The antiaircraft missiles of the World War II-era could barely be counted on to strike a large area target, but by the 1960s much smaller versions could track aircraft in the sky. The pace of progress was accelerating and air forces around the world struggled to counter each new improvement.

In the first months of the Second Indochina War, commonly known as the Vietnam War, American aircraft began to suffer losses from North Vietnamese SAMs, which were supplied by the Soviet Union. The SAMs covered medium-to-high altitudes, up to 60,000 feet in the case of the SA-2. When U.S. aircraft came in at low altitude to avoid the missiles, they were vulnerable to traditional antiaircraft fire. To counter this threat, the U.S. Air Force initiated a program called Wild Weasel. The program became so successful that the name has since been applied to every U.S. Air Force aircraft developed for this sort of mission.

The mission of a Wild Weasel aircraft is to locate enemy antiaircraft radar and either destroy it or target it for attack by other aircraft, usually accompanying ground attack planes. Radar systems send out waves of energy that reflect off targets, such as aircraft, and return to the radar device, allowing radar operators to track and target the aircraft. But these waves can themselves be detected and tracked back to their source, revealing the position of the radar and allowing the hunted to become the hunters. Accomplish this task requires specialized equipment and weapons not carried by regular aircraft.

The U.S. Air Force began the Wild Weasel program in October 1965, just a few months after the North Vietnamese SAMs, crewed largely by Soviet advisers, began taking their toll of American planes. By early November the basic equipment had been tested and field testing began. Electronic Warfare Officers (EWOs) learned how to operate the electronics and read the displays that would lead them to enemy radar. Those radars not only had to turn on to lock onto a target, but also had to stay on long enough to track it and then home in on it. The test missions were flown against American radar systems that were similar to the Fan Song. EWOs learned that their equipment worked best at medium altitudes flying directly toward the radar beam's point of origin. Results were poor when flying at low altitude or parallel to the source.

The Wild Weasel proved able to detect the Fan Song radar signals beyond the 17-mile range of the SA-2, but it had to get closer to pinpoint the exact location. Once the signal was detected a device called a panoramic scan receiver gave an initial direction the plane could follow to close the range. As the distance grew shorter the signal grew stronger. The shorter range vector homing and ranging set could then start detecting it. The EWO could compare readings to ensure they were on the proper heading and roughly gauge the distance. With that determination made, the crew could search visually for the SAM position. The field testing ended on November 18 and the crews were sent to Southeast Asia for operational testing. There, they would have three months to figure out how to best take the fight to the SAMs.

The new Wild Weasel F-100F aircraft arrived at Korat, Thailand, along with their crews, mechanics, and support personnel on November 24. They soon began flying missions over North Vietnam. By late December Donovan and Lamb had knocked out their first SAM site, and the program was on its way to becoming a staple of the U.S. Air Force in Vietnam. The U.S. Air Force dubbed the initial missions Iron Hand. The missions were made up of one F-100F and three or four F-105D Thunderchief fighter bombers, affectionately known as Thuds. The Thuds were faster than the older F-100s and therefore had to fly in a weaving formation to avoid passing the slower lead aircraft.

The evaluation period ended in January 1966. While the concept was sound, it was recognized that the F-100F was too obsolete to perform effectively. To replace it, the Air Force tested the two-seat F-105F as a Wild Weasel and the first five planes arrived in Korat in May 1966. Another half dozen aircraft arrived a month later.

While the Air Force was steadily improving its aircraft, the U.S. Navy designed a new weapon to make the risky job of destroying SAM sites easier. The AGM-45 Shrike was a modification of the Sparrow air-to-air missile designed specifically to home on radar. It was the first of a series of antiradiation missiles that would allow the Wild Weasels to engage the SAMs with more than just unguided rockets. It carried a 149-pound warhead that could easily destroy a radar unit such as the Fan Song. To target a particular radar, the Wild Weasel pilot had to fly directly at it until he was close enough for the homing system to work. The initial versions of the Shrike could not do that until they were within range of the SA-2.

Since the Shrike's rocket motor burned out after 10 seconds, this meant that the missile continued its flight unguided. Still, as long as the missile was aimed accurately it would still detonate within 20 feet of the radar. As a countermeasure, the radar operators would turn their system off, which often threw the missile off track. This was not a complete loss, though, as a switched-off radar was useless for guiding SA-2s.

The first U.S. Air Force use of the Shrike mis-

sile occurred on April 18, 1966, when a Wild Weasel used one to target a SON-9 radar that was used to direct the fire of 57mm and 100mm antiaircraft guns. The missile disappeared into some haze before striking the target, but the EWO noted the radar stopped functioning, indicating it had been damaged. Nevertheless, Wild Weasels remained vulnerable to gunfire and enemy fighters. By August 1966 only four of the 11 F-105Fs in Thailand were still operable. Other fighter wings operating the F-105Fs had lost five aircraft with two other damaged beyond repair. In October a half dozen replacements arrived and were split between the various units to allow them all to operate.

As missions continued, the limitations of the Shrike were noted by the aircrews. The North Vietnamese radar operators realized the Wild Weasel aircraft had to fly straight at their target so they would turn off their radars whenever they saw a plane coming directly toward them. They also recognized that Wild Weasel hunter-killer teams operated in groups of four or five aircraft. Since this was smaller than the normal strike missions, they would simply shut down while the Americans were nearby. In addition, they started operating their radars for shorter periods.

The U.S. Air Force aviators noticed the North Vietnamese counters and developed new tactics of their own. They would fly threateningly toward enemy SAM sites just to get them to shut down. Sometimes they would bomb suspected radar sites just to keep their opponents off balance while strike missions were in the area. If a radar crew was bold enough to start transmitting, the Wild Weasels would quickly and aggressively attack it. They would also fly close to the strike missions to avoid standing out so the enemy would switch on their radars long enough to be targeted. Over time simply suppressing the radars became more of a priority than actually destroying them.

One of the most famous Wild Weasel mission of the war took place on March 10, 1967, against the Thai Nguyen Steel Works 40 miles north of Hanoi. This factory complex was protected by an extensive radar-controlled antiaircraft network. F-105 pilot Captain Merlyn Dethlefsen took off carrying a load of bombs in addition to a pair of Shrike missiles. The young pilot wondered how much damage the Shrike could do by itself and hoped that by attacking with heavier weapons he might inflict substantial damage.

Dethlefsen was flying with another F-105 Wild Weasel and a pair of F-105D bombers. Together they made up a standard Iron Hand flight. They flew 30 to 45 miles ahead of the main strike force, which equated to about five to seven minutes of flying time. Once over the target, the aircraft would have to stay in the area, otherwise the enemy radar operators would just wait until they were gone and switch their sets back on when the strike force arrived. The factory was defended by both SAMs and traditional antiaircraft guns.

The F-4 Phantom proved capable of destroying SAM sites during the Linebacker operations of 1972 when the North Vietnamese possessed a daunting air-defense network.

As Dethlefsen and the other flyers of the Iron Hand force approached the target they encountered heavy fire from the ground. It was so dense he soon lost sight of the other aircraft in his flight; the smoke from bursting shells was so thick it obscured them. "The sky was just black," said Dethlefsen. "You know you're not bulletproof ... when explosions are rocking your wings and you can hear metal hitting metal." Captain Kevin Gilroy, his EWO, soon located a Fan Song radar despite the deluge of steel they were enduring. The pilot quickly launched a Shrike at it, but just as he did so a pair of MiG-21 interceptors attacked them from behind. One MiG-21 launched a heat-seeking missile at the F-105 and Dethlefsen dove to avoid it, flying straight through the layer of flak from the enemy antiaircraft guns.

Despite the danger, Dethlefsen stayed overhead until his fuel finally ran low. Gilroy detected another Fan Song and Dethlefsen used his other missile to attack it. Destroyed or not, it went quiet. Minutes later the pilot saw a radar van sitting amid another SA-2 missile site. Diving on it, he strafed the van with his 20mm cannon and blanketed the area with bombs. When they returned to base they expected some recognition for their actions, but some fighter pilots had shot down some MiGs and all the celebration was focused on them. Their skilled flying did not go unremembered, though. In early 1968 Dethlefsen was awarded the Medal of Honor and Gilroy received an Air Force Cross for their accomplishments over Thai Nguyen. Both would complete more than 100 missions over Vietnam.

Based on experiences such as those at Thai Nguyen, the U.S. Air Force began changing its tactics. It tightened the flying formations; now the strike force flew one minute behind the leading Iron Hand flight. A second Iron Hand group followed just behind or beside the strike force to deal with other enemy radar-guided weapons. Two flights could cover more area and continue covering the strike force throughout its attack and subsequent withdrawal. One flight could also serve as a decoy, tricking the radar crew into switching on after the first Iron Hand flight passed.

In March 1968, the U.S. Air Force also introduced the AGM-78 Standard Anti-Radiation Missile, which boasted a 219-pound warhead. It also had an improved guidance system that would allow the missile to continue tracking even if the radar was switched off after launch. The Standard Anti-Radiation Missile could turn up to 180 degrees after firing, so that the firing aircraft did not have to be flying directly at the radar to target it. The missile had a range of 75 miles, though Wild Weasel aircraft usually flew too low to fire them at that range and acquiring radar at that range was difficult at best.

In August 1967 another Wild Weasel flight covered a hazardous mission against a well-defended target. Lt. Col. James McInerney and his EWO Captain Fred Shannon flew against the defenses of the Paul Doumer

Continued on page 66

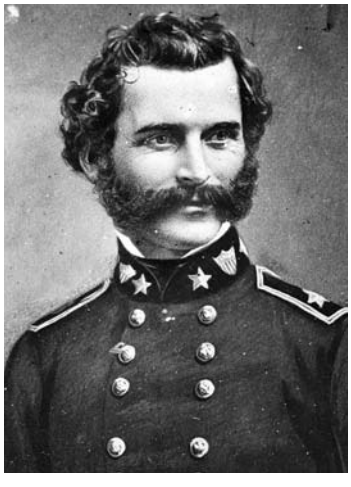
By William E. Welsh

John Maxwell placed a bomb aboard a cargo ship at City Point in August 1864 in a desperate bid to slow the flow of supplies to Union troops at Petersburg.

BY THE SUMMER OF 1864, IT WAS NO LONGER LIKELY THE ARMY OF Northern Virginia would invade the North a third time, would launch another major offensive, or even drive Union forces away from Richmond and Petersburg. The Army of Northern Virginia's only real hope lay in inflicting enough casualties on the Union armies to force the U.S. government to the peace table.

While General Robert E. Lee focused on winning the war in the trenches, two Confederate agents explored ways they might inflict severe damage on the sprawling Union supply depot at City Point where General Ulysses S. Grant had established his headquarters. The supply depot, located at the confluence of the James and Appomattox Rivers, supported upward of 100,000 Union soldiers and 65,000 animals following the start of the siege of Petersburg in June 1864.

Approximately 225 ships arrived daily at the supply depot to unload ammunition, food, building materials, and other equipment needed by the Union Army. A long warehouse made of pine paralleled the wharf and ran the length of it. On the opposite side of the warehouse from the wharf was a railroad track. The tracks ran from the warehouse to the front lines at Petersburg. The supplies were unloaded from the ships into the warehouse and then onto the railroad cars. By August, 275 railcars had been sent by boat from Washington to be used to transport food, ammunition, and equipment to the front.



A short walk beyond the railroad track was a row of buildings that included a post office, quartermaster's office, and Sanitary Commission office. In addition, sutlers had set up their tents and stalls in that location. Beyond the depot buildings at river level rose a tall bluff where the Eppes mansion was situated. The family had owned the tract for more than two centuries. Grant had established his headquarters on the grounds of the estate. The hilltop was covered with tents and frame cabins belonging to Grant's staff and various other Union troops. The commissary troops kept three million pounds of food stored on site in an effort to ensure that soldiers and horses could be supplied for one month in case the Confederacy man-

The explosion of U.S. Army ordnance barges at City Point as rendered by artist Alfred Waud.

RIGHT: Confederate Brig. Gen. Gabriel James Raines designed primers that he attached to artillery shells to make land mines.

All images: Library of Congress

aged to launch a successful attack by land or sea on the Union Army's supply lines.

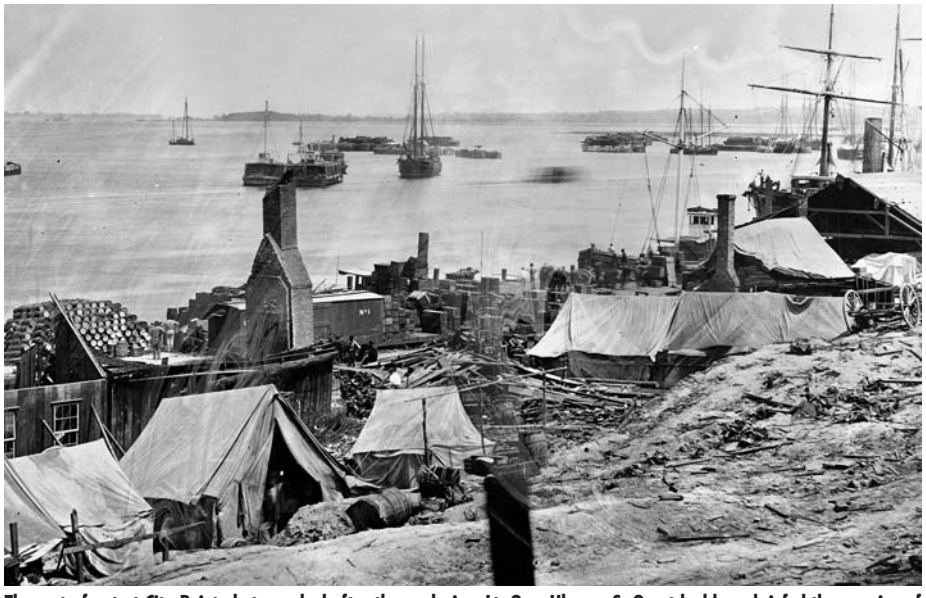
The Union Army went to great effort to protect its massive supply depot from Confederate raiders. Union soldiers had built an impressive fortified line around it that was studded with redoubts and watch towers. Artillery emplacements covered all the approaches from the James River. Sentries were on duty around the clock, and during the daytime hours they used field glasses to scan the countryside and river from their high perches. A successful attack by a Confederate raiding party would be an extremely difficult venture with little hope of success. But subterfuge might succeed where direct assault was not feasible.

Not long after the Union Army ramped up the City Point depot to support the operations of the Army of the Potomac before Petersburg, Captain Z. McDaniel of Company A of the Confederate Secret Service ordered Scottish-born Virginian John Maxwell to carry out an attack against Federal shipping on the James River using horological torpedoes; that is, bombs set off with a timing device.

Maxwell was no neophyte when it came to attacks against Union targets. He had extensive experience raiding Union shipping on the Chesapeake Bay in 1863 with privateer John Yates Beall. The bold privateer had carried out attacks with a band of about 18 compatriots aboard two boats, the *Raven* and the *Swan*. Union forces captured Beall in November 1863, but he was exchanged on May 5, 1864, at which point he focused his efforts on targets in the Northeast. Maxwell had served under Beall during his raiding days on the Cheseapeake. Maxwell's reputation preceded him, and the leadership of the Confederate Secret Service had complete faith in him.

Brigadier General Gabriel James Raines of Noth Carolina headed the Confederate Torpedo Bureau. In Civil War lexicon, "torpedo" was a general term for naval and land mines. Raines, who graduated from West Point in 1827, showed an early aptitude for explosives. While serving as commandant of Fort King in central Florida in 1840 during the Seminole War, he constructed a torpedo designed to foil Indian ambushes. His device consisted of an artillery shell with a detonating device. He resigned from the U.S. Army and was commissioned on September 23, 1861, as a brigadier general in the Confederate Army. During the Peninsula Campaign, he commanded a division in the Army of the Peninsula.

Although little is known about his experimentations with mines between that point and the outbreak of the Civil War, he and his men deployed land mines, known as subterra shells, in the path of the Union advance as the Confederates began withdrawing from Yorktown on May 3. The following day Union soldiers inadvertently detonated some of Raines' torpedoes. Raines designed and manufactured his own sensitive primers, which he attached to artillery shells to make land mines. Some members of the Confederate government and high command initially balked at the use of torpedoes in this manner, but they eventually embraced it as a way to offset the tremendous manpower and equipment advantages of the Union Army and Navy.



The waterfront at City Point photographed after the explosion. Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant had been briefed the morning of the explosion on the suspected presence of Confederate spies on the depot grounds. The explosion caused substantial damage in lives and property but in no way deterred the Union war effort.

Raines was wounded at the Battle of Seven Pines. When General Robert E. Lee assumed command of Confederate forces around Richmond, he asked Raines to oversee the mining of the James River to prevent Union naval forces from penetrating it as far as Richmond. When the Confederate Congress established the Confederate Torpedo Bureau in October 1862, Raines was an obvious choice to head the nascent organization. He eventually was vested with the authority to oversee all mine warfare endeavors throughout the South. During his tenure, he developed a system of torpedoes and mines that were used to protect Southern-held waterways, cities and ports, and field fortifications. He also developed a functioning land mine.

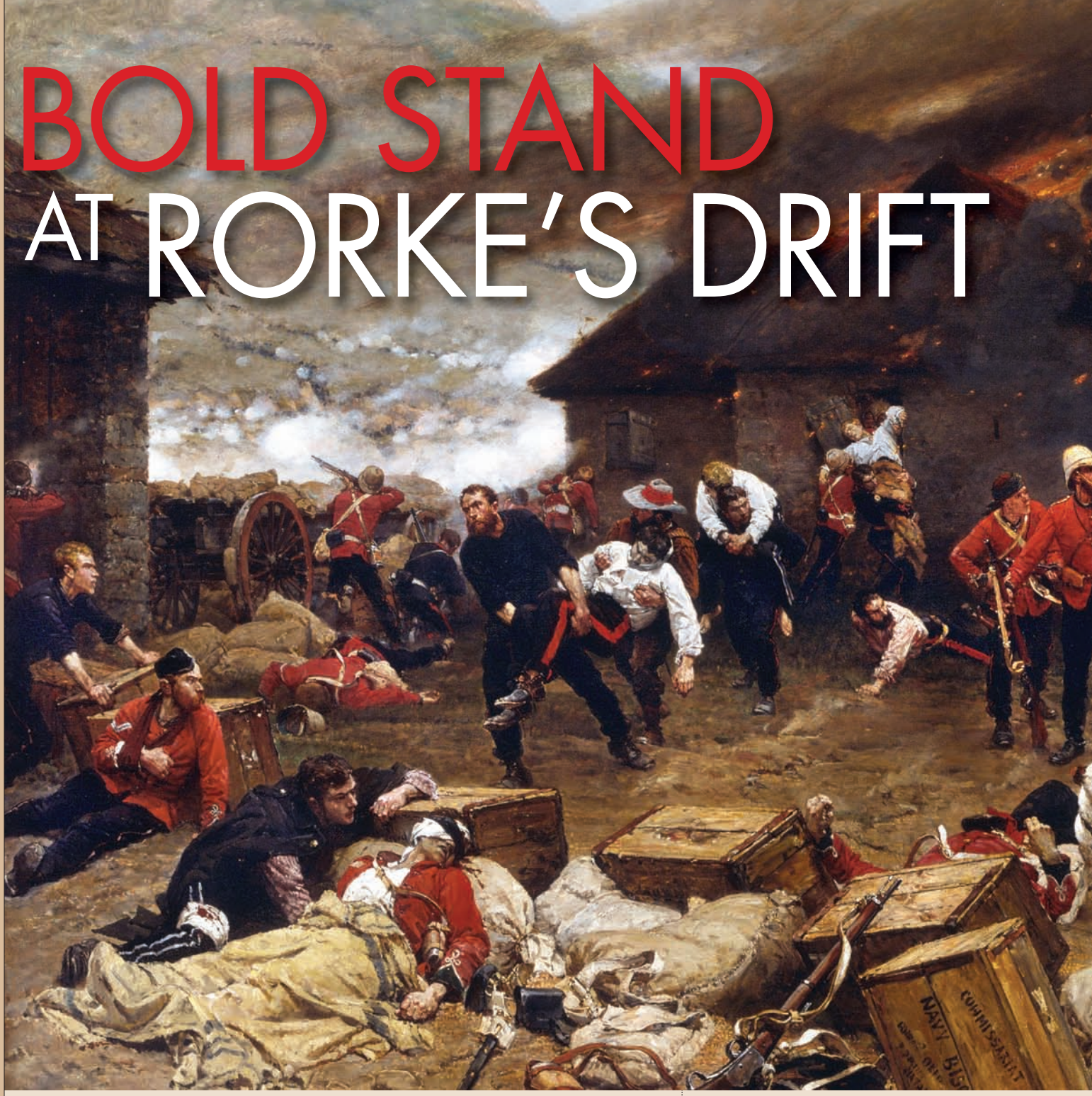
While Raines directed the Confederacy's Torpedo Bureau, his younger brother, George Washington Raines, directed operations at the preeminent Augusta Powder Works and Arsenal. Together, they became known as the Bomb Brothers. Naturally, the elder Raines could not personally oversee, much less carry out, all of the individual acts of laying naval and land mines for the Confederacy, and for that reason he and his staff trained and furnished materials for those who carried out individual efforts, particularly those bombing or booby-trap missions that were carried out as part of raids or sabotage against Union military infrastructure and equipment.

Brigadier General Raines ordered and approved the saboteur mission that Confederate Secret Service agent Maxwell would carry out against City Point. Captain McDaniel supplied Maxwell with a box loaded with 12 pounds of explosives and a timer. The explosives were stored in an innocuous candle box that had been purchased from a country store. Maxwell departed Richmond on July 26 accompanied by fellow agent R.K. Dillard, who had extensive knowledge of the James River environs. To elude Federal patrols, the two agents travelled under cover of night as much as possible.

The two agents wanted to cause as much damage as possible. On August 2 they learned that Federal ships were in the process of unloading a large shipment of supplies to City Point. Their slow progress from Richmond to City Point stands as proof of the difficulty they

Continued on page 64

BOLD STAND AT RORKE'S DRIFT



From atop the bluff overlooking a ford on the Buffalo River, Captain Alan Gardner, a staff officer in the British Army's 24th Regiment of Foot, looked down at the chaos and carnage being played out below him. The river was choked with the dead and dying bodies of men and horses. The hillside opposite swarmed with a triumphant enemy out for blood. Groups of British horsemen and foot soldiers raced at breakneck speed down the treacherous rocky face of a hill overlooking the ford in a desperate effort to gain the river and cross it to safety. Close on their heels were fleet-footed African warriors. The British force that had bivouacked at Isandlwana was in total rout. The horrific scene taking place at the ford, which was later dubbed Fugitive's Drift, better represented murder than honorable death in battle.

Gardner had last seen the men of the 24th Foot falling back slowly in the face of an overwhelming enemy assault at Isandlwana near the Buffalo River. The battle between the British Center Column and its Zulu attackers on January 22, 1879, had lasted for five hours. Gardner reasoned that by the time he reached the ford most of his comrades were dead. He began to think of what the enemy would do after his crushing victory. The detached flying column under Lt. Gen. Frederic Thesiger, 2nd Baron Chelmsford, was at Mangeni with the main Zulu army between it and Isandlwana. As the largest British force in the field, it would have to fend for itself. In the meantime, there were

The fury of a Zulu assault is captured in Alphonse-Marie-Adolphe de Neuville's epic painting of the battle. Lieutenant Gonville Bromhead is pointing in the center, and a helmetless Lieutenant John Chard is reloading at the barrier at the far right.

A scratch force of British soldiers achieved an improbable victory against thousands of Zulu warriors at an isolated outpost in January 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War.

BY ARNOLD BLUMBERG

two outposts on the British line of communication to worry about.

The garrisons at Rorke's Drift and Helpmekaar were in grave danger. They were isolated, lightly manned, and unfortified. The Rorke's Drift mission station was closest to the looming menace, just about seven miles upstream on the Buffalo River with apparently nothing to prevent the Zulus from descending on it within two hours. Stationed there was a small force of British Army regulars, African militia, and civilians. Helpmekaar was 12 miles southwest of Isandlwana, held by at most two British infantry companies.

Gardner, along with the majority of survivors from the Isandlwana debacle, elected to head for Helpmekaar because going to Rorke's Drift seemed to be tantamount to committing suicide. As Gardner turned his horse toward what he hoped was the safety of Helpmekaar, he sent a mounted soldier with a note of warning to the friendly garrison at Rorke's Drift. Gardner was not the only one to warn the garrison at Rorke's Drift. Other horsemen arrived at the outpost staying no longer than it took to deliver their doom-laden warning, then riding on. In some cases they cantered past the place without stopping, shouting their dreadful omen from a distance. None stopped to make a full report to an officer, thus avoiding any possibility of being ordered to remain.

The Battle of Isandlwana, from which Gardner and several hundred fugitive British regulars and

Art Gallery of New South Wales

native auxiliaries fled, was just the most recent episode in the complex relationship between the British Empire and its colony in South Africa. Early in the 17th century the English and Dutch established trading posts, notably at Cape Town, and used that port as an interim staging area from which to transport goods to and from India. The British took control of Cape Colony in 1795 to keep it out of the hands of Revolutionary France, which had conquered the Netherlands. Because of their leading role in maritime trade, the Dutch had extensive holdings in South Africa.

Before Great Britain annexed Cape Colony in 1806, the British had minimal interests in the colony. The colony's main use to Great Britain was as a deepwater port on the shipping route to the Far East. Cape Colony was populated by Dutch settlers known as Boers and hostile natives. The territory had little to appeal to anyone other than the Boers until the second half of the 1860s, when both gold and diamonds were discovered. To protect the empire's advantages, England annexed the Transvaal, a Boer territory north of the Cape Colony. The independent Boers resented British rule. As for the Zulus, they found both the Boers and British intolerable.

The Zulus and Boers had fought endless skirmishes for control of the lands of the Transvaal. By the 1870s, though, the Zulus were enclosed by British lands to the north in Transvaal, and to the south in Natal. Captain General Theophilus Shepstone, a British administrator of the native tribes, backed the Zulus in their claims of land against the Boers. But Shepstone eventually reversed his position, backing the Boers and leaving the Zulus feeling betrayed. Tension worsened when Cetshwayo took the Zulu throne in 1872. King Cetshwayo was a tyrant who commanded a highly disciplined, well-trained army numbering 40,000 men.

George Herbert, 5th Earl of Carnarvon, who was British Secretary of State for the Colonies, appointed Sir Henry Bartle Frere high commissioner of Cape Colony in 1877. Frere was responsible for the welfare of the tribes within the colony. He set about placing them under a more stable form of government. To achieve this, he planned to disarm the native tribes and administer their resources.

Frere sent Cetshwayo an ultimatum in December 1878 in which he demanded that the Zulu kingdom disband and that the tribesmen obey British law. When no reply to the request was forthcoming, Frere looked to the British military to force the Zulus to comply with the decree. This task fell to Lord Chelmsford, commander in chief of British forces in South Africa. Chelmsford had the impossible job of defending Natal against a large Zulu army along a porous 300-mile border.

To accomplish Frere's objectives, Chelmsford decided to launch a preemptive strike. His army was composed of 7,000 British regulars, 9,000 native levies, 1,100 militia, and two light artillery batteries. Chelmsford had no mounted units. As for the Boers, they declined to furnish troops. Without the assistance of the Boers and lacking mounted troops to screen his main force and reconnoiter the enemy positions, Chelmsford risked defeat.

Chelmsford divided his army into five columns. He designated three columns for the attack against the Zulu capital at Ulundi where Cetshwayo was based. The other two columns would defend the Natal or the Transvaal against an invasion by a portion of Cetshwayo's army. The British general hoped to encircle Cetshwayo's army and crush it. Chelmsford had experience fighting in South Africa, having engaged the Xhosa tribe in battle. The Xhosa had been unable to withstand British firepower, and Chelmsford assumed his regular troops would decimate the Zulus in a similar fashion.

Colonel C.K. Pearson's right flank column had orders to cross into Zululand via the Lower Drift of the Tugela River. Colonel R. Glyn's center column, which was accompanied by Chelmsford, was to cross into enemy territory by fording the Buffalo River at Rorke's Drift. Colonel H.E. Wood's left flank column was to enter Zululand via the Ncome River.

The two defensive columns would seek to block a Zulu counterattack into Natal. Colonel Anthony Durnford's column would take up a defensive position near the Middle Drift of the Tugela River, and Colonel H. Rowlands would deploy at Luneburg in the Transvaal. Rowlands was tasked not only with stopping any incursion by the Zulus, but also keeping a sharp eye on the truculent Boers. By the end of the first week of January, the British columns were in their respective positions. Chelmsford issued orders on January 11 for the attacking columns to cross the border into Zululand.

Steady rains halted the British columns just inside the frontier. It was not until January 20 that Chelmsford advanced to the base of the tall rocky outcrop known as Isandlwana. He had sent scouts from the Natal Native Contingent to look for the Zulus, and they reported sighting a heavy concentration to the southeast. Chelmsford therefore took approximately 2,500 men and early on the morning of the January 22 marched off to the southeast. He left Lt. Col. Henry Pulleine of the 24th Foot to command the 1,700 men that remained behind at Isandlwana. The British had made no attempt to fortify their position, partly because of the absence of Zulu forces on the frontier and also because they did not plan to stay long at that location.

