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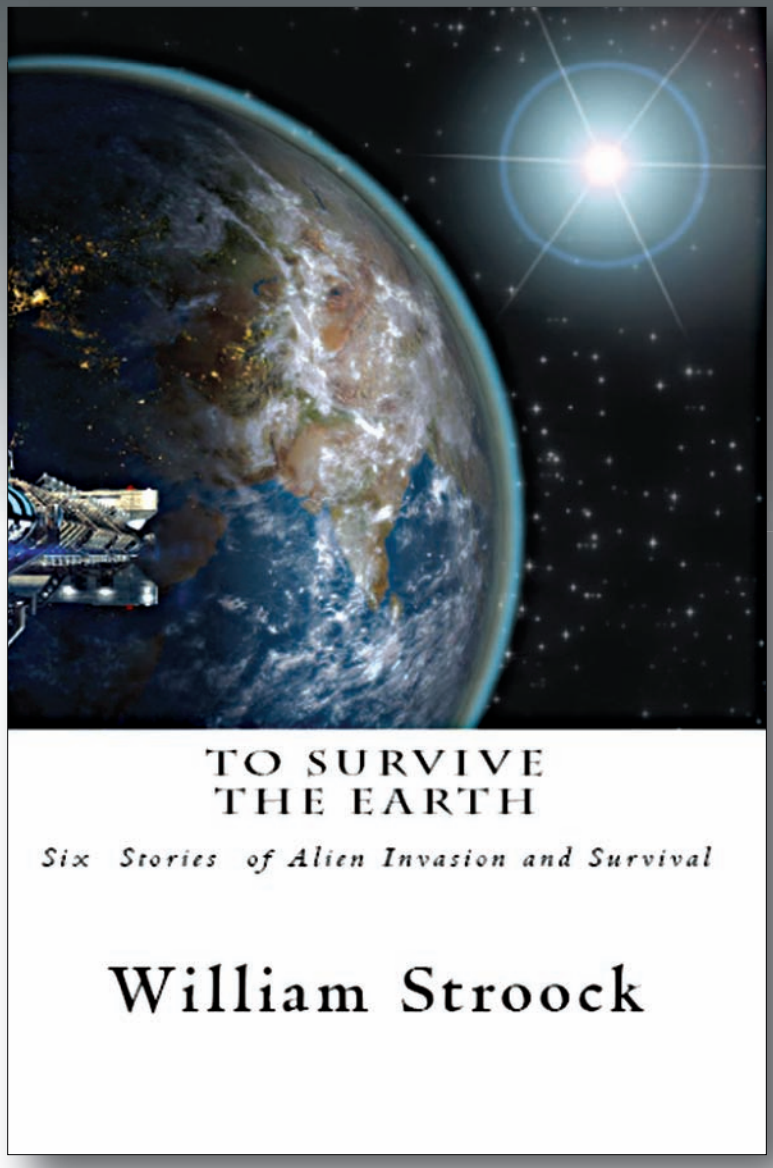

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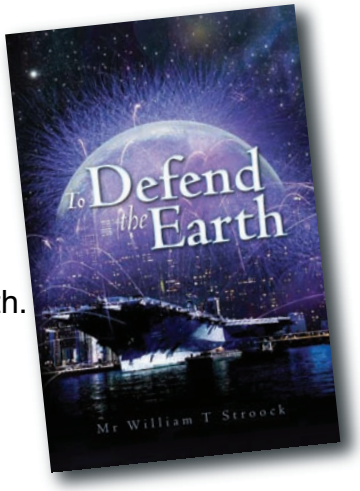

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A 101st Airborne Division paratrooper boards a C-47 transport aircraft for the drop over Normandy on the night of June 5-6, 1944. Within a few days men of the 101st were in a fight with German Fallschirmjägers for the Frech town of Carentan. See story page 48.

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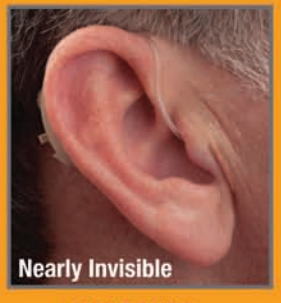

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Elite paratroop units clashed at Carentan.

THE GERMANS HAD FLOODED THE PLAIN SURROUNDING the key crossroads of Carentan before the Americans came ashore at Omaha and Utah Beaches on June 6, 1944. As a result, the town of 4,000 became an island amid the flooded marshes and low-lying areas on the right bank of the Douve River along the imaginary seam where the Cotentin Peninsula joins the rest of France. The water was deep enough to prevent vehicle traffic and to either prevent altogether or substantially hamper movement on foot except on bridges and causeways.

The 101st Airborne Division would run up against a motley crew of German defenders in its quest to take the crossroads. As part of its secondary mission, to be addressed once it had secured inland exits opposite the American beaches, the 101st was to push south through Carentan. The chaotic parachute drops on the morning of June 6 had a lot to do with the delayed assault on Carentan, which did not get underway until June 10. It took considerable time not only for battalion-size units to coalesce after the drops, but also a fair amount of time to separate the troops of the 82nd and 101st Airborne Divisions, which had become mixed together.

One of the better units the Americans would face in the Battle of Carentan was the crack, all-volunteer 6th Parachute Regiment of the 2nd Fallschirmjäger. Its commander, Colonel Frederick von der Heydte, had fought the British at Crete. The officers and many of the non-commissioned officers had some measure of experience in Crete, North Africa, or Russia. Each battalion had three rifle companies and one heavy weapons company. The paratroopers had to make do with less than optimum equipment by that time in World War II. For example, they were equipped with seven types of light machine guns. They lacked vehicles that would enable them to redeploy as circumstances dictated.

Following the German airborne invasion of Crete, the Germans refrained from large-scale drops for the remainder of the war. As the story goes, Hitler was so shocked by the heavy losses that he forbade further large-scale air drops. But the story is more complex than that. The Germans neither had enough well-trained paratroopers nor sufficient aircraft for large-scale future operations. For those reasons, the paratrooper units became elite ground forces. This explains why von der Heydte's two battalions were committed as they were at Carentan.

Von der Heydte and other frontline commanders in Normandy received an order from German leader Adolf Hitler on the eve of the battle that would become something of a running joke as the battle for Germany dragged on in the coming weeks and months. They were to defend their ground to the last man and, if necessary, give their lives in the process. Retreat was not an option. Most of the battle-hardened commanders shrugged it off.

The Americans would commit the 501st, 502nd, and 506th Parachute Infantry Regiments and the 327th Glider Infantry to the assault on Carentan. The Germans were deployed on the high ground located southeast and southwest of the town. When the 101st Airborne Division began its delayed attack on Carentan, it initially suffered significant casualties. But it was not long before the U.S. paratroopers had turned the tables on their German adversaries. That story is told at length in this issue.

—William E. Welsh

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WARFAREHISTORYNETWORK

By Phil Zimmer

The Luftwaffe sent the Me-262 jet fighter aloft in the final months of World War II in a vain effort to challenge Allied air superiority.

THE GERMANS KNEW THE BOMBERS WERE COMING, AND THEY prepared even as the U.S. 457th Bomber Group first assembled in the early morning sunlight over faraway London. That March 18, 1945, raid on Berlin included more than 1,220 Allied bombers and scores of North American P-51 Mustang fighters contending with heavy German flak and tangling with fast-flying German Messerschmitt Me-262 jet fighters employing air-to-air rockets operationally for the first time.

German engineers and technicians work on a Me 262 prototype in 1942. Entering combat two years later, the versatile turbojet aircraft conducted reconnaissance, night fighting, and bombing missions.

It was the last great air battle of the European war, one that would be a final, deadly encounter for many American flyers and nearly so for Oberleutnant Gunther Wegmann, commander of Jagdgeschwader 7's 9th Squadron of Me-262 jets.

Wegmann led his squadron in a loose formation toward the incoming bombers. He and his two wingmen fired their R4M rockets into one tight formation of some 60 Boeing B-17 Flying Fortress bombers from a distance of 3,000 feet. The scores of rockets created devastation, with bits of aircraft, smoke, and flame erupting from the formation of bombers.

The squadron then scattered for the homeward flight. That was when Wegmann spotted another formation of enemy bombers and swung around to take a pass at them with his MK 108 "machine cannons." He swooped in from astern and came within 600 yards of one bomber before opening up with a staccato of fire that ripped away the cowling from one of the target's engines.

Wegmann was jubilant and started to transmit his victory to home base when a stream of enemy fire struck his jet, splattering his canopy, tossing instruments from their panels, and studding his plane with bullet holes. Worse yet, his right leg was numb. Reaching down, he discovered a large hole just below his knee. But he felt no pain at that point as his plane streaked along at 18,000 feet above war-torn Germany.

He desperately pushed his shot-up

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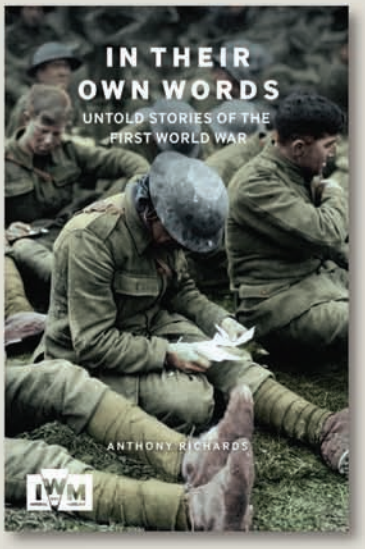
THE GREAT WAR



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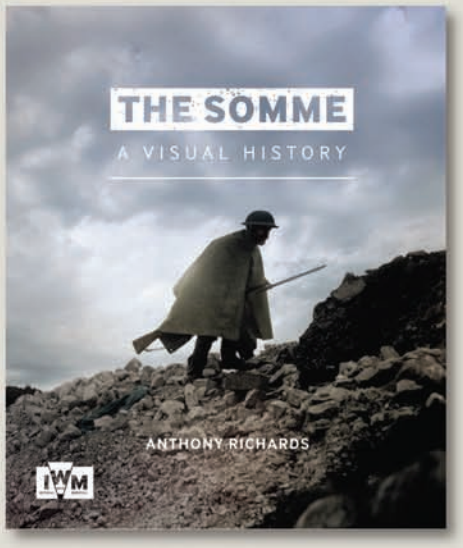

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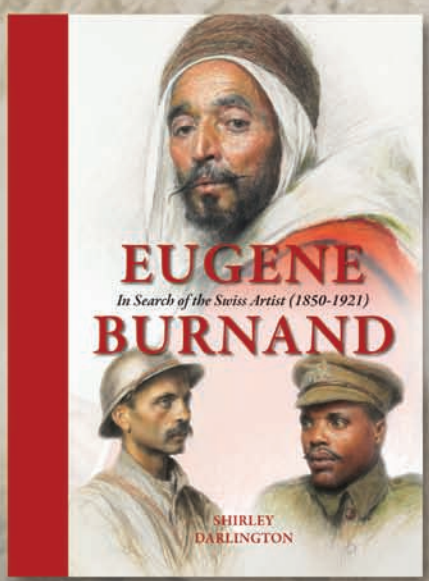

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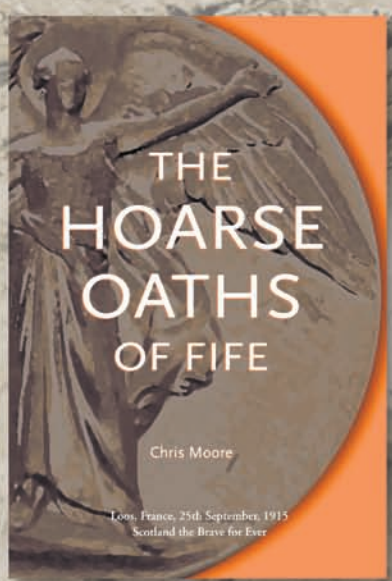

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The ME 262 combined speed and firepower. With its powerful R4M rockets, it was able to break apart Allied bomber formations.

jet downward, and at 12,000 feet he saw flames leaping from his starboard engine. That quickly ruled out a crash landing that would turn his plane into a giant fireball. He decided to push the control stick forward, disconnected his seat straps, removed the retaining bolt from the plane's canopy, and was sucked from the cockpit at 250 miles per hour. Wegmann bounced off the plane's tail and fell free. He counted five long seconds before pulling the release cord of his parachute and drifted downward toward the town of Wittenberge 60 miles northwest of Berlin. He brushed the tops of pine trees and managed, just barely, to land in a small meadow.

"German pilot!" he shouted loudly as an elderly woman made her way to him. Wegmann's luck held. The woman was a nurse who quickly bound his thigh above his right knee and applied a tourniquet. Within four hours he had been rushed to a hospital where his leg was amputated.

Others were not so fortunate that day, including five American fighter pilots who failed to return home. Sixteen Allied bombers were hit by flak and either crashed on their approaches to Berlin or managed to make emergency landings behind the advancing Soviet lines east of the German capital. Another 25 Allied bombers were destroyed with the loss of only two German jets.

The pilots acquitted themselves well that day against overwhelming odds, yet the effort of the German jet fighters was to prove too little too late in the face of relentless Allied assault from the air, land, and sea with their overwhelming war matériel and seemingly endless supply of manpower.

The Me-262 did have a significant influence on the later stages of the war. It was the world's first operational turbojet fighter, and it simply outclassed any plane flying at the time. It reportedly could reach speeds of 540 miles per hour with a cruising speed of 460 miles per hour and a range of some 650 miles. The Me 262 had a ceiling of 38,000 feet, and it could climb at 3,940 feet per minute with its two Junkers Jumo engines, which produced 1,980 pounds of thrust apiece. In its standard configuration, the single-seat jet was armed with four 30mm MK-108 cannons and the plane could be modified to carry 1,000 pounds of bombs.

It was the development of the feared R4M rockets that sealed the fate of many Allied flyers over Germany when facing the Me-262. "The rockets gave us extra punch," said Me-262 pilot Leutnant Klaus Neumann. "Fire the rockets, do the damage, weaken the tight formation integrity of the bombers, and then pick off the crippled stragglers," he said.

"It was like being a god in a way," added Neumann, who had seen combat in piston-driven Messerschmitt Me-109s and Focke Wulf FW-190s over Russia. The jet was "fast, had great firepower," and gave one a lot of confidence when pitted against a well-armed enemy aircraft, he said.

The 55mm R4M rockets contained a high explosive shell filled with Hexogen and were mounted under the wings on specially designed wooden racks with 24 rockets typically attached to each jet.

Initially, there were problems because the rockets often failed to fire. Reports of the problem reached Generalleutnant Adolf Galland, head of the Luftwaffe's jet arm. An electrician was promptly called in. The electrician quickly identified a problem with the copper electrical triggering connectors. From that point forward, the connectors were reinforced with silver or nickel, and the difficulty was resolved.

Each of the Me-262's four MK-108 30mm cannons could pump out more than 650 rounds per minute. The specially produced MK cannon was considered a masterpiece of weapons engineering because of its stopping power, compact size, and ease of manufacture. German engineers noted that it could knock down enemy bombers with a minimum expenditure of ammunition while staying beyond the range of enemy counterfire.

The newly developed Jumo 004 engines presented challenges, occasionally pulling in debris after an enemy plane had burst apart, damaging the compressor, and causing a flame out. Flying on one engine, the Me-262 could not easily take evasive action or even outrun an Allied P-51 Mustang, Republic P-47 Thunderbolt, or the De Havilland DH.98 Mosquito. In that situation, the Me-262 pilot had to reach a friendly base as quickly as possible. Galland was particularly disgruntled with the jet power plants. Germany's war economy lacked many of the needed specialty metals for the jet engines that, on average, lasted less than 12.5 hours before needing to be changed out. That problem became far worse toward the end of the war as nickel and chromium supplies petered out. Many of the newly unpacked engines at that point did not even make it through the onboard testing process before failing and needing to be replaced.

The Nazi engineers knew that the engine's compressor had to be brought up to speed before the ignition of the turbojet. They resorted to a small two-stroke gasoline engine located behind the engine nozzle, while many postwar jets came to rely on a high-torque electric motor or airflow from a small starter turbine engine.

The Me-262's starter engine relied on an electric start, with a pull-cord starter with a handle serving as backup. One can only image the frustration of a Luftwaffle mechanic needing, on occasion, to tug on a lawnmower-type pull cord to get the state-of-the-art jet engine fired up.

The jet came with armored front glass and an armored seat back but lacked an ejection seat. The pilot was to pop the canopy, gently roll the plane over, and slide out or remain horizontal and let the plane's speed suck him out as Wegmann elected to do late in the war.

The Me-262 first took flight on March 25, 1942, when test pilot Fritz Wendel achieved a test flight speed of 541 miles per hour, almost 100 miles per hour above the speed of the Mosquito or anything the Americans could field.

The smooth, shark-shaped plane was surrounded by controversy almost from the start,

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ABOVE: The night fighting version of the Me 262 features radar antenna on the nose and a second seat for a radar operator. OPPOSITE: A Messerschmitt Me 262A on display at the National Museum of the U.S. Air Force in Dayton, Ohio. The sleek aircraft remains to this day an impressive pioneering effort in jet-powered aviation.

with Hitler insisting that it be used as a fast bomber. Designer Willi Messerschmitt, Galland, and others gave some lip service to Hitler's request, largely moving forward with their initial plans for a fighter while planning to have the Arado 232 fill the role of a future jet bomber. Hitler's constant meddling, though, pulled precious time and resources from fighter development to produce a modified Me-262 bomber. Some 232s were also developed as reconnaissance planes and others as night fighters.

Galland remained critical of using the 262 as a bomber, a role it was not designed to play. He remained firmly convinced that the fighter jet could have been put into combat "at least a year and a half earlier" without Hitler's interference, "and built in large enough numbers so that it could have changed the air war."

That time estimate is perhaps exaggerated, and Galland did not say it could have changed the outcome, but rather more likely the course of the war, perhaps causing the Allies to reconsider daytime bombing over Germany.

The two-seat night fighter variants proved surprisingly successful, again despite Hitler's initial misgivings. With a radar operator in the back, the pilot could zero in on the bombers. Oberleutnant Kurt Welter, who had two years' experience as a night fighter in FW-190s and Me-109s, proved to be the best of the night fighter aces. Using recent analysis, Welter appears to have made 20 confirmed kills, including a large number of Mosquitos, with his Me-262, making him the highest scoring German jet fighter pilot.

The first Me-262 fighters were delivered to Luftwaffe field units in April 1944, with the first encounter recorded on July 26 when one of the German jets fired at a British Mosquito, which disappeared trailing smoke but managed to land safely in Italy. On August 8, a unit scored a confirmed kill over a Mosquito.

Interestingly, the Allies had received reports of the Me-262 from both the resistance and via the Office of Strategic Services. "The rumors of a super fast German plane were being taken seriously," wrote Lt. Gen. James H. Doolittle, who had led the daring early war bomber raid on Tokyo and later joined the U.S. Eighth Air Force in Europe. "There were just too many corroborating reports from different sources not to take notice, but many of the pilots almost refused to believe [them]," he wrote.

Doolittle recalls one bomber pilot who was stunned at the quickness and severity of an Me-262 attack. One explosive shell, most likely from a MK-108 cannon, entered through the bomber's bomb bay, killing one and injuring four other airmen. Fortunately, the plane was returning from its bombing run, otherwise the shell could have struck the bombs on board and the resulting explosion could have destroyed several additional aircraft flying in the tight box formation.

The young American pilot was in complete shock, recalled Doolittle. "I knew he was never going to be an effective leader again," he wrote. The Americans realized something had to be done to prevent a severe morale problem.

Additional reconnaissance flights were immediately ordered, and soon the jet airfields were being bombed. This became an ongoing process; one that forced the use of bases ever-closer to the heart of Germany in the face of Allied advances. Eventually, the Germans even resorted to using parts of the autobahn for landing strips and nearby wooded areas to conceal the parked jets from marauding and opportunistic American P-51 Mustang pilots.

The Allies knew the fast-moving jets were exceptionally vulnerable during landing and takeoff, so the patrolling of the jet airfields paid

handsome dividends. The Germans used the airfields as improvised "flak traps," attempting to lure Allied fighters in where the deadly 88mm and other flak guns—along with covering piston-driven FW-190s and Me-109s—could take a substantial combined toll on unwary Allied pilots who ventured too close.

Galland admitted after the war that the bombing of the factories did not prove overly effective, but the bombing of the petroleum facilities and railways did have a significant effect. "What harmed us the most was the killing of our pilots in combat," wrote Galland. "Planes can be rebuilt, but men cannot be made."

The development of drop tanks and the eventual positioning of P-51s on the European mainland gave the fighters more air time over Germany. It was the unleashing of the Mustangs from escort duty with the Allied bombers that made a significant difference. In 1944, the fighter pilots were often given the green light to go in before the bombers and destroy anything that moved, especially the jets rising to meet the slow-moving bombers.

"We had the numbers, we had the best pilots, best aircraft and we were in a sort of blood lust to whack those guys the best and hardest way we could," said 2nd Lieutenant Francis S. Gabreski, the leading American fighter ace in Europe.

The Allies had a few other tricks up their sleeves, too. One of these was nitrous oxide injection, similar to the Germans' own GM-1 fuel injection system, which gave them a quick burst of speed to close and fire on the jets. They also found that a tight box formation of four P-51s could reportedly prevent a jet from evading them, especially when the American fighters had the advantage of altitude and position. In that situation, a "jet-propelled plane can be destroyed on every encounter," according to a report filed in late 1944 by Colonel Irwin Dregne, commander of the 357th Fighter Group.

While this method of winning through attrition proved effective for the Allies, the Germans had a few surprises, too. Operation Bodenplatte, for example, called for a first strike against all the Allied fighter fields on the continent that the jets and other Luftwaffe planes could reach. Generalmajor Dietrich Pelz believed that if the German planes could destroy half the Allied fighters on the ground and destroy the airfields in the process, then the jets would be able to handle the remainder of the Allied fighters.

Pelz noted the plan was never fully put to the test because of the lack of Nazi planes at that point in the war. The daring operation, however, that took place on January 1, 1945, did result in the destruction of more than 285 Allied planes, including some 145 fighters, with another 180 aircraft damaged and 185 personnel killed, according to recent research.

More than 1,400 Me-262s were built, but only 50 were approved for combat, according to Galland. Of those 50, there were never more than 25 operational at any given time, he said. It is no secret that continuing engine problems, shortages of fuel, and Allied bombing and strafing of airfields and manufacturing facilities took a toll on the number of available jets.

Some reports indicate that there had been more than 180 Me-262s, including those modified as bombers, but reliable German documentation was problematic at best in the final months of the war. The same thing also holds true for proper documentation on the number of victories achieved by the jet pilots, which may have totaled more than 500 before the war's end.

The Me-262 was well ahead of its time. If the Nazis had had greater access to refined metals for the jet engines, more fuel reserves, and more time, then things might have played out somewhat differently toward the end of the war. The fact remains that the groundbreaking jet truly set the course for the future of aviation history. □

By Don Hollway

Benjamin Church embraced Native American warfare, earning the respect and dread of his foes during King Philip's War.

Discontented Indian tribes joined forces in an attempt to drive the Puritans from southern New England in 1675. RIGHT: Benjamin Church established a ranger force that inspired future generations of U.S. Army rangers.

WHEN JOHN SASSAMON'S MURDERED BODY FLOATED UP UNDER the ice of Assawompsett Pond, Plymouth Colony, in January 1675, few Puritan homesteaders could have foretold it would lead to the bloodiest war, per capita, in American history. Sassamon, a full-blooded Massachusett Indian, had been Christian, Harvard educated, and sympathetic to the colonists. He had informed Plymouth's Governor Josiah Winslow that the chief of the Wampanoag tribe, Metacomet (known to the English as King Philip) planned an uprising. When an autopsy revealed Sassamon's neck had been broken and another Indian testified to seeing three of Philip's men kill him, the English tried and executed them. The Wampanoags, whose charity had enabled the Pilgrims to survive their first winter in America, declared war on their descendants.

At Sakonnet, on the southeastern shore of Narragansett Bay, former constable, juryman, and magistrate Benjamin Church was busy carving a farm out of the wilderness. "I was the first Englishman that built upon that neck, which was full of Indians," Church recalled of his experience clearing and plowing, raising a house and fences, and putting in horses and cattle. These efforts required the "uttermost caution to be used to keep myself free from offending my Indian neighbors," he wrote.

Born in Plymouth in 1639, Church was of that first generation of Americans who grew up alongside Indian tribes. "He ... gained a good acquaintance with the natives," wrote his son Thomas, who transcribed his father's memoirs. Church earned their trust and was held in great esteem by them.

This was despite the fact that Church's father had been a sergeant in the 1630s Pequot War, when the Puritans slaughtered almost the entire tribe and sold the survivors into slavery, horrifying even their own Indian allies. Church's knowledge of Indian ways would make him their most terrible enemy.

Fifty years of European diseases had culled New England's native population to approximately 20,000. The population of the United Colonies of New England (Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven) outnumbered them three to one, but Indian warriors outnumbered Puritan soldiers. By uniting the tribes, Philip might conquer the Puritans. He sent a number of envoys from his village at Mount Hope to that of Church's neighbor, Awashonks,

All: Library of Congress

New Male Potency Formula Makes "The Little Blue Pill" Obsolete

Scientific advance made just for older men.
Works on both men's physical ability and their desire in bed.

By Harlan S. Waxman
Health News Syndicate

New York – If you're like the rest of us guys over 50; you probably already know the truth… prescription ED pills don't work! Simply getting an erection doesn't fix the problem" says Dr. Bassam Damaj, chief scientific officer at the world famous Innovus Pharma Laboratories.

As we get older, we need more help in bed. Not only does our desire fade; but erections can be soft or feeble, one of the main complaints with prescription pills. Besides, they're expensive… costing as much as $50.00 each.

Plus, it does nothing to stimulate your brain to want sex. "I don't care what you take, if you aren't interested in sex, you can't get or keep an erection. It's physiologically impossible," said Dr. Damaj.

MADE JUST FOR MEN OVER 50

But now, for the first time ever, there's a pill made just for older men. It's called Vesele®. A new pill that helps you get an erection by stimulating your body and your brainwaves. So Vesele® can work even when nothing else worked before.

The new men's pill is not a drug. It's something completely different

Because you don't need a prescription for Vesele®, sales are exploding. The maker just can't produce enough of it to keep up with demand. Even doctors are having a tough time getting their hands on it. So what's all the fuss about?

WORKS ON YOUR HEAD AND YOUR BODY

The new formula takes on erectile problems with a whole new twist. It doesn't just address the physical problems of getting older; it works on the mental part of sex too. Unlike the expensive prescriptions, the new pill stimulates your sexual brain chemistry as well. Actually helping you regain the passion and burning desire you had for your partner again. So you will want sex with the hunger and stamina of a 25-year-old.