The Zulus had camped the night before in a valley five miles from Isandlwana. Ntshingwayo KhozaIt led the 20,000 Zulus. He had no specific plans to attack the British that day, but he decided to attack nevertheless.

Pulleine formed his men in an extended line some distance southeast of the camp at Isandlwana. In the mistaken belief that they were encountering a small force of Zulus, he deployed his men in open order that diluted the effect of their lethal firepower. The lightly held British flanks were highly vulnerable to attack.

The Zulus employed their standing attack formation known as the horns of the bull. They first formed up on the ridges northeast of the British camp. The part of the army serving as the chest of the bull charged the center of the British line, while two sizable forces, which constituted the horns of the bull, outflanked the British line. The British soon found themselves encircled.

When the Zulus gained the British rear, a fierce melee ensued that negated the British advantage in firepower. By this time, British regulars had begun to flee to the camp with Zulus close behind. The weight of Zulu numbers led to the wholesale slaughter of the British force. After several hours, only 55 Europeans and 300 African auxiliaries remained from Pulleine's force.

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ABOVE: Although the Zulus had rifles, they relied on traditional weapons for close-range fighting. These included a broad-bladed stabbing spear, a light throwing spear, and an oval cowhide shield. OPPOSITE: A vastly superior Zulu army overwhelms the 1,700 British troops encamped at Isandlwana on the frontier of Zululand. The poorly led British force made no effort to fortify its position in the mistaken belief that there was no enemy force nearby.

Afterward, the Zulus plundered the dead and mutilated their bodies. The Zulu reserve known as the Undi Corps, which was disappointed that it had not been allowed to participate in the fighting, disobeyed orders and crossed the Buffalo River into Natal. The intention of the disobedient troops was to ambush a British relief column if one should appear. As they wandered about, they passed Rorke's Drift. Zulu scouts reported the depot was lightly fortified and manned by a weak garrison. Seizing the opportunity, Dabulamanzi, who was King Cetshwayo's half brother and the commander of the Undi Corps, decided to attack.

The Zulus who marched on Rorke's Drift during the afternoon of January 22, 1879, did not realize it, but their objective was an important link in the logistical chain supporting the British invasion of their homeland. The supply line ran from Durban through Natal, and the mission station at Rorke's Drift served as a vital crossing point for men and material over the Buffalo River into Zululand.

The British had several means to transport men and supplies across the Buffalo River at Rorke's Drift. One method was a prefabricated pontoon cable that spanned the river. It could transport an ox-drawn wagon or half a company of troops. In addition, troops could use a cask ferry made of timber and barrels to transport men and supplies across the river. Both the pontoon and ferry were operated by a hawser. The garrison also used a small boat that could carry about 15 men.

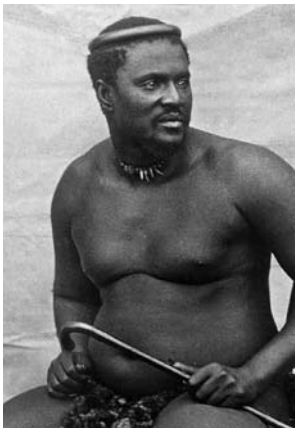
The mission comprised an outhouse, hospital building, storehouse, and a small masonry cattle kraal. Behind the storehouse was a cookhouse, and 10 yards northeast of the kraal was a large stock pen. The complex was nestled beneath the steep slopes of Shiyane Hill. A dirt road ran down to the drift north of the mission, with the Shiyane high ground on its right. On the opposite side of the river the road swung eastward in the direction of Isandlwana. The ground between the hospital and the stone wall was sloped. Just below the road was a stone wall that reached the cattle kraal.

When Chelmsford's Center Column forded the Buffalo River on January 11, it left behind 94 men of Company B, 2nd Battalion, of the 24th Infantry Regiment to guard Rorke's Drift. Fresh troops would soon arrive so that the men could rejoin their regiment. The Rorke's Drift garrison also included 500 native troops; these raw troops were armed with traditional African weapons.

Lieutenant Gonville Bromhead commanded Company B. He had 11 years of service in the British Army. Neither flashy nor ambitious, Bromhead was a seasoned infantry officer who knew his business and was a decent, warm-hearted individual, traits that earned him his men's loyalty and trust. He was assisted by Color Sergeant Frank Bourne, who was next in command of the regulars.

Supply operations at Rorke's Drift and Helpmekaar were handled by Major Henry Spaulding, a staff officer who had remained behind when the Center Column crossed the frontier. Spaulding, who left for Helpmekaar on the afternoon of January 22, put Lieutenant John R.M. Chard of the Royal Engineers, who had arrived at the drift three days earlier, in command of Rorke's Drift.

All: Wikimedia



Left to right: Zulu King Cetshwayo, Lieutenant John Chard of the 5th Field Company of the Royal Engineers, and Lieutenant Gonville Bromhead of the 24th Regiment of Foot. Chard led the British forces at the mission post because he had slight seniority over Bromhead.

Chard would command the forces at Rorke's Drift in the battle despite the fact that Bromhead had been in the Army slightly longer and seniority entitled him to command the post. Chard, a graduate of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, had no combat experience.

At mid-afternoon on January 22, Bromhead and Walter Dunne, a regular officer of the Army's supply and transport department, were heading to investigate sightings of the enemy on the opposite bank of the Buffalo River, but their attention was drawn to the hospital building where Private Edward Evans, a mounted infantryman from Center Column, had just ridden into Rorke's Drift.

"The camp is taken by Zulus!" shouted Evans in reference to the disaster at Isandlwana as Bromhead approached the horseman. Other horsemen rode past the mission post without stopping. Some of them also shouted that the British had been defeated at Isandlwana. One of the riders delivered Captain Gardner's note before he also galloped off.

Bromhead, Surgeon James H. Reynolds, and Commissary Officer James L. Dalton discussed the distressing news. Dalton, a former regular who had experience constructing field fortifications, suggested the troops use the 200-pound grain sacks and 100-pound biscuit boxes from the storehouse to shore up the defensive perimeter.

Bromhead embraced the idea wholeheartedly. He scribbled a note for Evans to deliver to the commander of the British infantry company at Helpmekaar informing him of the Isandlwana disaster. Neither he nor the others thought of abandoning Rorke's Drift to the enemy.

Bourne issued each man 70 rounds of ammunition for his single-shot, Model 1871 Martini-Henry rifle. The nine-pound rifle was capable of firing 12 rounds per minute and had an effective range of 400 yards. The rifle also came with a sword-style bayonet useful for close-quarters combat. Bourne had more than 20,000 bullets in reserve. As soon as they received their ammunition, the men began fortifying the perimeter by building a waist-high barricade using the grain sacks and biscuit boxes.

Chard was eating his lunch at the river bank when a message arrived at 3:15 PM from Bromhead requesting that he return at once to the mission post. When Chard reached the post, he immediately inspected the defensive works being erected. He found the preparations satisfactory, although he did make a few minor suggestions for improving the defenses. He then returned to the river and ordered the guards, who had moored the pontoon, ferry, and boat in the middle of the river to prevent them from being used by the enemy, back to the mission.

As the men began barricading the post buildings, Lieutenant Alfred Henderson's 100-man Natal Mounted Contingent rode up from the river. Henderson and his men had fled the fighting at Isandlwana as the British Army's battle line began to unravel.

Their arrival boosted the garrison's morale. The additional troops would strengthen the garrison substantially. Henderson, who sat astride his horse, told Chard that Chelmsford's force had broken up into small parties of survivors that were making their way back to Natal. Afterward, Henderson and his troopers rode away, leaving Chard and his men to their fate. Meanwhile, the men assigned to the work detail continued to construct a waist-high defensive perimeter between the storehouse and the kraal to the east and the hospital to the west.

The hospital was fully enclosed by the perimeter, but the storehouse remained adjacent to the perimeter but outside of it. The distance between the storehouse and hospital was 35 yards. The hospital contained 11 rooms, and the storehouse had about a half dozen rooms. Both structures had loopholes for rifles and thatched roofs. In the coming battle, 10 patients who were well enough to fire a rifle and six privates would be responsible for defending the hospital.

Unfortunately for the defenders of the post, there was no time to clear the dense scrub that lay between the north wall and the dirt road. Making matters worse, a five-foot-high stone wall bisected the scrub. The wall, which could shelter a large number of men from British fire, was a substantial weakness in the garrison's defenses.

The Undi Corps that appeared at Rorke's Drift comprised the iNdluyengwe, uThulwana, uDloko, and iNdlondlo Regiments. The regiments varied in size from 900 to 1,500 men. The men of the Undi Corps could not resist the temptation to sack and loot the lightly defended mission post.

Shortly after the departure of Henderson's troopers, the native troops that were an integral part of the garrison deserted. They jumped the barricades and dispersed into the countryside. This left Chard with just 154 men, 20 of whom were badly wounded. As a result of their departure, Chard would have to station his men at least two yards apart to defend the entire perimeter. He ordered his men to build a new wall of biscuit boxes to bisect the oval perimeter. The wall ran from the front corner of the storehouse to the north wall. The retrenchment wall created a smaller compound in front of the storehouse intended to serve as a fallback position if the pressure on the full length of the defenses became too great.

The soldiers completed the preparations in 90 minutes. At 4:30 PM the soldiers took their positions and braced for an imminent attack. Private Fred Hitch, who was stationed atop the hospital as a lookout, spotted the approaching Zulus and fired three warning shots before lowering himself to the ground. Just three hours of daylight remained.

The Zulus did not have a professional standing army. The Zulu king required his unmarried warriors to serve him for several months each year before they were allowed to return to their villages. During this time, they were organized into regiments and camped together on the king's lands. While serving in their ibutho, as a regiment was known, they performed various services for the king and went to war if necessary. When a Zulu warrior married, he was no longer required to perform active service, but he was to remain available to be called up as part of the reserve forces. The degree of peril posed by the British invasion of January 1879 was

such that the king called up all reserves to augment his army.

Although Zulu warriors possessed elaborate costumes with feathered headdresses, they did not wear these into battle but instead saved them for special ceremonies. Zulu warriors went into battle wearing a loin covering consisting of a thin belt fashioned from animal hide around their waist with a large patch of cowhide covering their backside and twisted strips of animal skin hanging down from their waist in front. Some warriors wore headbands, and officers placed different feathers in their headbands to signify their rank.

Although the Zulus had rifles, they relied on their traditional weapons—the broad-bladed stabbing spear known as the assegai, light throwing spear, short club known as the knobkerrie, and an oval cowhide shield—for close-range fighting. The Zulus had had easy access to rifles for several decades leading up to the Anglo-Zulu war. The rifles were either smuggled into Zululand from the Natal or obtained from the Portuguese in Mozambique. The rifles, though, were outdated patterns, such as the Brown Bess flintlock. Zulus riflemen carried their shot in leather bags and powder in cowhorns.

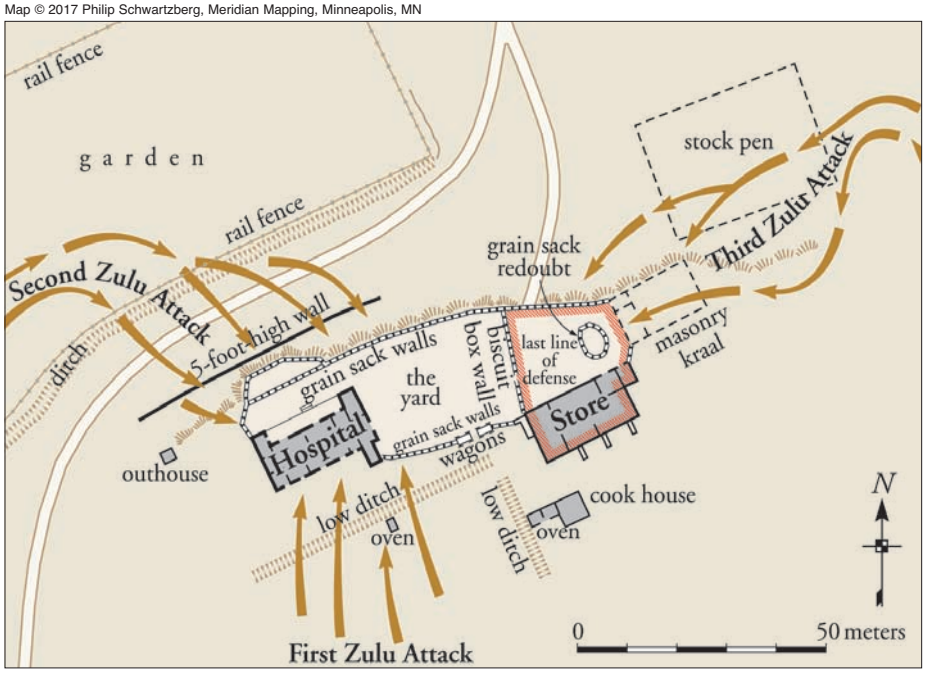
Six hundred Zulus from the iNdluyengwe Regiment armed with black shields swept forward in the initial assault. These warriors attacked directly from their march to the mission post, racing toward the hospital and south wall. Chard gave the order to fire to 30 men behind the south wall when the enemy was 600 yards away. The riflemen maintained a steady fire, which began to tell on the Zulus at 400 yards. The Zulus did not rush headlong across such a broad swath of ground; instead, they darted from one place of cover to the next while continuing to close the distance.

As the Zulus closed to within 200 yards, more British rifles from other sectors of the perimeter were able to bring their fire against the attackers. The Zulus soon found themselves caught in a deadly crossfire from the hospital and the west wall near the storehouse. By the time the Zulus had closed to within 50 yards, their front rank had disappeared. Several dozen Zulus fell every few seconds. Unable to bear the hailstorm of bullets any longer, the iNdluyengwe fighters stayed under cover. The British had successfully weathered the first of what would be many attacks.

Just as the right wing of the iNdluyengwe offensive was being defeated, the left wing advanced. These warriors had veered around the hospital and taken cover in the dense scrub on the north side. Bromhead, Bourne, and Dalton rushed to the vicinity of the hospital compound to oversee its defense. Their confidence inspired the men around them. The Zulus concentrated their effort on the hospital compound. Through sheer weight of numbers, they threatened to overrun it. The two dozen British defending the compound poured a withering fire into the 200 Zulus making the desperate assault.

The determined warriors climbed the barricade and jabbed their assegais at the defenders. Hand-to-hand fighting occurred as the British jammed their bayonets into the bodies of the attackers. The Zulus' hide shields were no match for British cold steel and heavy caliber bullets fired at point-blank range. The Zulu tide receded for a few minutes. When reinforcements arrived, the frenzied attackers surged forward again. Their second assault was met by a fusillade of lead and was immediately followed by another round of stabbing and slashing across the barricade. For 25 minutes the iNdluyengwe sustained the fight alone at the hospital, but the stalwart Redcoats fighting in front of the hospital ultimately prevailed.

While they were engaged, though, some Zulus with muskets positioned themselves at the north wall and fired on the British. Although the Zulus generally were not accurate shooters, the British found the Zulus' rifle fire disconcerting. The Zulus attacked in force across the north wall at 5 PM. It fell to 60 Redcoats to keep them at bay with their bayonets.



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TOP: Acting Assistant Commissary James Dalton had experience constructing field fortifications, and he advised Chard and Bromhead to use grain sacks and biscuit boxes to shore up the defensive perimeter between the hospital and storehouse. BOTTOM: The Zulus climbed atop the thatched roofs of the hospital and storehouse and set the dry material afire.

Alamy Images

Private William Jones of the 24th Foot defends the hospital, which was under heavy attack by the Zulus. Jones received the Victoria Cross for fighting off the Zulus long enough to allow the hospital patients to be evacuated.

The Zulus kept to the areas where they could find cover, taking particular advantage of the cover provided by the stone wall in front of the hospital. The attackers kept clear of the area where the wall extended to the right of the retrenchment barricade because it was open and exposed to British rifle fire. Because of their reluctance to charge over open ground, they were never able to concentrate an overwhelming number of men at any one point to break through the makeshift British defenses.

Like the other assaults that preceded it, the British managed to repulse the attack against the north wall. The fighting fell into a predictable pattern. After the British regulars fired a short burst of fire at close range, the Zulus would charge again. They would step over their dead and dying fellow tribesmen to reach the barricade. Each melee was followed by a firefight conducted at close range. Zulu rifle fire came not only from the north wall, but also from well-protected positions among the rocky outcroppings and shallow crevices of Shiyane Hill. The British regulars manning the south wall returned the plunging fire from the hill.

Although Zulu losses continued to mount, the sequence of charge, melee, repulse, and firefight went on unabated. In the first phase of the battle, the heaviest pressure on the British perimeter came from the Zulus attacking from the north. Chard said afterward that he doubted if his men could have held both sides of the perimeter successfully if they had been attacked simultaneously.

Bromhead had established a reserve of 15 riflemen who could counterattack from the dogleg barricade adjacent to the hospital. From that position, the British could not only rake the hospital veranda with their fire, but also launch bayonet counterattacks to sweep the veranda clear of attackers. Bromhead and Bourne ordered counterattacks every few minutes. The result of the relentless British counterattacks was that Bromhead's men initially managed to fight the enemy to a stalemate in the area around the hospital. To the British, stalemate was as good as victory.

Frustrated at their lack of success at the hospital, the Zulu commanders extended the fight to the front of the storehouse compound where a sudden rush almost resulted in its capture. Only the timely intervention of Chard and Bromhead, who directed a few lethal rifle volleys, saved the position. Concerned by this new attack and what it almost cost the British, Chard decided to withdraw most of his men to the retrenchment barricade even though the move would make it harder to defend the hospital because the front of the building would be behind the rest of the garrison and vulnerable to attack from all sides. But Chard knew that holding the storehouse was more important because it was better fortified than the hospital. Nevertheless, the withdrawal to the retrenchment exposed the 30 British troops remaining at the hospital to serious danger.

Ninety minutes into the battle the British had sustained only two seriously wounded while many others had been cut or grazed. It was near this junction that the intrepid Dalton was wounded in the shoulder and back. Another man was soon killed by enemy gunfire. As for the Zulus, they had lost scores of dead and wounded. The piles of dead Zulu bodies in front of the barricades attested to that stark reality.

At 6:15 PM the Zulus attacked in force against the north wall at its intersection with the retrenchment wall. The frenzied attackers launched repeated sorties that stretched the British perimeter opposite the storehouse. Bromhead repeatedly exposed himself to enemy fire and spear thrusts as he led British riflemen defending that section of the perimeter.

While one group of Zulus was assaulting the north wall opposite the storehouse, another group made a determined attack 15 minutes later on the defenders at the opposite end near the hospital. The agile Zulus climbed atop the thatched roof of the hospital and set the dry material afire.

Meanwhile, Zulus battered the front wall of the hospital. British inside the hospital fired from the loopholes, felling a large number of warriors. Fighting raged for another hour at the hospital as the Zulus tried desperately to capture it. Covered by a few brave men who held off dozens of attackers, the British soldiers and patients inside shifted to different rooms within the structure as necessary. Fighting ebbed and flowed throughout the hospital with the British using bayonets and rifle butts against the Zulus' sharp assegais.

The surviving hospital defenders and patients eventually escaped by exiting the building through a small window. At that point, they had to fight their way through the Zulus to the safety of the opposite end of the defensive perimeter. The Zulus killed six defenders during the savage melee in the abandoned courtyard.

While the men in the hospital were battling for their lives, the rest of the garrison was fighting hard to retain its grip on the storehouse compound. By 7 PM the perimeter consisted of the portion protected by the retrenchment, part of the north wall, the outside walls of the cattle kraal, and the storehouse. The new defensive position was easier to defend; however, Chard had ceded valuable cover within yards of the new perimeter. This made it easier for the Zulus to rush a short distance from their cover to their objectives within the British-held sections of the compound.

The Zulus launched a fresh attack in the gloaming. They assembled behind the walls of the stock pen and rushed the Redcoats defend-

ing the kraal. The Zulus dove for cover a few yards from their objective. When they charged the last short stretch, the British were only able to fire one volley. In a desperate bid for victory, the Zulus made multiple assaults, suffering significant casualties in the process.

Responding to the new point of attack, Chard detailed some of the men to build a redoubt from the grain sacks at the northeastern corner of the storehouse. The redoubt constituted the last line of defense for the valiant defenders of Rorke's Drift. Meanwhile, the Zulus concentrated their attacks on the eastern end of the perimeter where the soldiers in the cattle kraal had to fight as hard as the men in the hospital compound had to a short time before.

Encouraged by their success at the hospital, the Zulus tried to set fire to the storehouse, but every attempt was stopped dead by British bullets. At 8 PM the Zulus launched a heavy attack on the northeastern sector of the perimeter. The British once again repulsed the attack, but only narrowly. Hoping to bring the men in the new redoubt into play and shorten his line, Chard ordered the troops at the kraal to fall back to its inner partition wall.

The combined fire from the two British positions further depleted the Zulu ranks. An hour later, Chard ordered the men defending the inner partition wall to withdraw to the kraal's nearside wall, which was directly below the redoubt. This meant that any Zulu warrior attempting to breach the British defenses had to expose himself to the deadly rifle fire as he scaled the outer wall, then dashed to the partition wall, and then climbed the partition wall.

The British met each new Zulu charge with a heavy volume of close-range gunfire. The result was that the Africans could not make it across the open ground between the walls and therefore were thwarted in their attempts to reach the British behind their barricade. The British rifle fire took its toll on the Zulus and sapped their determination.

Throughout the night and into the early morning hours of the following day, Chard and Bromhead remained vigilant. They monitored their tight perimeter for any sign that small groups of Zulus might be infiltrating the barricades. The only threat, though, was from enemy snipers.

Chard and Bromhead had no idea whether a relief force would arrive. At dawn they prepared for another wave of Zulu attacks. The two officers urged the men at the barricades to stay sharp. All were prepared to go down fighting rather than shamefully surrender.

The predawn return to the barricades was tense as the garrison watched anxiously for the expected Zulu attack. But it soon became evident that the enemy had withdrawn.

Still, Chard and Bromhead sent out patrols to determine if the Zulus were still in the vicinity and to give warning if a fresh attack was in the making. A large formation of Zulus moved into position at 7 AM on the forward slopes of kwaSingqindi Hill two miles south of the mission. These Zulus were later determined to be a regiment serving as the rear guard for the Undi Corps as it marched back to their homeland.

At the same time the Zulus were observing Chard and his men from kwaSingqindi Hill, Lord Chelmsford was marching his force to Rorke's Drift not knowing whether the garrison was still alive or dead. Amazingly, Chelmsford's route took him only a few hundred yards from the Undi Corps, which was in the act of withdrawing from Rorke's Drift.

Although some of Chelmsford's subordinate commanders urged him to attack the nearby enemy, whose back was to the Buffalo River, he declined. His men were low on ammunition, he was unsure how many enemy he faced, and his troop's morale was low after news of the catastrophe at Isandlwana. The upshot was that the two antagonists simply allowed each other go on their way in peace.

By midmorning, the head of Chelmsford's column, made up of Lt. Col. John Russell's Imperial Mounted Infantry, crossed the Buffalo River and entered the mission at Rorke's Drift. Chelmsford's army was in no shape to continue its offensive because the Zulus had destroyed half of the Center Column at Isandlwana, and because the other two columns had retreated to British territory. At that point, the British focused on the short-term objective of refortifying Rorke's Drift for future operations.

The British suffered 17 killed and 15 wounded at Rorke's Drift. London bestowed 11 Victoria Crosses on the garrison. The Zulus suffered approximately 1,000 casualties. In the process, they proved themselves to be a worthy adversary of the British. Their indomitable courage was equal to that of the scratch British force that fought them to a standstill at the nondescript South African river crossing. □

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ABOVE: Members of Company B, 24th Foot assemble for a photograph eight months after the battle. Their courage in the face of overwhelming odds made them immortal. LEFT: Chard and Bromhead survey the devastation on the morning after the battle. The British troops at Rorke's Drift braced for another attack on the second day, but it never came.

UNSTOPPABLE STRACHWITZ

THE WIDE TRACKS OF SOVIET T-34S AND COLOSSAL KV-1S CRUNCHED through the snow. Night had fallen west of Belgorod on March 15, 1943. The Soviet tank column was headed toward a village, looking for shelter for the night. Although the village appeared deserted, the Soviet commander was wary. For days now there had been heavy fighting, with the Nazis trying to recapture Kharkov from the Soviets. The T-34s fired incendiary shells, setting ablaze a few peasant huts. When nothing moved, the tanks rumbled into the village. The commander's tank came to halt, unaware that the muzzle of a Tiger tank hidden in a barn was pointed straight at him. Flames shot out of the barn and an 88mm shell smashed into the command tank. Suddenly, the whole village erupted in cannon fire from hidden panzers. Everywhere Soviet tanks were bursting into flames. Panic gripped the Soviet tankers, for they had recognized the hand of enemy commander, Graf Strachwitz, the "Panzer Count," whose exploits on the Russian front would make him a legend in World War II.

Strachwitz's story began on July 30, 1893, in Grosstein Castle, when Countess Alexandrine of Matuschka gave birth to a baby boy sired by Hyazinth Graf Strachwitz von Gross-Zauche and Camminetz. As the first-born son in the family and like his father, the newborn was named after the 13th-century Dominican Saint Hyazinth. The Strachwitzes were an old and noble Upper Silesian family, traditionally allied to the Hohenzollern, the dynasty to which belonged the Electors of Brandenburg, the kings of Prussia, and the German emperor.

The young Strachwitz grew up on the agricultural and forest estates of his family, who were among the richest land owners in Silesia. Strachwitz attended the Volksschule and the Gymnasium of Oppeln. He began his cadet training at the Royal Prussian Junior Cadet School in Wahlstatt and then transferred to the renowned Central Cadet School at Berlin-Lichterfelde. Strachwitz had no problems with academics, excelled at sports and at horse riding, and was a superb fencer.

In 1912 Strachwitz joined the elite Imperial Potsdamer Cavalry Regiment of the Garde du Corps. Before the year was over, Strachwitz's horsemanship singled him out for further officer training at Hannover's prestigious Cavalry School. Put in charge of sporting activities, Leutnant Strachwitz and many of his comrades eagerly prepared for the upcoming 1916 Olympics. It was not to be—World War I broke out in 1914.

Soldiers and civilians throughout Europe rejoiced at what they thought would be a short and glorious war. Everywhere people shook Strachwitz's hand and invited him for beer and sausages. Leutnant Strachwitz exchanged his white Hussar dress uniform for a gray field one and rode off to war at the front of his squadron. Soon the dashing Hussars found themselves stuck in clouds of dust, raised by thousands of infantry and supply wagons.

Strachwitz's regiment was part of the 1st Guards Cavalry Division and Generaloberst Karl von Bulow's 2nd Army. Bulow was attacking through Belgium and headed toward the Marne. Carrying out reconnaissance, Strachwitz impressed both his men and his superiors. Even the latter addressed him as Herr Graf, as Strachwitz preferred. Because of his daring, the soldiers nicknamed Strachwitz the "Last Horseman." Soon Strachwitz was awarded the Iron Cross 2nd Class and recommended for the Iron Cross 1st Class.

With the German Army already in northeastern France by late August, Strachwitz volunteered to lead a deep reconnaissance toward Paris. Strachwitz set out early one morning with 16 of his own volunteers. The patrol avoided settlements and stuck to woods and fields but soon happened upon French cavalry. Saber in hand, Strachwitz scattered the chasseurs and freed some German prisoners.

U.S. Army Art Collection

Using speed and daring, Panzer leader Hyazinth Graf Strachwitz achieved multiple victories on the Eastern Front in World War II.

BY LUDWIG H. DYCK

The success enjoyed by the German spearheads in the advance into the Soviet Union was the result of the outstanding leadership by gifted practitioners of mobile warfare such as Strachwitz. INSET: Hyazinth Graf Strachwitz.

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At midday, the way again was blocked. This time the obstruction was a large English camp. Strachwitz's Hussars burst out of an adjacent forest and through the startled soldiers. With bullets zipping past them, the German cavalry disappeared through the other side as quickly as they had appeared. Strachwitz later joined up with two other German patrols and together they reached Melun by the following morning.

While trying to blow up a railway track, the Germans were stopped by French soldiers. Frightened by the rifle shots, the German horses bolted. Without horses and hunted down by increasing numbers of French and English, Strachwitz's band became smaller and smaller. Strachwitz nevertheless managed to demolish rail tracks and a signal box near Fontainbleau, causing panic in nearby Paris.

With the way back to the German lines blocked by the alerted French, Strachwitz led his men south in hope of finding a lightly guarded section. They continued walking through muddy ground and pouring rain and they slept under the stars or, if lucky, in a barn. One week after another,

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Strachwitz's little group eluded capture. On one occasion, Strachwitz escaped a French company by running up to the crest of a wooded hill. In plain sight, he shouted and pointed for his men to escape to the right. Once on the other side of the crest, Strachwitz and his men ran to the left. The pursuing French were fooled and ran to the right. Unfortunately, during the escape a bullet caught Oberleuntnant Schierstaedt. Seriously wounded, he needed help.