THE BRAIN/ERECTION CONNECTION

Vesele takes off where the others only begins. Thanks to a discovery made by 3 Nobel-Prize winning scientists; Vesele® has become the first ever patented supplement to harden you and your libido. So you regain your desire as well as the ability to act on it.

In a 16-week clinical study; scientists from the U.S.A. joined forces to prove Nitric Oxide's effects on the cardio vascular system. They showed that Nitric Oxide could not only increase your ability to get an erection, it would also work on your brainwaves to stimulate your desire for sex. The results were remarkable and published in the world's most respected medical journals.

THE SCIENCE OF SEX

The study asked men, 45 to 65 years old to take the main ingredient in Vesele® once a day. Then they were instructed not to change the way they eat or exercise but to take Vesele® twice a day. What happened next was remarkable. Virtually every man in the study who took Vesele® twice a day reported a huge difference in their desire for sex. In layman's terms, they were horny again. They also experienced harder erections that lasted for almost 20 minutes. The placebo controlled group (who received sugar pills) mostly saw no difference.

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- ✓ Frequency—Increase from 44.9% to 79.5%
- ✓ Desire—Increase from 47.9% to 82%
- ✓ Hardness—Increase from 36.2% to 85.7%
- ✓ Duration—Increase from 35% to 79.5%
- ✓ Hardness—Increase from 36.2% to 85.7%
- ✓ Ability to Satisfy—Increase from 44.1% to 83.3%

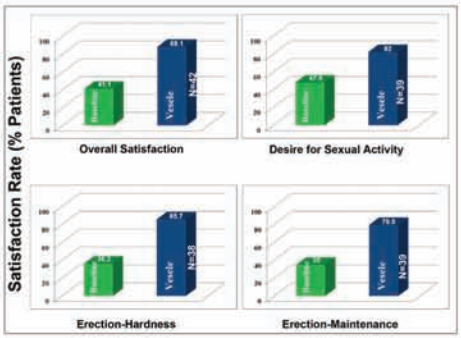
AN UNEXPECTED BONUS: The study results even showed an impressive increase in the energy, brain-power and memory of the participants.

SUPPLY LIMITED BY OVERWHELMING DEMAND

"Once we saw the results we knew we had a game-changer said Dr. Damaj. We get hundreds of calls a day from people begging us for a bottle. It's been crazy. We try to meet the crushing demand for Vesele®."

DOCTOR: "VESELE® PASSED THE TEST"

"As a doctor, I've studied the effectiveness of Nitric Oxide on the body and the brain. I'm impressed by the way it increases cerebral and penile blood flow. The result is evident in the creation of Vesele®. It's sure-fire proof that the mind/body connection is unbeatable when achieving and maintaining an erection and the results are remarkable" said Dr. Damaj. *(His findings are illustrated in the charts below.)*



New men's pill overwhelms your senses with sexual desire as well as firmer, long-lasting erections. There's never been anything like it before.

HERE'S WHAT MEN ARE SAYING

- **I'm ready to go sexually and mentally.**
- **More frequent erections in the night (while sleeping) and in the morning.**
- **I have seen a change in sexual desire.**
- **Typically take 1 each morning and 1 each night. Great stamina results!**
- **An increased intensity in orgasms.**
- **My focus (mental) has really improved… Huge improvement.**
- **Amazing orgasms!**
- **I really did notice a great improvement in my ability.**

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This is the first official public release of Vesele® since its news release. In order to get the word out about Vesele®, Innovus Pharma is offering special introductory discounts to all who call.

A special phone hotline has been set up for readers to take advantage of special discounts during this ordering opportunity. Special discounts will be available starting today at 6:00am. The discounts will automatically be applied to all callers. The Special TOLL-FREE Hotline number is 1-800-870-3579 and will be open 24-hours a day.

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queen of the Sakonnet tribe. If she did not join his rebellion, they said, Wampanoag warriors would kill English cattle and burn their cabins. That, she told Church, "would provoke the English to fall upon her, whom they would no doubt suppose the author of the mischief," he wrote.

Awashonks invited Church to meet the Wampanoags. He recalled "their faces painted and their hair trimmed up in comb-fashion, with their powder horns and shot-bags at their backs, which, among that nation, is the posture and figure of preparedness for war." Church advised her in front of them to "knock those six Mounthopes on the head and shelter herself under the protection of the English," according to his son. Furthermore, he called the Wampanoags to their faces "bloody wretches ... yet, if nothing but war would satisfy them, he believed he should be a sharp thorn in their sides."

As a Puritan, Church might be guilty of the sin of pride, but he can be remembered for living up to his word. Seeking to thwart Philip's recruitment campaign, he rode to Pocasset to meet another Indian queen, Weetamoo, widow of Philip's brother. No friend of the English (she would be the villainess of colonist Mary Rowlandson's famous story of captivity during the war), Weetamoo advised Church that her Pocasset warriors had already joined the hostiles. In late June 1675, a scuffle resulting in the murder of a Wampanoag incited Philip's braves to attack Swansea, Massachusetts, killing nine colonists. The war was on.

In Europe the 17th century was an age of massive armies and months long sieges of walled cities; cuirassiers, pikes, and matchlock muskets were still in use. In this manner Plymouth and Massachusetts sent an army of 350 to relieve Swansea, thrust down the Mount Hope peninsula, bring the hostiles to battle, and end the war, all in a matter of a few days. Set-piece battles, however, were not the Indian style of warfare. The woodland tribes preferred stealth, raids, and ambushes.

"I was spirited for that work," wrote Church. He and a small band of frontiersmen and friendly Indians ranged ahead of the colonial expedition, which was so slow on the march that Church recalled he and the rangers paused to kill a deer, "flayed, roasted, and ate

most of him before the army came up with them." Bottled inside the fort at Swansea, the English suffered sentries shot off the walls by Indian snipers in the surrounding woods. Two men sent out to a well were found later with their fingers and feet cut off and their heads skinned. When the army sallied out in force it ran into a fusillade, Indians firing from cover. Several men were wounded, one mortally, and the English withdrew into the fort. "The Lord have mercy on us if such a handful of Indians shall thus dare such an army!" wrote Church.

With hostiles rampaging up and down the bay, burning houses and barns, slaughtering cattle, and killing every settler they could catch, the colonial expedition finally ventured out to sweep the peninsula clear. They found only abandoned villages with English heads stuck on poles. "We shall never be able to obtain our end in this way, for they fly before us, from one swamp to another," wrote Captain James Cudworth.

Philip had no need to hold ground in the European fashion. "Some, and not a few, pleased themselves with the fancy of a great conquest," Church recalled of the army halting to build another fort. His son wrote that he "looked upon it, and talk of it, with contempt and urged hard the pursuing of the enemy ... to kill Philip, which would, in his opinion, be more probable to keep possession of the neck than to tarry to build a fort."

ABOVE: Puritans attack a Narragansett Indian encampment during the Great Swamp Fight of 1675. Although offered command of a company in the 1,000-man Puritan army that launched the attack, Church declined the offer stating that he preferred small-unit actions. OPPOSITE: Indians ambush a party of settlers near the Connecticut River. During the course of the bloody conflict, the Indians destroyed a dozen frontier towns.

Leaving the army to it, in early July Church took three dozen rangers back to Pocasset. They soon came across a fresh native trail. He and 20 men chased two hostiles inland only to run into an immense volley of musketry. "The hill seemed to move, being covered with Indians, with their bright guns glittering in the sun and running in a circumference with a design to surround [the English]," wrote Church. Caught with their backs to the bay, for six hours he and his rangers stood off Indian attacks. Near dusk, running low on ammunition, they waved down Captain Roger Goulding's sloop on the water. He sent a

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canoe to take them off two at a time and "got all safe aboard after six hours' engagement with 300 Indians, whose number we were told afterwards by some of themselves," wrote Church,

Guided by Alderman, a deserter from Weetamoo's camp, the English returned in force, and on July 19 pursued her and Philip into the Pocasset swamp, seven miles of cedar bog and brambles. "How dangerous it is to fight in such dismal Woods," wrote Boston clergyman William Hubbard, who likened the experience to "fighting with a wild Beast in his Den."

In that tangle European formations and tactics were worse than useless. "The Indians always took care in their marches and fights not to come too thick together," wrote Church. "But the English always kept in a heap together ... it was as easy to hit them as to hit a house."

"The captain of the Forlorn [advance guard] was shot down dead; three more were then killed or died that night, and five or six more hideously wounded," recalled Cudworth. "Philip's place of residence was about half a mile off; which we could make no discovery of, because the day was spent, and we having dead men and wounded men to draw off." The English were "commanded back by their chieftain after they were come within hearing of the cries of [the enemy's] women and children, and so ended that exploit," wrote Church.

Philip escaped north to join the Nipmuc tribe. Weetamoo went south to the Narragansetts. "And now another fort was built at Pocasset," Church wrote, "and the remainder of the summer was improved in providing for the forts and forces there maintained, while our enemies were fled some hundreds of miles into the country, near as far as Albany."

From beyond English reach, Philip solidified his alliances. His brother-in-law Tispaquin burned Middleboro, and his war chief Totoson burned some 30 homes at Old Dartmouth. The Nipmucs besieged Brookfield for three days, causing such destruction that the town would be abandoned for 20 years.

Not all tribes sided with Philip, though. On August 1, a combined force of more than 250 Mohegans and English caught him in Nipsachuck Swamp, killing a third of his force, including four war chiefs. Philip escaped, but plainly it took an Indian to catch an Indian.

To settle with the Narragansetts, the United Colonies assembled a 1,000-man army, the largest in their history, under Governor Edward Winslow. Offered command of a company, Church declined. He preferred small unit tactics, such as sweeping ahead for prisoners. "Being brisk blades," he recalled of his rangers, "they readily complied." When the army arrived, Church delivered 18 captives; one, facing the noose, agreed to lead the English to the native camp, in the Great Swamp north of Worden's Pond.

The swamp normally served as an expansive moat, but this was the depths of the so-called Little Ice Age. That bitterly cold December it was frozen solid. Through a rising blizzard the English marched over the ice and to their astonishment found the Narragansetts behind a stockade built in the European manner, enclosing some four to five acres and 500 wigwams.

Winslow's assault was not well executed. "The best and forwardest of his army that hazarded their lives to enter the fort were shot in their backs and killed by them that lay behind," wrote Church. They gained entry, but the battle was still raging inside when Church and 30 men pursued escaping natives across the swamp, only to dodge an incoming relief force twice their number. As the hostiles were about to retake the fort, the rangers "gave them such a round volley and unexpected clap on their backs," Church remembered, "that they who escaped with their lives were so surprised that they scampered."

Inside, the fort was full of blowing snow and powder smoke, flashing tomahawks and flying

musket balls. Church was shot three times, "one in his thigh," wrote his son, "which was near half of it cut off as [the bullet] glanced on the joint of the hip bone." Unable to dislodge the defenders, Winslow gave orders to burn the fort with everything and everyone in it. Church pleaded that it was full of "baskets and tubs of grain and other provisions sufficient to supply the whole army ... and every wounded man might have a good warm house to lodge in."

Winslow would not hear of it. "And burning up all the houses and provisions in the fort," Church recalled, "the army returned the same night in the storm and cold." The colonists lost 70 killed, including seven company commanders, and 150 wounded, the Narragansetts, up to 150 warriors, but as many as 1,000 women and children. The survivors, who were mostly able-bodied braves, were driven firmly into the arms of Philip.

While Church recuperated at home, the hostiles ravaged the frontier in the spring of 1676. Philip assaulted Sudbury, with 500 warriors, chased a relief column onto a hilltop, set it afire, and killed 72. In early May Tispaquin sacked Bridgewater. Farther south, 1,500 Narragansetts laid waste to Rehoboth and Providence. Eventually, the rebel tribes would number approximately 8,000 warriors; of 94 New England towns, 52 would be attacked, 25 sacked, and 17 burned to the ground. "God give greater wisdom to our Rulers or put in into the King's heart to rule and relieve us, these colonies will soon be ruined," wrote Boston merchant Richard Wharton.

Church led the expedition that tracked down King Philip and killed him in a night attack in August 1676.

Reconsidering Church's tactics of using Indians to fight Indians, Puritan leaders recalled him to service. He agreed on the condition that, as he put it, he would "not lie in any town or garrison with them, but would lie in the woods as the enemy did."

"God pleased to show us the vanity of our military skills, in managing our arms, in the European mode," wrote Puritan missionary John Eliot. "Now we are pleased to learn the skulking way of war."

Church heard that his old neighbor Queen Awashonks desired peace. "It had ever been in his thoughts since the war broke out," his son wrote, "that if he could discourse [with] the Sagkonate [sic] Indians, he could draw them off from Philip, and employ them against him." She consented to a meeting, and Church convinced her to change sides. "We'll fight for you

Continued on page 70

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Continued on page 70

By Peter Suciu

Budapest's Hadtorteneti Museum chronicles nearly two centuries of Hungary's military heritage.

Budapest's Hadtorteneti Muzeum (Military Museum) is housed in an old Austrian Army barracks. ABOVE: A spiked helmet worn by a Russian soldier during the 1848 rebelion.

THE HUNGARIAN CAPITAL OF BUDAPEST IS MORE THAN JUST A CITY. It is actually three cities in one, each with just a bit of unique color and flare. With 1.7 million inhabitants, the Hungarian capital today is made up of the old cities of Buda and Pest. Overlooking this modern metropolis is Buda Castle, the historic castle and palace complex located on Castle Hill on the Buda side of the Danube River. This World Heritage Site is also much more than just the palace.

Buda Castle encompasses much of the hill and is a city within a city. While the castle walls date to the 13th century, Budapest was the site of many sieges and battles, the most recent being the 1956 uprising against Soviet rule.

Castle Hill and the palace were heavily damaged during the Battle of Budapest at the end of World War II. Renovated after the war, it faced a different kind of destruction when the palace complex was almost completely gutted during the 1950s. Many important exterior details around the complex, such as the Habsburg Steps and the Royal Stables, were destroyed.

The grandeur of the Habsburg era, however, remains throughout the city, and the Hadtorteneti Museum, which is situated in the northwestern part of the Buda Castle district, is where the military history of the modern Hungarian people can best be understood.

"This was the original army barracks, which were built in the 1830s," Mate Balogh, educator at the Hadtorteneti Museum, told *Military Heritage*.

Within the large Habsburg-era complex is a collection that chronicles the history of Hungary's struggle for independence during in 1848 and its aftermath, and through the transition as part of the Dual Monarchy, which existed from 1867 to 1918. The museum covers Hungary's role as part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire's Army during World War I, and covers offers detailed history on the military of the first truly independent Magyar nation, which was the Republic of Hungary.

As a barracks, the building was part of the history it chronicles. During the 1848-1849 Hungarian Revolution, the Austrians, under the command of Alfred I, Prince of Windisch-Grätz, took Pest, the capital of the Hungarian Kingdom, while the Hungarian forces held Buda, then known as Ofen in German. Hungarian forces were able to force the Austrian army to retreat from Buda and drove them back toward Vienna.

While Buda held out, the barracks were partially damaged and, according to sources, cannonballs still remain within the walls from the 1849 siege of the city. With Russian help, the Hungarian uprising was crushed and Hungary remained a part of the Austrian Empire. The Dual Monarchy was established in 1867 and existed until it came crashing down at the conclusion of World War I.

With the end of the Dual Monarchy and Habsburg rule at the end of World War I, Hungary suddenly became an independent nation for the first time in centuries. The Hadtorteneti Museum was founded in

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the early 1920s as the first military museum of the new nation.

"The museum was established in this building following World War I as a way to preserve the history of the Hungarian people following the 1848 revolution," said Balogh. "Much of the collection was put together in the 1920s, and artifacts were gathered from across Hungary and beyond."

Budapest suffered greatly at the end of World War II when the Soviet Army invaded Hungary. The original building was heavily damaged and much of the original collection was lost.

"As with other museums in Europe, the plan was to move the artifacts out of the city to protect them," said Balogh. "However, what went into storage was largely looted and much of this actual building was sadly destroyed. After World War II it was necessary to pretty much start over. While some older artifacts were recovered, much of the collection includes objects that were gathered after World War II. We pretty much had to start off afresh."

Given the scope of the collection, which now chronicles the history from the 1848 revolution to the modern day, the museum has made a commendable effort.

"We are impressed today with the efforts to rebuild the collection," said Balogh.

The building is flanked by a number of bronze cannons, which are among the objects that predate the revolution. The building includes a recreated stained glass window that depicts Buda as it looked in 1493.

While the history of Hungary goes back centuries, due to size and to focus the scope of the collection, the Hadtorteneti Museum begins fittingly with a large gallery that includes numerous artifacts from the 1848 revolution, but the objects are not limited just to the uprising forces.

This first gallery chronicles the uprising, which was just one of many such revolutions in 1848—a year that also saw major uprisings in Paris and Berlin.

By viewing these collections, the visitor can better understand the complexity of the Kingdom of Hungary, which was very much a nation within a nation. Hungarian citizens, for example, had their own passports and thus were not exactly citizens of the Austrian Empire.

The collection includes many Hungarian military uniforms, cavalry helmets, and other accoutrements that suggest that it very much had its own identity within the greater empire.

"With the revolution the uniforms changed little with the Hungarian forces, except the cockades changed from the Austrian red and white to the Hungarian red, white, and green," said Balogh.

An exhibit depicts the dress of a Hungarian National Guard soldier during the 1848 revolution. With Russian aid through the 1815 Holy Alliance to restrain European republicanism, the Hungarian uprising was crushed and the country remained part of the Austrian Empire.

Given that much of the original collection was lost, the sheer volume of artifacts from this early Hungarian struggle for independence is impressive, and is represented by numerous small arms and equipment. The international diversity of the struggle, not to mention of the Austrian Empire, is also apparent in the unique uniforms that utilize nationalist elements for the respective troops. This includes artifacts such as a "sapkaja" cap of the Southern Slav irregular border scouts and Hungarian-style Hussar coats.

"At the time the Austrian Army had many ethnic units and the uniforms tended to include many of these national characteristics," said Balogh.

One item of particular interest is an Imperial Russian guardsman uniform, complete with an early spiked helmet, which could place this as one of the first conflicts in which the headgear that was later associated with Prussia and Germany was used in combat.

The Hadtorteneti Museum collection includes a sword that belonged to Hungarian General Janos Damjanich, who is considered a national hero of the Hungarian people. While he never lost on the battlefield and claimed he would defend the fortress of Arad to the last drop of his blood, he followed orders and surrendered to Russian General Dmitry Duturlin, and was executed in October 1849.

According to legend, he uttered the famous last words, "I believed I would be the last, because I was always the first in battle. My poor Emily! Long live Hungary!"

His sword now hangs below a painting that chronicles his role as a true battlefield commander. It remains a centerpiece of the museum's collection.

"This was in the original collection and did belong to Damjanich," said Balogh. "We are pleased it was recovered after World War II and is now part of the collection."

Following the failed revolution of 1848, many of the Hungarian leaders who were not captured or killed went into exile and found a place on other battlefields.

"Lajos Kossuth, the regent-president of the Kingdom of Hungary, traveled to the United States and later to Italy," said Balogh, "while leaders such as Henryk Dembinski fled to the Ottoman Empire. Dembinski joined with other Polish officers in the service of Mahmud II. Gyorgy Klapka was one of the few who were able to later return to Hungary, which he did in 1867, and soon after he was elected a member of the Hungarian Chamber of Deputies."

Following the Austrian defeat during the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, cooperation between Austrians and Hungarians was all the more necessary. It was determined that the Habsburg Empire could only maintain its position as a great power with Hungarian contribution. Thus, with the establishment of the Dual Monarchy, the Austrian Emperor Franz Josef I became the King of Hungary and the army had a very different character.

"It was multinational within the empire, but it also meant that many soldiers had to be multilingual," said Balogh. "Officers spoke German and NCOs spoke Hungarian, but it was necessary to speak at least another language for the other minorities within the empire."

These included the official languages of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ukraine, Romania, Croatia, and Italy, as well as the unofficial languages, including Serbian, Slovak, Slovene, Bosnian, Rusyn, and Yiddish.

The museum collection contains numerous pieces from this era, where apart from Austria's brief role in the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, the country faced crises but little in the way of actual conflict. Instead it was a regal time, the era of much pomp and circumstance, and the Hadtorteneti Museum offers many fine examples of uniforms, which proved anything but appropriate for the coming conflict.

Continued on page 68

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THE AFRICAN AMERICANS OF THE 54TH MASSACHUSETTS STOOD UP TO THE GUNS OF CHARLESTON'S FORT WAGNER IN A BLOODY ASSAULT IN 1863. IN SO DOING, THEY PROVED THEMSELVES WORTHY UNION SOLDIERS.

ONE GALLA

The 54th Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry storms the breastworks during the Second Battle of Fort Wagner in a modern painting by Rick Reeves. The stalwart soldiers fought their way into the fort in two spots but were hurled back.

BY ERIC NIDEROST

NT RUSH

THE SUN HAD already set, but the western sky was still bright from its fiery departure not long before. To the east, across the broad Atlantic Ocean, sea fog was forming, a cottony mass that would soon obscure the horizon. At the moment, though, the visibility was good enough for Federal warships to subject Fort Wagner to a naval bombardment of increasing intensity.

It was the early evening of July 18, 1863, and Fort Wagner was one of a string of fortifications that guarded the approaches to Charleston, South Carolina. The fort was situated on the northern tip of Morris Island, a marshy patch of land that had immense strategic importance. The Confederacy depended on swift ships that could evade the Union's naval blockade, which was designed to economically strangle the South. The blockade runners' entry and exit into Charleston would be made simpler if they could enter under the protection of Fort Wagner's guns.

For most Union soldiers, the emotional considerations were just as important as the strategic ones. Charleston was the place where the war began, the cradle of secession and rebellion. Confederate batteries had opened fire on Fort Sumter a little more than two years before, starting a fratricidal conflict with no end in sight. If the Federals took Fort Wagner, they would be one step closer toward their ultimate goal, the capture of Charleston.

The operation had been planned by Union Maj. Gen. Quincy Gillmore, the newly appointed commander of the Department of the South. Gillmore was an engineer who had earlier successfully taken the Confederacy's Fort Pulaski. In a bold stroke he had secured the approaches to Savannah, Georgia. The general had land batteries in place but made sure that the Union fleet waiting just off the coast also would join the attack. Rear Admiral John A. Dahlgren, the commander of the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron, was more than willing to cooperate.

The naval bombardment continued, the shells exploding in great gouts of smoke and flame. Some of the naval shells weighed 400 pounds. They were fearsome projectiles that when fired sounded like an express train as they hurled through the sky. One shell landed just offshore, and when it detonated the water where it hit erupted into a blossoming geyser of dead fish. Federal land batteries joined in the destruction, adding their weight of metal to the deadly proceedings.

But Gillmore was an experienced engineer, and he knew that barring a miracle a heavy bombardment alone would not secure the fort. It would have to be taken by a full-scale infantry

National Guard

assault. The Union general had 11,000 troops available, so manpower was certainly not lacking. But Gillmore had tried to take Fort Wagner a few days earlier, and the attempt proved to be an abortive and bloody fiasco. The first assault had taken place without artillery support, but Fort Wagner obviously was going to be a difficult objective to capture.

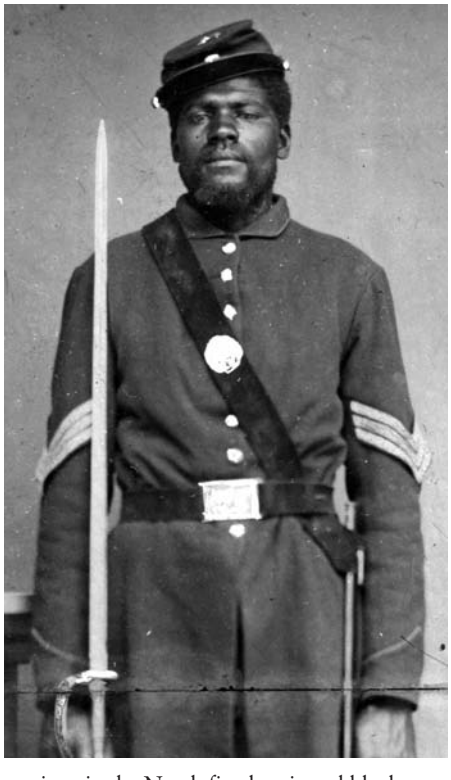
Union planners ultimately decided three infantry brigades would take part in the attack. Brig. Gen. George Strong's brigade would be in the lead with the other two in support. But who would be in the vanguard of Strong's effort? It was a position of honor and great risk, requiring a regiment of uncommon coolness and bravery. Strong chose the 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry Colored at the urging of its commander, 25-year-old Colonel Robert Gould Shaw.

The 54th Massachusetts was a black regiment with white officers. Shaw, who was a scion of a prominent Boston abolitionist family, wanted to be given a chance to prove his men were just as good as other Union soldiers. His men had seen their first action only two days before and acquitted themselves well. They were tired, their clothes were damp from a previous rain, and they were hungry, but by the same token they were still determined to prove themselves.

As the shadows deepened and the bombardment abated, Shaw positioned his men for the coming assault. The black soldiers were mostly silent, a change from their usually ebullient mood when in ranks. The mood was not one of fear, but one of determination to see the task through. When a shell passed over, a few displayed some all too human nerves by shifting about, but quickly steadied after one black soldier made a joke. Referring to their Confederate foes in the fort, he said, "I guess they kind of expects we're coming!"

The men of the 54th Massachusetts often had to deal with racism and negative stereotyping that was almost as deadly as enemy bullets. It was something of a miracle that they were in the Union Army at all. In the mid-19th-century virtually all whites considered Caucasians—especially those of Western and Northern European stock—to be biologically superior to all other races. This was a belief that was so deeply embedded in American culture it was taught in schools and even accepted by most educated people of the time.

Both: Library of Congress



TOP: Colonel Robert Gould Shaw was killed in the gallant assault. BOTTOM: Sergeant Henry F. Steward received wounds that proved fatal two months later.

When the American Civil War began, recruiting stations in the North firmly rejected black men who attempted to enlist. This was, after all, a white man's war dealing mainly with secession and Southern rebellion. Northern abolitionists might see this fight as a crusade against slavery, but they were a distinct minority of the Union population.

Many white Union soldiers shared the prejudices of the time. They did not want to fight side by side with black soldiers because of their misguided belief in racial superiority. Racial bigotry aside, there were genuine doubts that the black men could do the job. In this line of reasoning even free blacks were descendants of slaves. A kind of cringing inferiority complex was deeply inbred from the centuries of servitude. It was so deeply inbred that even free blacks inherited this trait. William Channing Gannett, a teacher of former slaves, had firm opinions on the subject. "Negroes—plantation Negroes, at least—will never make soldiers in one generation. Five white men would put a regiment [of blacks] to flight," he wrote.

U.S. President Abraham Lincoln detested slavery but was no abolitionist. As the nation's chief executive, he had other priorities. Hs main goal was to end the rebellion and restore the union as soon as possible; everything else was secondary to these main objectives. Lincoln also harbored some doubts about how well black men could perform in battle.

Another matter to be considered was the sensitivity of border slave states. Kentucky, for example, was a slave state with strong Union and Confederate sentiments. "I hope that God is on my side, but I must have Kentucky," Lincoln once said. The president knew that if the border states left the union, the fortunes of war would shift in the Confederacy's favor.

This fact was underscored when Union Maj. Gen. John C. Fremont issued a draconian proclamation that, among other things, freed the slaves of all Confederate sympathizers in Missouri. Joshua Speed, Lincoln's oldest and best friend, advised the president to proceed cautiously on the sensitive political matter. "Do not allow us by the foolish action of a military popinjay to be driven from our present active loyalty," he told the president. Lincoln took heed, and eventually Fremont's own arrogance forced Lincoln to relieve him of command.

But as the war dragged on and Northern casualties mounted, there were fewer enthusiastic recruits willing to sign up. With enlistments declining, a new source of manpower had to be found. Many political and military officials in the North began to reconsider the possibility of black soldiers. In August 1862, U.S. Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton authorized Brig. Gen. Rufus Saxton, military governor of the South Carolina Sea Islands, to raise five regiments of black soldiers.

The black soldiers proved their worth almost immediately. On November 7, 1862, the first of the five regiments, the 1st South Carolina Volunteers, was mustered into Federal service. They experienced their first combat six days later when they were sent on a foraging expedition near Darien, Georgia. They ran into some Confederate troops, and though the resulting skir-

mish was small it loomed large in its psychological effect. The black soldiers were ex-slaves, yet they stood their ground and fought bravely.

In May 1863, two Louisiana black regiments took part in an assault on Confederate-held Port Hudson. The attack failed, but the sheer courage and tenacity displayed by the black soldiers was a source of wonder, even astonishment, to the white Federals who had also taken part. "The Negroes fought like devils, and they made five charges on a battery that there was not the slightest chance of their taking," wrote a white Federal soldier.

The most famous black regiment of the conflict was the 54th Massachusetts, in large part because of its heroic assault on Fort Wagner. Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts conceived the idea of the regiment. A prominent abolitionist, he was certain black troops could make significant contributions to the Union war effort.

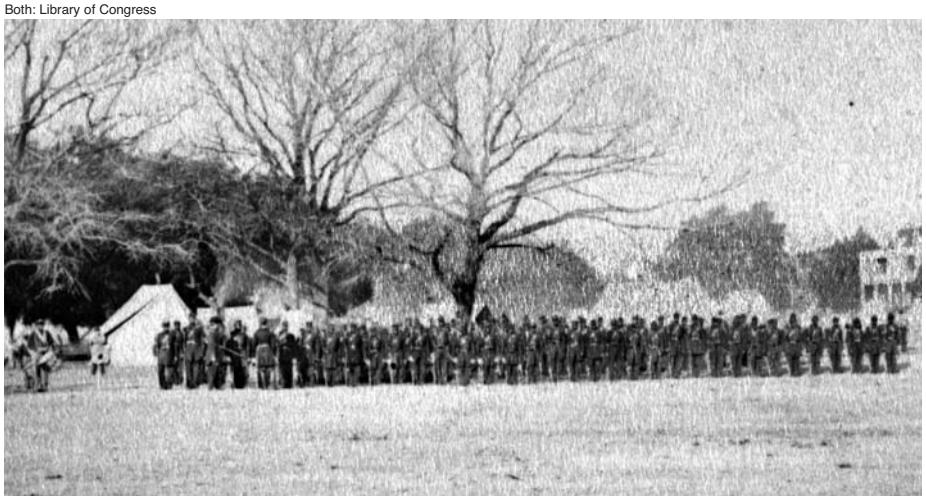
Frederick Douglass, a former slave and spokesman for the abolitionist cause, supported Andrew's idea with unbounded enthusiasm. "Once let the black man get upon his person the brass letters 'U.S.'; let him get an eagle on his button, and a musket on his shoulder, and there is no power on earth which can deny he has earned the right to citizenship," wrote Douglas.

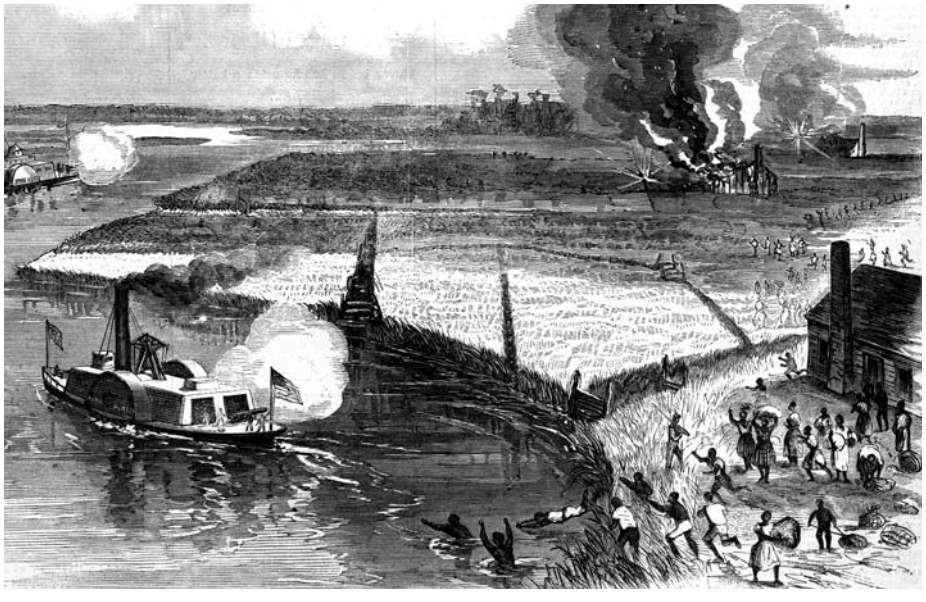
Recruitment was slow at first, mainly because Massachusetts had a small black population. But over the weeks more men enlisted, until the 54th Massachusetts could boast 1,000 effectives. Still more men signed up, enough to make a second regiment that was dubbed the 55th Massachusetts. But who would be the commander of the newly raised 54th Massachusetts?

To begin with, even the staunchest white abolitionist had little faith in the ability of black men to assume positions of leadership. By war's end there were 7,000 officers in what was termed "United States Colored Troops." Of this number, fewer than 100 were black, and many were eventually forced to resign due to racial bigotry. It was assumed that whites had superior intelligence and ability, although the smartest blacks might make good non-commissioned officers and become sergeants.

Governor Andrew asked Shaw to take command of the 54th Massachusetts. His abolitionist credentials were impeccable. His parents were part of the abolitionist movement, and he had seen combat at Antietam the previous year. Shaw initially rejected the offer. He did not want to leave his existing unit, the 2nd Massachusetts, because he had grown attached to his men. There was also a feeling that commanding black troops might be a downgrade of prestige with a subsequent loss of face.

Both: Library of Congress





TOP: The 1st South Carolina Regiment of U.S. Colored Troops is shown on parade in Beaufort, South Carolina, in a period photograph. BOTTOM: The raid depicted is similar to one against Darien, Georgia, in which the 54th Massachusetts joined the 2nd South Carolina Regiment of U.S. Colored Troops.

After discussions with his parents, Shaw overcame his doubts and took command with no regrets. By April 1863, Shaw and his men began drilling at Readville, Massachusetts, a town near Boston. The black soldiers encountered racism and prejudice at every turn, but these experiences made them even more determined to succeed. Shaw was determined to stand by his men no matter what difficulties might stand in their way.

The soldiers of the 54th Massachusetts were dismayed when they learned that they were to receive $10 a month pay, which was a full $3 less than their white counterparts. Shaw also was indignant and informed Governor Andrew that the entire regiment, including the white officers, would refuse pay until the rank and file got equal compensation as other Massachusetts regiments. Despite this, black soldiers would not receive equal pay until 1864.

The blacks of the 54th Massachusetts made exemplary soldiers, and this frankly surprised and amazed white visitors to their encampment. In a March 1863 letter Shaw himself expressed wonderment. "The intelligence of the men is a great surprise to me," he wrote. 'They learn all the details of guard duty and camp service more readily than the Irish I have had under my command." Shaw was a white man of his time, naturally assuming that while slavery was unjust people of color were biologically inferior. After a few weeks Shaw was open-minded enough to change his views and became proud of how well the men preformed their military duties.

Massachusetts Surgeon General William Dale inspected the training camp and also came away favorably impressed. "The barracks, cook houses, and kitchens, far surpassed in cleanliness any I have ever witnessed, and were models of neatness and good order," Dale reported. He went on to

Wikimedia

The Robert Gould Shaw Memorial in Boston immortalizes the colonel and the 54th Massachusetts by capturing the time in May 1863 when they marched down Beacon Street.

say that the cooks were outstanding because they had been employed in that capacity in civilian life. There is irony in this statement that Dale fails to understand. They may well have been fine cooks, but they probably entered the profession because racism barred them from other occupations.

Not long after the regiment was formed news was received that the Confederate Congress administered a sharp warning to potential black soldiers and their white officers. Armed black soldiers evoked nightmare images of servile rebellion in the minds of many slaveholders, and the Confederate Congress was determined to nip this effort in the bud if it could. Any black soldier caught in arms against the South risked death or enslavement if taken prisoner. White officers in command of such soldiers risked execution as malcontents inciting slave rebellion.

Lincoln immediately countered such measures, firmly declaring that for every Union soldier executed a Confederate soldier would also be shot. In similar fashion, for every federal soldier enslaved, a Confederate prisoner of war would be forced to perform hard labor. Lincoln's decrees neutralized Confederate threats, but in several instances, for example, at Fort Pillow in 1864, enraged Confederates wantonly slaughtered black troops who were attempting to surrender.

In the meantime, the 54th Massachusetts continued to train. On May 18, 1863, Governor Andrew presented the regiment with its flags. For the most part, the Union Army followed the British tradition of having both a national color and a regimental color. Many thousands of citizens also came to witness the flag ceremony, including such prominent abolitionists as Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, and Frederick Douglass.

Ten days later the 54th Massachusetts made its formal debut by proudly marching down the streets of Boston on their way to a transport that would take them south. Shaw, who was mounted on a magnificent chestnut horse, led the way. He was followed by the standard bearers and successive ranks of blue-clad black soldiers. Thousands of spectators lined Boston's streets, cheering lustily and waving U.S. flags. Women waved handkerchiefs, which was a custom of the period, and important dignitaries watched the procession from a reviewing stand.

The regiment wound its way through the heart of historic Boston, passing through the famed Common and by the State House. In later years a heroic bronze monument dedicated to the 54th Massachusetts would be placed just opposite the State House, not far from where they made their triumphal passage. When the 54th Massachusetts passed a house on Essex Street, abolitionist Garrison was standing on its balcony next to a bust of John Brown. The symbolism was apt; if the martyr Brown had lived to see this spectacle, he would have heartily approved.

Finally the 54th Massachusetts reached the docks, where its soldiers boarded the steamer *De Molay.* The unit's destination was Port Royal Island, South Carolina. Once it arrived, it would report for duty in the Union's Department of the South. The voyage was uneventful, though it must have been interesting to the vast majority of the 54th Massachusetts men, most of whom had never seen the ocean.

Once they arrived, the regiment soon became disappointed. Its soldiers were immediately assigned work in labor details. Once again, a form of latent racism came into play, based on the notion that blacks were only fit for manual labor. Disappointment soon turned into disillusion as the weeks dragged by and they were still employed in digging, hauling, loading, and unloading. The spade and pick had replaced the rifle-musket and bayonet, and the men felt a growing frustration with this menial labor.

Shaw also felt frustration, but then out of the blue an opportunity came for the 54th Massachusetts to prove its worth, or so it seemed. The regiment joined Colonel James Montgomery's 2nd South Carolina Colored Volunteers on a raid on Darien, Georgia. Maj. Gen. David Hunter, commander of the Department of the South, had ordered the expedition.

The Darien raid was an embarrassing and ultimately pointless fiasco. Darien, a small town of no particular importance, was sacked and thoroughly looted. Once the plundering was finished Montgomery ordered Shaw to put everything to the torch. Disgusted at this barbarity, Shaw reluctantly obeyed, but complained later to the acting adjutant general of the department. Later Lincoln relieved Hunter of command.

The 54th Massachusetts was then ordered with some other Union troops to take part in a feint on James Island. This feint was designed to divert Confederate attention from a new assault on Fort Wagner that was scheduled to take place in a few days. The James Island expedition was commanded by Brig. Gen. Alfred Terry, who was later to be George Armstrong Custer's superior during the ill-fated Sioux campaign in 1876.

The Confederates rose to the bait, attacking the James Island expedition on the morning of July 16, 1863. The 54th Massachusetts was still in bivouac when the Confederates attacked, and Terry's entire command seems to have been taken somewhat by surprise. Shaw's men quickly formed up. They were ready for any action, but the real heroes of the skirmish were the picket Companies B, K, and H, posted about a mile in advance of the regiment.

The pickets were outnumbered but gave ground stubbornly, fighting for every foot of soil as they slowly fell back. The black soldiers fought courageously, and there were many acts of individual bravery. Sergeant Joseph Wilson of H Company killed four Confederates before a fifth shot him in the head. The Confederate artillery opened up, and rebel bullets peppered the black solders with a hail of lead.

The 10th Connecticut was poorly positioned and was threatened with complete destruction, but the 54th Massachusetts's heroic holding action allowed the white regiment to escape at the double-quick. The Confederate attack ran out of steam, and soon the Federals heard the welcoming boom of Parrott guns from the armed transports *John Adams* and *Mayflower.* Their captains had earlier positioned the transports along a creek on the Union right flank.

The Confederates promptly withdrew. The courageous stand of the 54th Massachusetts had blunted and ultimately doomed the Confederate attack. The regiment had performed well in its baptism of fire, despite the terrifying sights and sounds of battle. The 10th Connecticut was particularly grateful and showered its black comrades in arms with praises.

When General Strong heard of the 54th Massachusetts's performance, he asked Shaw if he would like his regiment to take the lead in the coming assault at Wagner. Shaw readily agreed because a successful attack on the Confederate work would put to rest any lingering doubts about how well blacks performed as soldiers.

The 54th Massachusetts had been bloodied in the skirmish two days before, but all knew the coming test was the regiment's true baptism of fire. The regiment was formed in a column of wings, with the right wing resting near the sea. The men were then ordered to lie down while the final arrangements for the attack were sorted out. The 54th Massachusetts's rifle-muskets were loaded but not capped; that is, a percussion cap would not be placed on the hammer of each weapon. The reason for this was that the initial assault was to be a bayonet charge. They waited in this position for about a half hour, adrenaline coursing through their veins, until given the signal to advance.

The 54th Massachusetts would not be alone in its endeavor. Three brigades would take part—two attacking, and the other held in reserve. The 54th Massachusetts's immediate support was provided by the 6th Connecticut, 48th New York, 3rd New Hampshire, 9th Maine, and 76th Pennsylvania. This was going to be a supreme test, and every man in the Massachusetts regiment knew it.

Fort Wagner was going to be a hard nut to crack. The fort was named for Confederate Lt. Col. Thomas M. Wagner, a South Carolina state senator and former railroad executive before the war, who had been killed when a gun exploded during an inspection of Fort Moultrie on July 17, 1862. From a distance the fort looked like a series of irregular dunes, in essence a sand heap, but this was an illusion that hid its real strength. The work measured 250 by 100 yards and straddled an area from Cumming's Point on the Atlantic Ocean to the east to the impassible Vincent's Creek swamp to the west.

Wagner's parapets were sloped and made of sand and earth, structures that rose some 30 feet high. The walls were strengthened by sandbags and palmetto logs. There were 11 guns in the fort, the largest of which was a 10-inch Columbiad that fired a 125-pound shell. Wagner also boasted a large bombproof shelter that featured a timber framework topped by 10 feet of sand.

The fort's landward face, which was the area where an attack was feasible, was protected by a water-filled ditch measuring 10 feet wide and five feet deep. In addition to the moat, an assault force also would have to deal with a prickly array of razor-sharp palmetto stakes and deadly land mines. The approach to the fort's landward side had its own difficulties. It consisted of a strip of beach that gradually narrowed. This strip became even narrower at low tide when the sea had somewhat retreated. Any attacking group would be trying to advance into what was in essence a bottleneck.

Brigadier General William Taliaferro commanded Fort Wagner's determined Confederate garrison. Wearing a full beard that concealed much of his face, Taliaferro was a veteran who had long expected an all-out Union assault. The garrison consisted of approximately 1,700 men who belonged to the 51st and 31st North Carolina Infantry Regiments and an assortment of artillery companies. The most dangerous assignment during the Union bombardment was to man the shot-torn parapets. Taliaferro gave this risky duty to the Charleston Battalion, which was defending its home turf and determined to repulse the Federals come what may.

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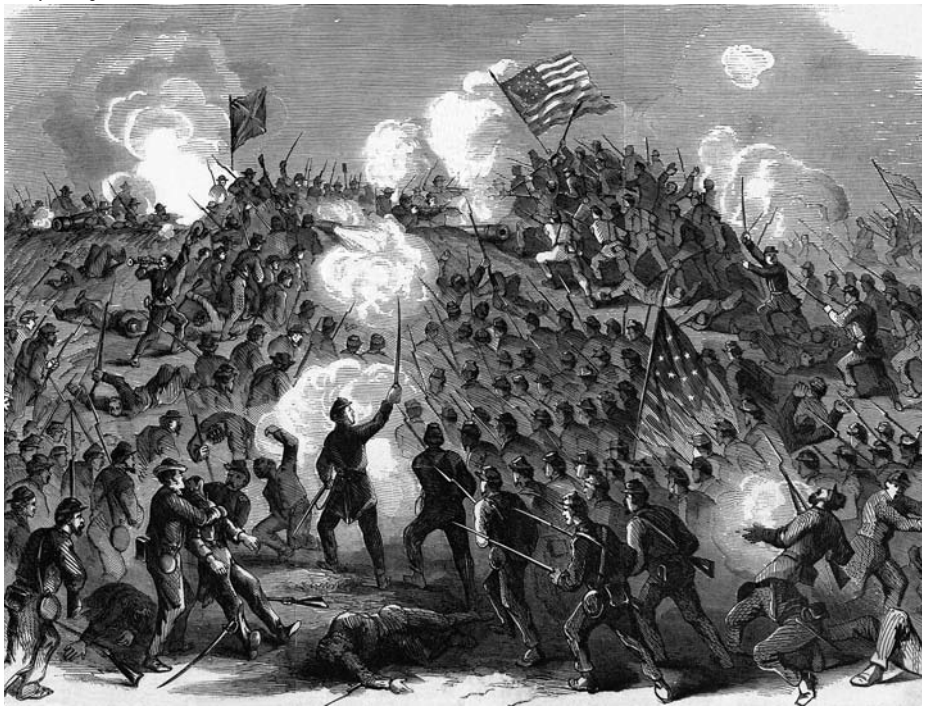

The desperate nature of the assault on Fort Wagner that occurred at dusk on July 18, 1863, is captured in a period illustration. The 54th Massachusetts suffered approximately 50 percent casualties.

As evening drew on the bombardment slackened, signaling a new phase of the effort: the frontal infantry assault. It was a moment of truth, and every man in the 54th Massachusetts was aware of it, but no one flinched from his duty. The 600 men were arrayed into columns of wings, five companies in each wing. Company B was assigned the right flank, near where the surf rolled onto the beach. Shaw commanded the first wave, with the national colors nearby. Lt. Col. Edward Hallowell was right behind, stationed with the regimental flag and the second wave.

General Strong appeared mounted on a spirited gray horse and accompanied by two aides and two orderlies. He decided to give the 54th Massachusetts some encouragement. "Boys, I am a Massachusetts man, and I know you will fight for the honor of the state," he said in a booming voice. Strong acknowledged the men were tired, but Wagner's garrison also was tired, he told them. "Don't fire a musket on the way up, but go in and bayonet them at their guns," he said.

At this point the general pointed to the flag bearer and asked, "If this man should fall, who will pick up the flag?" Shaw stepped forward, removed a cigar from his mouth, and quietly said, "I

Both: Library of Congress

will." Shaw's response set off a round of cheers from his men. His address over, Strong galloped down the beach. Night soon arrived. It was time for the assault.

Colonel Shaw gave some last-minute instructions to the men before ordering the advance. "Move in quick time until within a hundred yards of the fort, then, double quick and charge!" he ordered. Shaw raised his sword and motioned for the men to advance. They responded at quick time, moving with bayonets fixed and muskets at the right shoulder. As the beach narrowed, the formation was funneled into a V-shape, but the men did not slow their pace.

As Fort Wagner's ramparts loomed closer, the 54th Massachusetts advanced to the double-quick; that is, a jogging pace. Then they broke into a headlong charge. The Confederates were ready. They rebel gunners rammed charges into the guns that had not been disabled by the Union bombardment. When the blue ranks were about 150 yards away, the fort's commander gave the order to fire.

Confederate cannons roared to malevolent life, great sheets of smoke and flame pouring from their muzzles. Gray-clad infantry poured a heavy fire into the advancing Federals. It seemed as if no one could withstand this leaden storm, but somehow Shaw and his men kept advancing. Muskets balls and canister ripped into human flesh. The canister killed, maimed, and eviscerated human bodies with horrifying ease. Men screamed in agony, clutching bloody wounds that in many cases would prove lethal, but the survivors pushed on.

It was fully night now, and the assault was illuminated by bright flashes of artillery fire and smaller flickering lights of musket discharges. The 54th Massachusetts surged over the fort's sharpened stakes and plunged headlong into its water-filled moat. The earlier bombardment had filled some sections of the moat with sand, but in other places the soldiers had to wade in water three feet deep or more.

When the Union soldiers reached the base of the ramparts, the Confederates began lobbing crudely made hand grenades at them. In some places, fighting was hand to hand with no quarter asked or given. Many Confederates were enraged that black soldiers were being used against them. Against all odds, Shaw and a handful of men managed to reach the top of the ramparts. Shaw waved his sword and shouted "Forward, 54th!" but moments later he was felled by three bullets and instantly killed.

Many acts of courage were performed that night, but perhaps the experiences of Sergeant William Carney best illustrate the regiment's heroism. Carney was advancing when he saw a regimental banner displaying the Stars and Stripes go down. Knowing its capture would be a disgrace too terrible to contemplate, Carney flung down his musket and rushed to take the flag from the fallen bearer.

Once Carney had a firm grip on the flagstaff, he began climbing Fort Wagner's sandy slopes. Clusters of black soldiers, encouraged by the sergeant's heroism, followed close behind, but rebel hand grenades exploded all around them and severely decimated their ranks. Carney continued forward, knowing that he and his flag were magnets for Confederate fire.

Carney kneeled down on the parapet, the flag draped around him. Shell fragments and bullets peppered the ramparts, but he remained unscathed. When it was clear the attack had failed, the sergeant's mission was to rescue the flag from almost certain capture. As Carney made his way back, two Confederate bullets slammed into his body, but he refused to give up his precious burden, even when crossing the water-filled moat.

Amid the chaos a soldier from the 100th New York appeared to render assistance. Carney allowed the man to help but refused to part with the flag even for a moment. In his eyes, only a member of the 54th Massachusetts should carry the regiment's national emblem. Carney reached the Union lines still clutching the Stars and Stripes. Seeing some men of the 54th Massachusetts nearby, he proudly shouted, "The old flag never touched the ground!" The onlookers responded with loud cheers.

Sergeant Carney's heroism did not go unrewarded. For his heroism, he became the first African American Union soldier to win the nation's highest distinction, the Medal of Honor. Given the prejudices that most whites had against blacks, Carney's award is all the more remarkable. He survived the war, though his wounds were so severe that he was honorably discharged before the conflict ended.

The 54th Massachusetts had been decimated, the dazed and bloodied survivors falling back as best as they could. Many were badly

wounded, but they gave up ground stubbornly even as they were forced to retreat. But the regiment's heroic advance and subsequent repulse did not end the assault. After the 54th Massachusetts assault, the five white regiments took their turn in the Fort Wagner meat grinder. Colonel John L. Chatfield's 6th Connecticut was next, arrayed in columns of companies. Chatfield crumbled early in the assault, his leg shot from under him, but he was saved from almost certain death by Private Bernard Haffy, who shielded his stricken commander from a hail of Confederate lead.

For one fleeting moment it looked as if the 6th Connecticut would succeed where the 54th Massachusetts had failed. Color Sergeant Gustave De Bonge took the regimental flag up Fort Wagner's sandy slopes followed by approximately 100 Yankee soldiers, all wildly cheering amid the din of battle. De Bonge reached the summit and drove the flagstaff deep into the parapet sands. It was the last thing he ever did, because moments later a Confederate bullet smashed into his skull, hitting him right between the eyes.

By chance the 6th Connecticut had hit Fort Wagner's weakest point. Demoralized by the hours of shelling they had been forced to endure, the 31st North Carolina had failed to occupy their post in the fort's southeast bastion. Here was a possible opening for the battered Federals to exploit. Their nerves shattered, the 31st North Carolina was unreliable at this point, so Taliaferro frantically rounded up a few steadier men to plug the gap.

The moment of possible Union victory passed, never to return. The Confederates managed to get three howitzers into action, guns that raked the Union men with blast after blast of canister. "The genius of Dante could but faintly portray the horrors of that hell of fire and sulfurous smoke," wrote eyewitness Elbridge J. Copp of the 3rd New Hampshire, 'the agonizing shrieks of those wounded from bayonet thrust, or pierced by the bullet of the rifle, or crushed by fragments of exploding shell, sinking to earth a mass of quivering flesh and blood in the agony of horrible death!'

Each Union regiment gave it a try, only to be ripped to pieces by salvo after salvo of bullet and shell. "It was almost impossible to pass over [Wagner's parapet] and live five seconds," wrote S.C. Miller, the color bearer of the 76th Pennsylvania.

General Strong himself was badly wounded, hit in the thigh by canister. Dazed and in great pain, Strong realized there was no other option left except withdrawal. "Retreat in the best order you can!" he shouted. The general later died of his wound. The Union assault had ended in a bloody if heroic fiasco.