To appear less conspicuous, Strachwitz gave a gold piece to an astonished farmer for some civilian clothes. The count left a whole pouch full of gold when he took a cart and horse from an abandoned barn. Strachwitz needed the cart to transport Schierstaedt but was forced to abandon both when confronted by a French roadblock. The exhausted Germans sought refuge in a wood but were finally caught and overpowered by French Senegalese soldiers.

Strachwitz's capture in October 1914 was the beginning of a long ordeal fraught with hardship. Because they had been caught in civilian clothing, the French regarded them as spies and saboteurs. Twice it looked like Strachwitz and his men would face the firing squad, but their sentence was five years at hard labor. At Avignon, Strachwitz underwent a year of torture and humiliation. Regaining his soldier's status, Strachwitz was transferred to the German officer prison at Fort Barre. Strachwitz tried to escape by digging a tunnel but was caught. As punishment, he was chained up in the hold of a French ship to deter U-boat attacks. Strachwitz was emaciated by the time he was returned to Fort Barre. As soon as he recovered, Strachwitz joined Oberleutnant von Lossow in another escape attempt. The two climbed the wall, threw a guard off the parapet, and jumped down the other side. Strachwitz landed in barbed wire and tore his foot, but he and Lossow were free.

Strachwitz and Lossow hid in woods during the day, marching at night and avoiding settlements. After two weeks they reached the vicinity of Mont Blanc and the Swiss border. Unfortunately, Strachwitz's painful wound had become infected. While climbing a rock face, Strachwitz slipped and sustained further injuries. After finding shelter in a cabin, he unsuccessfully pleaded with Lossow to abandon him. Detected by locals, the two fugitives were apprehended by gendarmerie.

Strachwitz ended up in the officer prison at Carcassonne in southwestern France where he recovered sufficiently to saw at the window bars with a homemade file. Betrayed by an informant, Strachwitz was thrown in solitary. His untreated wound got worse but proved to be his salvation when an inspecting Swiss doctor demanded that the fever-ridden Strachwitz be handed over to the Swiss Red Cross. As his health improved in a Geneva hospital, Strachwitz avoided being returned to France as a prisoner by faking mental illness. Confined at Herisau Institute, the mental anguish of the inmates nearly drove Strachwitz to suicide. After the war ended on November 11, 1918, Strachwitz was released.

With German Emperor Wilhelm II being forced to abdicate, Germany plunged into civil strife. Strachwitz arrived in Berlin where the fledgling republic was threatened by communist revolutionaries. Joining government loyalist troops, Strachwitz took part in the weeks of fighting that lasted into January 1919.

Upon his return to Gross Stein castle, Strachwitz found more strife in his homeland. Upper Silesia had been part of Prussia for nearly two centuries. Before Prussia it had been ruled by the Austrian Habsburgs, and before them by Bohemia; however, for most of the Middle Ages, Upper Silesia had been Polish. With the recreation of Poland after World War I, the Poles wanted Upper Silesia to become part of Poland again. Token French, English, and Italian garrisons were supposed to keep the peace between the Germans and the Poles but mostly stayed neutral or, in the case of the French, actively supported the Poles. During these uncertain times, Strachwitz remained active in the illegal militia while managing the family estate. In July, Strachwitz married Alexandrine "Alda" Freiin Surma-Jeltsch, who nine months later gave birth to their son.

In March 1921 Upper Silesia voted whether to remain in Germany or be ceded to Poland. Although the German vote won, the region that voted Polish was allowed to join Poland. Unsatisfied, militant Poles led by Wojciech Korfanty tried to seize the German territory as well. At Gross Stein, Strachwitz awoke to gun shots and the sound of refugees fleeing from the advancing Poles. Strachwitz brought his family, including his pregnant wife, to safety then hurried back to join the German resistance.

Although the Poles outnumbered the Germans, the Germans had more combat experience and were buffered by paramilitary Freikorps. Leading a counterattack, Strachwitz fought off eight Polish companies and retook his ancestral castle. The fighting climaxed on May 21, 1921, with the iconic Battle of Annaberg. While the bulk of the German forces under Generals Karl Hofer and Bernhard von Hulsen attacked the Polish-held mountain from the

front, Strachwitz led his men around to the rear. Strachwitz forced the Poles on the summit to surrender after a short but violent fight. In the ensuing battles, Strachwitz captured an artillery battery and turned the guns against the fleeing Poles. The conflict was finally settled in 1922 with Germany retaining the western two thirds of Upper Silesia while the industrial eastern third was ceded to Poland. Strachwitz received the Silesian Order of the Eagle, both second and first class.

During the interwar years, Strachwitz moved his growing family to Alt Siedel manor. He educated himself in forest management and modern methods of agriculture. In 1931 Strachwitz joined the Nazi Party, reckoning that doing so would benefit his Silesian homeland. Two years later he was admitted into the Schutzstaffel (SS), which was eager to have aristocrats in its ranks; however, Strachwitz never served in the SS and remained a reserve officer under the command of the new Wehrmacht. The latter made Strachwitz Rittmeister der Reserve (Cavalry Master of the Reserve) in 1936.

When Hitler invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, Strachwitz was put in charge of supply and reinforcement for the 1st Panzer Division's 2nd Panzer Regiment. Despite his rear-echelon position, he participated in the fighting and earned the Iron Cross Second Class. To help the wounded, Strachwitz allowed Gross Stein to be used as a military hospital. Back at Alt Siedel by mid-October, Strachwitz returned to his division at the end of the year.

During the six-week-long Battle of France in the spring of 1940, the 1st Panzer Division spearheaded General Heinz Guderian's XIX Panzer Corps' fateful drive through the Ardennes to the coast of the English Channel. At the start of the offensive, a young officer asked Strachwitz if he hated the French. In spite of his bad experiences, Strachwitz replied that he had no hate and that he respected the French as soldiers, who ceased to be his enemy once they were defeated.

On the morning of May 14, French aircraft struck the German crossing of the Meuse Bridge. Strachwitz directed traffic and ordered the men to take cover. After the German breakthrough over the Meuse, Strachwitz set out with his Kubelwagen and driver for a reconnaissance. Nineteen miles into French territory, they pulled up to a French signals garrison. Strachwitz got out of the car, calmly lit a cigarette, and demanded the surrender of the garrison in perfect French. He told the captain that his panzers were only minutes away. The bluff worked and 600 French soldiers surrendered. Strachwitz delivered the captives in their own new trucks. "Strachwitz, that devil" said General Friedrich Kirchner of the 1st Panzer Division upon learning of the feat. Promoted to major, Strachwitz was awarded the Iron Cross 1st Class in June.

Strachwitz was on another excursion when he watched the embarkation of the British Expeditionary Force at Dunkirk. He was dumbfounded by Hitler's order to halt the panzers in favor of air strikes. The miraculous British evacuation was soon eclipsed by the fall of France, however. Alongside the 2nd Panzer Regiment, Strachwitz was transferred to East Prussia and to the new 16th Panzer Division led by Generalmajor Hans-Valentin Hube.

The one-armed general clapped Strachwitz on the shoulder, granted Strachwitz's frontline request, and assigned him the 1st Battalion of the 2nd Panzer Regiment, 16th Panzer Division. Strachwitz briefly took part in the invasion of Yugoslavia before being withdrawn to prepare for Operation Barbarossa, the invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941.

At the outset of the invasion, the 16th Panzer Division was in the forefront of Paul Ludwig Ewald von Kleist's First Panzer Group, which had as its initial objective the Ukrainian capital of Kiev. On June 26, Kleist was more than 75 miles into Soviet territory when Col. Gen. Mikhail Kirponos launched a spirited counterattack. In the hills west of the Ikwa River, 2nd Panzer Regiment sallied forth to intercept masses of Soviet tanks. Amid deafening explosions, fountains of earth, and clouds of smoke, an adjutant reported to Strachwitz that they were T-26 light tanks. Strachwitz's

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ABOVE: Strachwitz handled logistics for part of Heinz Guderian's XIX Corps during the Battle of France in 1940. He also participated in the fighting and earned the Iron Cross Second Class. OPPOSITE: During the Battle of Annaberg in the Silesian Uprisings Strachwitz outfought the Poles facing him, forcing their surrender after a short but bloody fight.

binoculars zeroed in on more Soviet tanks in the woods to the rear. He ordered the heavier Mark IVs to counter the Soviet outflanking attempt. Soviet infantry swarmed through the panzers. A bullet grazed Strachwitz's arm. Roughly bandaged, the wound continued to bleed into the cloth. At dusk, after hours of fighting, the Soviets were thrown back but the regiment had been cut off from the division.

It was only the first day of the largest tank battle of Barbarossa so far. The panzer guns proved to be nearly impotent against the new Soviet T-34s and KV-Is. The Germans made up for it with superior tactics, Junkers Ju-87 Stuka support, and tank-busting 88mm guns. Strachwitz drove back attacking tank packs, chased them into the night, and shot up Soviet batteries. The battle wound down at the beginning of July, with Kirponos withdrawing toward Kiev.

The First Panzer Group headed south, intending to link up with Seventeenth Army and trap Soviet forces in a pocket at Uman, 200 miles south of Kiev. During the ensuing fighting, Strachwitz had his panzers move their guns to a six o'clock position in Soviet fashion, which enabled him to ambush the enemy or wreak havoc behind their lines. Strachwitz sustained additional minor wounds in the head and the arm. The regiment had suffered as well. Its remaining panzers were combined into one battalion led by Strachwitz.

Strachwitz drove back attacking tank packs, chased them into the night, and shot up Soviet batteries while fighting with Army Group South during Operation Barbarossa.

On August 3, while attempting to secure the bridge over the Southern Bug at Pervomaisk, Strachwitz's panzer took a direct hit by an artillery shell. The radio operator was killed but Strachwitz and his remaining crew were able to crawl out of the smoking wreck. Fighting off Soviet infantry with MP-40s and grenades, Strachwitz climbed into the next panzer. He led his battalion to the wooden bridge that the Soviets were trying to blow up. The panzers opened fire to cover the German pioneers storming across. The Soviets pulled back, but they maintained a withering fire. The pioneers struggled to disassemble the demolition charges until Strachwitz sped across the bridge with his panzer.

The Battle of Uman ended in another German victory. Six weeks into Barbarossa, Strachwitz's panzers had covered 440 miles but the steppes of the Ukraine seemed endless. Sixteenth Panzer Division pushed toward the Black Sea, where Nikolajew fell on the eve of August 16. Late in August, the division was back north, resting south of Kirovograd. On August 25, Hube awarded Strachwitz with the Knight's Cross.

Restored to two battalions, Panzer Regiment 2 returned to action in September as part of the southern pincer of the Kiev encirclement. On September 16 the gigantic pocket of the Dnieper bend was closed 130 miles east of Kiev. Strachwitz's battalion engaged Soviet troops desperately trying to break through to the east. When a Soviet division commander of German ancestry was captured, Strachwitz refused to take him prisoner unless the commander returned with his whole division. The next morning 7,000 men marched out of the nearby wood and into captivity. They were among the 663,000 Soviet prisoners captured at Kiev.

Strachwitz did his best to treat the prisoners well and also helped ailing farmers, women, and children. Often his men repaired local churches, further endearing him to the population. Unfortunately, Strachwitz's goodwill and that of others like him was undone by Nazi terror in conquered areas. Most of the prisoners ended up starving to death or were executed, fueling hate and hardening resistance.

Upgraded to First Panzer Army, the former First Panzer Group attacked the Soviet Dnieper Front from the north in late September. On October 6 Strachwitz's battalion captured the main road junction of Andrejewka, closing one of the last links of another huge encirclement. On October 9 the temperature dropped and falling snow obscured the view. Fighting to seal off penetrations, Strachwitz was again wounded in the head. Cutting short his field hospital stay, he returned to the front on the same day.

After the successful conclusion of the cauldron battle north of the Azov Sea, First Panzer Army pushed toward Rostov. The remaining panzers of the depleted 2nd Panzer Regiment were again amalgamated under Strachwitz's command. At the end of October, rain, snow, and slush turned roads into swamps. Supplies slowed down and vehicles were stranded without petrol. While Strachwitz's panzers underwent repairs at Uspenkaja, a Soviet bomber hit a camp of their own prisoners. Distraught at the carnage, Strachwitz moved the Soviet prisoners farther behind the front lines.

The temperature plummeted, freezing anything stuck in the mud. Alongside 5th SS Panzer Division Wiking, the 16th Panzer Division engaged a Soviet counterattack. Strachwitz rescued a Wiking pioneer battalion cut off at Balabanow. By November 23, 2nd Panzer Regiment only had 20 panzers left and was forced to fall back to the west bank of the Mius River. Strachwitz left for Germany to recover from his many combat wounds. Meanwhile, the German Army withstood the fierce Soviet winter offensive of 1941-1942 and the extreme weather that wreaked havoc among the ill-equipped troops.

Strachwitz was back with his regiment in March 1942, promoted to Oberstleutnant and awarded the wound badge in silver. On May 12 the Soviets renewed their push for Kharkov. Kleist's panzer army riposted, attacking from south of Izyum to slice off the southern pincer of the South-West Front. On May 23, Strachwitz's battalion met the 23rd Panzer Division south of Balakleya. Marshal Semyon Timoshenko's armies were encircled. Alongside several officers standing on a small rise of ground, Strachwitz observed columns of Soviets trying to break out. Warned by his uncanny instinct, Strachwitz suddenly grabbed the arm of the adjacent Hauptmann Freytag von Loringhoven and jerked him downhill. In the next instant a shell exploded where they had stood, killing the others.

A brief period of rest followed the German victory at Izyum. Around this time Strachwitz took over command of the entire regiment, which from June 10 onward took part in the preliminary battles for Case Blue, the massive German summer offensive of 1942. Through drenching rainstorms and seas of mud, Strachwitz engaged more Soviet armor and fought off night attacks. The 16th Panzer Division captured the heavily fortified city of Kupjansk in mid-June. During the fighting, a shell splinter struck Strachwitz's head. He had the wound provisionally treated, then quickly returned to his men.

On July 8, once more rested and refitted, 16th Panzer Division took part in Sixth Army's drive for Stalingrad on the Volga River. Assaulting the Soviet bridgehead over the Don River west of Kalach in late July, Sixth Army won its last great encirclement battle. Armor combat raged through the villages and on the heat-scorched grass steppes, mirrored by equally fierce aerial engagements in the sky above. Strachwitz was again wounded. His regiment breached one of the last Soviet defenses north of Kalach, enabling the linkup with 24th Panzer Division. During the battle, Strachwitz's regiment claimed 270 enemy tanks destroyed.

After waiting out a morning barrage of Soviet artillery and rockets on August 23 in a foxhole, Strachwitz led his panzers in XIV Panzer Corps' final 35-mile drive to Stalingrad. Henschel Hs-129 and Ju-87 ground attack aircraft opened the way for 400 panzers, breaking all resistance. Upon approaching the northern suburbs, the Soviets used their heavy antiaircraft guns in a ground fire role against Strachwitz's panzers. With the help of Stukas, Strachwitz destroyed 37 of these antiaircraft guns without suffering a loss. The Germans were shocked to discover that the mangled gun crews were women, poorly trained in engaging ground targets.

Strachwitz led his panzers down a street, driving along the edge in case the road was mined. A hidden antitank gun opened up, barely missing Strachwitz's panzer. The Soviet gun was quickly knocked out, and Strachwitz kept going until he reached the high western banks of the Volga. He marveled at the spectacle of the city and river below. With the exception of the onion-shaped cathedral spires of the old town, Stalingrad was a modern industrial city. Factories, smokestacks, and suburbs extended in a narrow strip along the Volga. Clouds of smoke from bombing Stukas and Soviet antiaircraft guns drifted over the whole scene. The river was full of boats against which Strachwitz directed his panzer cannons, sinking several vessels.

Ordered to help defend the northern industrial suburbs, Strachwitz hid his three companies at the bottom of a long hill. Multiple waves of Soviet armor obstinately attacked over the crest. At a range of 300 to 500 yards, the panzers knocked out more than 100 tanks in two days. "Our Panzer Count only needed to sit behind the front in his command tank, which had a wooden dummy gun, tallying up the knocked out enemy tanks reported by the companies," said von Loringhoven. Heavy fighting for the northern sector continued through September into October, with Hitler insisting on capturing positions no matter what the cost. On October 13 Strachwitz's panzer received a direct hit. Severely burned, Strachwitz was flown to the Reserve Hospital at Breslau. He was still recuperating when the Soviet counteroffensive in late November encircled the doomed German Sixth Army. Strachwitz pleaded to return to the front but, realizing the hopelessness of the situation, General Hube refused.

Strachwitz received the Oak Leaves to his Knight's Cross in December and a promotion to Oberst der Reserve on January 1, 1943. His new command was the panzer regiment of the elite Panzer Grenadier Division Grossdeutschland. On March 9 Strachwitz's regiment joined Field Marshal Erich von Manstein's counterattack against the overextended Soviets at Kharkov. West of Belgorod, Grossdeutschland squared off against three Soviet tank corps.

The fighting included an intense night battle on March 15-16. Having seen the dark silhouettes of Soviet tanks against the snow converging on his position, Strachwitz hid his panzers, including three Tigers, in a deserted peasant village. In a horseshoe formation, camouflaged, dug in, or hidden in the thatched huts, the panzers waited until nightfall. The rumbling of as many as 50 Soviet tanks resounded through the dark. A few huts were hit by incendiary shells and burst into flames.

Strachwitz remained calm, letting the whole Soviet column enter the village. With a Soviet command tank within 70 meters, Strachwitz's hidden Tiger fired and blasted the turret right off the T-34. The other panzers let loose, knocking out 18 T-34s and KV-1s in a few minutes. Strachwitz climbed on top of his turret and watched the inferno. "The Russians have recognized us, they're broadcasting, 'Watch out, it's Strachwitz,'" said Strachwitz's radio operator. The Soviets desperately tried to pull out but were shot up in the process. The Soviet losses were only part of the more than 300 Soviet tanks knocked out by Strachwitz's regiment between March 14 and March 19.

Strachwitz was awarded the Swords to his Knight's Cross on March 28. His soldiers honored him by substituting Strachwitz's name for that of the Napoleonic-era Lutzow in the popular soldier's song "Lutzow's Wild, Venturous Hunt." Strachwitz took two weeks of holiday visiting Berchtesgaden with his wife Alda. Appearing on a radio show, Strachwitz accredited his successes to the close cooperation, the high skill level, and the total commitment of every single man in his regiment.

RIGHT: German panzergrenadiers hitch a ride on a panzer. In early 1943 Strachwitz commanded the panzer regiment of the elite Grossdeutschland Division and played a key role in the German victory in the Third Battle of Kharkov. BELOW: Strachwitz in the cupola of a panzer.

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In 1944 Strachwitz, left, joined Army Group North where he led panzer forces in a fierce counterattack to eliminate the expansive Soviet bridgehead over the Narva River at Krivasso.

During Operation Citadel, the German summer offensive of 1943, Grossdeutschland fought as part of Fourth Panzer Army, forming the southern pincer during the Battle of Kursk. Morale among the soldiers was high, not the least because Strachwitz was fighting with them. "I remember how much talk there was among us that we had nothing to fear, because we had Graf von Strachwitz and his new, invincible Panther tanks with us," said Grossdeutschland fusilier Alfred Novotny.

A heavy rain fell on July 5 as massive artillery salvos opened the battle. Grossdeutschland fought its way through the deep Soviet defenses of minefields, antitank guns, and dug-in tanks north of Belgorod. Strachwitz took over command of Panzer Brigade 10, which included his own regiment and Panzerregiment 39 with its new Panthers, from July 7 to July 11. The fighting on July 7 alone accounted for 62 Soviet tanks and 55 antitank guns destroyed, but Soviet resistance stiffened toward the Oboyan Heights.

On July 9 Strachwitz received the news that his oldest son had been seriously wounded. The day after, Strachwitz was resting his arm on the breech lock when his new gunner fired prematurely, smashing the count's arm. Receiving a plaster cast, Strachwitz hurried back to his regiment, led another attack, and received another light wound. Outraged at Strachwitz's self-sacrifice, Generalleutnant Walter Hoernlein sent the count back to the field hospital.

Strachwitz returned to combat in August. The Battle of Kursk had meanwhile ended in a German defeat, forcing the German Army to withdraw ever farther westward. So severe was the fighting that Strachwitz only had one operational panzer by the end of September. By late December, Grossdeutschland was across the Dnieper River at Kirovgrad. Strachwitz received another serious wound, this time in the left arm. After being sent to Breslau hospital, he completed his convalescence at home.

Early in January 1944, Strachwitz was promoted to Hoheren Panzerführer (Higher Panzer Commander) of Army Group North. The northern German front had fallen back to the city of Narva, the gateway to Estonia. Strachwitz sought to eliminate the Soviet bridgehead over the Narva River at Krivasso. The bridgehead was so large that it needed to be divided into three parts and eliminated one part at a time.

On March 26, Strachwitz attacked head-on as swampy wooded terrain precluded any outflanking. Spearheading the attack in one of the first three Panzer IVs, Strachwitz was nearly hit by friendly fire from a Stuka. The fighting continued through the night in dark, claustrophobic conditions. Walking stick in hand, wearing his trademark sheepskin jacket, Strachwitz was always at the front, keeping up on the latest battle developments and insuring sufficient supplies. He handed out cognac and chocolate, offered encouragement, and awarded Iron Crosses. It took several days of hard fighting until the Soviets were defeated.

Promoted to major general of the reserve on April 1, Strachwitz prepared for the attack on the next portion of the bridgehead. This time the terrain allowed the use of the Tigers of Heavy Panzer Battalion 502. "[Strachwitz] won our confidence from the very beginning," said Panzer ace Leutnant Otto Carius of Battalion 502. Strachwitz "was one of those personalities who one could never forget," he said.

Carius's Tigers took the lead, shielding the fusiliers following behind. Soviet small arms fire ricocheting off the Tigers, but ripped into some of the fusiliers. Contact was established with German troops trapped in the pocket. At night, Soviets hidden in the forest ambushed German infantry and armored personnel carriers. Nevertheless, by April 9, after four days of intense fighting, the last Soviet resistance was eliminated.

The last of the bridgehead still remained, however, and it was nearly twice the size of the previous ones. Strachwitz directed the offensive via radio in a bunker, which the Soviets continued to shell. This time, though, the Soviets were alert, their defenses were too strong, and the spring melt had begun. After three days, on April 21, the offensive had to be called off.

In recognition of Strachwitz's initial successes, Hitler presented him with the Diamonds to the Knight's Cross. Strachwitz bluntly rejected Hitler's request to eliminate the remaining bridgehead. "Panzers can't drive in the swamp," Strachwitz told Hitler. Strachwitz continued to lead infiltrating actions on the southern flank of Army Group North. Penetrating 90 miles into enemy territory, Strachwitz burst upon an unsuspecting Soviet tank lager, blowing up tank after tank and spraying their startled crews with machine-gun fire.

There was no stopping the Soviet juggernaut, though, when, on June 22 Operation Bagration overwhelmed the undermanned and underequipped lines of Army Group Center. Strachwitz was part of the relief attempt of Vilnius, making it possible to evacuate thousands of wounded soldiers before the city fell to the Soviets on July 13.

A significant event occurred that month at Hitler's headquarters in East Prussia. On July 20 Major Claus von Stauffenberg planted a bomb at the Wolf's Lair in a failed attempt to assassinate Hitler. At the time, Strachwitz was nursing a leg wound in Silesia. Many of Strachwitz's acquaintances and friends were arrested and interrogated. The count tried to intervene but came under suspicion himself. When the Gestapo questioned Strachwitz's Catholic religion and connections, Strachwitz admonished them for their Nazi atheism.

Strachwitz was soon needed back at the front. On August 1 the Soviets reached the Gulf of Riga at Tuckum, stranding 30 German divisions in northern Latvia and Estonia. In Operation Double Head, Third Panzer Army sought to reestablish contact by recapturing Tuckum

and coming to the relief of beleaguered Riga. "If anyone can do it, it's Strachwitz," said Chief of Staff Heinz Guderian upon being informed that Strachwitz was to spearhead the attack.

On August 18, Strachwitz's battle group advanced from of Frauenburg, East Prussia, crossing Lithuania on its way to Tuckum. Strachwitz's command consisted of about 2,500 Waffen-SS and Wehrmacht soldiers and 60 panzers, mostly new Panthers from Panzer Brigade 101. There were also a couple of Tigers from the 103rd SS Heavy Panzer Battalion, Mark IIIs and IVs of SS Brigade Gross, and armored personnel carriers and flak units.

At a bridge west of Tuckum, the surprised Soviet battalion gave up without a fight. Reaching the outskirts of the city on August 20, Strachwitz called for support from the cruiser *Prinz Eugen* in the Gulf of Riga. *Prinz Eugen*'s 203mm guns and the guns of several destroyers zeroed in on Tuckum's market square, obliterating dozens of parked T-34s. Strachwitz's panzer entered the city, driving by charred tanks. Some were overturned and their crews dead and burned. As for the survivors, they were too dazed to fight back. A few remaining tanks were easily dispatched. With SS Brigade Gross holding Tuckum, Strachwitz intercepted an approaching Soviet convoy. Believing themselves surrounded, the whole convoy surrendered.

Strachwitz pushed on to Riga with his grenadier battalions and his nine remaining Panthers, as many of the Panthers had broken down. After further engagements in a wood, Strachwitz entered Riga on the August 21. Driving by cheering Latvians and German troops, the count's Panther stopped in the marketplace right in front of a number of high-ranking officers. In his sweat- and dirt-stained overall, his face smeared in oil, Strachwitz emerged from the cupola. "Hurra, Leutnant, you have busted the cauldron," called out an officer. To astonished gazes, Strachwitz replied that he was a full-fledged general.

Grossly overestimating Strachwitz's force, the Soviet Fifty-First Army claimed that Tuckum had been attacked by 300 tanks. In three days, Strachwitz's small battle group had captured 18,000 prisoners and destroyed numerous artillery pieces, tanks, and antitank guns. The wounded could be evacuated out of Riga and contact had been reestablished, albeit only temporarily, with Army Group North.

On August 24, 1944, Strachwitz was nearly killed in a traffic accident. Knocked unconscious, he woke up two weeks later in Riga hospital. He could hear the Soviets firing artillery at the city. Some rounds hit the hospital, but Strachwitz's injuries prevented his transport. It was not until early October, with the fall of Riga imminent, that Strachwitz was flown to Breslau. The doctors counted on keeping him hospitalized for eight months. Strachwitz left after only seven days, continuing his recovery at Alt Siedel.

With the Soviets surging into Silesia on January 16, 1945, Strachwitz showed up at Field Marshal Ferdinand Schorner's Oppeln headquarters on crutches. Strachwitz asked to return to the front to defend his homeland. Even Schorner, who sent anyone remotely combat-worthy to the front, was stunned. Schorner needed someone to organize tank hunters armed with panzerfausts. Strachwiz undertook the effort. Within a few weeks, 8,000 men volunteered. The force included hardened veterans, returning wounded, and idealistic teenagers. The desperate nature of the final days of fighting was embodied by Strachwitz's youngest son, Hubertus Arthur, who despite being a leg amputee, volunteered to return to the front and was killed on March 25.

After Germany's surrender on May 8, Strachwitz ensured that most of his soldiers ended up in American captivity. A still limping Strachwitz surrendered to an American lieutenant in Felgen. The count looked so haggard that the lieutenant thought he needed medical help. Taken to the Allendorf, Strachwitz found himself in the company of several hundred German officers, including Guderian and Adolf Galland. They were treated well and used to gain records of the war and military tactics. Strachwitz spent two years in captivity, during which he received the disheartening news that his wife Alda had been killed by a U.S. military truck.

Upon regaining his freedom in the spring of 1947, Strachwitz no longer had a home to which he could return. His ancestral lands in Upper Silesia had been occupied by Russians who later handed them over to Poland. His tattered uniform and his medals were all that Strachwitz had left. In a fresh start to a new life, Strachwitz married again. His bride was the much younger Nora von Stumm. After two years abroad beginning in 1949, the couple eventually returned to Germany, settling in upper Bavaria. Strachwitz founded a refugee foundation for displaced Silesians and became a Knight of Devotion of the Order of St. John.

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Strachwitz continued to work near miracles at the battlefront with ever shrinking panzer forces in mid-1944. He led panzer forces in fierce fighting in East Prussia and the Baltic States, temporarily delaying vastly larger Russian forces.

On April 25, 1968, the 75-year-old Strachwitz, who was a heavy smoker, succumbed to lung cancer. "It was because of his bravery, which served as an example to all officers and soldiers, that he carried the highest decorations of the Knight's Cross, the Oakleaves, the Swords and the Diamonds," said General Heinz-Georg Lemm of the Bundeswehr, himself a holder of the Oak Leaves and Swords, at Strachwitz's funeral. Unlike most senior commanders of the Third Reich, Strachwitz was buried with full military honors.