In retrospect the attack on Fort Wagner was gallantly executed but poorly planned. The Federals placed too much confidence in the naval bombardment, which was not nearly as effective as had been hoped. The Confederate garrison was also much stronger than expected. Usually there were certain procedures to follow before attacking fortifications, but for some reason they were ignored. The 54th Massachusetts and the other Union regiments were supposed to perform a miracle by the bayonet alone.

LEFT: Soldiers of the 54th Massachusetts tend to Colonel Robert Gould Shaw's lifeless body in a modern mural painted by Carlos Lopez. As he mounted the parapet of Fort Wagner, Gould was shot several times in the chest. BELOW: A period photograph shows the Confederate fortifications at Fort Wagner. The Confederates ultimately abandoned the fort in September 1863 after continued pressure from Union forces.

There were no special instructions for the rank and file attackers, no line of skirmishers, no engineers as guides, and no artillerymen to serve captured guns. No soldiers were assigned as sappers to cut away obstructions or even fill in the moat. Even the company officers had little real knowledge of the fort's plan and layout, since they had been shown no map or blueprint of the work. In this way they were as blind as the men that followed them.

The casualty figures tell a somber tale of self-sacrifice and courage. On the Union side, 1,515 men were dead, wounded, or missing out of a total attacking force of 5,000. As might be expected, the 54th Massachusetts suffered horribly in the attack. Almost half of the regiment, 272 out of 600, was dead, wounded, or missing. The Confederate casualties were lighter and numbered 181 men.

Unable to take Fort Wagner by assault, the Union Army settled down to a protracted siege in which the fort was shelled on a daily basis. The Confederates eventually abandoned the fort on the night of September 6-7, 1863.

The attack of July 18 changed the way whites perceived black soldiers. The 54th Massachusetts was not the first black regiment ever raised, but the courage displayed by its soldiers in the face of almost impossible odds made a lasting impression and erased the remaining doubts many had about the use of black men in the military. □

WHEN THE LAST BANNER FALLS

BY WILLIAM E. WELSH

Sultan Khalil's Muslims besieged King Henry II of Jerusalem's Crusaders at Acre in 1291. The Muslims proved unstoppable.

THE Latin Crusaders manning the battlements were armed with spears, axes, and crossbows. They shared with each other a desire to fight and die for the Cross. They stood atop a dozen towers and along the mile-long landward walls that guarded one of the greatest ports in the Outremer. It was April 6, 1291, and a vast Muslim host had arrived before the tower-studded walls of Acre determined to take it forcibly from the Crusaders.

The Crusaders watched the spectacle unfold beneath them as thousands of Muslim warriors prepared to die for Allah fanned out across the plain east of the city. Garbed in robes of bright colors and carrying banners of brilliant designs that dazzled the eye, they had come from lands near and far. Men from Arabia, Egypt, Jazira, Palestine, and Syria gathered on the distant hills and the arid plateau ready to fight under Crescent banners.

Egyptian Mamluk Sultan Al-Ashraf Khalil's 45,000-strong army outnumbered the 15,000 Franks and their allies three to one. Khalil's army possessed intimidating siege engines capable of damaging the city's double-walled defenses, while Syrian sappers tunneled under the walls in an effort to collapse a section through which the attackers could stream into the city.

The Crusader cause in the Near East had been in a downward spiral since the poorly executed Seventh Crusade had ended in disaster with the surrender of French King Louis on April 6, 1250, to the Ayyubids in Egypt. That same year, a coup in Egypt had replaced the Ayyubid Dynasty, whose rulers were descendants of Sultan Saladin, with the Mamluk Bahri dynasty.

Before the Mamluks could turn their attention to the Franks, though, they had to stop the Mongols from reaching Egypt. Under Hulagu Khan, a grandson of Ghengis Khan, the Mongols overran Mesopotamia in 1260 and captured Baghdad. The streets of Baghdad ran red as the Mongols butchered thousands of Muslims who belonged to the Abbasid Caliphate. Hulagu sent a Mongol army under Kitbuqa to force the Mamluks to acknowledge the Mongols as their overlords.

On their march to check the advance of the Mongols, the Mamluks requested permission to pass through Frankish territory. The Franks hated the Mongols even more than the Mamluks and therefore granted permission to Sultan Saif ad-Din Qutuz to march through the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and intercept the Mongols in Galilee. The two great powers collided at Ain Jalut on September 3, 1260. Sultan Qutuz, with Mamluk general Baibars al-Bunduqdar leading the vanguard, won a decisive victory over the Mongols.

Mamluks were Turkic people whose ancestral home was the vast steppe lands of Central Asia. In the brutal world of the steppes, nomadic tribes were frequently at war with each other. Following a battle or raid, the conquerors would sell the women and children they had captured to slave traders. The slave traders in turn sold the young boys to members of the Muslim Abbasid and Fatimid Caliphates of Iraq and Egypt, respectively. The boys were converted to Islam and trained in the art of warfare to serve their Fatimid or Ayyubid overlords as loyal soldiers. Mamluks were great warriors, and they were feared and respected by their opponents in battle.

Qutuz had been in power only for 11 months when he was assassinated on his way back to Cairo from Ain Jalut. Baibars had a personal vendetta against the sultan, and he arranged his assassination. To legitimize his ascension to the office of sultan, Baibars installed as caliph in Cairo an Abbasid prince who had survived the Mongol massacre in Mesopotamia. Baibars did this to give himself greater legitimacy not only within Egypt but also throughout the Muslim world.

Hospitaller Marshal Matthew of Claremont defends the outer wall of Acre against Mamluk attackers in a 19th-century romantic painting of the 1291 siege. The kingdoms of Western Europe were too embroiled in their own affairs to furnish the manpower necessary to defeat the Mamluks.

Although the Franks had recovered Jerusalem for a short time in the mid-13th century, they had lost it for good in 1244. By the time of Ain Jalut, the once expansive Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was nothing more than a rump kingdom. If not for the strong presence of major military orders, such as the Knights Templar, Knights Hospitaller, and Teutonic Knights, and the maritime support of merchant republics such as Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, the kingdom would have fallen many years before Sultan Khalil's army arrived before its walls in April 1291.

The sad reality was that the military orders squabbled incessantly among themselves, as did the rival maritime powers that helped prop up the kingdom. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that the Kingdom of Jerusalem did not have a resident monarch for much of the 13th century. Despite its ever-shrinking borders, the kingdom retained a strip of fertile land along the coast of Palestine and Lebanon that boasted orchards, sugar plantations, and olive groves, but these precious agricultural assets required constant surveillance to protect them from Muslim raiders.

While keeping a watchful eye on the Mongols, Sultan Baibars turned his attention to grabbing towns, castles, and parcels of territory from the vulnerable Franks. Baibars was an excellent horse-

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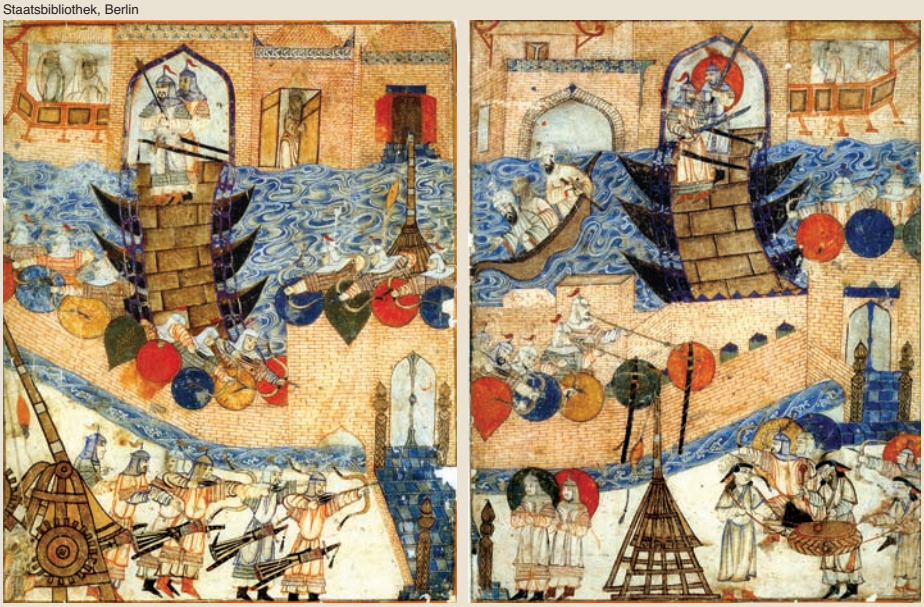

The Mongols under Hulagu Khan (right) overran Baghdad in 1258, ending the longstanding Abbasid Caliphate. Afterward, the Mongols advanced into Syria, a move that threatened the authority of the Mamluks over the extant Ayyubid princes.

man who was skilled in the use of bow and sword. He had a seemingly inexhaustible amount of energy and often stayed up into the deep hours of night while on campaign writing and signing dozens of dispatches pertaining to political and military matters. He believed in inspiring his men by example and often helped with engineering tasks when the Mamluks laid siege to a Frankish stronghold.

But Baibars could not devote all of his time to prosecuting the Mamluk war against the Franks because the Mongols were constantly threatening Mamluk territory in Syria. Nevertheless, Baibars was still able to amass a string of victories against the Franks during the 17 years in which he served as the Mamluk sultan of Egypt. Baibars began steadily chipping away at Frankish territory in 1263 when he established a base in Galilee from which he razed Nazareth and the Hospitallers' stronghold on Mount Tabor. In many cases, he had his men demolish a captured fortress so that the Crusaders could not reoccupy it at a later date. For example, when Baibars and his troops captured the Frankish port of Caesarea in February 1265, Baibars grabbed a pickaxe and helped his men dismantle the citadel stone by stone.

In the 1266 campaign against the Franks, Baibars completed his conquest of Galilee by capturing the Templar castle at Safed. He made a show of force before Acre the same year but deemed it too strong to capture. The Crusader castles fell like dominoes to Baibars' army. In the following years, he captured Beaufort, Chastel Blanc, Gibelacar, and Krak de Chevalier. His greatest achievement, though, was the capture of Antioch in 1268. During the sack of the city, Baibars approved the massacre of its inhabitants to the shock of both Christians and Muslims. The 56-year-old sultan was in Damascus preparing to counter a Mongol offensive when he died on July 1, 1277. He left the Franks sorely crippled and a ripe target for future sultans.

After a two-year period of instability in which two sultans, each of whom ruled for a short time, succeeded Baibars, Sultan Al-Mansur Qalawun came to power in 1279. Pressure from the Mongol Ilkhanate of Iran-Iraq, which threatened Mamluk control of Syria, forced Qalawun to deal first with the Mongol threat before turning his attention to the Franks.

The Mamluks defeated the Mongols in a pitched battle at Homs in December 1281. The Mongols were joined in the battle not only by the Armenians of Cilicia, but also by a detachment of Knights Hospitaller from Margat Castle. From that point forward, Qalawun had a vendetta against the Hospitallers. Four years later, the sultan captured Margat after a month-long siege.

After a long period during which there was a power vacuum in the monarchy of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 15-year-old King Henry II of Cyprus was crowned King Henry II of Jerusalem in a ceremony held in Acre on August 15, 1285. Thereafter, he held both crowns. Henry's uncle, Philip of Ibelin, agreed to serve as bailiff of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the young king returned to his residence in Cyprus.

In March 1287, Qalawun's Mamluks took control of the port of Latakia, and two years later they successfully captured the port of Tripoli. The two Mediterranean ports were the last remaining possessions of the Latin Principality of Antioch and the County of Tripoli, respectively. At that point, the Kingdom of Jerusalem was all that remained of the four Crusader States established in the aftermath of the successful First Crusade. Fearing for the existence of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, King Henry negotiated a 10-year truce with Qalawun in August 1289.

Knowing that the truce might be violated at any time, Henry sent a delegation to Western Europe to request immediate reinforcements. Although none of the monarchies sent large numbers of reinforcements to assist the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the republic of Venice sent 3,500 Italian foot soldiers. They arrived in Acre in the summer of 1290. About the same time, English knight Otto de Grandson arrived with 50 English men-at-arms to buttress the

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English military order known as the Order of St. Thomas.

The Italian soldiers in Acre lacked a strong leader to instill them with discipline. They were unfamiliar with the trading customs by which Muslim merchants and local farmers were allowed to come and go as they pleased through the marketplace of the great city. In late August, the streets were crowded with men from many localities, including Muslim merchants from Damascus and Muslim farmers from Galilee. At one point, a riot broke out when a few of the Italians brutally attacked some of the Muslim merchants. A number of innocent Muslims were slain during the street fight before some of the Hospitallers and Templars intervened. As many as 50 Muslim merchants and farmers were slain in the disturbance.

Family members of the slain Muslims travelled to Cairo where they begged Sultan

Qalawun to intervene in the matter. Some of them brandished the bloodstained clothing of their relatives as proof of their deaths. Qalawun subsequently demanded that Acre officials turn over the perpetrators of the murders. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, Templar Master William of Beaujeu sent a delegation to Cairo in October to offer apologies and financial compensation. When the sultan pressed the Franks to turn over the perpetrators, Beaujeu refused. Qalawun was furious. He subsequently requested and received permission from Islamic officials in Cairo to break his truce with the Franks. The sultan immediately began planning an offensive campaign for the following spring. Beaujeu learned shortly afterward from Latin spies in Cairo that the Mamluks planned to attack Acre.

Qalawun died unexpectedly on November 4. It fell to his 30-year-old son, Sultan Khalil, to march against Acre. He issued immediate instructions to Mamluk and allied Muslim forces in Syria to build additional siege machines. The Muslims ultimately would bring with them to Acre 15 giant trebuchets capable of firing 100-pound stones, according to Muslim chronicler Abul-Mahasin. "The sultan ordered all other fortresses to send catapults and siege engines to Acre, and in this way a great number of large and small artillery concentrated under its walls, more than had ever been assembled in one place," wrote Arab chronicler Abu'l-Fida.

Whereas Crusaders and Muslims had traditionally built their siege engines on site and then destroyed them, by the 13th century the Muslims transported their largest siege machines from storage areas at castles and cities to the location of a new siege. Although referred to by several different names, the stone-throwing machines by that time were all of the trebuchet design. The basic model used the traction method whereby a team of men dragged the short end of the central beam, which was positioned in a cradle-like structure, downward to launch the long end with the projectile in a sling upward in a wide arc. But this method was substantially improved in the Latin Crusading era by the introduction of the counterweight method. While the stones could cause great damage to the battlements, they were not strong enough to knock down the thick walls.

The breaches were almost always made by sappers. The sappers dug a tunnel beneath the wall, placed timbers to hold up the wall, and then set fire to the timbers. This sent the wall crashing down. Once the wall collapsed, the attacking force had to move swiftly to exploit the breach before the defenders conducted a partial repair to thwart the attack.

Throughout the existence of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Acre had served as its key port. The waters of the harbor were shallow, though. For that reason, larger vessels anchored in deep water, and oar-driven boats ferried passengers and cargo back and forth between the quay and the cogs and galleys. King Baldwin I of Jerusalem had captured Acre in 1104. Although Saladin retook it for the Muslims in 1187, he lost it to King Richard I in 1191 during the Third Crusade. Before 1198, the old city had been protected only by a single wall, but over a 14-year period an east-facing outer wall was built around the old city and double walls were built to the north to enclose the adjacent town of Montmusard. Although once lightly populated, Montmusard's population had swelled as refugees poured in during the 1280s from towns and villages captured by the Mamluks.

The Crusaders deployed mostly on the inner wall with some units taking up forward positions on the outer walls. The Crusader army was composed of 1,000 knights and 14,000 foot soldiers of various nationalities, including English, Frankish, German, and Italian. The three major military orders had their Levantine headquarters in Acre. The Knights Templar had the grandest quarters, which consisted of a citadel overlooking the harbor, and the Knights Hospitaller and Teutonic Knights had compounds in the old city. Minor military orders such as the Order of St. Thomas and the Order of St. Lazarus also contributed troops to the city's defense.

Wikimedia

Mamluk Sultan Baibars besieged the Templar fortress of Chateau Pelerin, also known as Athlit, 15 miles south of Acre in 1265, but he failed to capture it. After Acre fell, the Templars simply abandoned it.

The major military orders manned the three-quarter mile stretch of the landward walls that protected Montmusard and the north side of the old city. On that stretch, the Knights Templar held the left, the Knights Hospitaller held the center, and the Teutonic Knights held the right. The secular troops manned the remaining one-quarter mile length of wall, which included the easternmost section of the north wall and the entire east-facing wall surrounding the old city. The Pisans and Venetians operated trebuchets located in key positions from which to shell the besieging forces.

The masters of the major orders also were present to direct their forces. They were Templar master Beaujeu, Hospitaller master Jean de Villiers, and Teutonic master Konrad von Feuchtwangen. Other noteworthy commanders who would play key roles in the upcoming battle were King Henry, his brother Almaric of Lusignan, Hospitaller Marshal Matthew de Clermont, French commander Jean de Grailly, and English commander Grandson.

To increase the size of his force, Sultan Khalil ordered the Ayyubid and Mamluk forces in Syria under his rule to join him at Acre, according to Abu'l-Fida. The sultan "marched on Acre with his Egyptian troops and sent word to the Syrian army to join up with him and to bring the siege

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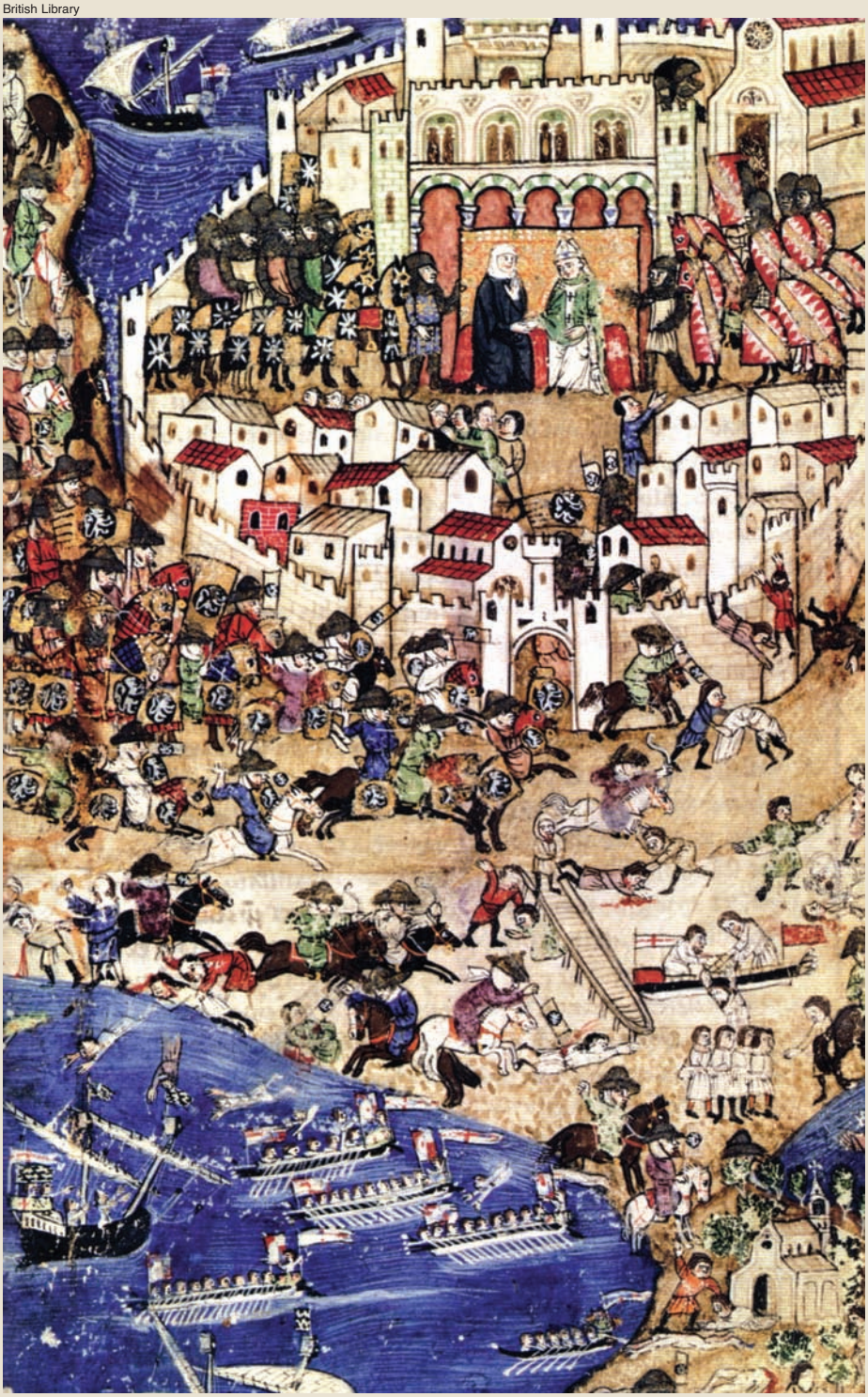

Sultan Qalawun's siege of Tripoli in the spring of 1289 was a dress rehearsal for Acre two years later. The Mamluks captured it in just four weeks because it was weakly fortified. After its capture, the victorious Mamluks slaughtered the noncombatants while most of the Crusaders evacuated by sea.

engines," he wrote. Damascus-born Abu'l-Fida was an officer serving in the Ayyubid army of al-Malik al Muzaffer III, the emir of Hama.

On its march to Acre, al Muzaffer's army stopped at the fortress of Hisn al-Akrad (formerly the Knights Hospitaller castle of Krak de Chevalier, which fell to the Muslims in 1271) to gather siege engines as instructed. One of these siege engines was the massive trebuchet known as "Victorious."

The trebuchet was dismantled and its parts loaded into approximately 100 carts needed to transport it to Acre. As a junior officer, 18-year-old Abu'l-Fida commanded 10 men and was responsible for one of the carts. The journey during the wet winter season was arduous and required an entire month. "It was the end of winter when we marched off with the wagons," he wrote. "Rain and snow storms struck us ... causing great hardship for the wagons were heavy and the oxen weak and dying of cold."

The Muslims were unable to starve the garrison because the Crusaders controlled the sea and were easily resupplied from Cyprus. For that reason, they had to take the city by storm. The double walls precluded a quick assault, so Sultan Khalil and his generals planned to batter the walls while highly skilled Syrian sappers tunneled beneath multiple sections in an effort to collapse one or more sections. Once a breach was created, dismounted Mamluks would fight their way into the city.

On April 5, Sultan Khalil pitched his bright red royal tent on a hill east of the Tower of the Legate, one of the 12 square towers on the double walls that protected the landward side of the ancient city. The door of his great tent opened directly toward the city.

"The sultan's tent was on a small hill where there was a lovely tower and gardens and vineyards," wrote the Latin chronicler known as the Templar of Tyre. "Its door opened facing the city of Acre."

The Mamluks and Ayyubids spent the first day building mobile palisades and wicker screens, which they intended to use for protection as they advanced against the outer walls. The next day they fanned out the entire length of the landward walls. "They set up great barricades and wicker screens, ringing the walls with them the first night, and the second night they moved them further in, and the third night further still, and they brought them so far forward that they came up to the lip of the [ditch]," wrote the Templar of Tyre.

The Franks were well aware that they were in grave danger, but as usual they were ready for the bloody, protracted fight that lay ahead. During the first week there was constant skirmishing. "The Franks did not close their gates, but left them open and fought in them," wrote Abu'l-Fida. He fought on the right wing with the army of Hama opposite the walls held by the Knights Templar.

At the beginning of the second week, the Muslims began battering the walls with their trebuchets. The gigantic trebuchet named Victorious was deployed on the left flank to bombard the Pisans, and another gigantic trebuchet named Furious was deployed on the right flank to bombard the Templars, according to the Templar of Tyre.

The Muslims also used an antipersonnel

weapon known as the caraboha, which fired javelin-sized bolts in rapid succession, according to the Templar of Tyre. "In the places where the carabohas were firing, no one wanted to come out into the open," he wrote.

Muslim spearmen and archers were stationed in trenches and behind the palisades and screens. Their job was to skirmish with the Crusaders at the gates and also furnish protection for the sappers.

On August 13 the ragtag Crusader navy sailed within missile range of the extreme right of the Muslim army where Abu'l-Fida was stationed. A handful of Latin merchant ships converted for wartime use swept in close to shore not far from the white tents of the Muslims. The crews had retrofitted the ships with rectangular shields to protect the archers and crew from enemy fire. Crossbowmen stationed in forecastles and sterncastles fired on the Muslims nearest the shore, forcing the Muslims to take cover behind the dunes. One of the Latin vessels mounted a large siege engine that hurled stones into the sprawling Hama encampment. The ship with the siege engine "caused us distress," wrote Abu'l-Fida. Fortunately for the Muslims in the Hama camp, a great storm wrecked the vessel with the artillery. "It was smashed to pieces and never bothered us again," he said.

The Crusaders also attempted to throw the attackers off balance by night sorties in which they sought to burn the Victorious trebuchet deployed on the Muslim left flank. The first of these attacks occurred on the night of April 15-16. Templar Master Beaujeu and Grandson led the attack in which the Crusaders sought to torch the giant contraption.

Even though a clear sky and moon made it relatively easy for the Crusaders to see where they were going, the raid was botched when some of the Crusaders tripped over ropes anchoring the Muslim tents. The noise alerted the Muslims, who engaged the Crusaders. The Crusader who was entrusted with hurling a jar filled with naphtha at the trebuchet threw it too soon, and it exploded short of the target.

Al Muzaffer, the emir of Hama, "rallied his troops to him and hit us on the seashore with showers of javelins, wounding some of our men," wrote the Templar of Tyre. The Muslims killed 18 Templar and English men-at-arms. One unfortunate Crusader fell into the emir's latrine and was promptly slain. The Templar of Tyre claims that there were as many as 300 mounted knights, sergeants, and auxiliaries involved in the raid and that they faced 2,000 Muslims. These clearly exaggerated numbers simply indicate that a significant number of soldiers on both sides were involved.

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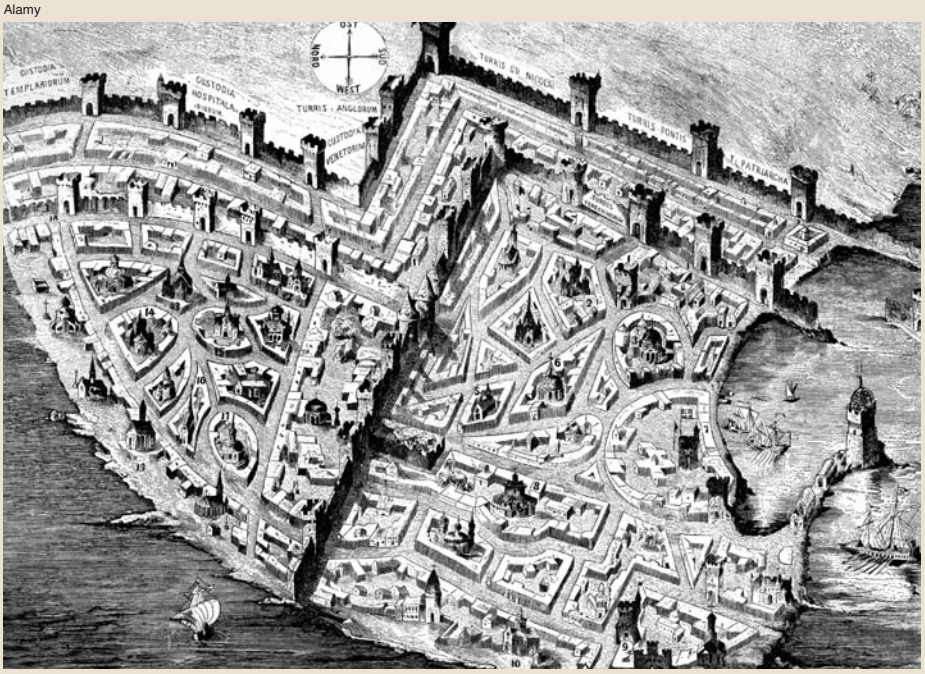

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ABOVE: Otto de Grandson, left, led the English troops at Acre, and Grand Master Jean de Villiers, right, led the Hospitallers. Despite the leadership of many stalwart Crusader captains, the Christians were outfought by the determined Muslims. TOP: The division between the old town of Acre (at right) with its harbor and the suburb of Montmusard can be discerned in a 19th-century engraving.

A second sortie took place on the night of April 18-19. The Hospitallers led this particular attack, which targeted the center of the Muslim line. The sortie was launched spontaneously on an overcast night in which there was no moonlight. "This was decided so secretly that no one knew of it until the command 'To horse!' was given," wrote the Templar of Tyre. The mounted raiders departed from the Gate of St. Anthony and apparently targeted the Hama encampment. Somehow the Muslims had learned of the attack, and they used torches to illuminate their surroundings. When the Hospitallers appeared, a squadron of Muslim cavalry launched a counterattack that drove the Crusaders back to the city.

A third Crusader sortie occurred on the night of April 20-21 when Beaujeu led an attack against the left flank of the Mamluk Army of Egypt aimed once again at damaging the Victorious trebuchet. The Muslims again received advance warning of the attack. They drove the Cru-

saders off before they could cause any damage.

On May 4, King Henry of Jerusalem arrived by sea from Cyprus to take command. Because of his young age, though, he relied heavily on the masters of the major orders, and also on the senior English and French commanders. Henry brought with him the last major group of reinforcements, which consisted of 100 Cypriot knights and 2,000 foot soldiers. Henry sent a delegation on May 7 to discuss terms with Sultan Khalil, but the overwhelming desire of the Mamluk rank and file, who shouted that they wanted the battle to continue, encouraged the sultan to press the siege. The following day, the Muslims drove a detachment of Crusaders manning an outer work known as King Hugh's Tower from their position.

Almost immediately, several detachments of sappers began tunneling beneath King Henry's Tower, a key position in the outer wall at a salient where the north and east walls protecting the old city met. After eight days of nonstop labor, on May 16 the Muslim sappers brought down a section of King Henry's Tower and the sections of the outer wall immediately adjacent to it.

"The sappers had so badly undermined [King Henry's Tower] that the front face fell in a heap into the fosse, so that it was impossible to pass over the top of the stones," wrote the Templar of Tyre. To make it passable, the Muslim engineers piled sand atop the rubble and crafted a smooth pathway for the attacking troops to march over as they entered the breach. The elated

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Muslims scramble to repulse a night sortie by mounted Crusaders at Acre. Several sorties aimed at damaging the Muslim trebuchets had no influence whatsoever on the outcome of the battle.

Muslims planted the sultan's banner on top of the rubble to claim the position. The position came under bombardment by Crusader trebuchets, but the Muslims took cover and waited out the storm of stone.

Having abandoned the tower, King Henry and his troops reformed that night on the inner walls in anticipation of renewed fighting. That same day the Syrian Mamluks had launched a major assault against the Latin military orders at St. Anthony's Gate, but the Templars and Hospitallers led by their veteran commanders held the gate despite daunting odds.

Sultan Khalil and his generals spent May 17 preparing their forces for a general assault the entire length of the Acre defenses, set to begin before dawn the following day. Their primary target, however, was the Accursed Tower on the inner wall, which was situated directly behind King Henry's Tower. In anticipation of the renewed fighting, the Crusaders abandoned their last positions on the outer wall and consolidated their position on the inner wall.

The relative quiet of the night was shattered just before dawn by the sounds of drums and trumpets signaling the beginning of the major Muslim attack. "They beat their drums, creating a terrible, terrifying noise, and the army massed under its walls," wrote Abul-Mahasin.

Wild-eyed Mamluks determined to carry all in their path charged over the smooth pathway the engineers had made for them to get through the rubble of the King Henry's Tower. A small detachment of Crusaders had remained in an advanced position in front of the Accursed Tower to delay the onslaught. The Christians fought from a position consisting of a wooden frame with an outer covering made of leather to protect them against arrows and javelins.

The Templar of Tyre described the fury of the Muslim onslaught as the attackers overran the Crusaders' defensive position and fanned out in both directions in the passageway between the walls. "In the van came men carrying great shields," he wrote, "and after them came men who threw Greek Fire, and after them came men who hurled javelins and shot feathered arrows."

Half of the Mamluks who gained access to the inner passageway by storming through the breach went west toward St. Anthony's Gate, and the other half ran south toward the area where the English, French, and Italians defended the old city. Hospitaller Marshal Claremont, who wielded a battle axe, rallied his warrior-monks and other troops in the sector in a spirited defense against the fanatical Mamluks. Elsewhere, though, the Crusader positions were crumbling. As the Muslims advanced, their archers maintained a steady fire to give cover to those armed with axes, maces, and swords. The Muslim attack on the Accursed Tower was successful, and this gave them direct access to the city.

The Mamluks "entered the city on all sides early in the morning and in great force," Hospitaller Master De Villiers wrote to William de Villaret, prior of St. Gilles, after his escape by boat to Cyprus. "We and our convent resisted them at St. Anthony's Gate, where there were so many Saracens that one could not count them. Nevertheless, we drove them back three times as far as the [Accursed] Tower. And in that action and others ... we lost little by little all the convent of our Order."

One by one the towers on the east end of the old city fell to the Mamluks. Once inside the city, the Muslims were able to attack the other towers from the rear where they were lightly defended. The Muslims also opened the gates to the rest of the army, and hordes of additional troops poured into the city. In the east end of the old city, De Grailly and Grandson rallied their men and conducted a fighting retreat west toward the wharf.

As the Muslims took control of the east end

of the old city, they torched the Pisans great trebuchet. "Everyone they encountered, they put to the sword," wrote the Templar of Tyre. The only structures that slowed their advance were the fortified compounds of the Knights Hospitaller and the Teutonic Knights. The Muslims prevailed everywhere within the city because of their superior numbers.

"Meanwhile, a great crowd of Saracens were entering the city on all sides ... moving along the walls, which were all pierced and broken, until they came to our shelters," wrote De Villiers. "Our sergeants, lads, and mercenaries and the Crusaders and others gave up all hope and fled toward the ships, throwing down their arms and armor. We and our brothers, the greatest number of whom were wounded to death or gravely injured, resisted them as long as we could."

During the rearguard actions the Crusaders attempted, some of their most illustrious commanders were killed or seriously wounded. Not far from the inner wall, Templar Master Beaujeu suffered a fatal wound. Some of his men, who were not aware of the wound, reproached him for walking away from the fighting, according to De Villiers. "I'm not running away," he said. "I am dead. Here is the blow." Beaujeu then raised his arm to show that an arrow had penetrated his mail under his arm. The loss of their revered master was a severe moral blow to the other Templars, and they retreated toward their compound overlooking the harbor.

A Muslim stabbed De Villiers between the shoulder blades with his spear, and command devolved to Hospitaller Marshal Claremont. Throughout the entire siege, Claremont had shown himself to be, in the words of De Villiers, "noble and doughty and wise in arms." The imposing Hospitaller marshal was finally slain in the melee with the Mamluks near the wharf.

The Crusaders exhibited a lack of foresight by not having more vessels ready at a moment's notice to ferry evacuees from the wharf to the Pisan and Venetian ships waiting in the deep water. The panic increased as those who crowded the quay found only a few small vessels ready to take them to safety.

Those desperately seeking to escape crowded the oar-driven boats that would ferry them to the galleys and cogs. A number of the small boats capsized from overcrowding. A high-ranking ecclesiastical official, Patriarch of Jerusalem Nicholas de Hanape, drowned when the boat he boarded swamped in the harbor. Among those nobles who escaped by sea were King Henry, his brother Almaric, Grandson, De

Rue des Archiv / The Granger Collection, NY

The fall of Acre ended nearly two centuries of Crusader presence in the Near East. The confederated nature of the Crusader States and their disparate forces from many lands was no match for Muslim unity under the Mamluk sultans.

Grailly, and De Villiers. While Grailly would perish, De Villiers survived.

Much of the city was on fire by that point. "On all sides there was quaking and terror and groans of death," wrote Venetian chronicler Marino Sanudo. "The sultan ordered a quarter of the city to be burned, so that he consumed everything with iron and fire."

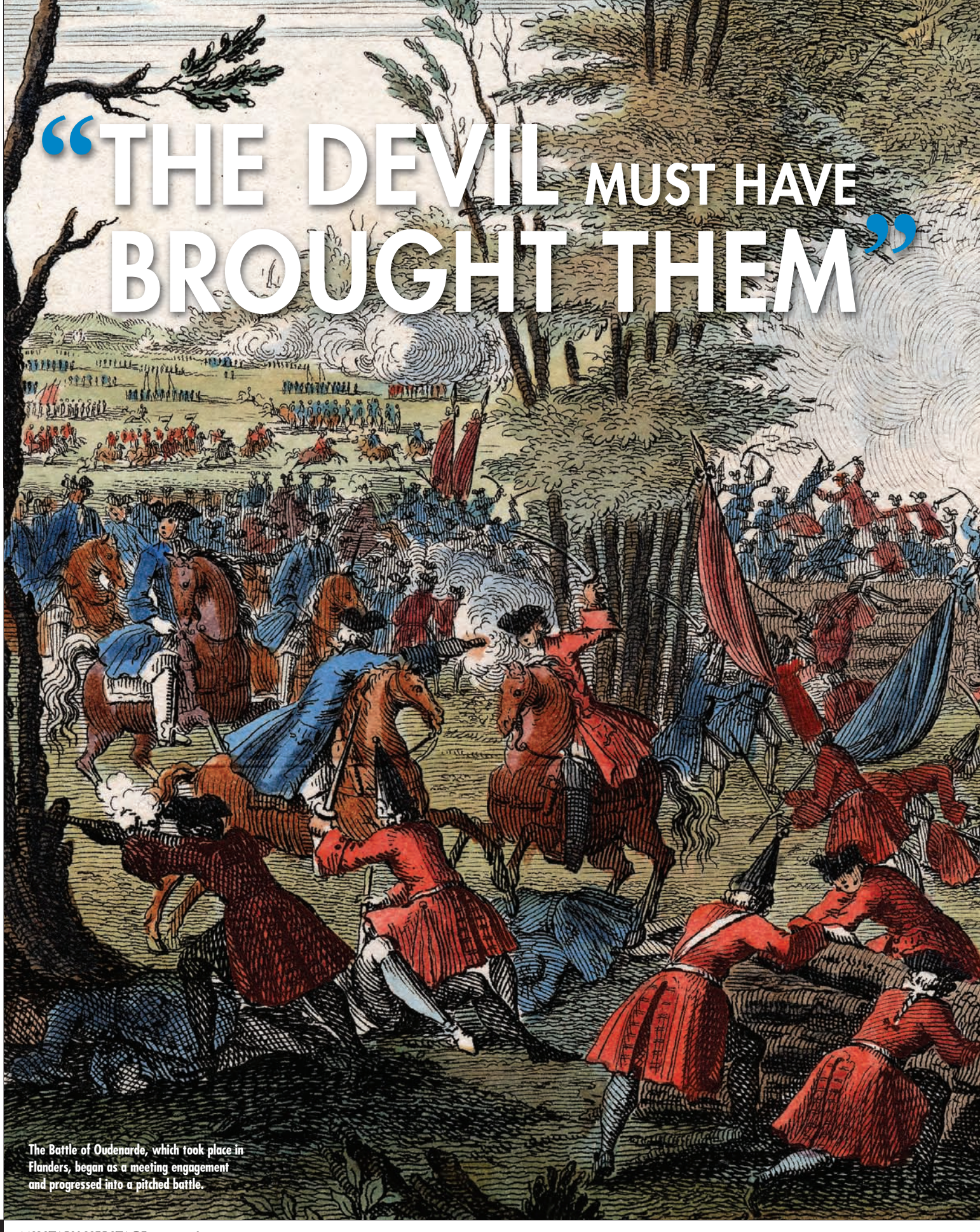
By nightfall the city, except the military order compounds, was in the hands of the sultan's troops. The Hospitallers and Teutonics surrendered in exchange for amnesty, which was granted. The Templars, however, declined to surrender. They had allowed upward of 2,000 residents and soldiers into their compound to shelter them from the Mamluks. After seven days, the Templars surrendered after agreeing to the same terms granted the other two military orders.

On May 25, 200 Mamluks arrived to oversee its evacuation. When they manhandled some of the women and began sacking the compound, the Templars in a fit of rage shut the gates and attempted to kill or capture those trapped inside. A bloody melee occurred in which soldiers on each side were slain. After the tumult died down, Templar Marshal Peter of Sevrey went under a flag of truce to discuss the incident with Sultan Khalil in his royal tent. Khalil, who was furious with the Templars for holding out so long, ordered Sevrey slain. The sultan then ordered his sappers to bring down a wall of the compound. They succeeded in their mission, and a wall of the great tower of the compound collapsed to the ground.

In the wake of his successful siege, Khalil, like Baibars before him, ordered the walls of Acre dismantled so that the Crusaders could not try to retake it in a future invasion. The work, however, was never completely finished for some unknown reason. Nevertheless, the Crusaders were driven from Acre, and after that the Muslims had only to mop up a few remaining outposts, such as Beirut, Haifa, Sidon, and Tartus. By mid-August, these remaining outposts were in Muslim hands.

Various strategies for reinvading the Holy Land were floated and discussed in the years to follow but never acted on. Despite their loss, the Crusaders' two centuries of history in the Outremer remains a vivid part of medieval history. □

“THE DEVIL MUST HAVE BROUGHT THEM”



The Battle of Oudenarde, which took place in Flanders, began as a meeting engagement and progressed into a pitched battle.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

LIEUTENANT General Armand-Charles de Gontaut, Marquis de Biron, led a party of foragers ahead of the French Army. His men scoured farms and villages in the Flemish countryside outside the fortified city of Oudenarde. Twenty-five years with the army had taken Biron into many a dangerous scrape in the Low Countries, Germany, Ireland, and Italy. But on this July day he expected nothing more dangerous than the protests of cantankerous farmers. The enemy army under Sir John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, was assuredly 15 miles away to his south.

Suddenly, the country summer sounds of buzzing bees and chirping birds were drowned out by gunshots. Biron rode forward to investigate and saw to his shock that his foragers were under fire by several squadrons of enemy cavalry. Using a windmill as an observation post, the marquis saw that scarcely 1,000 yards away several newly assembled pontoon bridges spanned the Scheldt River. Beyond the bridgehead, clouds of dust announced the approach of Marlborough's army. A courier dashed away with alarming news for Biron's commanders. Marlborough's army seemed to have made a 15-mile jump, and July 11, 1708, was going to be the date of the Battle of Oudenarde.

In the late 1690s, European diplomats and leaders watched an impending political crisis. Sickly and feeble, King Charles II of Spain was the last of the male line of the Hapsburg rulers of Spain, and he had no son to receive his crown. In his will, Charles II designated a near relative, Philip, Duke of Anjou, as his heir. Philip was a grandson of Charles II's deceased half-sister Maria Theresa

WHEN LOUIS XIV'S GENERALS ACHIEVED SUCCESS IN FLANDERS MIDWAY THROUGH THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION IN 1708 IT FELL ONCE AGAIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO EVEN THE SCORE.

BY DAVID A. NORRIS

and her husband, King Louis XIV of France. Furthermore, Philip's father was Louis, Dauphin of France, and the son and presumptive heir of Louis XIV.

At the dawn of the 18th century, France was Europe's top superpower. Spain was no longer as formidable as it had been in the 16th century, but it possessed a considerable military establishment and an extensive overseas empire. The prospect of Paris and Madrid united under a single crown alarmed the enemies of France and set off the War of the Spanish Succession in 1702. England, the Dutch Republic, and the Austrian Hapsburgs were the primary members of an anti-French coalition sometimes called the Grand Alliance (after an earlier coalition that fought the French during the Nine Years' War in the 1690s). Contemporaries referred to the coalition forces as the allies, or the confederates.

Joining the alliance were several other nations, including Portugal, Denmark (the husband of England's Queen Anne was Prince George of Denmark), Savoy, and adherents of the Holy Roman Empire including the German states of Prussia and Hanover. Their

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

The Duke of Marlborough successfully thwarted the French attempt to regain the initiative at Ramillies in 1706 during the lengthy War of the Spanish Succession.

motives varied; England sought to counter the power of France, while the Austrians primarily entered the war to gain the Spanish crown for their claimant, who they considered to be Charles III of Spain.

Fighting spread across the Iberian Peninsula, the Low Countries, Italy, and Germany. Also dragged in were the English and French colonies in North America. English colonists called the conflict Queen Anne's War.

Campaigning in Flanders started again in 1708 with the arrival of warm weather. The allies held much of Flanders after their victory at Ramillies in 1706. Commanding the army of the coalition was an Englishman, Sir John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough.

Churchill was born to a Dorset family that was left in reduced circumstances after the English Civil War. At the age of 17, Churchill entered the army as an ensign. His military service took him to Flanders and Ireland, and he also served in increasingly important roles in government. Raised to an earldom in 1689, he was further raised to duke in 1702. Early in the War of the Spanish Succession, he was appointed captain-general of the allied forces. He proved a fortunate choice for the command of the international coalition, as he was not only an exemplary army officer but a skilled diplomat. His care and consideration for his soldiers' welfare earned him their devotion, and the affectionate nickname "Corporal John."

For the campaign of 1708 in Flanders, a former comrade of Marlborough's would rejoin him. Prince Eugene of Savoy was born in Paris and raised in the court of Louis XIV. As a young man, he was awkward and frail in appearance, and his family tried to push him toward a career in the Church. After his mother was involved in a court scandal, he was refused an army commission by Louis XIV. Eugene's brother had already died fighting in the Austrian service. The young prince went to Vienna, where he pledged allegiance to the Hapsburgs. He arrived in 1683, and quickly distinguished himself in the fighting that expelled the Ottoman Army from its siege of Vienna. By the age of 30, he was a field marshal.

Eugene and Marlborough each found a kindred spirit in the other. They worked in such harmony in a military setting that a contemporary commentator remarked that "from the moment [they met], they acted with such Unanimity as if one Soul had inform'd two bodies." Soon after their first meeting, they worked together to win a decisive victory over a French army led by Camille d'Hostun, Duke of Tallard, at Blenheim in 1704.

In Flanders, Marlborough made an effective fighting force from what could have been a hodgepodge of quarreling rivals. Relatively few of Marlborough's soldiers were his own countrymen. Suspicious of standing armies, England's people and Parliament supported a small military establishment, and many of its units were needed to hold down Ireland, Scotland, and the colonies. By one count, Queen Anne had only 18 battalions of infantry and a mere seven cavalry squadrons in Flanders. British regiments then generally had only one battalion, so contemporary English sources usually refer to battalions instead of regiments. At that time, an infantry battalion averaged about 500 men and a squadron of cavalry about 120.

Soldiers of the German states, the Dutch Republic, and Denmark made up most of the allied ranks. Some Danish and German troops were in the pay of Great Britain, and the Dutch enlisted some Scots battalions.

Marlborough hoped to push the French out of Flanders and pursue them across the border into the homeland of Louis XIV. With the English duke were 90,000 troops in Flanders. Guarding the Rhine was a slightly larger force under George, Prince-Elector of Hanover (the future King George I of Great Britain). In Marlborough's plan, 40,000 men would remain with the Elector. Prince Eugene would take 45,000 of the Elector's troops from the Moselle River at Koblenz and join the main force in Flanders.

In Flanders, French King Louis XIV inflicted an awkward arrangement on his army by designating two commanders. Louis Joseph, Duke

of Vendome, was a remarkable military tactician with considerable wartime experience. He was also an illegitimate great-grandson of France's King Henri IV. It is worth noting that Vendome's mother's younger sister was the mother of Prince Eugene. The other was the 26-year-old Louis, Duke of Burgundy. He was a grandson of Louis XIV and the son of the heir to the French throne, Louis, Dauphin of France.

Vendome was conspicuously slovenly and shabby in an age of elegance. A life of self-indulgence had made this notorious libertine quite fat at the age of 56. He could be insufferably rude to his peers and superiors, and the Duke of Burgundy could just barely abide him. Yet at the same time, Vendome was good natured toward those of lower rank. His soldiers adored him, in part because he permitted them the drinking and carousing he allowed himself.

Voltaire, who saw Vendome's style as "a mixture of activity and indolence," wrote that the duke often slept until 4 PM. He was reluctant to leave comfortable campsites, preferred a late start and an early halt to a day's march, and neglected elementary precautions such as posting sentries and sending out patrols. In battle, though, Vendome shed his decadence and laziness and became a bold and inspiring leader. Flamboyant white plumes atop the duke's hat allowed his men to see him, and he was often in the very thick of the fight. In the midst of a battle, he always seemed to know the precise moment to exploit a new opportunity with a decisive charge. He was successful while campaigning in Italy, and he won a victory over Prince Eugene's army at Cassano in 1705.

Already affronted by Vendome's insolent manner and sloppy appearance, the Duke of Burgundy also had a strong religious streak, and so he was doubly offended by the older duke's lifestyle. Officially, the king's grandson headed the French army in Flanders, but he was ordered to share command with the more seasoned Vendome, who resented Burgundy as an interfering amateur. A disagreement between the two could create a deadlock, halting vital decisions while messengers dashed to Paris to get orders from the king.

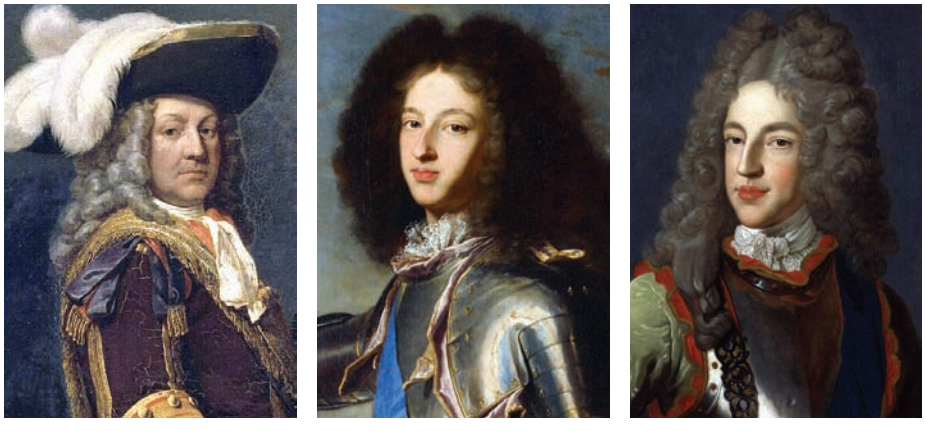
Politics pushed two prominent British Jacobites (adherents of the deposed House of Stuart) into high rank in the French Army. James FitzJames, Duke of Berwick, was Marlborough's nephew. A natural son of the deposed British monarch James II, Berwick's mother was none other than Churchill's sister Arabella. Brought up in France, Berwick chose a military career. He left the French service when his father ruled England but returned to France after the collapse of the Jacobite cause and the final exile of James II.

Also with the French was the legitimate son of James II, James Francis Edward Stuart (known as James III and VIII to his partisans, and to anti-Jacobites as the Pretender). Earlier in 1708, Stuart sailed for Scotland with a force of French ships and troops intent on sparking a rebellion and reclaiming the crowns of England and Scotland. The invasion was prevented by the Royal Navy and stormy weather. Returning to Europe, the Stuart claimant returned to the French Army, where he was known as the Chevalier de St. George.

In May, the allies' main camp was at Louvain, perhaps 15 miles east of Brussels. The French were encamped at Braine-l'Alleud, about a dozen miles south of Brussels, and close to the site of the future clash at Waterloo.

Flanders, long denied self-rule, was caught up in wars between the major European powers. The famed French military engineer Vauban rebuilt Oudenarde's defenses when the town came

TOP: John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough; Prince Eugene of Savoy; and Great Britain's King George I. BOTTOM: Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Duke of Vendome; Louis, Duke of Burgundy; and James Francis Edward Stuart, Prince of Wales.



under temporary French rule in the 1670s. Ceded back to Spain, the region was retaken by France in 1701. The allied victory at Ramillies ousted the French in 1706. Dutch garrisons guarded the conquered territory, although Marlborough was uneasy about the way the Hollanders treated the populace.

The duke was right to worry, as the heavy-handed occupation by the Dutch led to the loss of two key points in the rear of the allied army. French spies posing as deserters took a city gate at Ghent on July 4. Heavily pro-French, the city fell without firing a shot. Bruges opened itself to the French one day later. Losing these cities cost Marlborough the use of the Scheldt and Lys Rivers as transportation routes, and complicated his access to supplies and communications coming from England.

From Braine-l'Alleud, the French marched toward Oudenarde, 30 miles to the northwest. Situated 10 miles up the Scheldt from Ghent, Oudenarde was still under the control of a small allied garrison.

After he learned that the French were on the move, Marlborough was desperate to strike the enemy before they could cross the Dender River. But the French generals pushed their troops hard, and the host made it across the river. Because of this, the allies could do no more than attack

John Bennett Fine Paintings

The Duke of Marlborough owed his success in part to his superb staff who saw to all aspects associated with conducting long marches. Marlborough's forced march to Oudenarde left the French generals stunned.

the rear guard.