Strachwitz's motto was, "Panzers should not be standing around, they should be rolling along, either shooting at the enemy or attacking and pursuing." With speed and daring and a knack for improvisation and organization, Strachwitz achieved victories against great odds. Strachwitz was wounded 14 times, but he proved as tough as the wild boar on the Strachwitz coat of arms. Guderian rightly considered Strachwitz to be one of the greatest panzer leaders. □

FOILED IN THE MOUNTAINS

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN FORCED THE CONFEDERATES IN NORTHWESTERN VIRGINIA TO RETREAT INTO THE ALLEGHENIES IN 1861. IT FELL TO ROBERT E. LEE TO BRING STABILITY TO THE SITUATION. **BY WILLIAM F. FLOYD, JR.**

The blue-coated soldiers trudged uphill through the forest trying their best not to get snagged on the laurel branches or stumble over the tree roots. At the head of the column was a David Hart, a handsome 22-year-old guide whose father owned a farm at the summit of the mountain. The five-mile trek, which was supposed to take just three hours, had begun at dawn and dragged on into the afternoon. Just as the march started, the heavens opened up and a hard rain fell on the untried troops. They received some protection from the mature trees that bent over the trail.

The Midwesterners in the column had been mustered into service a short time before. Their commander was 35-year-old, West Point Class of 1846 graduate Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan. The general had assured President Abraham Lincoln and the members of the War Department in Washington that he would drive the "Secesh" in northwestern Virginia as far as Richmond if necessary. He was the hope and pride of the intensely loyal Unionists of the upper Ohio River Valley.

But the flanking column was not led by McClellan, who was at the Roaring Creek bivouac at the western base of Rich Mountain in northwestern Virginia with the bulk of his forces on July 11, 1861. Forty-one-year-old Brig. Gen. William S. Rosecrans, West Point Class of 1842, led the column, which consisted of his brigade's two Ohio and three Indiana regiments. Although he had two batteries, Rosecrans left all of his guns behind because his young guide had told him that the trail was too narrow and rough for limbered artillery. Rosecrans, with his high forehead, hooked beak, and solid six-foot frame was a man who meant business. The 1,900 Midwesterners who belonged to his brigade knew all too well that they had to toe the line or face his hair-trigger wrath.

At 11 AM Rosecrans halted the column for a brief rest while he fired off a message to McClellan informing him that he had not yet reached his objective. A mounted messenger rode down the hill to deliver the update. The night before, the two generals had carefully planned their attack. Rosecrans would gain the enemy's rear, and McClellan, when he heard heavy firing on the mountain, would launch a frontal attack against the Confederate bivouac that the Southerners called Camp Garnett. When Hart informed Rosecrans that they were getting close to his father's farm, the general ordered Colonel Mahlon Manson to deploy skirmishers from his 10th Indiana Regiment. In a few minutes, the Union attack would commence. Disaster loomed for the Confederates on Rich Mountain.

The Battle of Rich Mountain was characteristic of the small battles that occurred as the Union and Confederate forces battled for control of northwestern Virginia in the first eight months of the war. The South was put on the defensive in the region early in the war as a result of the desire of the independent-minded mountain people to remain loyal to the Union. On April 17, 1861, the Virginia convention voted to secede from the Union. Delegates from the western counties of Virginia who had voted against secession stormed out of the convention. They held their own convention in Wheeling on June 11 at which they nullified the ordinance of secession and vowed to create a new state made up of the Old Dominion's western counties.

The so-called West Virginia Campaign of 1861 pitted Maj. Gens. McClellan and Robert E. Lee against each other in an early test of their tactical and strategic skills. Idiosyncratic traits of each man's personality would come to the fore during the campaign. For example, McClellan's erroneous estimates of enemy forces and his penchant for letting his subordinates do the hard fighting were plainly visible.

As for Lee, he strived for a diplomatic approach when confronted with the surly and uncooperative behavior of certain subordinate commanders when he should have dealt with them severely, if necessary charging them with neglect of duty. He also issued overly complex orders that called for multiple columns to converge on an objective. These complex plans proved too difficult for his subordinates to carry out.

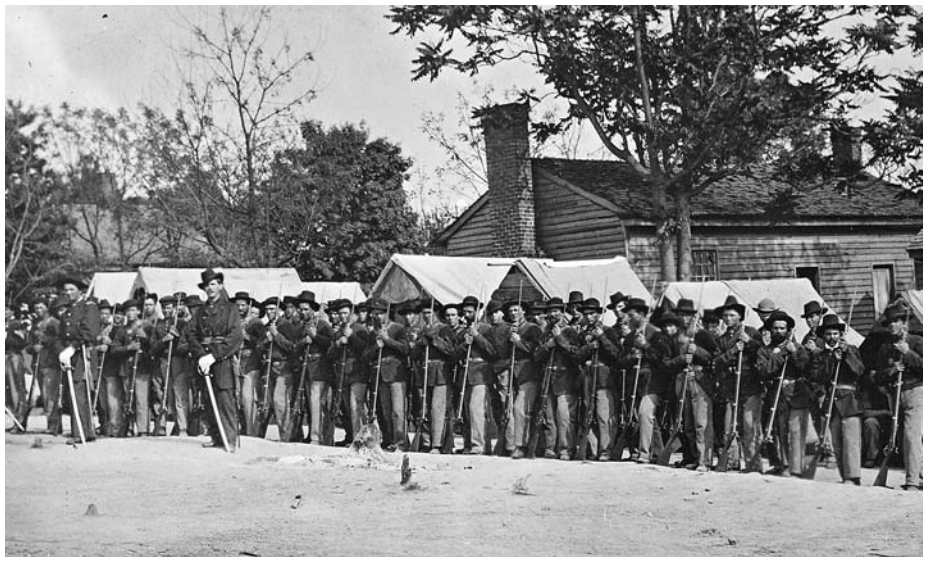
The high command of both the Union and Confederate Armies realized following the outbreak of war in April 1861 that they needed to hold the railroad town of Grafton if they were to control northwestern Virginia. Grafton is situated 120 miles west of Harpers Ferry. The

Brigadier General William S. Rosecrans's troops conduct a flank march around the Rebel works on Rich Mountain. The Union victory forced the Confederates to abandon their defense of the northern Tygart Valley.

Frank Leslie, 1896

Map 2017 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN

ABOVE: By penetrating the Allegheny Mountains, the Union army hoped to outflank Confederate forces in the Shenandoah Valley. BELOW: McClellan's army consisted of Midwestern troops, such as Colonel Robert H. Milroy's 9th Indiana Infantry Regiment.



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town not only was a stop on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, but also the eastern end of the Northwestern Virginia Railroad to Parkersburg. For the Union, control of the B&O Railroad was essential to the movement of troops and supplies from the Ohio Valley to Baltimore and Washington. The Confederates wanted to sever the railroad, and Grafton was a good place to begin.

Throughout April McClellan drilled his Ohio recruits in preparation for an advance into Virginia. Lee, who was given command of Virginia's forces on April 23 by Governor John Letcher, dispatched Colonel George Porterfield in early May to Grafton to recruit a local Confederate force. Porterfield was given command of the newly established Department of Northwestern Virginia. Upon his arrival, he found few troops loyal to the Old Dominion in the town.

Lee failed to appreciate the independent nature of many of the residents of western Virginia. They had little in common with the slave owners of the Tidewater and Piedmont sections of Virginia. Many were kindred souls with the pro-Union communities along the Ohio River. Lee discovered the hard way that if he wanted Porterfield to succeed he would have to send reinforcements from eastern Virginia.

The Federals wasted no time raising troops to secure the B&O Railroad and push back Confederate forces in northwestern Virginia. Colonel Benjamin Kelley raised a U.S. regiment on Confederate soil in Wheeling. The pro-Northern recruits who flocked to the Stars and Stripes in northwestern Virginia were mustered into Kelley's 1st Virginia Volunteers in Wheeling. General Winfield Scott cabled McClellan on May 24 instructing him to take prompt action in the field against Porterfield's Rebels. McClellan, who was training new recruits in Cincinnati, ordered Kelley to seize control of Grafton. To assist Kelley, McClellan dispatched two regiments of Ohio volunteers and an Ohio artillery battery.

Union authorities hoped that the campaign in northwestern Virginia would help create a political environment that would allow the people of Trans-Allegheny Virginia to create a new state that would become a permanent part of the Union. Recognizing the nature of operations in an area where family loyalties were apt to be divided, McClellan issued a letter to the volunteers urging restraint against civilians. "Remember that your only foes are the armed traitors," he wrote. Kelley marched out of Wheeling at the head of his regiment on May 27 bound for Grafton. By that time Porterfield had about 550 locals willing to fight for the Confederacy. Realizing that he would be heavily outnumbered with three regiments converging on his position, Porterfield retired 15 miles south to Philippi.

Philippi was located on a key north-south artery, the Beverly-Fairmont Road, which bypassed Grafton a short distance to the west. A splendid covered bridge carried the road across the Tygart River. The residents of Philippi were friendlier to the Confederates than those of Grafton. Awaiting Porterfield's arrival were two companies of soldiers, an infantry company from Upshur County to the west and a cavalry company from Rockbridge County in the Shenandoah Valley. These men were armed with outdated flintlocks or flintlocks that had been converted to percussion cap muskets. They scavenged whatever lead items they could to melt into bullets and rolled homemade cartridges. Still, they only had about five cartridges per man. If he were to meet McClellan on equal terms, Porterfield would need more men and equipment.

Two thousand Union troops detrained in Grafton on July 1. Arriving to assume overall command of the Union forces in Grafton was Brig. Gen. Thomas Morris of the West Point Class of 1834. In a council of war the follow-

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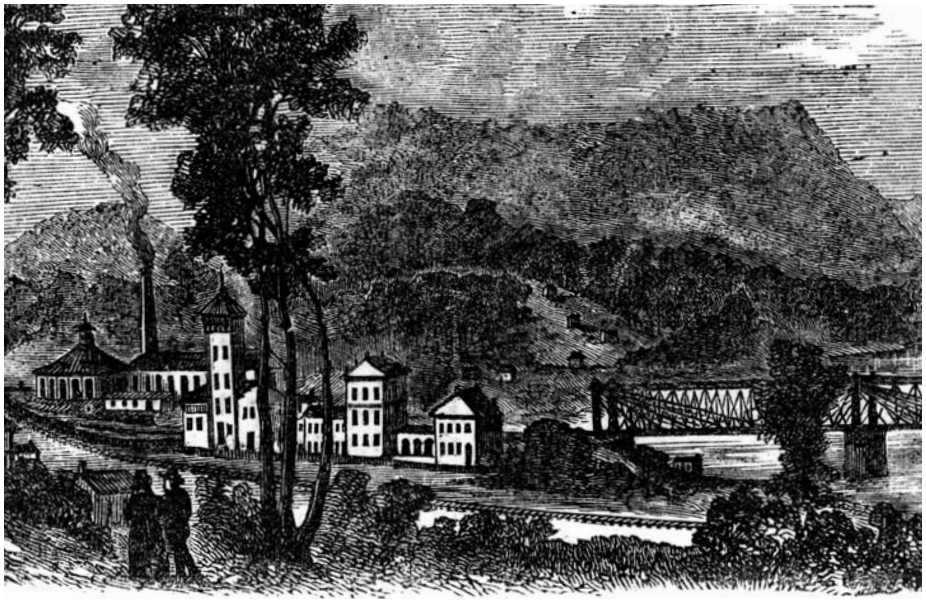


ABOVE: The railroad town of Grafton served as a supply base for Union operations in northwestern Virginia.
BELOW: The covered bridge at Philippi looks much like it did when the Yankees stormed across it in the summer of 1861.

ing day, Morris outlined a two-pronged assault on Philippi. Morris's plan was for two columns of equal size to converge on the Confederates in Philippi and fall on them from several directions. The columns were to march east as if they were headed for Harpers Ferry and then turn south. Kelley had 1,500 men from his 1st Virginia, 9th Indiana, and 16th Ohio Regiments. They would entrain in Grafton on the morning of June 2 heading east but then detrain for a 22-mile march south to Philippi. Kelley would enter the town from the northeast with the 1st Virginia and 16th Ohio, and Colonel Robert Milroy would lead his 9th Indiana into position to enter the town from the southeast in to cut off the Rebel retreat.

The other Union force was entrusted to Colonel Ebenezer Dumont, commander of the 7th Indiana. His regiment would entrain after nightfall and travel four miles west where it would rendezvous at Webster with the 14th Ohio, 6th Indiana, and 1st Ohio Light Artillery. The 1,500-man column would then march 12 miles along the Beverly-Fairmont Road. He was to wait for the first light of day and enter the town from the northwest.

Two young ladies from Fairmont who were sympathetic to the South rode to Philippi to warn Porterfield that a large body of Union troops was on the move. They told the Confederate colonel that they believed there were upward of 5,000 Yankees in the Grafton area based on the troop trains they had seen. Porterfield convened a council of war. Altogether the Mexican War veteran had approximately 600 infantry and 175 cavalry. A few of his officers argued for an immediate evacuation, but Porterfield knew that the green troops could not conduct an orderly withdrawal so he overruled the idea.

A hard rain fell on the night of the Union advance, slowing the march of the columns. At the Rebel camp on the Tygart River in Philippi, discipline was lax among the untested Rebels. The pickets grew tired of standing guard in the rain, and they abandoned their posts to seek a dry place to wait out the storm. The captain of the guard was a drunkard, and he failed to monitor the pickets to ensure they carried out their duties as instructed. Porterfield had sent a cavalry patrol west on the Clarksburg Road to look for the Federals, but they were not using that avenue of approach.

When a decidedly overcast dawn arrived, Dumont's men were on the outskirts of town. McClellan's aide-de-camp, Frederick Lander, had guided the column on the main road. Lander was an inveterate explorer who had helped survey possible routes for the transcontinental railroad in the western mountains. In the opaque fog of the summer morning, Lander rode forward on his horse to help the Ohio artillerymen find a good place to unlimber. They unhitched the horses and manhandled a pair of bronze 6-pounders into place atop Talbott's Hill, a commanding knoll opposite the river from the town.

Kelley's troops had a hard time keeping to the established schedule for attack on the slippery back roads in the deluge. As Dumont prepared to attack, Kelley's soaked bluecoats had not yet arrived at their designated position on the southern edge of Philippi. Meanwhile, an altercation occurred on the main road at dawn near Talbott's Hill. Mrs. Thomas Humphrey, a Confederate sympathizer, ordered her 12-year-old son Oliver to ride into town to warn the Rebels bivouacked in a meadow adjacent to the river. Federal troops grabbed him before he could depart. In a fit of rage, his mother swore at the Yankees and pelted them with rocks. She then pulled a pistol from her bosom and fired at them. The Union soldiers pointed their guns at her, and she retreated into her house.

The Union gunners thought Mrs. Humphrey's shot was a signal to open fire. They immediately began banging away with their 6-pounders. In the meadow below it was total mayhem. The Rebels rushed out of their tents and ran for their lives. The vanguard of Dumont's column swept over the covered bridge without encountering any resistance. Kelley's force streamed into the town from the northeast. When Kelley confronted a retreating Confederate, the man fired his weapon at Kelley striking him in the chest. Although his men thought he would surely die, the former railroad freight agent defied death and made a rapid recovery to the astonishment of his troops.

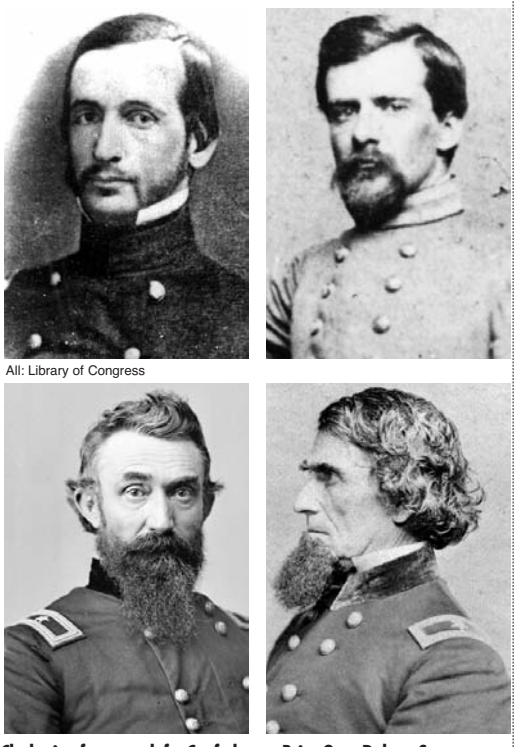
A few Confederates fired at the Yankees, but Porterfield soon ordered a retreat. This gave the

Rebel troops permission to get out town as fast as they could to escape capture. The Rebels conducted "a genuine shirt-tail retreat," said one Yankee, referring to the fact that many of the Confederates fled half dressed and without their weapons. Newspapers dubbed the Rebels' hasty retreat "The Philippi Races." Unfortunately for the Federals, Milroy did not arrive at the south end of the town until the majority of the Confederates had already passed that point.

The losses reflected the almost total lack of combat at Philippi. Five Yankees, all of whom were with Kelley's 1st Virginia Volunteers, were wounded and two Confederate cavalrymen were severely injured. McClellan, who was soon to join his troops in northwestern Virginia, embellished the victory, calling it "a decisive engagement." Unfortunately for the Northerners, Porterfield's men had escaped and would live to fight another day. Kelley, who had almost paid for the victory with his life, was promoted to brigadier two months afterward.

Word spread quickly through Confederate channels of the ignominious retreat. "From all the information that I have received I am pained to have to express my conviction that Colonel Porterfield is entirely unequal to the position which he occupies," Major M.G. Harmon, commander of Confederate forces in Staunton, wrote to Lee after hearing reports on the precipitous retreat. "The affair at Philippi was a disgraceful surprise, occurring about daylight, there being no picket guard or guard of any kind on duty. The only wonder is that our men were not cut to pieces."

Lee sacked Porterfield five days later. Porterfield requested a court of inquiry in an effort to clear his name. The court convened in Beverly on June 20 to decide the degree to which Porterfield was negligent in his defense of Philippi. "It does not appear from the record of the court that any plan of defense was formed, but it does appear that the troops retired without his orders, and that the instructions to his advance guard were either misconceived or not executed," stated the court. Calling the action a disaster, the court conveyed "heavy censure upon all concerned."



All: Library of Congress

Clockwise from top left: Confederate Brig. Gen. Robert S. Garnett, Confederate Lt. Col. John Pegram, Union Colonel Benjamin Kelley, and Union Colonel Nathan Kimball.

Governor Letcher turned control of all Virginia forces over to the Confederate States of America on June 8. At that point, Lee was without a specific command. Confederate President Jefferson Davis retained him as a personal adviser until an appropriate command could be found for the general.

Concerned over the state of affairs in the narrow Tygart Valley, Lee appointed his 41-year-old adjutant general Robert S. Garnett, a member of the West Point Class of 1841, to command the Confederate forces in northwestern Virginia. Garnett had a superb resume. He had been brevetted for bravery twice in the Mexican War, done a stint in the Pacific Northwest, and served both as instructor of tactics and commandant of cadets at West Point.

Garnett was a natural leader of men. He had raven black hair and sported a moustache and beard with whisps of gray. Like all great generals, he never flinched under fire. He knew all too well the sorrow of life, for his wife and infant son had died of Bilious fever while he was on duty in the Washington Territory. The experience had aged him considerably. He immersed himself in his soldierly duties as a way to cope with the tragedy. Garnett was melancholy about his appointment to command the downtrodden Confederate Army of the Northwest. "They have not given me an adequate force," Garnett said before he left Richmond. "I can do nothing. They have sent me to my death."

Lee instructed Garnett to prevent the Federals from penetrating the Alleghany Mountains. When Garnett reached Huttonsville, he reorganized the forces under him. From the regiments on hand, Garnett created the 25th Virginia Infantry, 31st Virginia, and 9th Virginia Battalion.

Garnett believed that his forces might best be used to occupy strategic and defensible points on the Staunton-Parkersburg Turnpike. This highway, which connected Staunton in the Shenandoah Valley with Parkersburg on the Ohio River, was of immense strategic importance. This was because nearly all of the roads across the Alleghenies were of the poorest quality, and control of the turnpike was essential for the advance of an army through the high mountains.

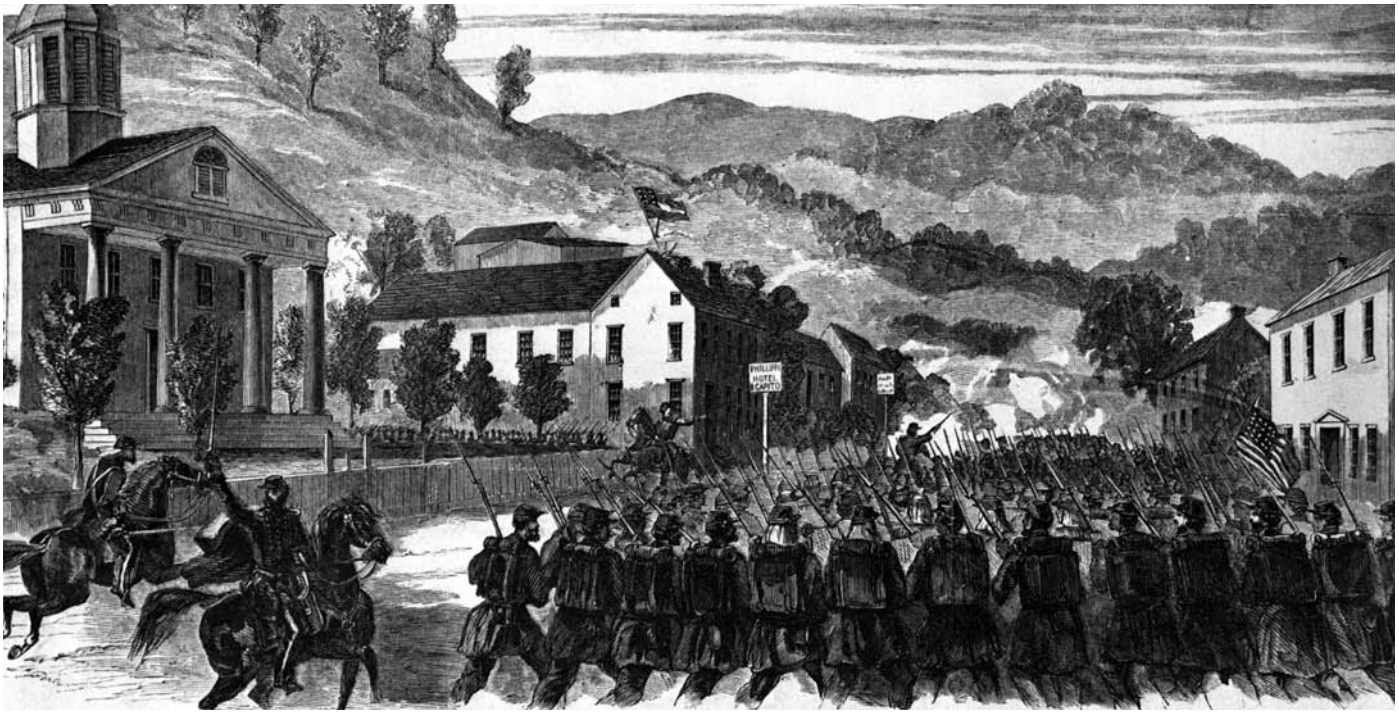
Garnett established one fortified camp at Rich Mountain west of Beverly and another at Laurel Hill north of Leadsville. Laurel Hill and Rich Mountain essentially were part of the same long ridge, although the Tygart River flowed through a gap between them. These two positions would block the Federal advance into the Tygart Valley and keep the Federals west of the Alleghany Mountains.

Garnett arrived at Laurel Hill, where he expected the main Union attack, on June 16 to personally supervise its defense. He ordered the troops to fell trees to block all of the roads in the vicinity. They also built breastworks to repulse an anticipated Federal attack. Garnett became deeply frustrated by the lack of reliable intelligence he received from the local population. "The enemy was kept fully advised of our movements ... by the country people, while we are compelled to grope in the dark as much as if we were invading a foreign country," he said.

Garnett entrusted the defense of Rich Mountain to Lt. Col. Jonathan Heck, the commander of the 25th Infantry Regiment, who established his main position on the west face of the ridge overlooking Roaring Creek. The 25th Infantry comprised 11 companies drawn from Alleghany and Shenandoah Valley counties. In honor of their commander, the men at Rich Mountain named their bivouac Camp Garnett. Heck would later turn over command of Camp Garnett to Lt. Col. Pegram when the 29-year-old member of the West Point Class of 1854 arrived on July 7.

McClellan arrived in Grafton on June 23 to oversee Federal operations against Garnett's small force. Although McClellan had upward of 20,000 men, nearly half were involved in guarding key points on the B&O Railroad. McClellan's plan to crack Garnett's line was to send Brig. Gen. Morris with 4,000 men to Belington against Laurel Hill. He was to pin Garnett in place while McClellan marched with the main army of approximately 6,000 men to Rich Mountain by way of Buckhannon. While he attended to logistics in Grafton, McClellan entrusted Brig. Gen. Rosecrans to lead three

Frank Leslie, 1896



Union Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan's troops converged on Philippi from multiple directions. The panicked retreat of the Confederates through the town was known afterwards as the "Philippi Races."

brigades to Buckhannon where they arrived on July 2.

As Rosecrans's men emerged from the woods onto the summit of Rich Mountain at 2:30 PM after 10 hours in the woods, rebel sharpshooters quickly felled three of the Yankees. The commander of Confederate forces on Rich Mountain had been informed that McClellan's army might try to flank him, but he considered such an attempt unlikely in the rugged terrain, which had its share of steep ravines and jagged bluffs. Nevertheless, Pegram dispatched 310 men drawn from his 20th Virginia Regiment, Heck's 25th Virginia, and the 14th Virginia Cavalry to the summit with one 6-pounder gun. Artillery Captain Julius DeLagnel commanded the scratch force. They set up their position on the opposite side of the Parkersburg-Staunton Turnpike from the Hart house. During their short time at the summit, DeLagnel put his men to work constructing a breastwork to strengthen their position.

When Yankee rifle fire began to crackle at the tree line, the Rebel gunners turned their gun south to face the attackers. The rainstorm, which had abated for a time, resumed with a vengeance just as the battle began. The rebel gun banged away at the 10th Indiana Regiment as it deployed in the open. The Rebel gunners were able to get off about four rounds a minute, and their case shot caused considerable havoc among the Yankees, who lacked artillery to oppose it. Rosecrans proceeded cautiously with his deployment, which meant that his vanguard was under fire for 40 minutes before he ordered a general advance.

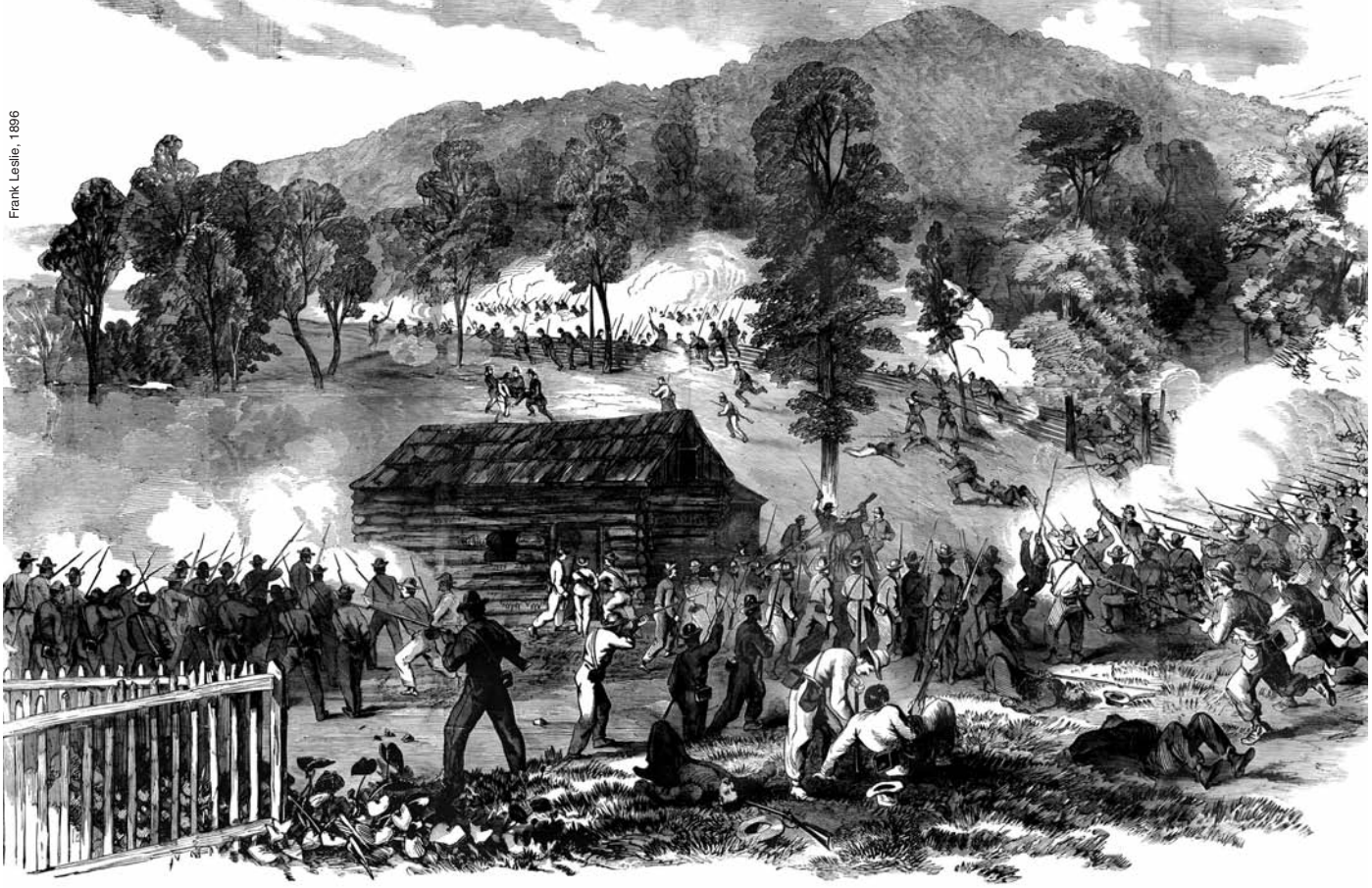
Colonel Samuel Beatty sent his 19th Ohio Infantry forward to expand the Union battle line in the open field. The Yankees advanced steadily, closing the distance between them and the enemy to 100 yards. Stinging volleys from the blue ranks struck the artillery horses, forcing Lieutenant Charles Statham to redeploy his gun next to a log stable. He ordered his men to take the horses behind the stable. Yankee sharpshooters took up strong positions from which they targeted the Rebel artillerists. Bullets whistled through the air striking trees, snapping twigs from bushes. Statham lost most of his crew in a short time. When a Union soldier panicked and ran past his officers toward the woods, Rosecrans intercepted him and smacked him with the flat of his sword to get him back to the battle line.