On the night of July 6, the allied army camped at Asche, about 10 miles northeast of the point where the French crossed the Dender. Prince Eugene, worried that a battle would occur before his troops could reach Flanders, dashed ahead of his troops and arrived at Asche to join the army.

Eugene and Marlborough believed that to cover their move against Oudenarde the French needed to take Lessines, a town on the Dender. The allied commanders intended to get to Lessines first. Leaving Asche at 2 AM on July 9, the allied vanguard under Maj. Gen. William Cadogan reached Lessines at midnight after a march of almost 30 miles. By the time the rest of the allied army arrived, Cadogan's men had several pontoon bridges ready. The army pressed on toward Oudenarde in anticipation of a battle on the south bank of the Scheldt in front of the city.

Vendome and Burgundy now had an enemy army between them and France. They altered their plans and aimed to cross the Scheldt a few miles downstream from Oudenarde. Then, on the left bank of the river, they would be able to fend off an attack and either move against Oudenarde or protect Ghent and Bruges. It was a cautious strategy to be sure, but such prudence fit with Louis XIV's desire to avoid ruinously expensive battles when possible.

One of the few things that the quarreling French commanders agreed on was their belief that the allies would linger around Lessines for a while. So it was 10 AM on July 11 before the French even started over the Scheldt at Gavres, about 2½ miles northeast of Oudenarde.

In contrast, the allies moved with surprising speed. Early on the morning of July 11, Marlborough detached Cadogan to move ahead to the Scheldt and occupy the village of Eine, just northeast of Oudenarde. With Cadogan were 16 battalions of infantry, 30 squadrons of cavalry, and 26 guns. The rest of the army departed from Lessines in Cadogan's wake.

Cadogan was Marlborough's quartermaster general. An able administrator and staff officer, Cadogan was to prove himself as a battlefield tactician that day. After another swift march, Cadogan had his first detachments across the Scheldt by about 10 AM. His engineer troops swiftly assembled five pontoon bridges just east of Oudenarde. Marlborough's men called their pontoons tin boats, as the wooden pontoons were covered with sheets of metal to protect the hull planking.

Plodding across the river late on the morning of July 11, the French army gradually assembled north of the Norken River, a tributary of the Scheldt. Their commanders thought they had ample time to fall upon Marlborough when he crossed the Scheldt.

Among the first to reach the left bank of the Scheldt were Burgundy and Vendome and their staff officers and attendants. Unconcerned about enemy moves, the leaders and their aides settled down to what they expected to be a quiet and leisurely luncheon.

At that point, Biron's messenger interrupted the high officers' idyllic meal. Enjoying the comfort of some shade trees, Vendome brushed off the courier's report as a mistake. Such a rapid march by the enemy was impossible. Biron dispatched a staff officer with a second message, which only further irritated the duke. Only when a third urgent message arrived from Biron did Vendome believe it. He mounted his horse, exclaiming that the only way that Marlborough's army could possibly be so close was that "the devil must have brought them."

Officers with an eye for terrain quickly took in the lay of the land. For the most part, they would have seen flat to gently rolling farmland, but the open fields were slashed by deep ditches and partitioned by thick hedges that would impede cavalry. The main highway to Ghent and some of the country roads were lined on both sides with hedges and ditches. Several small villages, each of them a mere handful of buildings lining a road, were scattered across the land between Oudenarde and the Norken. Numerous windmills and village churches rose above the fields as prominent landmarks.

The Granger Collection, New York

ABOVE: Prince George of Hanover leads a cavalry charge at Oudenarde in a romantic depiction of the battle; in reality, his horse was shot from under him and he charged on foot. RIGHT: An infantryman of the French Royal Army.

South of the Norken River, to the west of the French, was a hill topped by the village of Oycke. Below the eastern slope of this hill, called the Boser Couter, there were two small streams. One, called the Marollebeek, flowed into another called the Diepenbeek, which in turn emptied into the Scheldt. The stream valleys were lined with low, boggy ground covered with a thick layer of brush and scrubby trees.

Vendome ordered his army to form south of the Norken. There was a chance of catching the enemy in the vulnerable situation of crossing the Scheldt and cutting off and destroying a substantial part of the coalition army. Intending to anchor his left at Heurne, the duke planned his line to run roughly west past the villages of Bevere and Mooregem. As a beginning, seven battalions of Swiss under Brig. Gen. Francois-Louis Pfeiffer were dispatched to hold Heurne.

At that point, Burgundy overruled Vendome and demanded that the army pull back to a more defensible line on the northern bank of the Norken. But no one warned the Swiss battalions of the change in plans. They carried out their orders but under a misunderstanding went to the village of Eine instead of Heurne.

Cadogan sent Brig. Gen. Joseph Sabine's brigade against the Swiss battalions at Eine. Charging ahead with their bayonets, Sabine's men overwhelmed the Swiss. Three entire battalions were captured, and the other four battalions fled in disorder with the loss of many killed or taken prisoner. General Pfeiffer was captured, and two of his colonels were among the dead.

After the rout of the Swiss, Hanoverian cavalry under Lt. Gen. Joergen Rantzau of Denmark attacked several French cavalry squadrons that still lingered at Eine. With one of Rantzau's squadron commanders, Colonel Johann Albrecht von Losecke, was the son of the Prince-Elector of Hanover. Then aged 24, the young Prince George of Hanover was the future King George II of Great Britain. A French bullet killed Prince George's horse. Von Losecke feared that the young royal would be trampled to death while on foot amid the charging horses. The colonel rode to the prince and offered his own horse. In the process of dismounting, the colonel was shot down by a musket ball.

The prince's father had intended for him to learn military matters in camp at a safe distance from the fighting. But the young royal refused to leave the field. John Marshal Deane of the Foot Guards wrote that Prince George "charged … on foot sword in hand: bringing an Officer of ye Enemy prisoner." Rantzau's Hanoverians routed the French cavalry and pursued them to the Norken.

Most of the artillery of both armies was too far away to take part in the coming battle, so the Battle of Oudenarde was largely to be an affair of foot and horse troops fighting with musket and saber. As was his custom, Marlborough made plans as he went. He sent units into action as soon as they arrived, and he posted them wherever they were most needed at the moment. He gave command of the right to Prince Eugene and fed the prince a steady supply of reinforcements to ensure his success.

By 4 PM the allies had done nothing to attack the main French force. The Duke of Burgundy pushed his center and right across the Norken, hoping to break up Marlborough's army before he could assemble all of his troops. Most of Cadogan's men were still at Eine, other than two Prussian regiments that he had posted about half a mile north at Groenewald. Hanoverian battalions manned a line south of the Diepenbeek. British cavalry gathered at Bevere, north of Oudenarde; Prussian cavalry held the allied right near Heurne.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Vendome saw that he might be able to smash the Prussians at Groenewald. He sent a Captain Jenet to Burgundy imploring him to send the rest of the army from beyond the Norken. The prince had already committed the Marquis of Grimaldi with his cavalry. Grimaldi's vanguard, upon riding into the wetlands along the Marollebeek, balked and reported that they were facing an impenetrable swamp. When Jenet found the prince, Grimaldi's advance had been called off, and thousands of troops that could have hammered the allied units waited idly by. Jenet rode back to report the news, but was killed before he could reach Vendome.

At Groenewald, the Prussians held on against long odds using the thick hedges as cover until they were reinforced by Cadogan. Twenty more battalions under the Duke of Argyll bolstered the allied line. The French outflanked the allied left but were driven back when fresh units arrived to extend the allied positions. Eventually, the line held by Cadogan and Argyll stretched half a mile from Groenewald to another village, Schaerken.

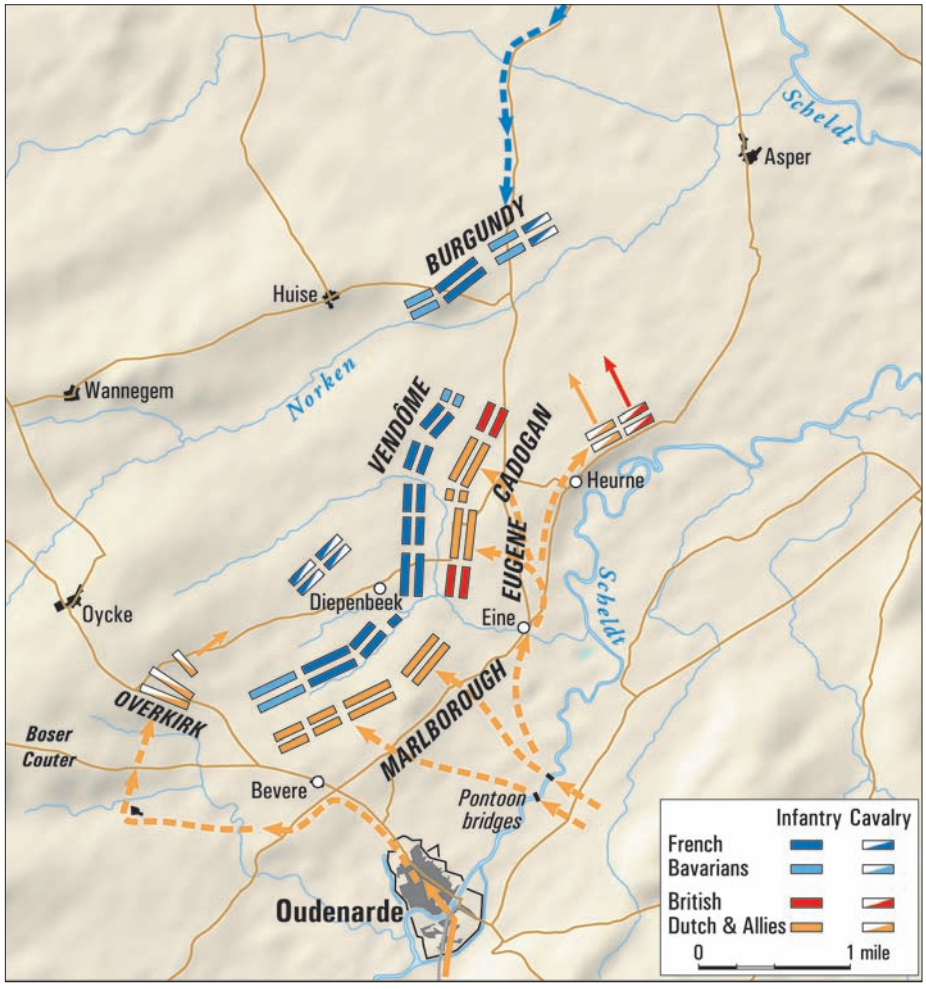
Among the English units pressing the French was the Lord North and Grey's Regiment, later the 10th Regiment of Foot. With them was Lt. Col. Alexander Spotswood, later a de facto governor of Virginia. Spotswood was wounded and captured during the fighting, but Marlborough negotiated his release after the battle.

Since early in the action, Prince Eugene had been with Marlborough, but the duke detached the

prince to take personal command of the right flank. Eighteen newly arrived battalions were sent to support Prince Eugene. Without them, wrote the prince, "I should scarcely have been able to keep my ground." With the additional manpower, the prince broke through the first line of the enemy. "At the head of the second I found Vendome on foot, a pike in his hand, encouraging the troops," wrote Prince Eugene. Vendome kept the French in place for a time. General Dubslav Gneomar von Natzmer and his Prussian cavalry hit Vendome's men, but the French were well protected by the hedges and inflicted heavy losses on the Prussians. As Natzmer's charge stalled, the Household Cavalry of Louis XIV rushed in and threw back the Prussians.

Vendome inspired the soldiers who saw him leading the resistance to Eugene's troops, but taking such an intense and personal role in one small portion of the fighting distracted him from the larger battlefield.

In the center, Marlborough directed Dutch and Hanoverian infantry, slowly pushing the French over the Diepenbeek. As the French attacked Marlborough's line, Private John Marshall Deane



The French failed to block the fast-marching Allies from crossing the Scheldt River. Marlborough, with a special knack for battlefield tactics, turned the enemy's right flank.

of the Foot Guards wrote, "The fight was very desperate on both sides … in which time the enemy was beat from hedge to hedge and breastwork to breastwork … getting them into villages and possessing themselves of houses and making every quickset hedge a slight wall." In a similar vein, Sergeant John Miller of the Royal Irish Regiment wrote, "We drove the Enemy from Ditch to Ditch, and Hedge to Hedge, and out of one Scrub to another, and Wood, in great Hurry, Disorder, and Confusion."

Delayed by the collapse of a temporary bridge, Dutch Marshal Hendrik van Nassau-Ouwerkerk finally joined the allied army at about 6 PM. Known as Lord Overkirk to the English, this cousin of the deceased King William III was the illegitimate son of the Prince of Orange. Overkirk's London townhouse is now incorporated into the British prime minister's home at 10 Downing Street.

With Overkirk were 20 battalions of Danish and Dutch infantry, as well as 12 squadrons of Danish cavalry under Claude Frederic T'Serclaes, Count of Tilly. Marlborough had plans for the newly arrived troops. The French south of the Norken were packed into a formation roughly resembling a horseshoe, bound on three sides by the Marollebeek and Diepenbeek, with the open end facing west toward the high ground of the undefended Boser Couter. Overkirk led his horse and foot soldiers behind the hill. Then, part of his force struck the French right flank, while Tilly led the cavalry around the French to come down from the north, onto their left. Meanwhile, Marlborough and Prince Eugene kept up pressure from the south and the east.

One lucky break fell to the French when an allied courier delivered orders to a unit of scarlet-coated soldiers. Mistaken for British redcoats, the men instead were of the Maison du Roi, Louis XIV's equivalent of the British Household Cavalry and Foot Guards. Knowing of some of Marlborough's and Eugene's impending moves, though, simply reinforced the growing certainty that the day was lost.

Beset from all sides and running low on ammunition, one French unit after another broke up. Vendome tried in vain to rally his men and bring up reinforcements. But the reinforcements came under a flanking fire from Cadogan. The fresh battalions accomplished little except to intensify the chaos by further jamming the roads crowded with fleeing soldiers.

Vendome and Burgundy met for an emergency parley at the village of Huisse, north of the Norken. A famous chronicler of Louis XIV's court, Louis de Rouvroy, Duke of Saint-Simon, recorded what he heard of the meeting. When the Duke of Burgundy began to speak, Vendome's temper boiled over, and he silenced the royal. The older duke was for holding on at the Norken. After all, half their units had not been in the battle at all. They were in fine shape, he insisted, for reversing their ill fortune by giving battle the next day. No other generals backed Vendome. "Very well, gentlemen," he said. "I see clearly that you all wish it." His final shot was saved for Burgundy. "So, we must retreat. And you, Monseigneur, have long desired it."

The two sides continued fighting until nightfall. Dusk saved the French from a worse catastrophe. "Another hour of daylight would have enabled me to finish the war," Marlborough later wrote.

Little could be seen of the enemy other than bright musket flashes blazing in the gloom. Overkirk's men pressing in from the west

encountered Prince Eugene's battalions pushing from the east. In the confusion, many soldiers took friends for foes. John Dalrymple, Earl of Stair, saw two units level their weapons at each other and open fire. When the earl realized that both units were from his own army, he galloped between them and ordered them to cease fire.

A great portion of the French troops trapped between the Marollebeek and the Diepenbeek were surrounded and captured. So many soldiers were ready to surrender that the victors were overwhelmed. Many a potential prisoner took advantage of the confusion and escaped from the battlefield

After the allies ceased fire, a ruse netted hundreds more prisoners. Prince Eugene's drummers pounded the French call for assembly. Accompanied by the drummers, exiled Huguenot officers shouted the rallying cries of individual French regiments. Stragglers stumbled through the dark toward familiar shouts such as "A moi, Picardie!" or "A moi, Roussillon!" only to step into captivity.

More than 7,000 French became prisoners of the allies, while their killed and wounded numbered another 6,000. The allies also captured 4,500 horses and 100 colors.

By comparison, the allies suffered only about 3,000 casualties: 824 killed and 2,148 wounded, according to a contemporary estimate. Roughly half the allied casualties were among the Dutch. British losses by one estimate ran to 53 officers and men dead and 177 wounded. Casualty totals among the Danish, Prussian, and Hanoverian contingents were each higher than those of the British.

Priests of the parishes surrounding the battlefield buried more than 2,000 slain soldiers after the battle. Hundreds of wounded from both sides lay all night on the field. Prince-Elector George hurried back to the spot where von Losecke fell and was told he had been taken to a house nearby. The colonel died the next day, and as a tribute to him the prince granted his family a pension.

After a 15-mile forced march and a pitched battle, English, German, Dutch, and Danish soldiers bedded down for the night. "The main Body of our Army lay on their Arms very alert all Night, in a very soaking rain," wrote Sergeant John Millner of the Royal Irish Regiment.

The Marquis of Biron was among numerous high-ranking officers who were wounded or captured. Like many of the other prominent prisoners, Biron was on friendly terms with Marlborough and other English and allied officers. During the Third Anglo-Dutch War of 1672-1674, France and England had been allies. Biron was invited to dine with his old acquaintance, Marlborough. The English commander asked about "the Prince of Wales," meaning the "Pretender" James. Biron replied that the prince was known in his army as the Chevalier St. George and spoke highly of him. England was still wary of Jacobite intrigues, and Marlborough expressed a warm enough interest in the prince to inspire political gossip in London.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

The arrival of night saved the French Army from an even worse catastrophe than that which befell them on the long summer day. The Allies rounded up more than 7,000 French prisoners who had been either surrounded or cornered.

Following Oudenarde, Marlborough invaded France and took Lille after a long siege. Ghent and Bruges fell under allied control once again. Together, Marlborough and Prince Eugene won another victory at Malplaquet in 1709, but the battle's horrendous toll eroded British support for the war. Vendome, for his part, endured much blame from Burgundy's friends at court for the loss at Oudenarde. Entrusted with a command again in 1710, his victory at Villaviciosa in Spain revived the fortunes of the Spanish Hapsburgs.

The War of the Spanish Succession ground to a halt with negotiated settlements in 1713-1714. Philip, Duke of Anjou, was confirmed by all parties as King Philip V of Spain. To preserve Europe's balance of power, Philip renounced any claim on the French throne.

Prince George of Hanover always remembered the smell of powder at Oudenarde. In 1714, upon the death of Queen Anne, his father was the nearest eligible (that is, Protestant) heir to the British throne. The Elector of Hanover was installed as King George I. His son, the veteran of Oudenarde, ascended to the throne in 1727 as George II. On special occasions the king would always call for his "Oudenarde sword."

After years of repeating his war stories, George II would one day return to the battlefield. During the War of the Austrian Succession in 1743, he took part in the Battle of Dettingen and became the last reigning British monarch to lead soldiers in action. □

Sergeant Joseph Gorenc of the 101st Airborne Division boards a C-47 transport aircraft for the drop over Normandy on the night of June 5-6, 1944. The paratroopers of the 101st Airborne smoothed the advance of the Americans from Utah Beach.

PARATROOP BRAWL AT CARENTAN

THE OBJECTIVE FOR THE 101ST AIRBORNE DIVISION AFTER D-DAY WAS THE CAPTURE OF A GERMAN-HELD TOWN BETWEEN THE UTAH AND OMAHA SECTORS. THE GUTSY PARATROOPERS PROVED EQUAL TO THE TASK. BY WILLIAM F. FLOYD, JR.

THE two exits from the American landing zones at Utah Beach were entrusted to the 502nd Parachute Infantry Regiment, 101st Airborne Division. The regiment's job was to clear the exits of German resistance. Lt. Col. Robert Cole, commander of the 3rd Battalion of the regiment, was first to arrive following the airdrop on June 6, 1944. Cole collected 75 men from his battalion, together with other troops from the 506th Parachute Infantry Regiment and the 82nd Airborne Division. The combined group headed toward the village of St.-Martin-de-Varreville. About one kilometer from their destination was an ominous-looking cluster of German coastal artillery barracks.

Cole tasked Lt. Col. Patrick Cassidy of the 1st Battalion of the 502nd with clearing and securing the enemy installation. Cassidy dispatched Sergeant Harrison Summers from the 1st Battalion with 15 men to clear the objective. Although the number of troops detailed for the mission was not nearly enough to take on a full German company that might contain upward of 100 men, it was all that could be spared. Summers and his small force set out immediately with some in the group being reluctant to follow an unknown sergeant.

"Go up to the top of the rise and watch for anything approaching and don't let anything come over that hill and get on my flank," Summers told Sergeant Leland Baker. "Stay there until you are told to come back."

Summers charged the first building, but to his amazement, no one followed him. He kicked in the door and began firing with his submachine gun, killing four Germans, with the rest retreating to the next house. Summers, still without help, charged the next building. The Germans inside fled. Inspired by Summers' heroics, Private William Burt came out of the ditch where the attackers had been concealed and laid down a suppressing fire on the third building.

Summers again moved forward, but this time the Germans were ready. Suddenly, the building erupted with fire. The Germans had cut holes in the building and were firing through them. With the help of Burt's submachine gun fire and by running in a zigzag fashion, Summers did not get hit. He kicked in the door, killed six Germans, and drove the rest from the building. Physically and mentally exhausted, Summers dropped to the ground.

After resting for about a half hour, his hesitant squad caught up with him and replenished his ammunition. As he got to his feet, an unknown captain from the 101st Airborne Division, who had joined the force because he had missed his drop zone by many miles, appeared at his side. "I'll go with you," the captain said. No sooner had he uttered the words than he was shot through the heart. Summers charged another building and gunned down six more Germans. The rest surrendered, and Summers turned them over to his squad.

One of the men from his squad, Private John Camien, joined Summers to secure the last few buildings. The two moved from building to building, taking turns charging and giving covering fire. Burt was still with them, putting his machine gun to good use. With just two buildings left to clear, Summers kicked in the door of the first one and shot 15 German artillerymen as they sat eating breakfast. The final building loomed in front of the Americans. It was the largest of the bunch and was flanked by a storage shed and a haystack. Burt used tracer bullets to set the shed and haystack on fire. The shed, which was full of ammunition, exploded, sending smoke and flames skyward. The explosion drove 30 Germans into the open where Summers, Camien, and Burt gunned them down while others fled.

When it was all over, Summers collapsed. The fighting had lasted nearly five hours. One of the men asked him how he felt. "Not very good," said Summers. "It was all kind of crazy. I'm sure I'll never do anything like that again."

Summers would later receive a battlefield commission, as well as the Distinguished Service Cross, for his valor that day. He was nominated for the Medal of Honor, but the paperwork got lost. Following his death in 1983, another effort was made to have the medal awarded posthumously, but without success. Nevertheless, future generations of paratroopers would consider him a legend for his feats on D-Day.

"You will enter the continent of Europe and undertake operations aimed at the heart of Germany and the destruction of her armed forces." This was the assignment given to General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Allied Commander, on February 12, 1944. Operation Overlord would become the largest amphibious invasion in history. The massive undertaking ultimately would involve 156,000 troops, 5,000 ships and landing craft, 50,000 vehicles, and 11,000 aircraft.

Approximately 13,000 U.S. paratroopers belonging to Maj. Gen. Maxwell Taylor's 101st Airborne Division and Brig. Gen. James Gavin's 82nd Airborne Division began parachuting into the black sky over France at 1 AM on Tuesday, June 6. The 101st Airborne was scheduled to be dropped near Vierville to support the Utah Beach landings, and the 82nd Airborne was sched-

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ABOVE: A jumpmaster checks parachutes and equipment of paratroopers preparing for the Normandy airdrop. The 101st Division was tasked with gaining control of the causeways leading out of Utah. BELOW: German paratroopers in Normandy gather weapons as they prepare to shift to a new defensive position as the American advance. The Germans held strong positions on firm ground on the west side of Carentan.

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-586-2215-31, Photo: Reich

uled to be dropped near Sainte-Mere-Eglise to protect the First Army's right flank and secure a bridgehead on the west bank of the Merderet River. In addition, 2,500 glider-born troops would land under cover of darkness to lend additional support.

Pathfinders had been dropped an hour earlier to illuminate the drop zones with electronic transmitters and signal lamps, but some had missed their landing zones or found German troops manning positions they were supposed to mark. Once on the ground, the paratroopers of the 101st Airborne Division had as their primary objective the securing of four elevated causeways leading west from Utah Beach to the interior of the Cotentin Peninsula.

The Allies had chosen the strip of coast in Normandy for their amphibious landing in part because the Germans were convinced that the attack would come in the Pas de Calais region. Nevertheless, in the weeks leading up to the invasion German leader Adolf Hitler, Field Marshall Erwin Rommel, and Admiral Theodor Krancke all had become nervous about a possible Allied invasion of Normandy and favored the strengthening of forces in the Cotentin Peninsula. The German commanders seemed to have a sixth sense that the Allies might attempt to capture the port of Cherbourg through which to funnel the men and materials needed to open a western front against the Third Reich. In November 1943, Hitler had given Rommel command of Army Group B, responsible for the defenses of northern France. As for Krancke, he was commander in chief of Navy Group Command West headquartered in Paris.

The addition of new German units forced the Allies to revise their airdrop plans. For example, the Allies initially planned to drop the 82nd Airborne at the base of the peninsula. But the appearance on aerial reconnaissance photos of new German units forced them to ultimately drop the 82nd Airborne farther north.

Anchoring the eastern side of the Cotentin Peninsula was Lt. Gen. Karl-Wilhelm von Schlieben's 709th Infantry Division. The Germans moved Maj. Gen. Wilhelm Falley's 91st Infantry Division to the base of the peninsula to assist the 709th and further strengthened the 91st by adding Maj. Gen. Friedrich August Freiherr von der Heydte's 6th Parachute Regiment. In addition, the Germans moved the 206th Panzer Battalion forward to support these units. The job confronting the Allies in clearing the Cotentin would be further complicated by the arrival from Brittany of General of Artillery Wilhelm Fahrmbacher's 77th Infantry Division, which Rommel would order on D-Day to shift east as quickly as possible to assist units already engaged against the Allied right flank.

On June 8, two days after the initial landings, Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe General Dwight D. Eisenhower, along with British Admiral Sir Bertram Ramsay and British General Sir Bernard Montgomery, visited all five of the landing beaches. During that time, Eisenhower held a lengthy meeting with U.S. First Army commander Lt. Gen. Omar Bradley.

Eisenhower was concerned not only by the slow progress of Montgomery's forces toward Caen, but also with the heavy losses the Germans had inflicted upon the Americans at Omaha Beach on D-Day. Moreover, Eisenhower

was displeased that the Americans on Utah and Omaha Beaches were still separated from each other by nearly a 10-mile gap after 48 hours of fighting. Eisenhower ordered Bradley to unite the forces in a single beachhead.

To facilitate the effort, Eisenhower revised the Americans' immediate objectives. First, he wanted to eliminate the pocket of German resistance near Sainte-Mere-Eglise, which would unite Maj. Gen. Raymond Barton's 4th Infantry Division with elements of the 82nd Airborne Division. Second, Eisenhower wanted Bradley's First Army to seize control of Carentan.

Carentan is located in the Douve River Valley at the base of the Cotentin Peninsula. By 1944, Carentan had a population of 4,000. The important road hub was located between the two American landing beaches, Utah and Omaha.

Bradley tasked the 101st Airborne, which comprised the 501st, 502nd, and 506th Parachute Infantry Regiments, with capturing Carentan. This involved a change in the primary effort of the U.S. VII Corps, which was led by Maj. Gen. J. Lawton Collins. Bradley instructed Collins that if necessary he should reinforce the 101st Airborne so that it could punch its way through to Carentan to link up with Maj. Gen. Leonard T. Gerow's V Corps in the Omaha sector.

Any capture of Carentan meant that Sainte-Come-du-Mont, which lay three miles north of Carentan, would have to be taken first. A scratch force of the 101st Airborne tried to take the town on June 6 but failed. They had run headlong into von der Heydte's elite German paratroopers.

Two days later, Taylor organized a more formal attack against Sainte-Come-du-Mont. At 4:45 AM on June 8, two battalions of the 506th attacked from the north, while the 3rd Battalion of the 501st Parachute Infantry and the 1st Battalion of the 401st Glider Infantry struck from the east. The paratroopers' advance was preceded by a barrage from the 65th Armored Field Artillery and the 101st Airborne's 377th Parachute Field Artillery. Given the condition of the American troops, who had been fighting without proper food or sleep for three days, the attack was disjointed.

The five battalions became intermingled during a series of clumsy and uncoordinated attacks that day. For most of the attackers, the day was one of random firefights with groups of Germans defending buildings, intersections, or hedgerows. Despite the confused nature of the American attack, the Germans began withdrawing toward Carentan.

Lieutenant Colonel Julian Ewell and his 3rd Battalion, 501st Parachute Infantry, kept a close watch on the Germans as they retreated toward Carentan. Ewell and his men tried to cut them off before they could reach the bridges leading into Carentan. As they made this move, they came under machine-gun fire from near the bridge and artillery fire from Carentan. Ewell and his men shifted to the east side of the N-13 Highway, which connected Cherbourg to Carentan, and began taking fire from the north. All day long they fought off six different counterattacks. By late afternoon the fighting had stopped. Most of the Germans had escaped to Carentan. Although the Americans had secured Sainte-Come-du-Mont, they had failed to destroy the enemy. In spite of the incomplete victory, the capture of Sainte-Come-du-Mont was a preliminary step in the eventual capture of Carentan.

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ABOVE: Major von der Heydte, left, commander of the crack 6th Parachute Regiment, and Lt. Col. Robert Cole, commander of the 3rd Battalion, 502nd Parachute Infantry Regiment. TOP: Men of the 101st Airborne march through Ste. Marie-du-Mont on their way south Carentan.

Rommel had given von der Heydte specific orders to defend Carentan to the last man. But the 101st Airborne had equally important orders. Resting on their shoulders was the responsibility for capturing Carentan so that soldiers of the VII Corps and V Corps could link up and the Americans could turn their attention to capturing the deep-water port of Cherbourg. This would secure the Cotentin Peninsula and enable the Allies to focus on breaking into the interior of France. Bradley regarded the capture of Cherbourg as the Americans' primary objective at that point.

For the most part, the Americans were up against battle-tested Germans. "The Germans are staying in there just by the guts of their soldiers," said Barton. "We outnumber them 10 to 1 in infantry, 50 to 1 in artillery, and infinite numbers in the air."

Barton wanted his unit commanders to convince their soldiers that they had to fight just as hard for their country as the Germans would be fighting for theirs. "In comparing the average American, British, or Canadian soldier with the average German soldier, it is difficult to deny that the German was by far, in most cases, a superior fighting man," wrote U.S. war correspondent Robert Miller. "He was better trained, better disciplined, and in most cases carried out his assignment with much greater efficiency than we did.... The average American fighting in Europe today is discontented, he does not want to be here, he is not a soldier, he is a civilian in uniform."

Although the Germans respected the elite nature of the U.S. paratroopers and rangers, they had little regard for the fighting qualities of the average infantryman. Most German soldiers were heavily indoctrinated by Nazi propaganda. The leadership in Berlin repeatedly told the soldiers that defeat would mean the annihilation of their Fatherland and that the Allies planned to wipe

out the German race. Even the soldiers who wanted to surrender were afraid to do so. Propaganda persuaded them that they would not be safe in an England, which would be bombarded by Germany's new secret weapons. As in all armies, the combat performance of American troops would vary from unit to unit. Not long after the landings at Normandy, a great number of the Americans began to lose their fear of the Germans, a feeling that grew as the fighting continued.

Taylor planned to capture Carentan with a pincer movement that entailed sending his troops across the Douve River in two places. But first he needed a good handle on the strength of the German positions. For that reason, the American paratroopers spent June 9 scouting the terrain and reconnoitering the strongpoints held by von der Heydte's men. One of the reconnaissance teams that forded the Douve River was driven back by concentrated German machine gun fire. Taylor received aerial reconnaissance information indicating that Carentan was occupied by only one German battalion, but events would prove the intelligence information wrong.

Taylor's plan called for the 327th Glider Infantry Regiment to cross at Brevands and push south. Part of the same regiment would move southeast and link up with the 29th Division's 175th Infantry Regiment near Insigny. The rest of the regiment would circle around Carentan from the southeast. The 502nd Parachute Infantry Regiment, with Lt. Col. Cole's 3rd Battalion in the lead, was to cross over a succession of four bridges, swing to the southwest, and seize Hill 30, a commanding piece of terrain that allowed those controlling it to interdict movement in and out of Carentan. After that objective was achieved, Cole's men were to link up with the 327th Glider Infantry. Following Cole would be the rest of the 502nd Parachute Infantry and the 506th Parachute Infantry. After the encirclement was completed, the main attack would begin. When the Germans tried to withdraw, they would have nowhere to go.

The 502nd Parachute Infantry had been activated at Fort Benning, Georgia, in February 1942. After the men had completed their training, they were assigned to the 101st Airborne Division on August 15 as its first parachute regiment. It subsequently relocated to Fort Bragg, North Carolina, on September 24. After another year of training, it was sent to Camp Shanks, New York, on August 24, 1943. The "Five-Oh-Deuce" was commanded by Colonel John G. Van Horn Moseley Jr. The unit arrived in England on October 18, 1943, where it undertook intense training for an additional seven months, which included routine 25-mile hikes, daily close combat exercises, and rigorous training in the use of German weapons.

Before entering Carentan, Lt. Col. Cole's movement was hindered because the causeway he had to cross spanned a long stretch of marsh. For almost 1,000 yards the route was devoid of cover. The causeway included four bridges, one of which had already been destroyed. The timetable for Cole's unit was to reach the second bridge, the one that had been destroyed, by 3 AM on June 10. It was hoped that by this time the engineers would have the blown-up section repaired so the American paratroopers could cross.

The marshes over which the causeway passed were artificial. Rommel had ordered his engineers to flood the Douve Valley to prevent Allied parachute landings. An earlier aerial reconnaissance indicated that the causeway was the only alternative for an advance toward Carentan because the Germans already had demolished the railway bridge over the Douve River. At 1:30 AM on June 10, a reconnaissance party found that the 12-foot gap in the second bridge had not been repaired. The engineers had stopped work when a German artillery barrage landed near their position.

When Lt. Col. Cole and his men approached the second bridge, Cole found it

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was not repaired. At 4 AM, the attack was cancelled. But several miles down the Douve Valley another crossing was almost complete. The 327th Glider Regiment was crossing the river in rubber boats. The company had crossed the river at 1:45 AM, and by 6 AM the entire regiment was across. A new attack led by Cole was now planned for the afternoon of June 10. Cole ordered a small party of three to repair the destroyed bridge using planking left by U.S. engineers whom the Germans had driven off a short time before. At 2 PM, a wobbly bridge was completed.

Cole's battalion now began crossing the bridge led by the intelligence section. Slowly and cautiously each man crossed the bridge until the planks eventually gave way, meaning that many of the soldiers crossed the Douve River by hanging on to the ropes. During the crossing the Americans were under intermittent fire mostly from German 88mm artillery or mortars. As they continued forward and approached the fourth bridge, the fire became much heavier. The Germans were now throwing everything they had at the Americans, including accurate sniper fire. Cover for the troopers was practically nonexistent, and most just tried to hug the ground. On either side of the causeway, men were being hit at an alarming rate. The terrible scene went on for hours. Cole attempted to rally his men but was unsuccessful; the crossing was completely stalled.

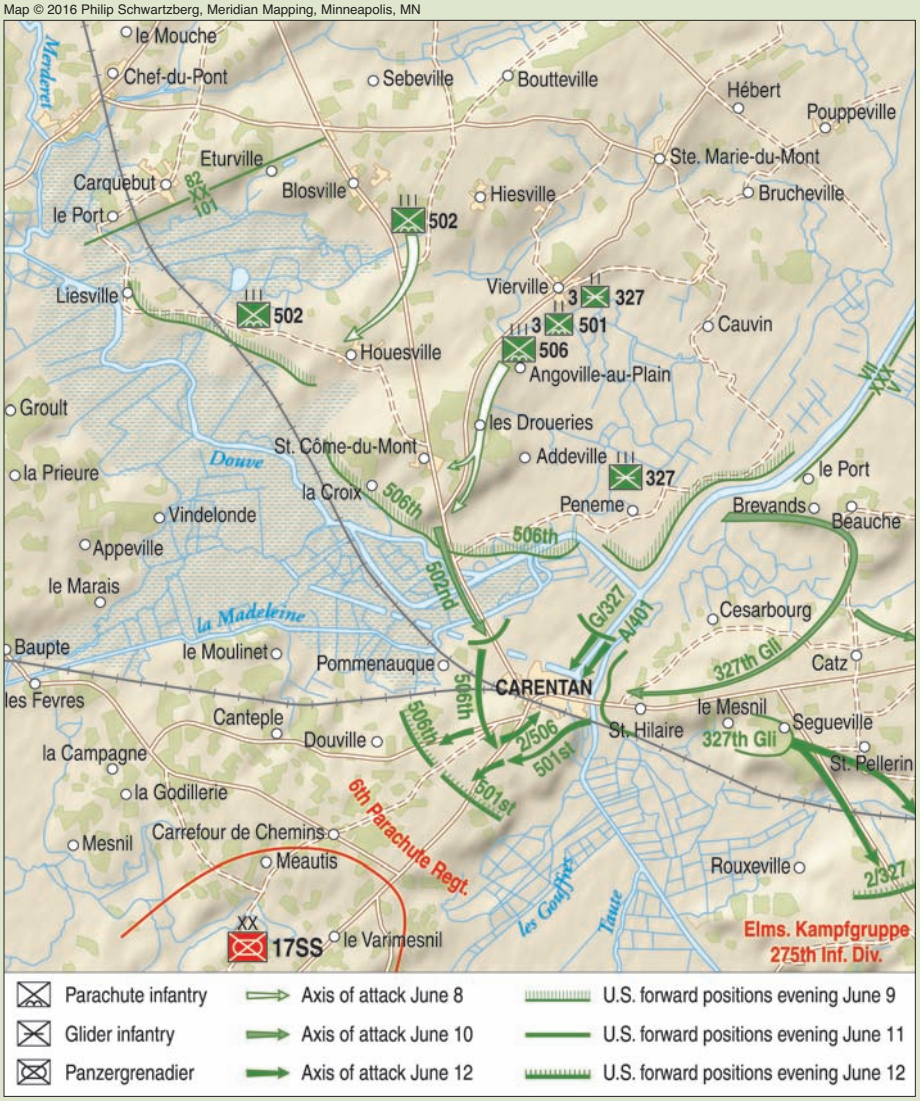
Only nightfall and American artillery fire offered any relief. This moment was short lived as two German Ju-87 Stukas attacked. The aircraft strafed and bombed the causeway, killing 30 men, which knocked I Company completely out of the battle. At that point, the casualties suffered by the 3rd Battalion of the 502nd Parachute Infantry Regiment were estimated at 67 percent. This section of the Carentan Highway became known as Purple Heart Lane.

About that same time, the German paratroopers, who had been very low on ammunition, were being resupplied. Von der Heydte had previously radioed his superiors and informed them that his men could not continue fighting unless they received immediate resupply. The situation had become so desperate that all of the rifle ammunition used by the rifle companies had been collected and given to the machine gun crews. In response to von der Heydte's request, Ju-52 transports had dropped pallets with ammunition in the rear area that night, and this was brought forward to the troops on the front line. Without the additional ammunition, the Germans may have had to give up the defense of Carentan.

Cole had gone back to regimental headquarters and had received orders to continue the attack. For the remainder of the night he prepared what was left of his battalion for another move toward Carentan. Company H with its 84 men would lead the attack, and Company G would follow with its 60 remaining troopers. Headquarters reinforced the attack with another 121 men.

At 4 AM on June 11, they moved out. In the darkness they made it to the fourth bridge over the Madeleine River without taking any casualties. The lead scouts veered to the right, which led to hedgerows and four stone buildings, key objectives. The Germans were in the buildings and behind the hedges. The lead scout, Private Albert Dieter, headed straight for the farmhouse. The men behind him were strung out some 200 yards, almost all the way back to the bridge. When Dieter got to within a few yards of the hedgerow, the Germans opened fire. Dieter received a bad arm wound, but he would survive the battle. Two other troopers, close by, were killed instantly. Cole was not far away and requested artillery fire on the German positions. After some harsh words, Cole got what he wanted. Cole watched the artillery coming but did not observe any slackening in the German fire. Cole slid back into the ditch to try and figure out what to do next. Should he sidestep the Germans or should he attack? For a few minutes he was in a quandary. Three days earlier, he had ordered a successful bayonet charge against the Germans. He pondered the pros and cons and finally decided to launch another bayonet attack.

Cole looked across the road and saw his executive officer, Major John Stopka, lying in a ditch.



ABOVE: Carentan was situated on low ground surrounded by canals and marshes. The Germans flooded the region near the coast, and this restricted the mobility of the 101st Airborne and forced it to advance along routes easily defended. OPPOSITE: American paratroopers near Carentan search for a German sniper who killed their fellow soldiers in the foreground. The bocage of the Cotentin Peninsula, with its dense borders of woodland, afforded the Germans excellent defensive positions.

Both: National Archives

ABOVE: A German paratrooper accompanied by two SS soldiers advances through the rubble of the train station in Carentan. The arrival of American tanks and P-47s gave the 101st the force necessary to send the Germans into a headlong retreat. BELOW: American paratroopers enter Carentan on June 12 as smoke billows in the distance. Fighting for the key town was often at close quarters and resulted in heavy casualties for both sides.

"We're going to order smoke from the artillery and make a bayonet charge on the house," Cole told him. Stopka only told those immediately around him about the charge. In a few minutes, the smoke shells began exploding in front of the buildings. Cole blew the whistle for the attack to begin, but only about 20 men got up to follow him. Stopka realized what had happened and began to round up more men to participate in the attack.

By this time, Cole was way ahead of everyone else. When he looked back, he saw almost no one following. As he kneeled down to look back at the ditches, he finally saw several of his men moving toward him. Despite the early disorder, the men charged across the field under heavy enemy fire east of a farmhouse. The men became closely bunched and were told several times by Cole to fan out. Men from Company H reached the farmhouse first and found it abandoned.

To the west on higher ground, the Germans occupied rifle pits and machine-gun emplacements along a hedgerow. The location was soon overrun by the Americans using grenades and bayonets. The enemy's main line of defense was now broken, but they still held ground to the south from which the Americans continued to receive fire. Cole wanted to take advantage of the enemy's disorganization and keep moving, but 3rd Battalion was in no condition to keep going. Word was sent to the rear to request that the 1st Battalion, 502nd Parachute Infantry advance, pass through the 3rd Battalion, and continue the attack south to the high ground.

Instead of relieving the 3rd Battalion, the 1st reinforced it to help secure the ground already gained. At around 6:30 PM, Cole informed regiment that he planned to withdraw and asked to have covering fire and smoke when the time came. Cole's artillery liaison officer, Captain Julian Rosemund, after much difficulty, was finally able to reach the artillery command post by radio.

Every gun was trained on the German position. The artillery barrage lasted only five minutes, and when it stopped the sound of German gunfire was heard receding southward. At 8 PM the 2nd Battalion came up to relieve the 1st and 3rd Battalions. It was a successful end to a long, bloody, tragic day for Cole's paratroopers. The battalion had gone into action with 700 men, but was down to 132. The exhausted 502nd Parachute Infantry had done its job; it had opened the northern route into Carentan. In executing their mission, they had beaten their German counterparts. Cole would be awarded the Medal of Honor for his exploits on June 11 but did not live to receive it. Sadly, a German sniper shot him in September while he was fighting with the 101st Airborne Division in Holland.

During the two days of fighting to get across the causeway, the left wing of the 101st had also been pressing southward. The 327th Glider Infantry made good progress on June 10 and 11. Glider troops seized Brevands and made contact with reconnaissance troops from the 29th Division at Arville-sur-le-Vey on the west bank of the Vire River. The regiment's 1st Battalion met up with part of the 175th Infantry. The rest of the 327th turned west and advanced into the northern outskirts of Carentan by June 12.

During the same period, the 101st's Airborne reserve unit, the 501st Parachute Infantry crossed the Douve, moved around the eastern end of Carentan, and made it to Hill 30, the key objective south of the town. On the evening of June 11-12, Allied naval guns, artillery, mortars, and tank destroyers turned much of Carentan into rubble. In the meantime, the 506th Parachute Infantry crossed the same bridge used earlier by Cole's troopers. They moved southwest in a disorganized, disorienting night march around Carentan that had started at 2 AM on June 12. The 506th Parachute Infantry worked its way to

Hill 30 and into position for the attack on Carentan by daylight.

At 6 AM, the Germans in Carentan were hit from the north by the 1st Battalion of the 401st Glider Infantry and the south by the 2nd Battalion of the 506th Parachute Infantry. Unbeknownst to the Americans, the Germans in the town were low on ammunition and had pulled back to the southwestern part of the town. There were some stragglers left behind to try to slow down the Americans. At 7 AM on June 12, enemy resistance had come to an end. Carentan now belonged to the Americans.

But this was not the end of the story. The Germans wanted Carentan back. The effort to unite the Utah and Omaha sectors was about to be decided near Carentan. Field Marshal Rommel was less concerned about the Americans closing the gap in the two beachheads than by the threat to Carentan.

On the afternoon of June 12, the 506th and the 501st Parachute Infantry Regiments had started to secure the southeastern approaches to the town. Suddenly, a small German force attacked the 506th Parachute Infantry. The Germans were driven back to Douville, where the American advance was stopped by entrenched Germans. The ensuing firefight lasted the rest of the day. On the morning of June 13, Taylor placed the 506th and the 501st in the hedgerows and on the high ground southwest of Carentan. As the American forces advanced, the Germans launched a major counterattack. The Germans had assembled a battle group that consisted of tanks and infantry from Brig. Gen. Otto Baum's newly arrived 17th SS Panzergrenadier Division and the remnants of von der Heydte's 6th Parachute Regiment. The Germans struck the 501st Parachute Infantry south of Hill 30. Another powerful attack occurred when the 506th was attacked along the Carentan-Baupte road west of Hill 30. While defending themselves against the attack, the American units became intermingled and accidentally fired on each other. The situation was growing more desperate by the minute for the Americans, with some units falling back.

At the request of Colonel Robert Strayer, commander of the 2nd Battalion, 506th Parachute Infantry, Taylor sent reinforcements to assist the beleaguered Americans and also called in air support. Assistance came in the form of strafing P-47 fighter bombers, antitank guns, and elements of the 2nd Battalion, 502nd Parachute Infantry. Soon the rumbling of tanks could be heard behind the American lines. The tanks were part of a major relief effort by the 2nd Armored Division, which had arrived in Normandy a few days earlier. The American tanks repulsed the German forces along the two main roads and in the surrounding fields.

Tanks from the 2nd Armored's Combat Command A had turned the tide of battle. The Germans were sent into headlong retreat, and the threat to Carentan was over. The arrival of the 2nd Armored's tanks and infantrymen at this key moment on June 13 was no accident. It resulted from the use of intelligence information received from Bradley, who was one of the select few Allied officers to be privy to information received from Ultra, the Allied intelligence program that cracked encrypted German communications. On June 12, Bradley received an Ultra flash message that revealed the German counterattack plans for June 13 at Carentan. "This was one of the rare times in the war when I unreservedly believed Ultra and reacted to it tactically," Bradley later said.

The importance of the capture of Carentan cannot be overstated as part of the success of the Normandy landings. It closed the gap between the Utah and Omaha beachheads, the last gap between the D-Day landing zones, and removed any danger of the Germans isolating the Utah beachheads.

On June 15, the 101st Airborne Division was assigned to VIII Corps and remained in a defensive position around Carentan until relieved on June 27 by the U.S. 83rd Infantry Division. On June 30, the 101st Airborne replaced the 4th Division at Cherbourg, where it remained until returning to England for replacements and training. After Carentan, the 506th Parachute Infantry Regiment's Company E fought in Holland, held the perimeter at Bastogne, led the counterattack in the Battle of the Bulge, and participated in the Rhineland campaign.

National Archives

Americans move through Carentan on June 14 after the town was taken. Capture of the key crossroads not only linked up American forces at Utah and Omaha Beaches, but also led the way for advances on Cherbourg and St. Lo.

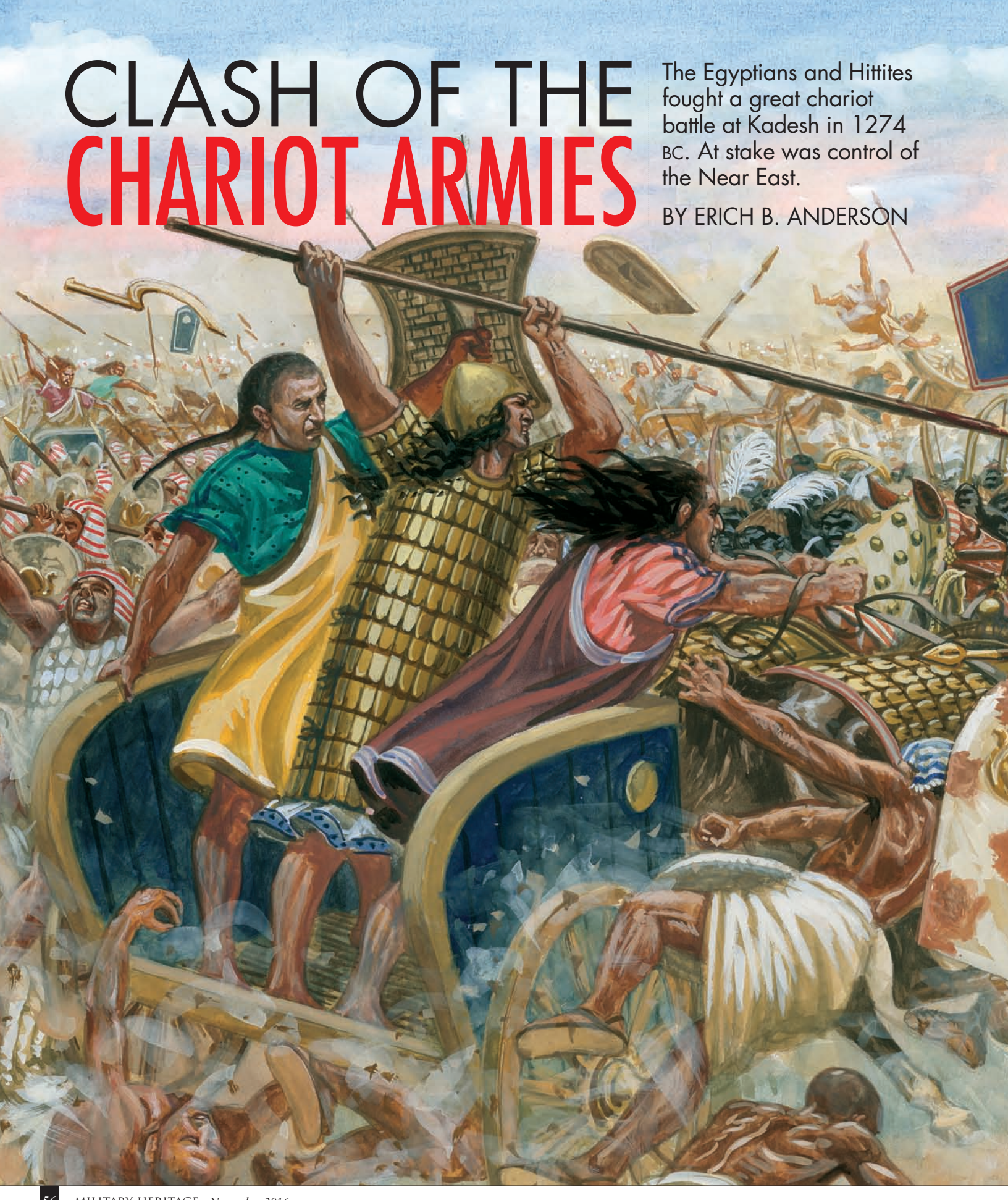
The 101st Airborne Division suffered 150 percent casualties. The Medal of Honor Citation for Cole reads, in part, "Lieutenant Colonel Cole was personally leading his battalion in forcing the last four bridges on the road to Carentan when his entire unit was suddenly pinned to the ground by intense and withering enemy rifle, machine-gun, mortar, and artillery fire placed upon them from well-prepared and heavily fortified positions within 150 yards of the foremost elements. After the devastating and unceasing enemy fire had for over one hour prevented any move and inflicted numerous casualties, Cole, observing this almost hopeless situation, courageously issued orders to assault the enemy positions with fixed bayonets. With utter disregard for his own safety and completely ignoring the enemy fire, he rose to his feet in front of his battalion and with drawn pistol shouted to his men to follow him in the assault."

The successful mission undertaken by the 101st Airborne Division to clear Carentan remains to this day one of the most exhilarating and famous war stories of the Allied invasion of Europe. □

CLASH OF THE CHARIOT ARMIES

The Egyptians and Hittites fought a great chariot battle at Kadesh in 1274 BC. At stake was control of the Near East.