Rosecrans eventually tired of the casualties his troops were suffering from the well-served Rebel gun, and he ordered his men to charge. "Huzzah," the bluecoats screamed as they rushed across the open ground toward the Rebel line. Statham switched to canister to inflict as many casualties as possible on the detested Yankees. Just as the Yankees were sweeping the field, Pegram arrived with 50 men and another gun. The Union soldiers changed face and fired a thunderous volley at the Southern reinforcements.

Rosecrans had every reason to be proud of his troops. They had seized the summit after a grueling flank march and, although weary from the march, whipped the "Secesh" in a two-hour fight during which the lone Rebel gun had fired an estimated 165 rounds.

Pegram tried to lead his 600 troops out of the predicament in which they found themselves with Union troops surrounding them. The day following the battle, Pegram mistook Confederate troops in Beverly for Union soldiers and therefore headed north toward Laurel Hill. Next, he learned that Garnett already had departed the Tygart Valley. He called a meeting with subordinate officers. One of those at the meeting was Captain J.B. Moomau, the commander of Company F (Franklin Guards), 25th Virginia. He told Pegram that he could lead his men to safety by way of a mountain road leading east through the Alleghenies. Pegram declined the offer. Moomau had no intention of surrendering and led the 40 members of the Franklin Guards to safety. On the morning of July 13, Pegram sent word to the Union army that he wished to surrender. "[Due to] the reduced and almost famished conditions" he had no choice but to give up, Pegram told McClellan, who accepted his surrender.

Other Confederates who had fought on Rich Mountain also escaped. Jed Hotchkiss, a topographer, led the 70 men of the 25th Virginia to safety. His understanding of the terrain was the key to their escape. In addition, Colonel William Scott's 44th Virginia, which Pegram had instructed



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to deploy on the east face of Rich Mountain to support him, was able to escape the trap that was closing on the Confederates.

Garnett was eating supper outside his tent on the evening of July 11 unaware of the disaster that had taken place at Rich Mountain. Federal guns to his front were shelling him as part of the feint against his position while the main attack occurred to the south. One of the shells slammed into the ground near Garnett, spraying dirt into his coffee. He nonchalantly dumped out the coffee and continued to eat his meal.

Later that evening a messenger arrived with news of the tragedy that had befallen Pegram's force. At Laurel Hill, Garnett ordered his men to break camp immediately on the night of July 11. Despite a driving rain, his force was able to get their wagons on the road south to Beverly. When Garnett's column reached the outskirts of Beverly on the morning of July 12, however, their scouts mistook Confederate soldiers retreating from Rich Mountain for Federal troops. Garnett had to think quickly. He countermarched toward Laurel Hill and then turned northeast on a back road along Leading Creek.

Garnett's retreating column not only would have to contend with poor roads, but have to cross several rivers that might be flooded because of the continuing rain. Moreover, Garnett would have to contend with the Federals who were sure to pursue his column. Garnett did his best to lead his army to safety, but Federal troops attacked the rear of his column repeatedly on July 13. Morris assigned Captain Henry Benham of the U.S. Army to lead a brigade-sized force to overtake the fleeing Confederates. A running battle occurred along Shaver's Fork of the Cheat River during which Garnett was slain by Federal troops.

Following the Battle of Rich Mountain, President Abraham Lincoln summoned McClellan to Washington. On July 26 Lincoln offered McClellan command of the Army of the Potomac, which the general accepted. In the wake of McClellan's departure, Rosecrans assumed overall control of Union forces in northwestern Virginia. He divided his troops between Elkwater at the southern end of the Tygart Valley and Cheat Mountain on the Staunton-Parkersburg Turnpike. Command of the Union forces at Cheat Mountain fell to Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds. He was instructed to seize Cheat Mountain Pass on the Staunton-Parkersburg Turnpike.

Confederate President Jefferson Davis dispatched Lee to personally direct operations in northwestern Virginia. Lee was not travelling west to take control of an army but rather to direct and coordinate the armies of the mountain region in both the northwestern and southwestern theaters of Virginia. The Confederate government in Richmond appointed curmudgeonly Brig. Gen. William W. Loring to succeed Garnett as the commander of the Army of Northwestern Virginia. Loring arrived in Monterey on July 24 to assume command of the forces that had been led in the interim by Brig. Gen. Henry R. Jackson. Lee arrived four days later to coordinate command of all Confederate forces in western Virginia. This included not only Loring's force, but also forces under Brigadiers John Floyd and Henry Wise in southwestern Virginia.

Lee soon would see some of the most dismal conditions he would experience during the war. It rained for weeks in the Alleghenies, making the roads barely passable and supplying the troops extremely difficult. Many of the troops succumbed to measles and a malignant fever that rendered half of the army ineffective.

The Confederates that Garnett was leading out of Tygart Valley when he was slain eventually made it to Monterey. Loring spent the next six weeks whipping the Confederate forces in Monterey into shape. He ordered Brig. Gen. Jackson to take 5,000 men and advance to the Greenbrier River. Loring marched the rest of the troops southwest to Huntersville to oppose the Union forces at Elkwater.

Loring, who had outranked Lee in the old army, was rankled that Lee would be monitoring and even directing his actions. This did not bode well for the Confederate cause. The Confederate government promoted Lee to full general on August 31, though, making it abun-

dantly clear to everyone that he was Loring's superior. From that point forward, Lee took control of the campaign issuing orders through Loring. When Lee received his promotion, Loring became more compliant.

In the meantime, Reynolds' Federals had occupied and begun entrenching on Cheat Mountain. They also held the adjacent mountain pass on the Staunton-Parkersburg Turnpike, which was situated west of the summit. Reynolds assigned Colonel Nathan Kimball to take 300 men from the 14th Indiana and occupy the fortified camp on Cheat Mountain called Fort Milroy. Reynolds was deployed to the southwest with 1,500 Federals at Elkwater.

Lee devised a complex plan embodied in Special Order No. 28 that called for five separate Confederate columns to strike the Federals on Cheat Mountain and at Elkwater. Three columns would converge on the Federals at Cheat Mountain, and the other two would advance on the Federals at Elkwater.

Colonel Albert Rust would lead the first column from the Greenbrier River up a narrow path that would enable it to turn the flank of the Union forces atop Cheat Mountain. Jackson would lead the second column from the Greenbrier River to a point on the eastern face of Cheat Mountain where it would divert attention from Rust. Brig. Gen. Samuel Read Anderson would lead the third column from Valley Mountain to the west face of Cheat Mountain to block the Federals' retreat once they were dislodged from the mountain.

Brigadier General Daniel Smith Donelson would lead the fourth column from Valley Mountain along the east side of the Tygart River to get behind the Union forces at Elkwater, while Colonel Jesse Burks would lead the fifth column from Valley Mountain up the west side of the river to Elkwater. Loring, who was given Colonel William Gilham's brigade as a reserve force, would oversee Burks' advance.

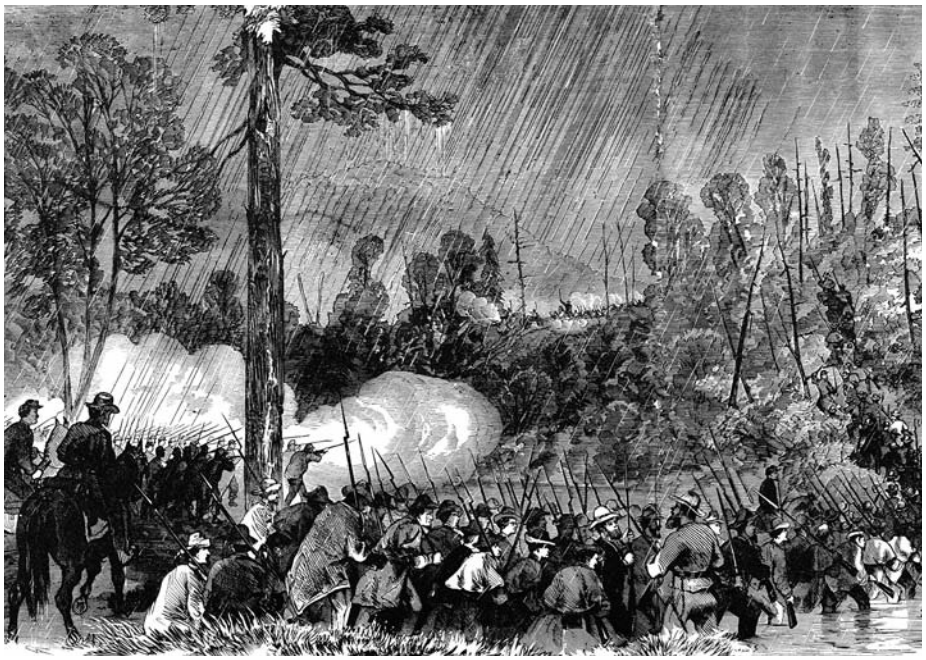
Rust's soldiers set out on a grueling march on September 11. They had to ford the freezing waters of the Cheat River and then march single-file up a steep path toward their objective. Rust reached a point squarely behind Reynolds' force without being discovered. The Confederates camped for the night and reconnoitered the fort's defenses the following day. But Rust decided not to launch an attack. Because the sound of Rust's guns was supposed to be the signal for the other four columns to attack, the other columns never received the signal to advance.

In the Tygart Valley, Donelson's troops, who feared that their powder was wet from recent rains, fired the charges in their rifles in order to reload. This alerted the Federals that an attack was imminent, but it never came. Lee had devised an overly complex plan that depended on too many variables and failed to take into account that the officers leading the columns were not capable of pressing their attack using their own initiative. Lee called off the failed offensive on September 17.

On October 3 a small engagement took place at the Confederate's Camp Bartow on the Greenbrier River. This time it was the Federals who took the offensive. Reynolds led 5,000 men east along the Staunton-Parkersburg Turnpike in a reconnaissance in force against Confederate positions west of Monterey. Confederate pickets alerted the main force at Camp Bartow. Reynolds ordered his guns to unlimber 700 yards from the Confederate bivouac. Although the Federal gunners knocked out three Rebel guns, they were not able to dislodge the Confederates despite several assaults and sustained bombardment. When Reynolds learned that the Confederates were reinforcing Camp Bartow with troops from Camp Allegheny farther east, he broke off his attack. An outbreak of disease in November ultimately forced the Confederates to abandon Camp Bartow.

Union Brig. Gen. Robert Milroy advanced against Colonel Edward Johnson's Confederates on December 13. Anticipating a Federal attack, Johnson sent his vanguard to hold the Confederates' old position at Camp Bartow until the main body of his army arrived. The Confederates sprang

Frank Leslie's Illustrated History



ABOVE: Union rifle fire killed Confederate Brig. Gen. Robert S. Garnett as he directed rearguard forces at Corrick's Ford in the retreat from Rich Mountain. He was the first general killed in combat in the American Civil War. OPPOSITE: A sharp 90-minute battle occurred at the Hart farm on Rich Mountain in which the Union army's greater numbers prevailed. Pegram neither correctly anticipated the direction of the flank attack nor did he direct reinforcements in time to stabilize the situation.

an ambush on Milroy's troops near Camp Bartow. Afterward, the Confederates fell back in good order to Camp Allegheny.

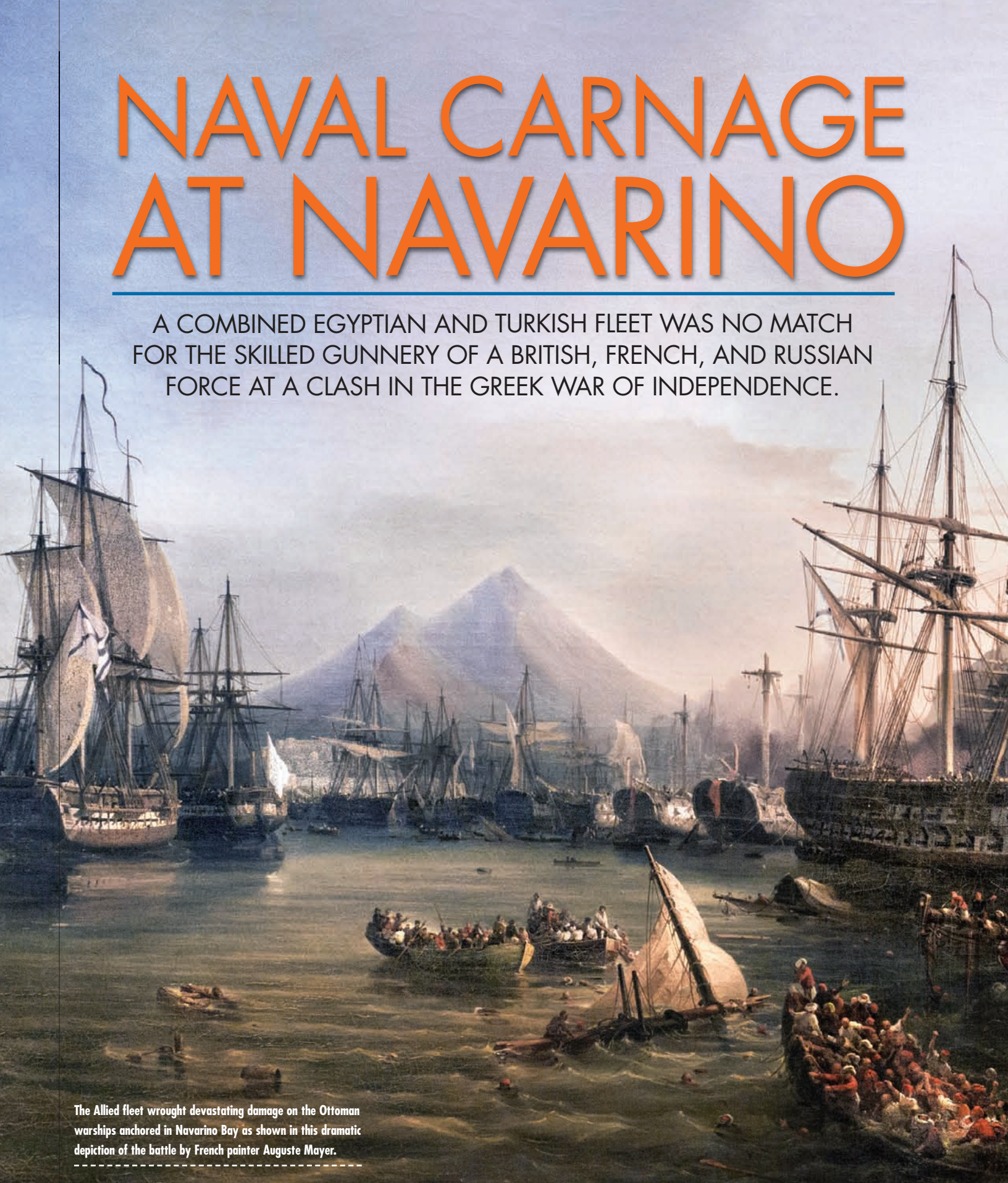
The Federals then switched to the defensive and inflicted substantial casualties on the Confederates before withdrawing to their main camp at Green Spring Run near Cheat Mountain. Johnson held his position at Camp Alleghany until the following spring when Maj. Gen. Stonewall Jackson attacked Milroy in the Battle of McDowell fought May 8, 1862.

Over the course of the four-year war, the western counties of Virginia sent approximately 25,000 men to fight for the Union and approximately 15,000 to the Confederacy. West Virginia officially became a state on June 20, 1863, during a ceremony at Wheeling. In addition to loyal recruits, the Federal government reaped various other key benefits from control of western Virginia. One benefit was that they controlled the headwaters of the Ohio where valuable coal and salt mines were located. Another benefit was that they had staging areas from which to threaten the Shenandoah Valley and the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad that connected Richmond with Memphis.

As for McClellan and Lee, they soon resumed their contest of arms on a far grander scale west of Richmond in June 1862 when Lee defeated McClellan in the Seven Days Battle. □

NAVAL CARNAGE AT NAVARINO

A COMBINED EGYPTIAN AND TURKISH FLEET WAS NO MATCH FOR THE SKILLED GUNNERY OF A BRITISH, FRENCH, AND RUSSIAN FORCE AT A CLASH IN THE GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.



The Allied fleet wrought devastating damage on the Ottoman warships anchored in Navarino Bay as shown in this dramatic depiction of the battle by French painter Auguste Mayer.

At 2 PM on October 20, 1827, Allied squadrons sailed into the Bay of Navarino on the west coast of the Peloponnese peninsula. The warships arrived in two long columns. Commander-in-Chief Vice Admiral Edward Codrington intended to enforce an armistice on the Ottoman navy during the long drawn out Greek War of Independence. Codrington, aboard the 84-gun HMS *Asia,* had issued orders not to fire first on the enemy. Although outnumbered by a swarm of mostly smaller, poorly armed warships, the Allies had a number of ships of the line. The atmosphere in the harbor was terribly tense.

A group of Egyptians was preparing a fireship, and one of the British frigates dispatched a boat with men who bore a message instructing the enemy to stop the hostile act. Musket shots rang out between the two parties. An unidentified Turkish corvette swung into action, firing two shots at the French flagship *Sirene*. Soon the harbor roared with guns as other ships joined the spreading fight at the entrance to the Peloponnese harbor. The struggle for control of Greece was heating up again.

As the Napoleonic Wars drew to a close at the beginning of the 19th century, a wave of nationalist movements swept through eastern and southeastern Europe. Among the peoples struggling for their national identity and independence were the Greeks, who had been living under the heel of the Ottoman Empire since the late 14th century.

BY VICTOR KAMENIR

In February 1821, a clandestine Greek organization called The Society of Friends, or Filiki Eteria, led an open rebellion against the Ottoman rule. Vicious fighting spread throughout Greece, with no quarter given on either side. Especially heavy fighting took place in the historic Peloponnese peninsula in the south, the heartland of the rebellion. As the fortunes of war shifted back and forth, in early 1824 Sultan Mahmud II turned to Muhammad Ali of Egypt for assistance.

Even though nominally under Ottoman suzerainty, Muhammad Ali was an independent ruler in all but name. Moreover, unlike the sultan's steadily deteriorating military machine, Muhammad Ali possessed an army and a navy trained, equipped, and advised by French military offi-

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cers. In return for his assistance, the sultan granted Muhammad Ali the island of Crete, while his eldest son Ibrahim was to receive the Peloponnese.

Ibrahim, with a 16,000-strong corps of ground forces supported by an Egyptian naval squadron invaded the Peloponnese in February 1825. He quickly conquered the western part of the peninsula but was not able to secure the east, the stronghold of the rebel government. Despite some successes on land and sea, by 1827 the situation became dire for the rebellion. The fighting turned large swaths of the bountiful countryside into barren wastelands with charred trees, burned-out homes, and barren fields. In some places the landscape was even littered with the bleached bones of the unburied dead who were victims of the slaughter wrought by conquering Egyptians.

Weary of the recently ended upheavals of the Napoleonic Era, which saw many a monarchic house overthrown, major European powers were initially either ambivalent or openly hostile to the Greek revolution; however, the political atmosphere in Europe had changed substantially by 1827. Even though the British and French governments were inclined to support the Ottoman status quo, public opinion throughout Europe was highly favorable to the Greek struggle and placed increasing pressure on their governments. Various Philhellenic committees financed and equipped 1,200 European volunteers, along with a few Americans, to fight for the Greece cause. The Greeks appointed a number of prominent British expatriates to important positions in their military forces.

Russia under Tsar Alexander I initially maintained a neutral stance. After Alexander's death in 1825, his younger brother Nicholas I ascended the Russian throne. The new tsar adopted a decisively aggressive stance toward the Ottoman Empire as the protector of its Christian subjects, who

ABOVE: Greek rebels attack Ottoman troops at Karpenski in 1823. The fighting during the conflict was particularly heavy in the Peloponnese, which was the seat of the rebellion. OPPOSITE: Allied warships entering the harbor had to contend not only with the Ottoman fleet's collective firepower, but also guns from the fort and shore batteries.

were mainly the Balkan Slavs and the Greeks. One key consideration was Russia's strategic aim of extending her influence into the eastern Mediterranean and southeastern Europe.

In their efforts to oppose Russia's growing power, the British and French governments brought their combined political will to bear on Russia, forcing the latter to agree to a joint effort in attaining Greek autonomy while at the same time preserving Ottoman territorial integrity.

On July 6, 1827, Britain, France, and Russia signed the Treaty of London, which called for an immediate halt of combat operations between the Greeks and the Ottoman Empire. The Allies offered to act as mediators to reach an armistice that would eventually lead to Greek autonomy under continuing suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire. On August 29, the Ottoman government formally rejected the Treaty of London, while the Greek provisional government accepted the treaty on September 2.

To enforce the treaty, the three Allied powers formed a joint naval expedition under overall authority of Vice Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, commander of the British Mediterranean Fleet. Codrington was a veteran with 44 years of experience at sea. He had distinguished himself commanding a frigate at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, and he was very sympathetic to the Greek cause given that he was a member of the London Philhellenic Committee.

The man in charge of the French squadron was Rear Admiral Marie Henri Daniel Gauthier, Comte de Rigny. A capable sailor, his tactful manners served well to counterbalance Codringtont's gruff persona. A significant portion de Rigny's distinguished carreer was spent fighting on land as a member of Napoleon's elite Sailors of the Guard. The Russian squadron was under the command of Rear Admiral Login Petrovich Heiden, a Dutch nobleman in the Russian service who was a solid and reliable officer.

Codrington's superiors anticipated that the Turks might reject the offer of mediation, and they had issued instructions to him setting forth a specific course of action from that point forward. "In the event anticipated of the refusal of the Porte to admit the mediation and to consent to an armistice, you will then, in the first place, have to enter on friendly relations with the Greeks, and next to intercept every supply sent by sea of men, arms, destined against Greece and coming either from Turkey or Africa in general," stated the instructions. Codrington was to enforce the armistice without fighting, but once all other means had been exhausted, he was cleared to use military force.

On September 25, while the Russian squadron was still en route to the Mediterranean, Admirals Codrington and de Rigny met with Ibrahim at his base near the small town of Pylos, located on the Bay of Navarino on the southwestern shore of the Peloponnese. At this conference, Ibrahim was advised of Codrington's instructions. Ibrahim agreed to an armistice, pending further instructions from Constantinople. Satisfied with the outcome of the meeting, the two Allied squadrons departed for the British-held island of Zante, leaving behind a frigate to observe the Ottoman fleet at Navarino.

While Ibrahim initially abided by the agreement, Greek forces in the north of the peninsula, commanded by Sir Richard Church and Lord Thomas Cochrane, expatriate British officers in the Greek service, continued conducting active military operations against the Turks. Codrington appealed to them to desist but to no avail. After launching an unsuccessful protest to Codrington, Ibrahim took matters into his own hands. He tried on October 1 and again three days later to break out from Navarino with part of his squadron but was intercepted both times by Codrington and de

Both: Wikimedia

Rigny and forced to return to Navarino.

On October 13, the Russian squadron finally joined Codrington after a long voyage from the Baltic Sea. De Rigny's French squadron linked up later the same day. In contrast to existing tenions between Codrington and de Rigny, whom Codrington considered more of a diplomat than a fighting sailor, the British commander struck an instant friendship with the Russian commander, Admiral Heiden.

On October 17, under the flag of truce, the British frigate *Dartmouth* entered the Bay of Navarino with a letter signed by the three admirals that contained strict language about Ibrahim not adhering to his commitments. The British envoy was met by Moharram Bey, who claimed not to know where Ibrahim was and, therefore, was not able to forward the letter. At that time, Ibrahim was conducting operations at Modon farther south along the coast.

On October 18 the three admirals gathered on Codrington's flagship *Asia* for a confrerence. The Allies felt they had to force the issue because they could not maintain the blockade of the Ottoman fleet in the Bay of Navarino throughout the winter due to inclement weather. "It was decided that all the vessels of the Allied fleet were to enter the Bay of Navarino, drop anchor near the Turkish fleet, so that by presence and deployment of the Allied squadron to force Ibrahim to concentrate his force at this location and give up any new attempts against the shores of Morea [Peloponnese] and Greek islands," wrote Heiden.

While the intent of the Allied commanders was to intimidate Ibrahim with the presence of their squadrons, each of the three admirals had different expectations of the outcome. The Russian Heiden was spoiling for a fight to punish Ibrahim as the tsar had intstructed him to do. De Rigny was convinced that a fight was unavoidable. Only Codrington, although pessimistic, was still hoping for a peaceful outcome. Their decision was presented in a letter to Ibrahim's representative on October 19.

The classification system of fighting ships of the British Royal Navy in the 19th century was similar to those of other countries. Typically, ships carrying 20 or more guns were ranked according to their size and armament, from sixth rate being the lowest to first rate mounting 90 or more guns. In addition to allocated guns, most ships possessed additional guns, known as bow and stern chasers, which were lighter pieces mounted on swivels; additional guns were mounted on open forecastles and quarterdecks. Thus, a ship designated as a 74-gun carried 80 or more. Rated below ships of the line were double- and single-deck frigates, corvettes, and brigs.

Sloops-of-war and cutters, mounting fewer than 20 guns, were considered unrated. The largest Allied ships at Navarino carried 70 or more guns and had a crew of between 500 and 650 men. The ships were armed with a combination of long 12-pounder, 24-pounder, and 32-pounder guns, supplemented by carronades, shorter and larger caliber guns particularly devastating at shorter ranges.

The typical tactical formation was the line, which was composed of ships capable of delivering and withstanding large amounts of damage. Fighting on open seas, each combatant's goal was to cross in front of the enemy line—thus giving the name of crossing the T—so as to take the enemy line under the raking fire. The raking fire would then be delivered at the stern or bow, the weaker parts of the ships.

Once at anchor, a ship's alignment, but not position, could be changed by the use of springs (in the form of cables attached to anchor chains). By hauling on springs, a ship could be turned to deliver broadsides against multiple opponents. Naval gunfire was typically inaccurate unless the combatants closed to a very short range where it was impossible to miss. Gunpowder was expensive and few captains could afford to expend it in practice. The main advantage of European crews, the British in particular, came from extensive use of firing drills, long-service experience, and superior ship-handling skill of the officers. Many of the crew and officers on the British and French ships converging on the Bay of Navarino were veterans of the Napoleonic Wars.

An additional vessel type, used extensively and successfully by the Greeks and adopted by the Ottomans, was the fireship. A fireship typically was a mid-to-small-size merchantman or an old ship that was packed with explosives and combustibles, set on fire, and either steered or allowed to drift toward the enemy. A few men remained on the vessel to ensure it reached its intended target. They jumped off the fireship just before it made contact.

The British and Russian ships were newer and in good repair; however, three French ships of the line, the *Breslau, Scipion,* and *Trident*, were in such poor shape that Admiral de Rigny flew

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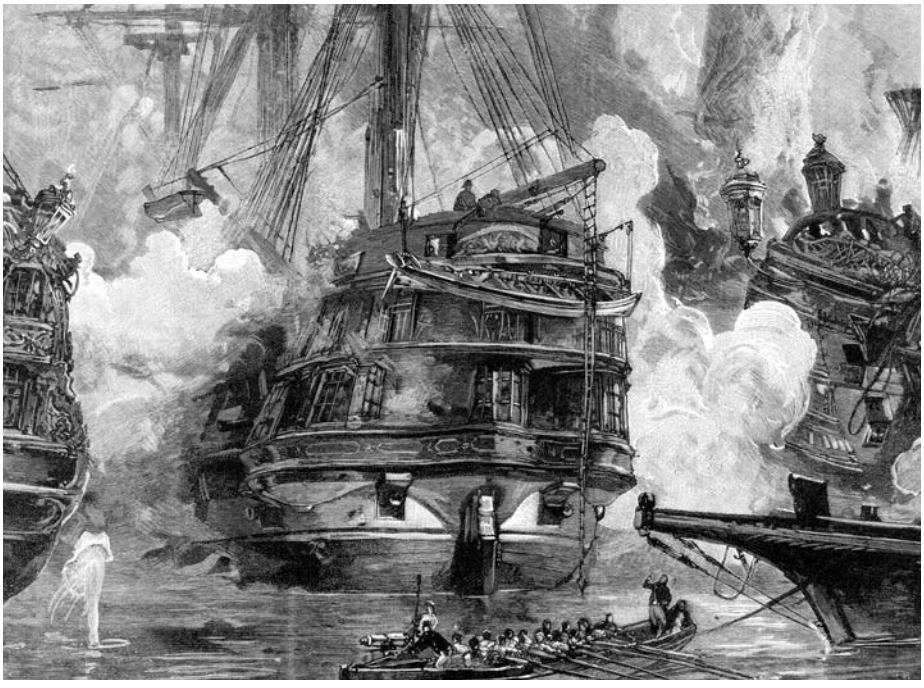


ABOVE: Vice Admiral Edward Codrington's flagship, the 84-gun *Asia,* engages two Ottoman flagships during the height of the battle. *Asia* was badly mangled in the action, suffering 125 round shots to its hull. OPPOSITE: Dozens of ships at anchor fought each other at point-blank range during the harbor battle. Men died from cannon shots and bullets as well as by spreading fire and flying wooden splinters on their own damaged ships.

his flag in the frigate *Sirene.*

The large natural harbor in the Bay of Navarino provided Ibrahim with a convenient location to receive supplies and reinforcements from Alexandria, Egypt. The bay, which is approximately three miles long and less than two miles wide, is partially shielded by the long and narrow Sphacteria Island. The entrance to the bay could be gained by a narrow and shallow passage to the north of Sphacteria, partially impeded by a small islet, or around the southern tip of Sphacteria, the commonly used approach. The Fort of Navarino and the shore batteries on the southern tip of Sphacteria Island guarded the southern entrance.

The Ottoman fleet that gathered at Navarino was composed of two distinct elements: the Imperial Turkish squadron from Constantinople and the combined squadron from Alexandria, Egypt, composed mainly of Egyptian vessels and including small contingents from Tunisia and Tripoli. Rear Admiral Tehir Bey, Ryale-i Hümayun, was the acting Ottoman commander. He is often incorrectly identified as the Kapudane-i Hümayun, the Grand Imperial Admiral. In practice, he was subordinated to Ibrahim's command. Vice Admiral Moharram Bey, the Patrona-i Humayun, led the Egyptian squadron from Alexandria.

The ships making up the Imperial Ottoman portion of the combined Turco-Egyptian fleet were in poor repair with many impressed Greek sailors aboard, many of whom were later found chained to their stations. The Egyptian squadron was the largest and best equipped component in the Ottoman fleet. In efforts to modernize his military, Muhammad Ali hired expatriate French officers to train his army and navy and purchased a number of vessels newly built in France and Italy. Their crews included many experienced sailors from North African states and the Greek islands. The French naval contingent was headed by Captain Jean-Marie Letellier, a veteran of Trafalgar, who served as Moharram Bey's French adviser. The French officers officially served in an advisory role on the Ottoman ships, but in reality enjoyed an almost dual authority. Captain Letellier served on Moharram Bey's flagship *Guerrière,* built in France and renamed *Murchid-i-Djihad* (*Warrior*) in the Ottoman service.

The number of combat vessels attributed to the joint Turko-Egyptian fleet varies among different sources, but the number is considered to be between 65 and 85 plus approximately 40 armed troop transports. Only the ships of the line and the double-deck frigates and a few single-deck frigates have been positively identified by name.

The Allies had 10 ships of the line, whereas the Ottomans had only three. But to its advantage, the Turco-Egyptian squadron had seven double-deck frigates to the Allies' one double-deck frigate.

Three days of diplomacy between Moharram Bey and the Allied admirals gave Codrington an opportunity to learn the disposition of the Ottoman fleet. In a plan prepared by Captain Letellier, the Ottoman vessels were arranged at anchor in a horseshoe formation with the open end facing the entrance to the bay. The vessels were deployed in a checkerboard formation of three lines, with the ships of the line and larger frigates in front, smaller frigates in the second line, and corvettes and brigs in the third. The checkerboard formation permitted the smaller vessels in the back to fire through the gaps between the vessels in front. This disposition allowed the Ottomans to concentrate maximum firepower on the middle of the bay. Fireships were positioned at both ends of the horseshoe, under cover of artillery batteries at the Fort of Navarino and on the southern tip of Sphacteria Island. Ibrahim's headquarters, minus Ibrahim himself, were located on a small hill near the Fort of Navarino.

Moharram Bey, the senior officer in Ibrahim's absence, flew his flag on the 60-gun Egyptian frigate *Guerrière,* and was in command of the left wing. Tahir Bey, commanding the right, flew his flag on the Imperial Ottoman ship of the line *Ghyu h R wan.* The front line of the Ottoman formation comprised approximately 20 ships, with the largest ships in the middle. They were the *Ihsania, Surya, Guerrière, Ghyu h Rewan, Fahti Bahri, Burj Zafer, Leone,* and approximately 12 other frigates.

Codrington's plan was to drop anchor inside the horseshoe, with the British vessels in the center of the Allied formation, and the French and Russians to the right and left, respectively. The British frigate *Dartmouth* and several smaller vessels were to position themselves behind the Allied formation to deal with the Ottoman fireships on the flanks. This was a very risky disposition, as the Allied ships entering the bay would not only be exposed to fire from shore batteries, but also experience concentrated Ottoman naval gunfire in the middle. Also, the wind was blowing from the southwest, straight up the bay, which would make a possible Allied withdrawal extremely perilous.

Knowing that the majority of Egyptian vessels with their French advisers were located on the Ottoman left flank, Codrington positioned French naval ships opposite the Egyptians. The belief was that the French officers on board the Egyptian vessels would not fight against their countrymen. This theory bore fruit. De Rigny was able to persuade these French officers to come ashore on October 19 so that, in the event of a battle, they would not have to fight the French navy. Captain Letellier remained on

board of Moharram Bey's flagship, but he left when the ship opened fire.

In number of guns alone, 2,200 to 1,200, the Ottomans seemed to have the advantage, but the British guns were of heavier caliber and better served. The Allied starboard line included the *Asia, Genoa, Albion, Sirene, Trident, Scipion,* and *Breslau,* while the port column consisted of the *Azov, Gangut, Iezekiil, Aleksandr Nevski, Provornyi, Elena,* and *Kastor.* The *Talbot* and *Armide* were on the inner side of the starboard line. The *Dartmouth* and some of the smaller craft likely were on the outer side toward the head. The British frigates *Glasgow* and *Cambrian* and the Russian frigate *Konstantin* were coming up from the south.

Despite the growing tensions, Codrington had not expected battle. His Marine bandsmen were on the poop deck at the time, and his crew had not fully prepared for action by clearing all possible space for guns.

The Allied entry into the bay on October 20 did not elicit a hostile response from the Turks. A gun at the fort fired a blank shot and Captain Pierre Bernard Milius of the *Scipion* recorded that the Turks "sat on the battlements smoking their pipes."

At 2:10 PM, *Asia* anchored opposite of Moharram Bey's flagship *Guerrière* and two other frigates. A boat rowed from the shore and an Ottoman official came onboard *Asia,* stating that the Allies did not have permission to enter the bay and that they must withdraw immediately. Codrington replied that he did not come to ask permission but to give orders. He warned the official that if the Ottoman ships opened fire, they would be destroyed. After Codrington's abrupt dismissal, the Turkish official returned to the shore and quickly went to the tent on the hill. Shortly afterward, "a red flag was hoisted at the tent and a gun fired—unshotted," wrote Codrington.

Shortly thereafter, Captain Thomas Fellowes, commanding the frigate *Dartmouth,* observed a boat go from the shore to one of the fireships and a man climbed aboard. Being very close, Fellowes could see that preparations were being made to light the fireship. He sent a boat under Lieutenant Spencer Smyth demading that the Ottomans stop what they were doing. Instead, the Ottoman sailors opened musket fire and lit the fireship. Several British sailors in the boat were wounded and the coxswain was killed.

Fellowes sent an additional boat commanded by Lieutenant G.H.W. Fitzroy to take the fireship in tow and remove it to a location where it would not pose danger to the Allied ships. As the second boat approached the fireship, additional musket shots rang out, killing Lieutenant Fitzroy. In reply, Captain Fellowes gave orders to his marines to provide covering fire for the two boats. As the two vessels exchanged musket fire, the French flagship *Sirene* was entering the bay and its marines added their weight to the firefight.

Up to that point, the skirmish had involved only musket fire. But once the unidentified Turkish corvette fired its two cannon shots, one of which barely missed the *Dartmouth* and the other striking the *Sirene,* neighboring ships on both sides joined the fight. The cannonade quickly spread along the Allied line. As each Allied ship reached its assigned position, it dropped both anchors and opened fire.

Coming up opposite the Egyptian frigate *Ihsania,* Admiral de Rigny hailed the Egyptian, stating that he would not open fire if the Egyptian would hold his fire, too. However, at that same moment, *Ihsania*'s cannons fired on both *Darthmouth* and *Sirene,* killing a man on de Rigny's ship. The French flagship returned cannon fire. At that point, the nearby shore batteries opened fire on *Trident,* which was following *Sirene.* "The engagement quickly became general," wrote de Rigny.

The *Scipion,* the third French ship in line, became engaged against the shore batteries and the two Egyptian frigates on both sides. It also had to ward off the fire ship that had precipitated the battle. The burning fireship became entangled with the bow of *Scipion,* causing the fire to spread from the bowsprit. The gunners feverishly worked their cannons while some of the crew fought

Old Masters

the fires. Several powder kegs exploded, causing horrible burns to many of the crew. As crew aboard the *Scipion* fought the fire, British and French ships came to the *Scipion*'s assistance, pulling the fireship away and sinking it.

Once the fire on the *Scipion* was out, she joined the *Trident* and *Sirene* in a collective effort to sink the *Ihsania*. Under relentless pounding, the Egyptian frigate was destroyed, exploding at 4 PM. The three French vessels then turned their attention to the fort, forcing its guns to fall silent.

Seeing the situation of the three leading French ships well in hand, Captain Jean de la Bretonniere of Breslau moved to the center of the harbor and dropped anchor at the junction of the British and Russian lines, with the Russian *Azov* on its left and the British *Albion* on the right. The three Allied ships became engaged with several Ottoman ships, including Tahir Bey's flagship *Ghyu h Rewan.* De la Bretonniere's initiative was greatly lauded by both the Russian and British commanders. In particular, *Albion*'s Captain John Ommanney credited de la Bretonniere for saving his ship from destruction.

As the fighting began to spread along the line, Moharram Bey sent a boat to Codrington's *Asia,* stating his intentions to not open fire. But Moharram Bey did not remain unengaged for long. As the fighting continued, with *Asia* concentrating on Tahir Bey's flagship, Codrington sent his Greek pilot Petros Mikelis to Moharram Bey to reaffirm the Egyptian's commitment to remain neutral. For unknown reasons, an officer on Moharram Bey's flagship shot Mikelis with a pistol through a porthole. Seeing Mikelis's murder, Codrington turned some of his guns on *Guerrière*. The *Azov* also opened fire on Moharram's Bey's frigate, with the Russian marines sniping at the Ottoman sailors attempting to fight fires aboard their ship. Under relentless pounding by the two Allied ships of the line, *Guerrière* was severely damaged and forced to run aground to avoid sinking. Moharram Bey went ashore unscathed.

Dozens of ships at anchor fought each other at point-blank range. Men died not only from cannon shells and bullets but also by spreading fire and flying wooden splinters on their own damaged ships. Roundshot smashed through hulls, overturned guns, and showered men with deadly splinters. Meanwhile, grapeshot swept upper decks while sharpshooters did their best to pick off officers and gun captains.

Aboard the *Asia,* Admiral Codrington's son Midshipman Harry Codrington was wounded in the right calf by a piece of flying iron railing from his father's cabin, and a musket ball or a canister ball hit him in the right thigh. Additionally, a piece of wood dislocated his collar bone.

To preserve them, the British cannons were ordered double-charged and sailors grabbed muskets and joined the action. The heavier weight of the Allied guns and superior performance of their crews steadily turned the firefight into their favor. Despite the heavy damages suffered by the Allied ships, the carnage aboard the Turco-Egyptian ships was much worse. Men were being killed or wounded in the hundreds. Still, the Ottoman sailors fought on with immense bravery.

As the Russian squadron began entering the bay, the smoke was already obscuring its progress. A ship of the line *Gangut* narrowly avoided collision with a burning Ottoman corvette, which blew up several minutes later. Dropping anchors in her predetermined position, *Gangut* quickly became engaged with three Ottoman frigates in the first line. The *Izekiel,* which arrived next, relieved some pressure on *Gangut,* which began engaging Ottoman corvettes in the second line.

Around 4 PM, a fireship bore down on *Gangut,* but the Russian avoided it by maneuvering the springs and sunk it by gunfire. About half an hour later, a frigate fighting *Gangut* closed its portholes and sank without lowering its flag. "From the concussion of air, our ship shook in all of its parts," wrote Lieutenant Aleksander Rykachev of the *Gangut*. "We were pelted with shells and glowing embers, causing the fire to break out in two places on our ship."

The fire was quickly extinguished, and *Gangut* continued the fight. When an Ottoman frigate collided with *Gangut*, Captain Aleksander Avinov ordered his anchor chains cut so that his ship, entangled with the Ottoman one, drifted out of position and could not endanger other Allied ships. Once the two ships drifted out of line, Russian sailors holed the Ottoman ship and sunk it.

By 5 PM, the Ottoman first line of ships was annihilated, being blown up, set on fire, sunk, or run aground. It was now time for the Allies to turn their deadly attention to the smaller Ottoman vessels in the second and third lines. With no chance to oppose the Allied capital ships, the smaller Ottoman vessels attempted to flee for the shore, yet the Allied heavy guns mercilessly hunted them down. An hour later the battle was over. The Allies had destroyed the Ottoman fleet.

It was now time to tally the butcher bill. Aboard the Allied ships, doctors and medical orderlies worked frantically to save as many men as they could. Total Allied losses came to 174 men killed and 473 wounded. Of that number, the Russians lost 59 men killed and 139 wounded, the British 74 killed and 206 wounded, and the French 41 killed and 128 wounded. The Allied flagships bore the brunt of the fighting and therefore suffered the heaviest casualties.

Other Allied ships suffering high numbers of casualties were the Russian *Azov,* which lost 91 killed or wounded, and the French frigate *Armide,* which lost 41 men, a disproportionally high number considering its smaller crew compliment.

Not a single Allied vessel was lost, even though all the capital ships suffered heavy damage. The three British ships of the line were mangled so extensively that they had to be returned to the United Kingdom for major repairs. "The *Asia* had 8 round shot in her bowsprit, 18 in foremast, 25 in mainmast, mizzen-mast dowsed, sanding and running rigging cut to pieces, lower yards useless, and 125 round shot in the hull, beside quantities of grape, canister, and musket shot," wrote Midshipman Codrington. "I believe no round shot penetrated her side in the lower deck, and none through the main deck; there are several shot which have nearly penetrated and even pushed in the inner plank, but I think none got regularly through, except on the upper deck and through ports." The Russian *Azov* received 153 hits, seven of them below the waterline, and the *Sirene* was heavily damaged as well.

The Allied squadrons remained vigilant at their battlestations throughout the night. Darkness was punctuated by exploding Ottoman ships, which were being destroyed by their own crews to keep them from falling into enemy hands. At one point, a burning and out-of-control Turkish frigate was bearing down on *Genoa.* Nearby Russian ships sunk it by gunfire. Ottoman vessels exploded, burned, or drifted lifelessly about the bay. To protect themselves from the danger of spreading fire, the Allied squadrons pulled away from them.

On the morning of October 21, Tahir Bey came aboard *Asia.* He was strongly advised that if he displayed any hostile intentions, the remaining Ottoman ships, as well as the fort, would be destroyed. The Ottoman admiral assured Codrington that no more fighting would take place. Later the same day, Ibrahim returned to Navarino to discover his fleet destroyed.

Since the exact number of Turco-Egyptian ships was not known, it is difficult to obtain accurate figures on the Ottoman losses. Ottoman ship losses amounted to one ship of the line, 12 frigates, 42 smaller ships, and all five fireships, according to Captain Letellier. The only fighting ships still afloat in the morning were one dismasted frigate, four corvettes,

Marine College, St. Petersburg

The Russian squadron in line ahead at left bombards the Ottoman fleet at right in a painting by Russian artist Ivan Aivazovsky. The Russian 84-gun *Gangut* sunk a fireship heading toward it before the burning hulk could do any damage.

six brigs, and four schooners. Approximately 3,000 Ottoman sailors were killed and 1,100 wounded. Moharram Bey's *Guerrière* was eventually repaired, as were another four or five frigates and several corvettes and brigs.

When the Allied squadrons sailed from the Bay of Navarino on October 25, Ibrahim still maintained a solid hold on the Peloponnese. With his expensive fleet destroyed and 13,000 French troops landing at the Bay of Navarino in April 1828, Egyptian ruler Muhammad Ali lost interest in the Greek affairs and recalled his son Ibrahim and his forces from the Peloponnese. Supported by French troops, the Greek forces cleared the peninsula of the remaining Ottoman strongholds by the end of 1828.

The events at Navarino led to another Russo-Turkish War in 1828 that ended in an Ottoman defeat. Under the terms of the Treaty of Adrianople, the sultan accepted Greek autonomy as proposed in the Treaty of London, as well as ceded to Russia a large swath of territory in the Caucasus. However, the Greeks refused to accept anything short of full independence. Caving in to Allied pressure, the sultan formally recognized the new Kingdom of Greece in 1832. But the Allies would only accept the new state as a monarchy, not a republic. A suitable candidate for a monarch was found in Bavarian Prince Otto, who traced his anscestry to the ancient royal families of Greece. As King Othon I, he ruled the new kingdom, which was composed of the Peloponnese, central Greece, and some islands in the Aegean Sea. By this arrangement, the Ottomans retained a large part of Greece.

While public opinion in England was enthusiastic about the outcome of the battle, the British government was extremely displeased, for it was never the intention of the three Allied governments to completely destroy the Ottoman fleet. Codrington was blamed for exceeding his instructions and causing the events that precipitated the battle. Paying lip service to public opinion, the British government awarded Codrington the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath. However, once public enthusiasm died down, Codrington was quietly dismissed from service in August 1828. Three years later, he returned to service. Codrington eventually was promoted to Admiral of the Red; that is, commander of the red squadron, in 1837 and Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth in 1839.

Admiral de Rigny went on to a political carreer, becoming the Minister of Marine and Foreign Minister. Admiral Heiden finished his military carreer as the military governor of Revel. Young Harry Codrington fully recovered from his wounds and eventually became an admiral himself.

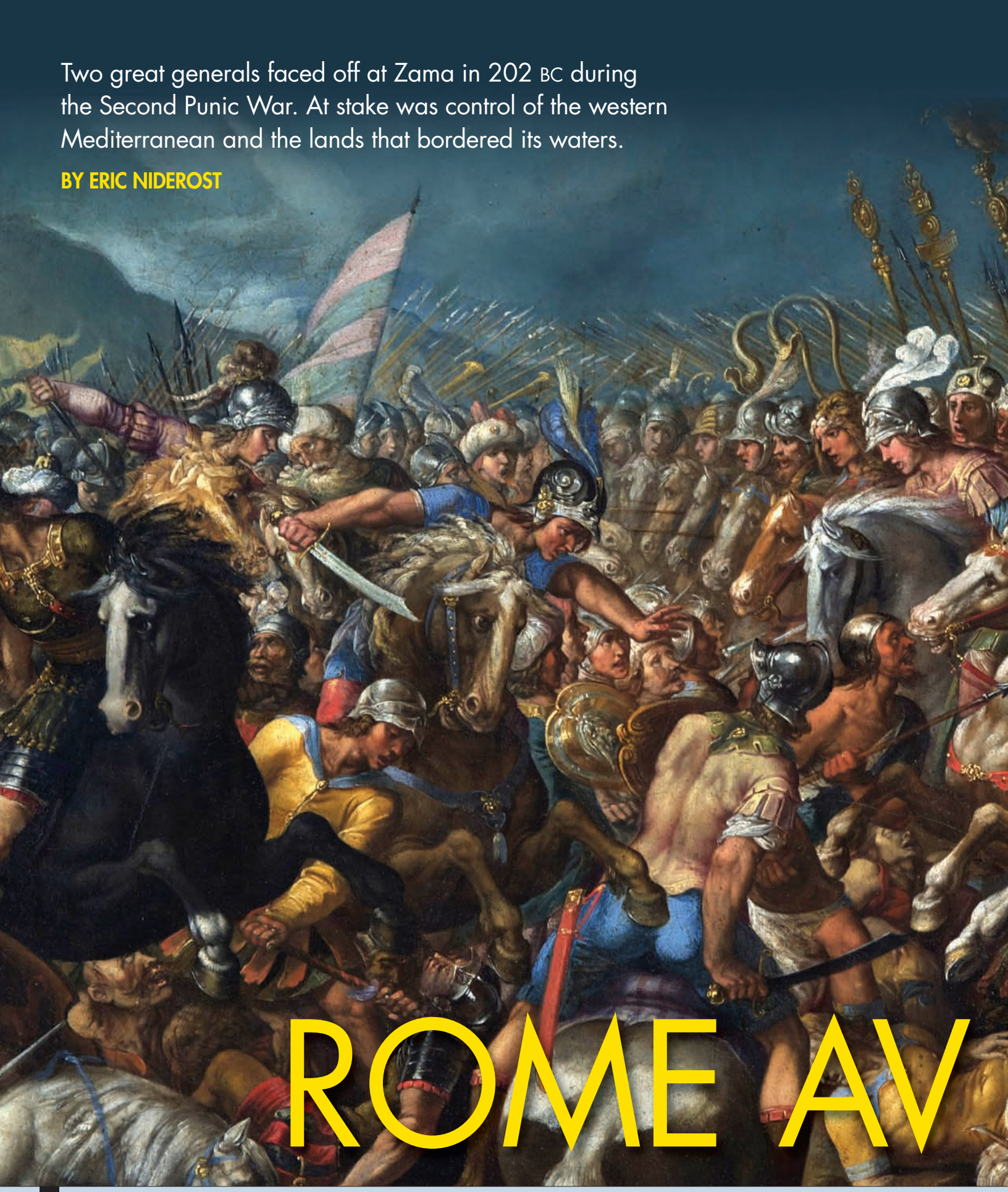
Ibrahim later succeeded his father and eventually became ruler of an independent Egypt. In a strange turn of events, when Ibrahim rebelled against his Ottoman master, invading Turkey in February 1833, Sultan Mahmud II turned to the Russian government for protection.

In a twist of fate, Lieutenant Pavel Nikhimov, who served aboard *Azov* at Navarino, fought the British, French, and Turkish as an admiral during the Crimean War. Opposing him among the British forces in Crimea was Maj. Gen. William Codrington, the second son of Admiral Sir Edward Codrington.

The Battle of Navarino marked the end of the wooden sailing era. Three weeks before the battle, the Greek sloop *Karteria,* a steam warship commanded by British expatriate Captain Frank Hastings, gained a formidable reputation by sinking nine Ottoman ships in one engagement three weeks before the Battle of Navarino. The event was significant because it marked the first combat action of a steam warship. A new age in naval warfare had dawned. □

Two great generals faced off at Zama in 202 BC during the Second Punic War. At stake was control of the western Mediterranean and the lands that bordered its waters.

BY ERIC NIDEROST



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TWO GENERALS MET IN THE FALL OF 202 BC in a last-ditch attempt to secure a mutually agreeable peace between their respective nations. At least that was the official reason for the impromptu conference. Their armies were camped nearby. If the talks broke down, the issue would be decided by the sword. One of the men was Roman, the other Carthaginian, but the mutual respect they had for each other eclipsed any hatred that might otherwise have grown after more than a decade of continual strife.

Each man was accompanied by a small escort of cavalry, but the horsemen were soon left behind. The generals continued alone, save for two interpreters, and once they were within a few feet of each other they halted and dismounted. At that point, a curious thing happened. They just stood there staring, not saying a word to each other. They were lost in a mesmerizing state of mutual admiration, says Roman historian Livy.

At Zama the Carthaginians initially drove the Roman infantry back, but the Roman cavalry upset Hannibal's attack. Although highly stylized, Bernardino Cesari's Baroque painting captures the intensity of the battle.

The Carthaginian had lost sight in one eye, not from battle but from an ocular disease called ophthalmia. The malady did not seem to slow him down; indeed, he could probably observe more with his one good eye than most men could with two eyes. Here was a chance to size up his Roman adversary, a man whose fame was growing with each victory. It remained to be seen whether the Roman would prevail against one of the greatest commanders of all time.

The Roman was Publius Cornelius Scipio, a young commander who already had won a number of victories against the Carthaginians in Spain. Later portrait busts show him with a stern gaze and penetrating eyes. This look was the hallmark of what the Romans called *gravitas*. Scipio had a slightly cleft chin, and he was almost completely bald.

Scipio had every right to be dumbstruck, for the Carthaginian was none other than Hannibal Barca. Hannibal was a living legend. In modern times, he is regarded as a military genius whose name is mentioned alongside such immortal generals as Alexander, Caesar, and Napoleon. Yet for all his fame we do not really know what he looked like. The Carthaginians were Semitic, and in broad terms they were bearded and wore clothes similar to those worn in the Middle East. The upper classes, however, were Hellenized and generally followed the fashions of Greece. That means that Hannibal might have been clean shaven and wore Hellenistic clothes and armor.

The spell cast by their mutual admiration was

soon broken, and the two men started to converse in earnest. The stakes were high. Whoever won the pending clash of arms would dominate the western Mediterranean and the lands that bordered its waters. Rome was ascendant at the time of their meeting, and Carthage had much more to lose than its rival. Hannibal knew this and was determined to use both his fame and charisma to win over the Roman who stood almost deferentially before him.

The rivalry between Rome and Carthage began well before the two protagonists were born. Both civilizations were expanding empires. Rome devoted much of the third century BC to the gradual conquest of Italy. By 265 BC the city on the Tiber controlled most of the Italian peninsula.

Carthage was founded in North Africa as a satellite colony of Tyre, the fabled Phoenician city mentioned many times in the Bible. It was called Qart Hadasht, which means new city, but the rival Romans called it Cathago. It was small in the beginning, a mere outpost, but its growth was stimulated by its strategic location on a fist of land that juts into the Mediterranean.

The Phoenicians were merchants who became legendary seafarers in their quest for profits. One of their admirals, Hanno the Navigator, left the Mediterranean and ventured out into the Atlantic Ocean to explore the African coast. It was an epic voyage, so heroic that even the Romans preserved the tale of his adventures after they destroyed Carthage in 146 BC. Hanno may have gone as far as the Cameroons, likely traveling more than 3,000 miles.

The Carthaginians conquered a generous slice of North Africa and made the various Berber tribes that inhabited the region unwilling subjects. They also established colonies and outposts on Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands. As a result, they soon had a foothold in southwestern Spain. Their powerful navy ensured that the western Mediterranean became for all intents and purposes a Carthaginian lake. This enabled them to establish a trade monopoly throughout the Mediterranean region.

After nearly 15 years of campaigning in Italy, Hannibal had failed to defeat the Romans. When Scipio invaded Africa, Hannibal was compelled to follow.

The First Punic War, which began in 264 BC, essentially was a battle for control of Sicily. The name is derived from Punicus, a reference to the Carthaginians' Phoenician ancestry. At the outset of the conflict, Carthage held the upper hand at sea, while Rome held the upper hand on land.

The Romans knew little of the sea but learned quickly. They did have a small navy, but they lacked a seafaring tradition. The standard Carthaginian warship was the quinquereme, a powerful, heavy vessel whose main tactic was ramming. Initially, few Roman warships could stand up to such a battering.

Legend has it that the Romans received a stroke of luck when a wrecked Carthaginian quinquereme was found along a shoreline. They copied it and were thus able to create a fleet seemingly by magic. But the Romans were still essentially land warriors. It remained to be seen whether they could develop the necessary maritime skills in a short time.

The solution was the corvus, a swiveling, derrick-like gangplank that was set up at the bow of a Roman ship. Corvus means raven, and the name comes from an iron spike, like a beak, that attached to the end of the gangway or gang plank. When an enemy ship was close, the Romans would lower a gangplank. As the gangplank crashed down, the beak would drive deep into the enemy vessel, locking the two vessels together

Once the gangplank was secure, it formed a bridge and allowed Roman marines to cross over to the Carthaginian ship and take it by force of arms. Use of the corvus was neither foolproof nor a guarantee of victory at sea, but it did counteract ramming enough to give the Romans a real chance of winning the war. The naval struggle between Rome and Carthage seesawed back and forth, but eventually Rome got the upper hand and Carthage lost the First Punic War in 241 BC.

While the Carthaginians were preoccupied with an internal revolt by mercenaries, the Romans seized Sardinia and Corsica. It was obvious that the peace was only a pause, a mutually agreed truce before another round of war would begin again. Carthage needed a place to both recruit new armies and fill its depleted coffers and Spain seemed the obvious choice. Its silver mines were incredibly rich, and Carthage's foothold on the Iberian Peninsula could be expanded.

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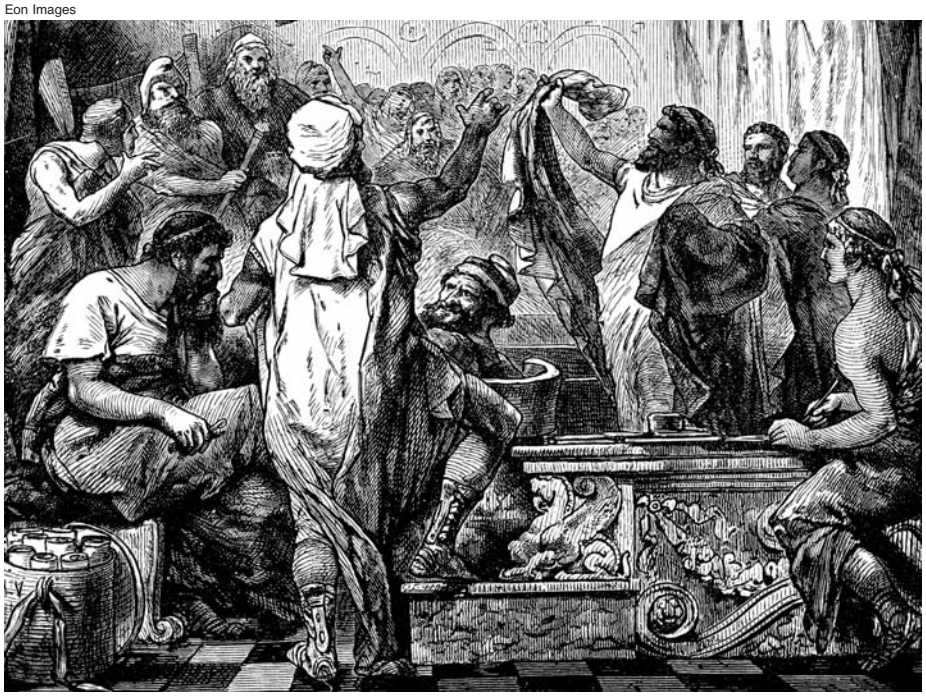

The Roman Senate grew impatient with Dictator Quintas Fabius Maximus's war of attrition. It was not until much later that the Romans came to fully appreciate the strategy.

The Carthaginian government was lukewarm if not actively hostile, but somehow General Hamlicar Barca managed to get permission to take a modest force to Spain. Hamlicar was spectacularly successful, expanding his city's Hispanic realm, but he died prematurely when he drowned in 229 BC. His son-in-law, Hastrubal the Fair, continued Hamlicar's work and founded New Carthage (modern Cartagena).

But when Hannibal Barca, the 26-year-old son of the late Hamlicar, assassinated Hastrubal the Fair, the Carthaginians chose him to command the Carthaginian army in Spain. Beloved by his men because he shared their hardships, Hannibal soon proved himself to be a brilliant strategist and resourceful tactician. He possessed the indefinable qualities typically associated with military genius. Barca, his family surname, means lightning, and he was capable of rapid decisions when planning battles.

Hannibal was no hard-headed god of war. He was classically educated and spoke Greek and Latin apparently with some fluency. Having interpreters along might have been a mere formality, or as a safeguard that important conversations were not somehow misunderstood. It was said that Hamlicar made his nine-year-old son swear that he would be a lifelong enemy of Rome. Hannibal meant to fulfill that pledge.

Hannibal decided to take a bold course of action. He would invade Italy and bring the war to the Roman heartland. He knew that he would face multiple obstacles in pursuit of his goal. One of these was the towering, snow-capped Alps and another was the fierce mountain tribes. He knew he would have to run a gauntlet of hostile mountain people who would have the advantage of fighting on their own terrain.

Hannibal set out in May 218 BC with 50,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry, and 60 elephants. Just as he expected, he encountered treacherous mountain pathways and deep snows in the Alps. Hostile Gallic tribes attacked his column frequently, hindering its passage but failing to stop its steady progress. His legendary Alpine trek was something of a miracle, but it was accomplished at heavy cost. When his weary army marched gratefully into northern Italy's sundrenched plains, he was down to about 26,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and 20 elephants. But Hannibal's genius more than made up for any deficiencies in numbers. He defeated the Romans in battle at Lake Trasimene in 217 BC. The loss shattered Roman confidence.

It was at this critical juncture that Quintus Fabius Maximus became dictator. It was an office that could be activated in times of crisis. A dictator could command all he surveyed, but only for six months. Fabius used his new powers to institute a strategy that would later be named for him. Fabian strategy was the practice of avoiding pitched battles at all costs. At the same time, though, the strategy also called for hit-and-run attacks to deny the enemy rest.

In regard to Hannibal's army, the Romans sought to ambush the Carthaginians whenever possible. This meant targeting Hannibal's forage parties to prevent him from feeding his army. It also meant waiting patiently for Hannibal to make a mistake or at least to be backed into an unfavorable position.

Knowing Hannibal's superiority in maneuver and in cavalry, Fabius posted Roman troops in hilly ground where Carthaginian horsemen would not be able to operate. But the Roman Senate grew impatient with this war of attrition, derisively giving Fabius the nickname Cunctator, which means delayer.

It was not until much later that the Romans came to fully appreciate the strategy. Fabius prevented Hannibal from breaking up Rome's system of alliances and kept the great general frustrated and off balance. He bought precious time for Rome and in the end saved the state by delaying the Carthaginian army. By 216 BC Roman patience was at an end, and the cries for action grew too loud to ignore. Two consuls, Terentius Varro and Licius Aemilius Paulus, decided to confront Hannibal at Cannae, a small but important supply base. The Roman army was huge; it comprised eight legions totaling 80,000 men. Hannibal had a much smaller, polyglot force of 40,000 men.

Hannibal employed an unusual convex formation for his center. His lines bulged outward toward the Roman position. As the Roman legions pressed forward, the Carthaginian line bent back in concave fashion but did not break. It was like punching a pillow; that is, the fist was absorbed and surrounded without having done any real damage. This was the classic double envelopment, and it confirmed Hannibal's genius on the battlefield.

The Roman legions at Cannae were completely bottled up. The Romans were so tightly packed that they could barely use their weapons. When the Numidian cavalry arrived to cork the bottle, the Roman fate was sealed. The Carthaginian army killed approximately 50,000 and captured many more. Roughly 10,000 Romans fought their way out of the trap. Among those who escaped was Scipio. By any definition, Cannae was a catastrophic defeat for the Romans.

In the wake of the defeat, many Roman allies in southern Italy switched sides and joined Hannibal. Rome seemed to be on the edge of a precipice; one final push, and the city would plunge to its doom. Hannibal hesitated to march on Rome, a decision he probably regretted in later years. Historians have given various reasons for why the great general did not take Rome, including lack of siege equipment and fear that new Roman relief armies might attack his rear while he was investing the city.

These arguments have some validity, but if he had taken and destroyed Rome the entire course of western civilization would have been changed. With Rome conquered and its citizens put to the sword, the Roman system of alliances and treaties might have collapsed like a house of cards. But Hannibal, usually willing to take risks, hesitated. He chose to err on the side of caution.

The opportunity passed, and never again would Rome would be in such dire peril. Hannibal decided to wait for reinforcements, a quixotic notion given the fickleness of the autocratic Carthaginian government. But there was always hope that his brother Hasdrubal in Spain might be able to duplicate his Alpine-crossing feat and enter Italy. It is also probably true that Hannibal, despite his childhood oath, had no deep and abiding hatred of Rome. If the Romans had acknowledged Carthaginian hegemony in Spain and parts of the western Mediterranean, he would have easily made peace.

Though many of the Roman allies defected, central Italy remained loyal. In spite of horrific losses, Romans raised fresh armies phoenix-like from the ashes of defeat. The aftermath also revealed the fundamental differences between the Roman and Carthaginian military systems and methods of rule.

The Romans were a warrior race, a society where everyone, whether aristocratic or lowly plebian, was ready, willing, and able to wield a sword for his city. In contrast, the Carthaginians were merchants who relied on mercenaries or unwilling conscripts to do the fighting. It would prove to be a fatal mistake. Only in times of dire emergency would native Carthaginians reluctantly put down their accounting scrolls and take up spears and shields.

WHEN HASDRUBAL FINALLY MANAGED TO REACH ITALY WITH A RELIEF ARMY, HE WAS DISASTROUSLY DEFEATED BY THE ROMANS BEFORE HE COULD REUNITE WITH HIS OLDER BROTHER. HANNIBAL GOT THE NEWS WHEN HASDRUBAL'S SEVERED HEAD WAS FLUNG INTO HIS CAMP.

Roman rule also displayed a relative fairness and subtlety that would stand the Romans in good stead when a crisis arose. Territories close to Rome received full Roman citizenship, while others had the right of local self-government and a chance of Roman citizenship. Allies supplied troops to Rome, but they paid no Roman taxes. The Romans established colonies in newly conquered areas, which they populated with retired Roman soldiers. These islands of Roman citizens fostered stability and ensured Roman control.

In contrast, the Carthaginians were heavy-handed rulers. Although a few upper-class Carthaginians married into Numidian (Berber) royalty, most did not. For the most part, though, the subject peoples were heavily taxed and apparently treated with ill-disguised contempt. Even Phoenician colonies; that is, people with the same blood as the Carthaginians, found that family ties brought them no privilege. They were forced to pay for Carthaginian protection, but the tribute was little better than extortion.

Because of Rome's relatively liberal policies most of its allies stood firm. Rome's allies were a crucial source of manpower. Thus, Rome had the resources as well as the determination to endure a long war. Carthage's short-sighted greed and reliance on unreliable mercenaries meant it was at a decided disadvantage when fighting the city on the Tiber. For a few years the brilliance of Hamilcar and his son Hannibal seemed to augur victory, but bad policies and a crippling lack of long-term resources ultimately were the Carthaginians' undoing.

Cannae saw Rome's fortunes at their absolute nadir. Yet, as they were to demonstrate time and again, the Romans refused to give up or even entertain the notion of surrender. Indeed, the Romans were most dangerous when they were hard pressed. The inhabitants of Rome experienced a wave of initial panic, and they prepared the city to endure a possible siege.

After the initial shock wore off, the Romans picked the right strategy. They decided to send substantial forces to Spain to threaten the silver mines that were Hannibal's source of funding and drain his manpower reserves from the region. They also would readopt the Fabian strategy of avoiding pitched battles with Hannibal, choosing instead to focus on the territory that had gone over to him in the wake of Cannae.

Before the Romans could carry out the strategy, they received news of a shocking defeat in the Iberian Peninsula. The Carthaginians and their Iberian allies had annihilated one Roman army, and Scipio's father and uncle had been killed in 211 BC. Given the circumstances, few Romans wanted to risk their reputations on a campaign that seemed doomed from the start. The Roman Senate turned the matter over to the assembly. They were more than glad to wash their hands of a troublesome dilemma.

The Roman assembly chose Publius Cornelius Scipio, the man who had lost his father and uncle, to be proconsul in Spain. The 24-year-old Roman was technically too young for the post, but he still received a unanimous vote. He would more than live up to their expectations. Within the next few years he built up an impressive military reputation. He showed just how good he was in battle when he captured New Carthage in 209 BC.

In the meantime, Hannibal was forced to look on helplessly as the Romans retook the territories lost to them after Cannae. In Sicily, a Roman army captured Syracuse, a major blow to the Carthaginian cause. It was also a loss to science, because a Roman soldier killed Greek engineer, inventor, and mathematician Archimedes after the city's fall.

When Hasdrubal finally managed to reach Italy with a relief army, he was disastrously defeated by the Romans before he could reunite with his older brother. Hannibal got the news when Hasdrubal's severed head was flung into

Yale University Art Gallery

his camp. Deprived of reinforcements, Hannibal was effectively neutralized. It stands as a tribute to both his genius and charisma that he maintained a heterogeneous army in Italy for more than 15 years. He was the glue that kept his polyglot force relatively intact.

Scipio returned to Italy, and his prestige was such he was elected Consul in 205 BC. Seasoned by years of war and armed with new consular powers, Scipio's own strategic brilliance by that time equaled Hannibal's. Scipio decided to turn the tables on the Carthaginians by invading North Africa. They would get a taste of their own medicine.

Scipio sailed with 30,000 men and 440 ships. The Roman armada made the passage unmolested because by that time the Roman navy dominated the Mediterranean. Numidian cavalry was essential to the Carthaginians, the one element that often made the difference between victory and defeat. When Scipio arrived in North Africa, two Numidian princes, Massinissa and Syphax, were locked in a bitter contest for supreme power in their country.

When Syphax defeated and deposed Massinissa, he unwittingly provided an opportunity for Scipio to exploit. Massinissa joined the Romans, and even though he initially had few men he soon raised a substantial number of horsemen to serve with the Roman army. Syphax, having married a beautiful Carthaginian noblewoman, was easily persuaded to ally himself with Carthage.

In the meantime, Scipio easily won a couple of battles against the Carthaginians, alarming the city's oligarchic government. The Second Punic War would be noted for its brutality as well as its treachery, and this African phase was no exception. Both sides resorted to double dealing as a matter of course. Scipio was an honorable man, but in war he played false if it suited Rome's needs.

The Carthaginians were also past masters of duplicity, and *fides punica* (Carthaginian faith) was a synonym for treachery. Carthage sued for peace, and Scipio responded by offering terms that essentially confined their empire to Africa. Spain, Italy, Gaul, and the Mediterranean islands would have to be abandoned. The Carthaginians accepted, and the Roman Senate ratified the deal.

But the Carthaginians were playing for time until Hannibal could come home and reverse the situation. They showed their hand when a Roman supply fleet that been driven ashore by a storm was looted and the surviving ships requisitioned. When a Roman delegation arrived to demand compensation for the losses, the envoys were almost lynched. The Romans did not leave Carthage unscathed. They escaped the initial assault but were ambushed on their way back to their ships, losing some men in the process.

This was an outrage, but the Carthaginians did not care if the mask of subterfuge had dropped. Hannibal had arrived in Africa, and they were confident that their great general could still snatch victory from the jaws of defeat. Hannibal was not happy to be back in his homeland following an absence of 36 years. He avoided visiting Carthage, perhaps fearing his presence would only stir up long dormant partisan political debate.

The time drew near for a battle between Scipio and Hannibal. It was at this moment that Hannibal requested an interview with Scipio. When they did meet Hannibal complimented Scipio, but the praise was tempered with warnings of hubris. Indeed, it was the kind of show of pride that might lead to a downfall. Hannibal suggested they should make peace rather than rely on fickle fortune. But Scipio rejected the idea of peace, at least on Carthaginian terms. He pointed out that the Carthaginians did have a peace treaty with Rome but had chosen to secretly double cross the Romans by summoning Hannibal. The issue would be decided on the field of battle.

In this period the Roman army was composed of citizens fulfilling a military obligation, not career soldiers like the later periods. By the same token, they were highly trained and could not

Roman Consul Licius Aemilius Paulus was slain during the Roman army's disastrous defeat at Cannae in 216 BC, but the tenacious Romans refused to give up or even entertain the notion of surrender.

Marble busts of Scipio Africanus (left) and Hannibal Barca.

Eon Images

be mistaken for a militia-like rabble. The Romans organized their infantry into four categories: velites, hastati, principes, and triarii. Membership in a given category was determined by age and economic status.

The velites were the skirmishers who were lightly armed with javelins and small shields. Their primary function was to screen the heavy infantry and engage the enemy's light infantry if necessary. They were from the poorer class but not destitute. The real poor served as rowers in the navy. The velites were generally young and inexperienced, but they learned quickly.

By contrast, the hastati were a little older and a bit better off financially. They had to be since they were required to provide their own armor. They generally were equipped with two pila (javelins), a long, heavy scutum (shield), and a gladius (short sword). The next group, the principes, a word that means prime of life, were family men in their early 30s and armed much like the hastati.

The triarii were older veterans. They were rich enough to buy protective equipment, such as a mail coat, greaves, and a helmet designed in the style of what now is known as Etrusco-Corinthian. They carried a sword and a long thrusting spear.

The basic tactical unit for the hastati and principes was the maniple. Each maniple had 120 men and was formed into a block of soldiers 20 men across and six ranks deep. The maniple was itself subdivided into two sub units, the centuriae or centuries of 60 men each.

In battle the maniples of the hastati would be the first heavy infantry into action, coming forward after the skirmishing velites had withdrawn. The front century would move right, and the rear century would come forward to fill the gap. In this way a solid front would be presented to the enemy. As they moved forward, their pila would be thrown, then as they closed it would be hand-to hand fighting with swords and shields.

The Roman formations were flexible enough to allow soldiers to fight in relays. If the enemy had not broken after an hour or two of fierce swordplay, tiring hestati could withdraw and be replaced by maniples of the second rank, the principes. If the enemy proved too hard a nut to crack, the principes in turn withdrew and handed the job over to the triarii.

Scipio had approximately 30,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry, the latter mostly horsemen from his Numidian allies. Legion V and Legion VI anchored the Roman center. Deployed on their right and left were allied Italian legions. Additionally, a contingent of Numidian infantry was deployed on the Roman right. Roman, Numidian, and various allied cavalry secured the extreme flanks.

In planning his dispositions, Scipio first had to take into account the enemy's war elephants. Hannibal had approximately 80 elephants in his army, but many of them were only partly trained. The elephant functioned much like a modern tank, crashing into Roman lines and trampling hapless Roman troops under their massive feet.

Interestingly, the Carthaginians used forest elephants in their armies, a subspecies smaller and apparently easier to tame and train. Although these elephants were formidable, they were smaller than the Asian or sub-Saharan species. The forest elephant is extinct due to climate change and loss of habitat. Two centuries ago North Africa did not have as much desert as it does today. Many thousands also met their deaths over the centuries in Roman arenas.

Carthaginian elephants apparently had no fighting towers strapped to their backs as pachyderms did in the Middle East. The only passengers they carried were their mahouts (drivers), who straddled their massive necks close to the head. Enemy soldiers found the massive beasts hard to kill; however, they sought to drive them into an uncontrollable fury by inflicting numerous small wounds with arrows, spears, and stones. Half crazed by their injuries, the elephants usually became uncontrollable and were apt to charge their own ranks as much as those of the enemy. The only way to control such a rampage was to kill the elephant. To do this, a mahout drove a spike through its skull.

Of course, if the elephant had lost its mahout, the driver falling off due to death or wounds, the animal would be truly dangerous to friend and foe alike. Hannibal was well aware that massed elephant charges were problematic, but desperate times called for desperate measures. He had to use all the tools at his disposal.

A line was formed just behind the elephants, a formation composed of Ligurians, Gauls, and other mercenaries. After that was a formation of Carthaginian citizens, then finally the veterans from Hannibal's Italian campaigns. Because of Massinissa's defection to the Romans, Hannibal was critically short of cavalry.

Usually the maniples were arranged in a kind of checkerboard fashion, but Scipio's concern about the elephants prompted radical changes. The maniples were arrayed one behind the other in straight lines, leaving wide avenues between the formations. The elephants naturally sought paths of least resistance, so these gaps served as natural pathways for the pachyderms to follow. These wide gaps would also be avenues of escape for the velites, whose main job would be to deal with the elephants, not enemy skirmishers.

Once the elephants charged, the velites would do all in their power to wound the beasts, throwing their javelins while trying to avoid the massive feet and swinging tusks. They swarmed in front of the heavy infantry, blocking the enemy's view of the pathway. If the elephants did as they were supposed to do and funneled through these gaps, they would have to run a gauntlet of pila and other missiles.

The battle began with skirmishing by the two rival groups of Numidian cavalry. Since this was in some respects a civil war between fellow countrymen, the fight was particularly brutal. No quarter was asked or given.

Hannibal launched a full-scale elephant attack. As the massive beasts approached, the Romans began to shout and strike their shields The resulting din merged with blaring Roman trumpets and horns to create an ear-splitting but controlled cacophony. It was controlled because Scipio had specifically ordered it. This was no random war cry or spontaneous expres-

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Hannibal's elephants charge Scipio's skirmishers and cavalry. Unlike earlier paintings, the elephants in artist Giuseppe Rava's modern work are smaller and the soldiers atop them do not fight from wooden towers.

sion of battle ecstasy. The noise was designed to frighten and confuse the elephants, and the tactic partly succeeded.

Some panicking pachyderms veered to the left, crashing into Hannibal's Numidian cavalry, already reeling from the drubbing they were receiving from their Roman-allied countrymen. Actually, the Carthaginian Numidians were already defeated, but the elephants turned a serious reverse into a substantial rout. Some of the frightened elephants also turned to the right, where they encountered Roman and allied cavalry under Scipio's long-time compatriot Gaius Laelus. The Roman horsemen were less disordered by the rampaging animals, so their effect was negligible.

But not all elephants veered to the right or left. Some stampeded though the velites; in so doing, they caused fearful damage with their monstrous feet and sharp tusks. Carthaginian elephants crushed enemy soldiers under foot or tossed them around like rag dolls. A few elephants even reached the hestati, who found even their sturdy shields were no protection from an ivory tusk.

Some velites who were bolder than the rest, or perhaps more foolhardy, thrust javelins into the thick elephant hides at close quarters. The Romans knew from experience that the elephants were particularly vulnerable in their underbellies and hind legs.

Though the velites had been decimated they performed their assignment well. The stampeding behemoths thundered down the wide lanes between the mantiples, funneled to the rear as Scipio had intended. Once in the rear the surviving velites swarmed about them like human wasps, stinging them to death with sharply pointed javelins.

At that point, the Roman heavy infantry advanced, the hastati of Scipio's front line being the first to see action. This part of the fight followed Roman standard procedure; the hastati threw their pila and then closed with swords and shields. Roman swords were primarily thrusting weapons. Romans wielding their swords did frightful execution. They stabbed, disemboweled, and sliced with horrifying ease. The Carthaginian mercenaries initially gave a good account of themselves, but the Romans wore down the enemy. Roman professionalism paid huge dividends.

The first line broke, and as their formation disintegrated the survivors sought refuge with the Carthaginian second line. But contrary to expectations the Carthaginian second line refused to open up and let their comrades gain admittance. Desperate to hide from the advancing Romans, the mercenaries began fighting the second line, dueling to force the latter to yield and let them in. Hannibal rode up to the combatants and restored order in a short time. First-line survivors were placed on the flanks of the second line, bolstering the overall defense.

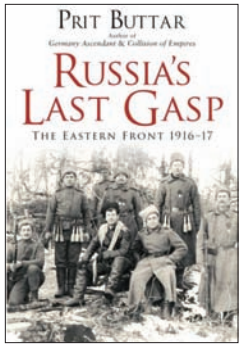
The hastati ironically became victims of their own success. The battlefield was heaped with bloodied corpses, slimy with entrails and slick with copious amounts of gore. Perhaps even a few dead elephants added to the overall slaughterhouse effect. Negotiating through this bloody obstacle course was no easy task, and despite their training the hastati ranks grew disordered. Seeing the problem and wishing to nip it in the bud before it grew serious, Scipio had the Roman horns and trumpets blow halt.

The battle momentarily paused, and Scipio used the time to good effect. Instead of the usual staggered or layered arrangement of different types of infantry, Scipio formed one big single line composed of all the groups. Satisfied with the arrangement, he had the trumpeters and musicians sound the advance.

The melee slaughter commenced once again, and as the Carthaginian second line started to give way, the Romans were faced with their most formidable foes: the veterans of the reserve. The old-guard reserve, essentially a third line, was going to be the roughest nut to crack. These were the veterans, seasoned professionals who were well acquainted with Roman methods of warfare.

Continued on page 66

By Christopher Miskimon



The Russians made a herculean effort to rebound militarily in 1916.

HEAVY FIGHTING RAGED BETWEEN GERMAN AND RUSSIAN forces in March 1916 near Lake Naroch in modern-day Belarus. A Russian offensive, which would last for 12 days, was underway to relieve pressure on French forces on the Western Front. On the night of March 22, German Lieutenant Hans Kondruss of the 75th Reserve Infantry Division was at his place on the front lines when a heavy Russian bombardment began at about 11 PM. A half hour later the fire grew even heavier, made bitterly worse by the inclusion of friendly fire. A German officer mistakenly believed an area still in German hands had been overrun. It was a frightening experience, for the Russian shells were often duds, lessening the impact of the barrage. Yet the incoming German rounds were much more reliable. Their position, the Friemel Heights, shook with the power of the incoming gunfire.

Kondruss watched a German captain calmly walk through the storm of steel toward a friendly artillery position in an effort to get the German fire stopped. The officer had a calming influence on the men near him and Kondruss admired his bravery. The young lieutenant stood with his superior officer in the trench and together they fortified their constitutions with a drink of rum. It steadied their nerves and made them feel warmer in the freezing March air. It was so cold their coats grew rigid. They tried to crouch in the trench and withstand the artillery. Dawn arrived and the shells kept coming.

Suddenly Kondruss's companion fell to the ground. A hole the size of a bean pierced his skull near his eyes. A fist-sized hole gaped in the back of his head, blood and brain matter dripping from it horrifically. Kondruss slumped next to him for a few minutes in shock. One of his comrades even thought he also was hit. The day went on until finally the barrage stopped at dusk, about 5 PM. More than 100 Germans in Kondruss's sector were dead and many machine guns had been knocked out. Frantically they tried to shore up their defenses, awaiting the Russian infantry. Shockingly, none came. Kondruss later learned from prisoners that the Russians had seen Germans moving in the trench and decided to attack at dawn.

The Germans used the time to their advantage, repairing three machine guns and bringing up replacements. A new officer arrived to take command but he soon fell wounded to a burst of shrapnel, leaving Kondruss in command. At 7 AM shouts were heard repeatedly from the Russian lines. They were advancing. It seemed like thousands were charging, but they were not firing and the artillery had slackened. Kondruss was able to stand on a parapet and watch the enemy approaching. He ordered his men to wait until the Russians were 400 meters away and then open fire. The cries of "Urra!" came closer. The German lieutenant gave the order to fire, and machine guns chattered and

Russian soldiers on the Eastern Front pose with machineguns before a charge on German lines. The Russian's human wave attacks against entrenched positions proved to be ineffective and sapped morale.

rifles cracked. The Russian chanting changed to screams of pain and fear as bullets tore into their ranks. More Russians followed, rank after rank in numbers Kondruss could not begin to count. The Germans kept firing until finally the Russian attack broke down and the survivors fled back to their lines, cannon fire chasing them all the way. For now, it was over. The 75th Reserve had held the line.

The Russians would launch a much larger offensive, known as the Brusilov Offensive, against the Central Powers in June 1916. Unlike the unsuccessful Lake Naroch Offensive, this effort was highly successful and resulted in the collapse of Austria-Hungary's military leadership. In the wake of the offensive, the Germans directed their ally's military forces.

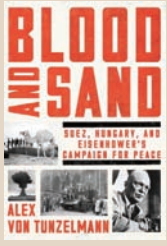
The Eastern Front in World War I was a much more fluid theater, far too large for a manned trench system the size of the one on the Western Front. Trenches were valuable in the defense, but in the east armies could maneuver. Just as the fighting in France was causing exhaustion among the combatants, it was taking its toll to the east as well. The Russian factories were increasing production, but the first rumblings of revolt were beginning to be heard. The Central Powers, though more often victorious in the field, were straining to fight on both fronts along with diversions to southern Europe and the Middle East. It was a wide-ranging campaign, one that is expertly recounted in ***Russia's Last Gasp: The Eastern Front 1916-17*** (Prit Buttar, Osprey Publishing, Oxford UK, 2016, 496 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $30.00, hardcover).

This is the third volume in a four-part series on the Great War's Eastern Front, a part of the war relatively unknown in the Western world. The author is an acknowledged expert on the subject, and this shows through in the clear writing, flowing narrative, and exhaustive detail. The depth of research is impressive, all the more so since scant material is available in English about the Eastern Front. It is a dramatic account, which gives the reader a complete picture of the fighting that tore Eastern Europe apart both physically and politically as Russia broke under the pressure. The final book is expected in 2017 and will cover the turbulent period through 1921.

Brothers in Arms: American Independence and the Men of France and Spain Who Saved It (Larrie D. Ferreiro, Alfred A. Knopf Publishers, NY, 2016, maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $30.00, hardcover)

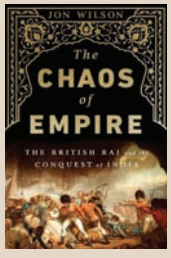
SHORT BURSTS

Living Hell: The Dark Side of the Civil War (Michael C. Adams, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016, $19.95, Softcover) The book examines the human cost of the American Civil War. The war had lasting consequences beyond the immediate ones of battle wounds and disease.

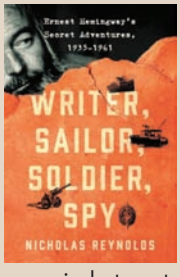


Blood and Sand: Suez, Hungary and Eisenhower's Campaign for Peace (Alex Von Tunzelmann, Harper, 2016, $29.99, Hardcover) The Suez Crisis and Hungarian Revolution were two events in 1956 with global ramifications. This book details efforts to avert a widening of the two conflicts.

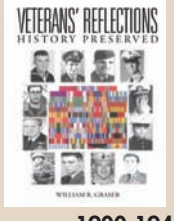
In Their Own Words: Untold Stories of the First World War (Anthony Richards, Imperial War Museums, 2016, $22.50, softcover) This work contains 11 previously untold stories of the war. Each is a personal look from a unique perspective.



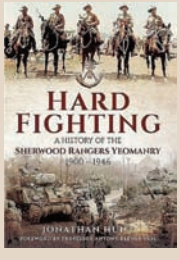
The Chaos of Empire: The British Raj and the Conquest of India (Jon Wilson, Public Affairs, 2016, $29.99, Hardcover) The author holds that the British Empire kept India under control through raw violence. He recounts the Raj from the 1600s until India achieved its independence in 1947.



Writer, Sailor, Soldier, Spy: Ernest Hemingway's Secret Adventures, 1935-1961 (Nicholas Reynolds, William Morrow, 2017, $27.99, Hardcover) This is a revealing look at the famous author and his espionage activities for both the United States and the Soviet Union. Hemingway was a deeply complex man who led a varied life.



Veteran's Reflections: History Preserved (William R. Graser, iUniverse, 2016, $21.95, softcover) The U.S. military has fought wars and helped maintain fragile peace in hot spots around the globe since 1941. This work contains more than 60 accounts of U.S. military veterans who served their country abroad during that time.



Hard Fighting: A History of the Sherwood Rangers Yeomanry 1900-1946 (Jonathan Hunt, Pen and Sword, 2016, $49.95, Hardcover) This unit served as cavalry, infantry, and armor during nearly a half century of war and peace. Over the course of two world wars, the regiment enhanced its reputation for excellence and professionalism.

Zama 202 BC: Scipio crushes Hannibal in North Africa (Mir Bahmanyar, Osprey Publishing, 2016, $24.00, softcover) This battle marked the end of the Carthaginian general's string of victories during the Second Punic War. Zama stands as one of the greatest clashes of antiquity.

Disunion: A History of the Civil War (Edited by Ted Widmer, Oxford University Press, 2016, $34.95, Hardcover) The *New York Times* published a series of articles on the war between 2011 and 2015. This volume collects them in one edition.

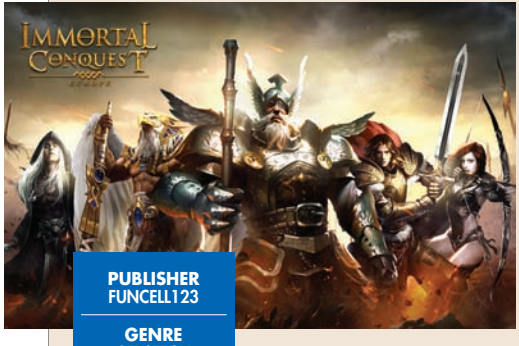
Company of Heroes: A Forgotten Medal of Honor and Bravo Company's War in Vietnam (Eric Poole, Osprey Publishing, 2016, $15.00, Softcover) This work recounts a desperate firefight known as the Mother's Day Ambush involving the 101st Airborne Brigade that occurred on May 10, 1970. It chronicles one soldier's heroism in particular within the framework of the overall ordeal.

EUROPE IS UNDER SIEGE IN *IMMORTAL CONQUEST*, AND HOLDFAST DROPS US RIGHT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NAPOLEONIC WARS.

Immortal Conquest: Europe

Immortal Conquest: Europe is one of many territory-claiming iOS/Android strategy games with a vicious hook. While it's set in a fantasy world that mixes in elements of mythology and a slight dash of historic heroics, the end result is mostly in line with what we've seen in previous mobile outings within the genre. That is to say, it likes to test your patience to see how willing you are to invest real money in its fantasy war setting.

Of course, that's the whole purpose of free-to-play mobile games in the first place. They suck you in with a variety of mechanics, many of which require a waiting period to complete. For those who don't feel like waiting for their forces to replenish, or twiddling their thumbs while buildings and resources are constructed, there's always the option of shelling out cash for a quicker turnaround. With an entire world to conquer, dedicated players will definitely end up spending at least a few dollars at some point.



PUBLISHER FUNCELL123
GENRE STRATEGY
SYSTEM(S) iOS, ANDROID
AVAILABLE NOW

There's still plenty of game here for everyone else, though. *Immortal Conquest* doesn't offer opportunities for the deepest of strategies, but its production values are relatively high for a freely downloadable smartphone game. Like others of its ilk, *Immortal Conquest* is happy to hold your hand for the first few battles. Pointing out every button you need to press is a welcome feature, but it also makes it easier to avoid paying attention in the first place. When I started out, I found myself mindlessly following the directions given to me without bothering to understand the nuances of the game, like the placement of Immortals and the nitty gritty of what causes one army to dominate the other in any given battle.

Thankfully, there's plenty of information available on the fly, and you'll have plenty of time to absorb it all if you choose the path of minimum investment. Even without spending any money, the mere fact that *Immortal Conquest* is on my phone makes it easy to whittle away a ton of time on an assortment of menial tasks. My army still needs time to recharge, so I guess I might as well work on constructing a new house. Once that's done, I'll set out to gather more resources in non-combat exploration. What's that? I just found some new Immortal cards, so I can reorganize my deck and optimize it for the battles to come? Oh, cool, I almost missed my flight because I was staring at this stupid game!

The basic story centers on 13 civilizations spread across Earth, each of which worships their own unique immortal gods. While they were able to live in prosperity for a time, receiving blessings from the gods in the form of power and prosperity, said power eventually paved a path toward greed and hatred. Now the nations are at war with one another, and warlords enlist the power of these Immortals to take down their neighbors and spread their empire as far as possible. Thus, your long-term goal is to continuously battle for territory, taking on computer AI and other players alike for control of land. You can also forge alliances with adversaries, so the end result of every encounter needn't be a trip to the battlefield.

The ceiling for growth in *Immortal Conquest: Europe* is high indeed, but how high you end up rising will ultimately come down to how deep its hooks sink into you from the get-go. There's no doubt tossing in a few dollars here and there will boost your enjoyment, but I can't say it sucked me in enough to make it worth my while. As it stands, however, it's still a solid time-killer with healthy meat on its bones, and as a free-to-play game there's certainly no harm in trying it out for yourself.

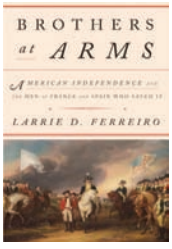
PUBLISHER ANVIL GAME STUDIOS
GENRE SHOOTER
SYSTEM(S) PC
AVAILABLE 2017

PREVIEW
Holdfast: Nations at War

And now, for something completely different, Anvil Game Studios is preparing to drop us smack-dab in the middle of the Napoleonic Wars. This early 1800s conflict is front and center in *Holdfast: Nations at War,* which will soon be available to sample on PC via Steam as an Early Access game.

For those unfamiliar with the process, Early Access is a system that allows players access to games that are typically in the earlier stages of development. This gives the developers an opportunity to self-fund their projects while receiving community feedback alongside the rest of the development process. Since *Holdfast* is a multiplayer game crafted by a small team, the current plan is to keep it in Early Access for around 12 months, but that could change in one way or another along the way.

Once *Holdfast* is ready to go live, it aims to offer first- and third-person multiplayer shooting action that mixes individual skill and effective teamwork. Battles will take place both on land and at sea, the latter portion of which introduces the ability to command and crew historically inspired sailing vessels. War at sea is a completely different setting from the rest of the game, but no matter what type of battle you're engaged in you'll be able to do so as either British or French forces. The setting definitely has us interested, and hopefully it will be on Early Access by the time this issue is in your hands.



Historians generally view the American Revolution as a triumph of homegrown spirit and perseverance, with perhaps a bit of help from the French. But this view ignores the precarious position of the colonists. The Patriots lacked gunpowder, weapons, and all manner of supplies. They faced long odds in their dogged attempt to gain independence.

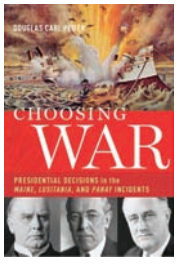
Yet they were not alone in their quest against the United Kingdom. They were part of a wider conflict that pitted England not only against its defiant colonial subjects in North America, but also France and Spain as well. Those two nations had their own long-standing disputes with the British, and it suited their purposes to provide assistance to the struggling Americans. Beyond furnishing soldiers and warships for direct action, the French and Spanish gave the Patriots 90 percent of the weapons they carried and the equivalent of $30 billion in modern currency. On the whole, it was enough to turn the tide. In the end, the British failed to quash the rebellion. Thus, a new nation was born.

Ferreiro's book presents the American Revolution in the context of the global war by which a coalition of allies fought against Great Britain. He seamlessly inserts France and Spain into the Revolutionary War narrative in a way that many readers may not have been aware of before. It is an informative and detailed work, chock full of inspiring tales of those who struggled both on and off the battlefield.

Eleven Months to Freedom: A German POW's Unlikely Escape from Siberia in 1915 (Dwight R. Messimer, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2016, 224 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $29.95, hardcover)

When World War I began, Midshipman Erich Killinger left naval officer's school along with many of his classmates and joined the war effort. Killinger soon became an aerial observer aboard a Rumpler 4B-12 seaplane. On April 6, 1915, his plane lost a propeller and crashed into the Baltic Sea. The Germans captured both Killinger and the pilot. They falsely accused Killinger of bombing a train station, and they sentenced him to life at hard labor in the Sakhalin Coal Mines. On October 28, 1915, he leapt through the window of a train and escaped. After a harrowing journey through the frigid wilderness, Killinger arrived in Mukden, China, where he entered a German-run escapee network. His passage home entailed crossing 16,000 miles of land and sea. It was an amazing journey full of danger, intrigue, and daring.

The book, which contains fascinating details of Killinger's adventures, reads like novel due to its riveting narrative and smooth prose. The author expertly weaves together the facts of Killinger's odyssey thereby producing a work that is both informative and eminently entertaining.



Choosing War: Presidential Decisions in the Maine, Lusitania, and Panay Incidents (Douglas Carl Peifer, Oxford University Press, Oxford UK, 2016, 344 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $34.95, hardcover)

The battleship *Maine* exploded in a Cuban harbor on February 15, 1898, leading to the Spanish-American War. Nearly two decades later, the sinking of the passenger liner *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, resulted in the deaths of approximately 1,200 people, of which 128 were American. It was a major step on the road to American entry into World War I. On December 12, 1937, Japanese aircraft attacked the U.S. gunboat *Panay* on the Yangtze River in China. Even though the incident ultimately was settled through diplomacy, it turned U.S. public opinion against Japan. These three events were each handled quite differently but all had their effect on the course of history.

The combination of leadership, circumstance, and domestic concern that influenced the outcomes of these three naval incidents is presented with clear perspective in this new work. The author lays out the options available to the American presidents who dealt with each case, and it shows how they arrived at their decisions. The narrative explains the complexity of political and military crises and how various human factors influence the outcome.

The Lafayette Escadrille: A Photo History of the First American Fighter Squadron (Steven A. Ruffin, Casemate Publishers, Havertown, PA, 2016, 288 pp., illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index, $37.95, hardcover)

The Lafayette Escadrille is one of the most famous fighter squadrons in American history and certainly the most famous to emerge from World War I. This is perhaps an odd fact considering the squadron was not part of the American Expeditionary Force, but rather a formation of the French Air Force. It was composed of American volunteers serving the French cause. Before the entry of the United States into the war, numerous Yanks joined the British and French militaries through various means. Founded by seven young men, 38 young Americans would eventually serve within the ranks of the Lafayette Escadrille. They all fought bravely for their adopted nation. Many would die in France's service before the squadron was disbanded and a dozen of its members incorporated into the fledgling American Air Service.

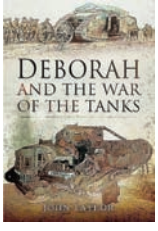
Historians have produced many works on the famous flying formation. This work stands out because of the author's attention to minute detail, and his extensive travels as part of his research. Ruffin traveled to many of the former operating bases of the unit. He matched old photographs to their present-day sites, allowing him to show many interesting then-and-now scenes. The book also includes compelling period illustrations and artwork. Mated together with detailed text, the volume is a worthy addition to the body of work on the Lafayette Escadrille.

Titan: The Art of British Power in the Age of Revolution and Napoleon (William R. Nester, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2016, 404 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $34.95, hardcover)

When the guillotine's blade dropped upon the necks of French King Louis XVI and Queen Marie Antoinette in 1793, Revolutionary France declared war on the hereditary monarchies of Europe. This drove Great Britain into a decades-long struggle to eliminate this threat to its long-established order. When the revolution gave way to the rule of Napoleon, the fighting continued. The United Kingdom would lead seven coalitions against France through an astounding combination of military skill, diplomacy, economic might, and strength of character. Success in battle was achieved by prominent commanders such as Arthur Wellesley and Horatio Nelson while politicians such as William Pitt negotiated the ultimately successful effort to defeat the French. With the victory won, Great Britain then devised a system that prevented another such major war for nearly a century.

The complex and multifaceted way in which

England accomplished this tremendous feat is exhaustively recounted in this new work. Rather than a strict retelling of the military events, the author skillfully blends together the military, political, economic, and technological factors that brought the British to a hard-earned triumph. The effect of the individual upon these momentous events is given good attention along with cultural and psychological influences. This book is both insightful and comprehensive in scope, giving the reader a very thorough history of Great Britain's role in the Napoleonic Period.



Deborah and the War of the Tanks 1917 (John A. Taylor, Pen and Sword Books, South Yorkshire, UK, 2016, 304 pp., maps, photographs, notes, appendices, bibliography, index, $44.95, hardcover)

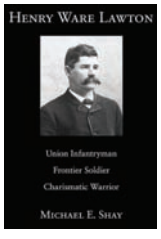
On November 20, 1917, a British Mark IV tank designated D51 and nicknamed *Deborah* made its way through the village of Flesquieres in France. Enemy troops were in the village and the tank's crew was trying to engage them in a swirling melee of battle. The English tankers and the accompanying infantry even engaged a battery of field guns. The German gunners poured fire into the tank, knocking it out and killing a number of the crew. *Deborah* had to be abandoned. Later, the tank was towed into a hole in the ground to form part of a bunker. Eventually, the tank was left there, buried, and forgotten. Rumors of a forgotten tank became part of the lore of the village. In the late 1990s a French researcher using a mine detector and infrared photographs discovered *Deborah* in a field and soon excavated the old tank, creating a memorial to those who served in the war.

Deborah's story is a fascinating one, both her wartime service and eventual recovery. This book covers the tank's crew and the battalion to which it belonged. Just as interesting is the attention paid to the research used to find the tank and tell its story to the world. It is a fitting tribute to both veterans of the war and the modern enthusiasts who toil to commemorate their service and sacrifice.

Athens Burning: The Persian Invasion of Greece and the Evacuation of Attica (Robert Garland, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD, 2017, 170 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $19.95, softcover)

After the Persian King Xerxes overcame the Spartan and Greek forces at Thermopylae, the people of Athens began fleeing their city. The peninsula of Attica, which holds Athens, was also emptied of its population. Noncombatants went to various places while military-aged males went into the navy. The city was burned twice. The Greeks eventually defeated the invaders on both land and sea, prompting the Persians to retreat and allowing the beleaguered Athenians to return to their home.

This new work is marked by its fresh perspectives on this ancient conflict. The author asserts that the commonly accepted portrayal of the Persians as barbarians is wrong. The invasion is well described from both Greek and Persian points of view. This is more than a military history; the author describes the refugee crisis as the displaced Athenians sought shelter in other lands. The result is a balanced approach to the Persian invasion of Greece that is sorely needed.



Henry Ware Lawton: Union Infantryman, Frontier Soldier, Charismatic Warrior (Michael E. Shay, University of Missouri Press, Columbia, MO, 2016, 322 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $29.95, hardcover)

The mid-19th century was a critical time in American history. The nation came through a civil war and expanded throughout the continent. It was a time fraught with conflict, including the war between the North and South and afterward the Indian Wars. During the latter, the U.S. Army forced Native Americans onto reservations against their will.

This period of American history gave rise to larger than life figures. One of these was Henry Lawton. He joined the U.S. Army at age 18 and earned a Medal of Honor during the Civil War. After the war he fought in the Indian Wars, serving in Texas, the northern Plains, and the Arizona Territory. While serving in the Arizona Territory, he added to his fame by capturing Geronimo following a four-month pursuit. Lawton eventually attained the rank of major general. He died at the age of 56 while serving in the Philippines.

Although famous in his day, Lawton is now a lesser-known figure whose life helped shape his country's progress. The author deftly weaves America's growth as a power with his subject's journey through the times. This is the first full-length biography of Lawton, and it draws on his letters, as well as extensive archival material. □

Intelligence

Continued from page 19

had infiltrating the tightly guarded river depot. It is safe to assume that they were assisted by other Confederate agents who lodged and fed them as they prepared to infiltrate the City Point depot. Maxwell's aim was to inflict maximum damage to the cargo ships by placing his time bomb in close proximity to ammunition supplies.

On the morning of August 9, the two agents managed to penetrate the eastern perimeter of City Point by crawling through the lines in a way that avoided detection by the Union sentries. Maxwell told Dillard to wait a half mile from the pier while he attempted to smuggle the bomb aboard one of the vessels. Maxwell saw three vessels tied up at the pier. When the captain of one of the vessels went ashore, Maxwell strode confidently toward the vessel in an effort to blend in to the everyday foot traffic at the pier. Suddenly, a sentry on the wharf hailed him in German, inquiring as to his business. He responded in a thick Scottish accent. Maxwell used various hand gestures to indicate his mission, and the sentry allowed him to approach the vessel.

The ruse having worked, Maxwell hailed a man who clearly worked on the vessel. He told the crew member that the captain wanted the box he was holding taken below deck. The man complied without questioning the contents. Maxwell set the timer in motion with a subtle movement at approximately 10:30 AM and gave it to the man who dutifully carried it aboard the vessel. The vessel turned out to be an ammunition boat named the *J.E. Kendrick*. The other two ships were the *General Meade* and the *Campbell*. Maxwell then walked back to Dillard, and together the two agents walked a safe distance from the bomb to watch the explosion due to occur in an hour's time.

The explosion at approximately 11:30 was devastating in its destruction and terrifying to everyone at the depot that morning, including the soldiers and officers at the Eppes estate. Lieutenant Morris Schaff, who ran the ordnance depot at City Point, wrote an account 35 years later that gives a comprehensive overview of the damage wrought by Maxwell's time bomb that morning. The event was no small-time endeavor. Raines and his agents had been perfecting their mines and bombs for three years, and the damage inflicted by the bomb was in some respects the culmination of many months of experimentation and of their efforts to fine-tune the tools of their trade.

At the time of the explosion, Schaff was

relaxing and playing the card game known as Seven-up with three other officers. A 12-pound solid shot flew between them and slammed into a camp chest. The officers rushed to see what was happening. Ammunition stores on the *J.E. Kendrick* were cooking off, and those shells in turn ignited other piles of ammunition. The *J.E. Kendrick* had aboard it upward of 30,000 rounds of artillery ammunition and 100,000 rounds for small arms. All of the soldiers, sutlers, and civilians near the dock were stampeding away from the pier in an effort to put as much distance as possible between them and the expanding disaster.

"The sky looked as it does in the fall of heavy snowflakes," wrote Schaff. "Just then a shell burst immediately above us. In an instant we were all running for dear life…. Suddenly a piece of shell came down over my shoulder. I could have stepped on the hole it made in the ground, but it brought me to my senses, and I at once turned and made my way to the wharf."

In addition to the exploding shells, various other kinds of debris, such as rifles, rained onto the ground or into the river following the initial explosion. One of the more curious incidents involved a canal boat loaded with horse saddles that was situated in close proximity to the *J.E. Kendrick* when it exploded. The saddles had been turned in by Maj. Gen. Phil Sheridan's cavalry a few days before when they embarked for Washington to redeploy in the Shenandoah Valley. "The explosion sent those old cavalry saddles flying in every direction like so many big-winged bats," said Schaff.

A *New York Tribune* correspondent was aboard a train waiting to go to the battlefront when he experienced the blast concussion. "A stunning and deafening shock, as if of the terrific explosion of a monster shell near me, and the concussion of the air, were bending me involuntarily over on the deck of the car, as a plant bending before the storm, and it seemed that the concussion would never cease ringing and swaying until it bred more and more danger," he wrote. The freight train that he was aboard suffered damage to nearly every one of its cars, he said.

"My first thought was that an ammunition car had exploded just ahead of the one I was on, and that it would be of little use to try to escape the storm that had gone up and would come down [and] that one was about as safe at one place as another," said the correspondent. "But the dread storm did commence coming down, and oh how it did rain and hail all the terrible instruments of war.... We could only shelter our heads with our hats and our hands as we walked aft."

Captured Confederate ordnance, including torpedos and artillery shells. The Confederate high command had initial reservations about using naval and land mines, but it eventually embraced the technology as a way to offset the tremendous manpower and equipment advantages of Union forces.

While nearly everyone was fleeing from the carnage, Schaff went to see if he could help the wounded and also prevent additional explosions. When he reached a vantage point from which he could see the full breadth of the devastation, Schaff was overwhelmed. "From the top of the bluff there lay before me a staggering scene," he said. "[I saw] a mass of overthrown buildings, their timbers tangled into almost impenetrable heaps. In the water were wrecked and sunken barges, while out among the shipping, where there were many vessels of all sizes and kinds, there was a hurrying back and forth on the decks to weigh anchor, for all seemed to think something more would happen."

He made his way to a wooden building that lay in ruins. He and some of the noncommissioned officers began digging out those who were trapped and crying out for help. A corporal shouted for help, and they pulled away heavy timber that had fallen on top of him and pinned him to the ground crushing his legs. Someone shouted that another explosion was going to happen any minute as fire was about to reach a stack of ammunition boxes. This started another stampede. But Schaff bravely rushed over to the fire and beat it back with his hat before it could ignite the stack.

Grant was sitting in front of his tent on the bluff overlooking the wharf when the bomb exploded. Ironically, the assistant provost marshal general had briefed the general earlier that morning on the suspected presence of Confederate spies on the depot grounds, and he also suggested methods for identifying and arresting them.

The explosion "vividly recalled the Petersburg mine," said Horace Porter, Grant's aide, referring to the explosion carried out by Union forces on July 30 against a portion of the Confederate earthworks at Petersburg in what ultimately was a failed effort to achieve a breakthrough. "There rained down upon the party a terrific shower of shells, bullets, boards and fragments of timber. The general was surrounded by splinters and various kinds of ammunition, but fortunately was not touched by any of the missiles."

Grant reacted to the explosion with his customary stoicism. "The general was the only one of the party who remained unmoved," wrote Porter. "He did not even leave his seat to run to the bluff with the others to see what happened." Instead, Grant went to his camp desk and began drafting a report to Washington.

Grant promptly sent a quick report by telegraph informing Army Chief of Staff Henry Halleck of the incident. "Five minutes ago an ordnance boat exploded, carrying lumber, grape, canister, and all kinds of shot over this point," wrote Grant. "Every part of the yard used as my headquarters is filled with splinters and fragments of shell. I do not know yet what the casualties are beyond my own headquarters…. The damage at the wharf must be considerable in both life and property."

The ferocity of the explosion startled Maxwell, too. "I myself was terribly shocked by the explosion, but was not injured permanently," he wrote. "Dillard, my companion, was rendered deaf by the explosion and never fully recovered from its effects." Maxwell said he had one major regret. "[I learned] a party of ladies was killed," he wrote. "Of course, we never intended anything of the kind, not being aware of their presence."

The U.S. government estimated the damage at $2 million. Although the precise number of casualties is not known, the best estimate at the time was that 58 people were killed and 126 wounded. A boat had departed that morning for Baltimore, and if the explosion had occurred earlier in the day the casualties would have been much greater, said Schaff. At the time, the Union Army attributed the explosion to the mishandling of ammunition by the porters who were unloading it, said Porter. It was not until after the war that they learned it was a deliberate act of sabotage. It took Union army work crews only nine days to clean up the damage and repair the docks to the point that supplies could flow into the depot at the same rate they had before the explosion. □

weapons

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Bridge. This mile-long structure was a key piece of infrastructure in the North Vietnamese railroad network. McInerney and Shannon destroyed two missile sites and suppressed four others, allowing the strike force to hit the bridge. During their attacks they dodged three SA-2 missiles and heavy gunfire. The strike force did not suffer a single loss during the mission. Both received the Air Force Cross for their heroism.

In the final years of the Vietnam War, American forces began the process of Vietnamization by which U.S. combat forces were withdrawn and the South Vietnamese took on the responsibility for defending their country against North Vietnamese incursions. This applied primarily to U.S. ground forces, although it also included the U.S. Air Force. The North Vietnamese Army's 1972 Easter Offensive, though, required substantial U.S. Air Force assistance to prevent the collapse of South Vietnam.

To assist the South Vietnamese in defeating the offensive, the U.S. Air Force initiated Operation Linebacker. By this point, though, the North Vietnamese had built a large and integrated air defenses system over most of their country, including 200 SA-2 missile sites. Some of the SA-2s could even cover airspace over South Vietnam.

In response, the U.S. Air Force deployed a squadron of the improved F-105G Wild Weasel along with the new F-4C. The F-4C had encountered a longer development period but was finally coming into its own. During Operation Linebacker II, the F-4C flew 460 sorties around Hanoi without a single loss. Most of the targets struck were within 25 miles of Hanoi, meaning they were surrounded by what was then the densest air-defense network in the world. During the period of the Linebacker and Linebacker II operations, the North Vietnamese launched more than 4,000 SA-2s at U.S. aircraft, but they downed only 49 planes. This meant it took 81 missile launches to bring down a single aircraft, a ratio partly due to the efforts of the Wild Weasels.

After the war the Wild Weasel program was evaluated. Its record with early weapons such as the Shrike was mixed because many of the missile strikes could not be confirmed as having actually destroyed the target. It was recognized that even when they did not destroy a radar site, however, they disrupted its operation sufficiently to dramatically reduce its effectiveness. The Air Force continued the program and it is still in effect. □

rome avenged

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They had marched up and down the length of the Italian boot for the better part of 15 years, and their faith in their old commander was unbounded.

Once again, bloody, hand-to-hand fighting was the norm, a brutal exercise in butchery and physical stamina. The fighting seesawed back and forth, and it was not immediately clear who would prevail, although the momentum was certainly with the Romans. By this time, Hannibal's cavalry had been routed, and the Roman and Roman-allied Numidian horsemen were in full pursuit.

Just when the infantry clash was at its height the Roman-Numidian cavalry returned in the proverbial nick of time, hitting Hannibal's veterans in the rear. It was too much, even for battle-tested soldiers, and the defense was shattered. Hannibal managed to escape the debacle with a few thousand refugees, but it was clear Scipio had exorcised the ghost of Hannibal's invincibility forever.

Hannibal returned to Carthage and urged peace. The people were reluctant to enter into peace with the Romans because they knew the terms would be harsh, but they eventually gave in. Scipio's main goal was Roman dominance of the Mediteranean. Just as the Carthaginians had thought, the terms proved to be harsh. What remained of Carthage's empire was confined to Africa. Carthage's fleet was drastically reduced, and a heavy indemnity of 10,000 talents was imposed. Furthermore, the city had to acknowledge Massinissa as king of Numidia and ally of Rome.

Scipio returned to Rome in triumph, and to commemorate his great victory he was given the name Africanus. Unfortunately, he fell afoul of Roman politics and ended his days on his estates as a semi-exile. Hannibal became a Carthaginian public official and proved to be a good administrator. But Carthaginian politics proved just as volatile as Rome's and within a few years the great general was forced to flee his homeland.

For more than 15 years Hannibal lived a peripatetic existence. He traveled from one kingdom to another, usually as a military advisor against Rome. When he was in his late 60s it looked as if Roman agents were going to take him into custody. To prevent being captured, he committed suicide by ingesting poison. The Romans never forgot him. When Roman mothers wanted to quiet naughty or restless children, they would whisper, "Hannibal is at the gates!" □

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