BY ERICH B. ANDERSON



In the cold, early morning of a day in late May 1274 BC, the Egyptian troops of the Re corps were abruptly awoken with shouts, kicks, or nudges. Anxiety and panic rapidly spread among the half-asleep soldiers who were still fatigued from the long march the day before. As one of the four corps of the Egyptian army, the Re corps had traveled northward toward the city of Kadesh and were miles behind the vanguard led by Pharaoh Ramses II. The commotion was caused by an urgent message that the pharaoh's vizier had just delivered to the camp informing Ramses that a vast army of his formidable enemy, the Hittites, was stationed less than two miles away from his advance camp.

For this reason, the pharaoh desperately needed the Re corps to reach him as soon as possible to reinforce the Amun corps he led. If that did not occur, the numerically superior Hittite troops could easily overwhelm his much smaller force. In compliance with Ramses' orders, the men of Re quickly mustered to continue their northward march, but it was too late. Many Hittite chariots had already traveled farther south and were hidden behind the nearby tree line to the east. They were primed and ready to assault the unsuspecting Egyptian soldiers as they tried to reunite with their pharaoh. The devastating attack of the Hittite chariots on the Re corps initiated the Battle of Kadesh, one of the greatest clashes of the ancient world.

Centuries before the conflict between the Hittite Empire and the Kingdom of Egypt, the Egyptian state was forced to become a vassal of the powerful invaders known as the Hyksos. But the Egyptians managed to drive out their oppressors in the 16th century BC and reclaim their inde-

Hittite chariots smash into the Egyptian vanguard at Kadesh. The fate of the Egyptians rested on whether Ramses could rally his men and bring reinforcements to bear.

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pendence. This event marked the establishment of the New Kingdom era from 1565 to 1085 BC.

The Hyksos occupation of northern Egypt had a profound influence on the Egyptian kingdom. From then on, the Egyptians adopted an offensive strategy to prevent another foreign invasion on their eastern borders. Thus, the main focus of future pharaohs became the domination of the northern lands all the way to the region of Syria. Consequently, the military also rose in prominence within Egyptian society as it successfully conquered many independent states along the Mediterranean coast of Canaan and the Near East.

One of the most successful rulers of the new class of imperialistic pharaohs was Tuthmosis III. He led several military campaigns that secured Egyptian control over lands as far north as Ugarit by the end of his reign, including the strategic locations of Amurru, the Eleutheros Valley, and the city of Kadesh. With these vital possessions, the Egyptians were able to move their armies farther inland from the coast and retain their dominion over southern Syria.

If the Egyptians lost their access to the Eleutheros Valley and Kadesh, the northern border of their imperial territory would become extremely vulnerable to attack from the Kingdom of Mitanni, which was the most powerful state in the region. The Kingdom of Egypt, however, did not have the resources to garrison the troops necessary to maintain its domination over lands that were more than 600 miles away from its homeland. Therefore, Pharaoh Tuthmosis IV was forced to make a treaty with the ruler of Mitanni that established the border between the two Bronze Age superpowers in the second half of the 15th century BC. In the agreement, Egypt lost much of the territory won by the new pharaoh's predecessors, yet he managed to retain control over Kadesh, Amurru, and the Eleutheros Valley.

The treaty brought peace to the two rival kingdoms for many decades until a new power arose in the region: the Hittites. These warlike people of Anatolia conquered the Mitanni in the 14th century BC. Their rise dramatically changed the territorial status quo in the region. Whereas the Egyptians considered the border established in the treaty with Mitanni as permanent, the Hittites did not feel the same way. Yet the Hittites were careful at first to avoid war with the Egyptians, focusing their attacks primarily on Mitanni until the kingdom was overtaken. Once they had conquered the Mitanni lands in southern Anatolia and northern Syria, the Hittites began taking Egyptian territory, starting with Kadesh.

The Egyptians were slow to react to the seizure of the strategic northern city. Initially, the Egyptians attempted to rely on the vassal ruler of Amurru to reclaim Kadesh. When that plan failed, Pharaoh Akhenaten sent Egyptian troops to attack the city. They also failed to take back Kadesh. Egypt's fortunes diminished even more shortly afterward, for the king of Amurru changed sides and pledged his loyalty to the Hittite ruler. Since Hittite princes directly ruled over the Syrian cities of Aleppo and Carchemish with their own troops under their command, the ruler of Amurru decided it was better to side with such a dangerous force nearby rather than the Egyptian kingdom that was hundreds of miles away.

Following the controversial reign of Pharaoh Akhenaten and that of his son, Tutankhamun, Egypt was effectively ruled by three different generals. None of these military commanders was able to reclaim the important imperial territories of Kadesh and Amurru. But when Pharaoh Ramses I came to power, a new line of kings was initiated, known as the 19th Dynasty. Ramses' successors were fully aware of the lost Syrian lands and were determined to win them back by any means necessary. Sety I led a campaign to the north during which he not only managed to seize Amurru and Kadesh, but also invaded Hittite lands and defeated the Syrian vassals of the Hittites on the battlefield.

A major reason for the success of the new pharaoh was that the Hittite king was preoccupied with threats on his eastern border by the resurgent Assyrian Empire. Regardless of this, Sety's gains were short-lived, for both Kadesh and Amurru fell back into the Hittite fold even before the pharaoh had passed away. Yet his son and heir, Ramses II, was present during his father's campaign, which had a major influence on the future pharaoh. Once he ascended the Egyptian throne, Ramses was fully committed to finishing his predecessor's work in southern Syria.

Ramses II became pharaoh of Egypt while he was still in his mid-20s. Early in his reign, one of Ramses' main goals was to emulate the great warrior pharaohs of the previous 18th Dynasty, especially Tuthmosis III. To achieve his goal, he instituted military reforms and prepared the army for distant campaigns. Furthermore, the young pharaoh showed his preference for northern conquests by transforming Avaris, the old capital of the Hyksos, who had previously conquered Egypt, into a powerful military center from which the army could more easily invade the Asian territories. Once rebuilt, he named the new great city on the eastern delta Pi- Ramses.

While Ramses made changes to the army and

had Pi- Ramses constructed, his Hittite rival did not remain idle. King Muwattalli II already had fundamentally changed his empire by transferring the imperial capital from Hattusa in the north to the newly established city of Tarhuntassa in the south. The relocation of the royal city served two purposes. First, it allowed Muwattalli to concentrate his forces in the south in preparation for the inevitable clash with Ramses in Syria. Second, it ensured that the capital was not vulnerable and exposed to northern invaders while the Hittites dealt with either the Egyptians or the Assyrians. Along with the transfer of the imperial center, the Hittite king also reorganized the vassal states in the western and northern regions of the empire. By doing so, Muwattalli increased the manpower he had available to him considerably, so that he could go to war with a huge army composed of native and allied troops from as many as 18 vassal and allied states.

Even though Ramses did not need a pretense for war with the Hittites in Syria, the pharaoh ultimately received one in 1275 BC when the king of Amurru switched his allegiance back to Egypt. In the summer, Ramses gathered his forces and then led them north. The army marched first through Canaan and then along the coast of southern Phoenicia. The pharaoh used his troops to intimidate the vassal states and secure their obedience. Ramses apparently besieged Irqata, and this appears to have resulted in the wealthy cities of Tyre and Byblos submitting without resistance. With Canaan and Phoenicia firmly under his control, the pharaoh then led the army east through the mountains and into Amurru. Once the Egyptians reached their former vassal state of Benteshina, the king of Amurru formally gave his pledge of allegiance to Ramses. The pharaoh then led his army back to Egypt.

It did not take long for King Muwattalli to learn that Benteshina had defected, which not only put the city of Kadesh at great risk but also severely threatened the vital Syrian cities of Aleppo and Carchemish that did not have enough troops to stand against the full might of Egypt. Therefore, throughout the winter and into the spring of 1274 BC, the Hittite ruler mustered the army, calling in troops from all corners of the empire. Along with the native, allied, and vassal troops raised from within the lands of Great Hatti, Muwattalli also spent a substantial amount of silver to recruit a considerable number of mercenaries.

Hiring foreign soldiers increased the size of the army even further, but it resulted in a major drawback. Muwattalli had depleted his funds, which meant that many of his own troops went

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ABOVE: Hittite deities are depicted in an ancient bas relief armed with a sickle-shaped sword known as a khopesh. The ubiquitous weapon was used by both sides at Kadesh. OPPOSITE: An ancient bas relief is believed to depict a Hittite chariot in combat. The three-man Hittite chariots were no match for the faster and more agile two-man Egyptian chariots at Kadesh.

without pay in exchange for the promise that they could thoroughly plunder the riches of the defeated foe. The promise satisfied the Hittite troops leading up to the campaign, but it had the potential of creating disastrous consequences if their expectations were not fulfilled. Yet Muwattalli was willing to take that risk for he had managed to raise an enormous army of approximately 37,000 infantry, 10,500 charioteers, and 3,500 chariots.

Ramses also oversaw the preparations for the second northern campaign that would build upon the success of the previous year. The pharaoh assembled all four corps of the Egyptian field army. The first corps was Amun, composed of men recruited from the city of Thebes. Ramses personally led the Amun corps, which traveled with him and his royal entourage in the vanguard. The second corps was Re with soldiers from the city of Heliopolis. The third corps was Sutekh, whose troops came predominately from the pharaoh's new military base at Pi- Ramses and from the rest of the northeastern Nile Delta region. The fourth corps was Ptah, raised from Memphis and the surrounding territory. The Egyptian army had approximately 16,000 infantry, 4,000 charioteers, and 2,000 chariots.

Most of the Egyptian troops fought for one of the four corps of the field army, though Ramses relied on other soldiers as well. Many foreign mercenaries and slave-soldiers from Canaan, Nubia, and Libya were included in the four main corps, though there were also some who served in their own units composed of their fellow countrymen. One of the most important contingents of foreign warriors was the Sherden, who so impressed Ramses with their martial abilities that they served in his royal bodyguard. The Sherden warriors were known for the unique horned helmets they wore and for fighting with straight, long swords. Furthermore, the pharaoh had also sent a detachment of elite warriors known as the Ne'arin from the land of Amor to travel ahead of the rest of the army so that they could reach Kadesh from the north. Yet, even with the foreign troops at their disposal, the Egyptians were still outnumbered by the Hittite forces.

In late April 1274 BC, Ramses led his army from Pi- Ramses and the eastern Nile Delta toward the fortress of Tjel on the border of the Egyptian homeland. From there, the Egyptians continued

their march along the coast to Gaza. Ramses and the Amun corps traveled first, followed by the other three corps. All four corps of the field army traveled separately so that they could supplement their rations and provisions by living off the land. If such a large body of troops marched together they risked depleting the countryside, which would make foraging impossible.

One month later, the pharaoh and the Amun corps reached a mound known as Kamuat el-Harmel, which was a day's march away to the south of Kadesh, and then they set up camp. After resting for the night, the Egyptians continued their march the next day, traversing the hill country and the forest of Robawi until they came to the Orontes River south of the town of Shabtuna. It is unknown exactly where the Egyptians forded the river; however, it was most likely near Ribla. After the long process of moving so much equipment, men and horses across the waterway, the army continued north toward the plain outside Kadesh.

Ramses and his men did not travel far before they came into contact with two Shosu Bedouin from the region, which were quickly brought before the pharaoh. The tribesmen claimed to have once served the king of Hatti but left the Hittites to side with Ramses and the Egyptians instead. The two men also gave the ruler of Egypt excellent news. When asked where Muwattalli and his Hittite forces were, their response was that once the king of Hatti heard that Ramses was marching northward, he refused to travel any farther south out of fear and decided to remain at Aleppo with his army. The pharaoh rejoiced at the news and then advanced to set up a fortified camp northwest of Kadesh.

NOVA

A reproduction Egyptian chariot in action. Scientists believe that ancient Egyptian chariots may have incorporated various advanced features, such as shock absorbers, antiroll bars, and a convex-shaped rear-view mirror.

While the Egyptian soldiers dug an embankment surrounding the camp and augmented the defenses with lines of infantry shields, Ramses ordered his scouts to survey the area. Shortly afterward they returned to the camp with two captured scouts of the Hittite enemy. At first, the prisoners refused to reveal any information. They were forced to endure a severe beating until they broke their silence. The Hittites were then dragged before the pharaoh to give him the bad news that the Bedouin tribesmen had tricked him. Muwattalli and the Hittite army were not 120 miles away in northern Syria, but only about two miles away from the Egyptian camp. With only the Amun corps with him, Ramses was desperately outnumbered and could easily be annihilated by the nearby Hittite forces. The pharaoh needed the rest of his troops immediately; therefore, Ramses sent his vizier to contact the Re corps as quickly as possible.

Upon the arrival of the vizier to their camp, the men of the Re corps mustered as fast as they could and marched to the rescue of their pharaoh. The vizier then swiftly continued southward to alert the Ptah corps, which had not yet reached as far north as the town Aronama. The Re corps had the difficult task of crossing the Orontes River, which it rapidly forded. Some of the more mobile chariot crews may have even gone ahead toward Ramses' position so that they could reach the pharaoh sooner while the rest of the men still had not made the crossing.

Once the rest of the Re corps had forded the river, they followed behind the chariots but still had to march 6½ miles to get to the Amun camp. A fast pace was set by the officers, and the ranks were motivated and urged on by marching chants and battle trumpets. As the columns continued their march, the most visible landmark was the fortified city of Kadesh to the northeast. Kadesh dominated the landscape not only because it was built atop a great mound, but it also was bordered by both the Orontes River on the farther side and the Al-Mukadiyah tributary of the larger river on the side closer to the troops of the Re corps. Since moats were made on the sides not bordered by the waterways, the mound of Kadesh was virtually an island. Along the banks of the Al-Mukadiyah tributary to the right of the marching columns a thick line of trees, bushes, scrubs, and other vegetation marked its location but hid the waterway from view.

In the heat of midday, the Egyptian troops continued their march. Suddenly, cries of panic began to erupt from the right wing of the columns. Before most of the Re corps could properly react, the flank was brutally assaulted by a mass of heavy Hittite chariots. Many Egyptian soldiers were slain on impact by the long spears of the Hittite warriors and trampled under horses' hooves and vehicles' wheels. Those who managed to dodge the attacks fled in terror. While some Hittite crewmen were struck down or pulled off their chariots, many more Egyptians were killed in the surprise attack. After the Hittite heavy chariots had ripped through the Re corps, the drivers swung their vehicles wide so that they could turn north toward the true objective, the pharaoh and his camp.

The charioteers at the front of the Re column who were not attacked directly saw the Hittite vehicles wheel about and head in the same direction as their march. Once this was realized, the Egyptian chariots drove off as rapidly as possible and a race ensued. One side rushed to warn Ramses. The other desired to take him captive and plunder his camp. The rest of the Re troops, especially the infantry, scattered in all directions, and the corps completely collapsed. Meanwhile, the Amun soldiers in their camp were on high alert behind the defensive shield walls and embankments. The guards keeping watch spotted the two groups moving quickly toward them and noticed that one was a lot larger than the other. The smaller group of Egyptian chariots reached the southern end of the camp first, and the charioteers shouted warnings of the impending attack. Soon after-

ward, the heavy vehicles of the Hittites slammed into the western shield wall.

Even though Ramses and the Amun corps were alarmed by the news of the proximity of the Hittite army, they never would have suspected that an attack would come so soon and from the west. Pitched battles between great states had never before been conducted with such surprise and deception. Therefore, some of the Egyptian soldiers managed to quickly grab their weapons and run to reinforce the guards stationed there. However, their numbers were not sufficient enough to repel the coming onslaught. The Hittite chariots managed to break through the camp's defenses, but the numerous obstacles in their path then slowed the vehicles considerably, allowing the Egyptians to make a counterattack. Taking advantage of the slow-moving, vulnerable crewmen, the Egyptians dragged a number of them off their vehicles and killed them with spear thrusts and slashes from the lethal, curved khopesh sword. Ultimately, the Egyptian assault did not deter the Hittite momentum, for their morale was still high from their success thus far. As more enemy chariots flooded into the camp, the crews in the front began plundering the enemy camp rather than exploiting their penetration by slaying vulnerable Egyptian infantry.

While the pharaoh's bodyguards rushed to protect his family and household staff, Ramses armed himself for battle. The pharaoh then gathered any chariot crews able to fight and led them out of the eastern entrance to swing around and strike the attacking Hittites, even though the Egyptian vehicles were outnumbered. The Hittite heavy chariots had lost much of their cohesion in their lustful pursuit of plunder and were considerably vulnerable to the Egyptian counterassault. Smaller and more mobile than the heavy Hittite vehicles, the Egyptian chariots could turn at much sharper angles. The Egyptian charioteers used the composite bow as their primary weapon as opposed to the long spears of the Hittite crewmen. Unlike the stave bow used by their Nubian contingents, the Egyptian composite bow could fire at much greater distances. When used by skilled archers, the weapon was accurate up to 60 meters and still effective at 175 meters.

Once within range, the archers of the Egyptian chariots rained arrows down upon the clustered groups of Hittite crewmen. The missiles struck many before the Hittites could turn their vehicles and face the sudden assault in their flank and rear. However, even when the Hittite chariots advanced toward the Egyptian attackers, they could not get close enough to engage in combat before they were shot down. The

The Hittites initially drove the Egyptians back on their camp. But as the battle progressed, the Hittite charioteers were unable to outfight their Egyptian counterparts.

design of the heavy Hittite chariots was ideal for shock tactics, but the large size of the vehicle and its three-man crew meant that it moved much slower and was less maneuverable than the Egyptian model. In contrast, the smaller Egyptian type of chariots only carried two men, turning the vehicle into a mobile firing platform ideal for ranged combat rather than to crash into enemy infantry lines. To augment the Egyptian chariot crew, a fleet-footed soldier was assigned to run alongside the chariot and assist the crew in combat. Hittite crewmen were armed with composite bows like their Egyptian counterparts, but the weapon was not used as much and was not nearly as important as it was to the Egyptians.

After witnessing the fate of their comrades who had tried to close with the Egyptians, many of the Hittite charioteers decided to retreat from the enemy camp. Before long the entire Hittite force was in full withdrawal. The battle was not over for Ramses and his men, though. The pharaoh led them in hot pursuit of the fleeing enemy, continually firing arrows. Although many of the Hittite chariots dispersed, making the individual targets harder to hit, their horses were spent, which caused them to move much slower than the fresh steeds of the Amun corps' chariots. The Hittite drivers continued to spur the horses on in desperation, hoping to make it back to the safety of the other side of the Al-Mukadiyah tributary as fast as possible.

King Muwattalli of Hatti was able to view the confrontation from his vantage point near Kadesh and watched in frustration as Ramses and the Egyptians were routing his elite chariot force. The Hittite king quickly came to the realization that if the Egyptians were not stopped they would most likely kill nearly all of the chariot detachment that had been sent against them before the Hittites could cross the tributary. Therefore, Muwattalli turned to those around him, including aristocratic warriors, members of the royal family, and allied leaders, and ordered them to ford the Orontes River to make a diversionary attack on the Egyptians. The ad-hoc force immediately followed the king's orders and crossed the waterway as fast as possible.

Once on the other side of the river, the elite chariot crews headed straight for the Amun camp while Ramses and the bulk of the Egyptian vehicles were still away to the south chasing their com-

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rades. At that point, the members of the Egyptian royal household, which included Ramses' young sons, were even more vulnerable than they were during the first Hittite attack. The Sherden and the other elite warriors of the royal bodyguard were ready to die fighting to protect the Egyptian princes, but the sacrifice was unnecessary. The Ne'arin had finally appeared in the north after traversing over Amurru through the Eleutheros Valley, ready to enter the battlefield at the most opportune moment for Ramses and the Egyptians. The Ne'arin chariots rushed to the aid of the Amun soldiers still in the camp and unleashed a barrage of arrows upon the royal Hittite charioteers. Like their Hittite comrades, the ad-hoc chariot detachment could not withstand the vicious volleys of missiles, so they fled back to the Orontes River.

While the second Hittite chariot force was racing toward the river, Ramses and his men had returned to help the Ne'arin completely rout those Hittite vehicles as well. The Hittites that managed to reach the Orontes frantically threw themselves into the water to escape the slaughter. Those who fell off their chariots before reaching the river were slain by the Egyptian infantry, who had followed behind their chariots to rejoin the combat. Corpses were robbed of their possessions. More grisly trophies were taken as well, including the severed hands of the deceased enemy soldiers. These body parts not only served as prizes that backed up the foot soldiers' ferocious reputation on the battlefield, but also were a way to keep track of the number of enemy casualties.

The Hittite crewmen that were lucky enough to reach the river were far from safe. Numerous men could not swim across and drowned. These unfortunate souls were either pulled down deeper into the water due to their heavy armor or the current swept them away. Even the Hittite prince of Aleppo nearly drowned, but he was ultimately pulled out of the water by his comrades. Many of the royal and aristocratic warriors of the ad-hoc detachment and the first group of chariot attackers were not so fortunate.

The Hittite casualties included six army officers and four prominent chariot crewmen, along with two of Muwattalli's shield bearers, the captain of the royal bodyguard, the king's secretary, and two of his brothers. The chariot units had been thoroughly devastated, even though some of the crewmen managed to make it to safety. In contrast, the Hittite infantry units were more fortunate. They remained completely intact because they did not participate in the combat.

The Re and Amun corps of the Egyptian army took heavy losses as well. But the pharaoh was left in control of the battlefield. Furthermore, reinforcements in the form of the Ptah corps had finally arrived, followed by the troops of Sutekh later that same day. For fleeing from the battlefield and abandoning their ruler, Ramses likely had the Re and Amun soldiers severely punished in front of the rest of his army to set an example.

Ramses may have led his troops across the river the next day to attack the Hittite army near its camp, but this cannot be confirmed. Even if it did occur, it did not change the outcome. Due to the heavy losses of chariots, the Hittite army was significantly weaker in that aspect, but its infantry still vastly outnumbered the Egyptian foot soldiers. Regardless, the Egyptian accounts claim that the Hittite king begged Ramses for mercy and pledged to become his vassal. This is highly unlikely, though, for Muwattalli still held the city of Kadesh and did not give the Egyptians possession of it after the battle. The encounter resulted in a stalemate.

Since Ramses did not have the manpower to storm Kadesh, the pharaoh returned to Egypt with his army. Shortly afterward, Muwattalli moved into Amurru with his troops and captured King Benteshina for changing sides to support the Egyptians. The prisoner was then

hauled off north to Hattusas in the Hittite homeland and was replaced by a new ruler, Shapili. Although exiled, Benteshina would eventually find favor with the brother and senior adviser of the Hittite ruler, Hattusili, and was later allowed to live in his northern capital of Hakpis.

With Amurru and the city of Kadesh back firmly under his control, Muwattalli turned out to be the true victor of the battle. The Great King of Hatti may have failed to completely crush the Egyptians with his enormous army, but that was unnecessary after he successfully prevented Ramses from taking any of his Syrian vassal states. Muwattalli followed up his success by marching south with his forces and invading Egyptian home territory. The Hittites first conquered Kumidi and the prosperous city of Damascus, which then allowed the Hittite king to seize control over the entire province of Upe. The king of Hatti gave the prestigious position of governing the former Egyptian land to Hattusili. After adding Upe to the firmly reestablished buffer states of Kadesh and Amurru, Muwattalli was ready to return to the heartland of his empire.

As Ramses and the Egyptians traveled through the cities of Canaan on their return journey home, they were jeered by their imperial subjects. Despite his failure to accomplish any of his goals, the pharaoh still entered Pi-Ramses in great triumph in late June 1274 BC. Trailing behind Ramses was a parade of Hittite captives and plunder taken after the battle to give the people the impression that Egypt was the sole victor of the conflict. The spectacular display may have worked on the Egyptians, but the Canaanite vassals were clearly not impressed by the performance of the Egyptian army at the battlefield near Kadesh. By the time Ramses and his forces had reached the eastern Delta city, rebellion had erupted throughout Canaan and Palestine.

Ramses was not the only one who had major issues to deal with after the battle, for Muwattalli's success in Upe was followed by an attack from the powerful Assyrian Empire in the east. While Hatti and Egypt were preoccupied fighting each other, the Assyrian ruler Adad-nirari I exploited the vulnerability of the Hittite Empire by conquering its ally Hanigalbat. By doing so, the Assyrians became an even greater threat on the eastern border of Hatti territory.

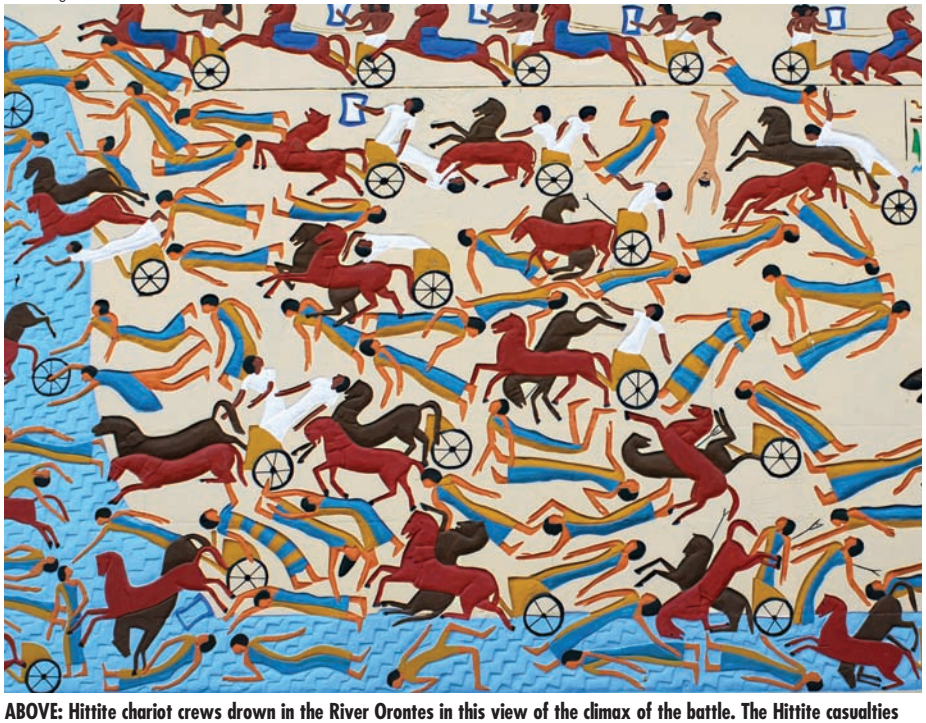
Despite the revolts that broke out across his subject territories, Ramses began to immediately prepare for the construction of huge monuments to display his great victory at the Battle of Kadesh. Amurru and Kadesh may have remained lost to Egypt, but Ramses was much more concerned with showing his bravery and martial prowess for all to see rather than admitting to his failure. In the end, the pharaoh did his best to make sure that accounts of the confrontation were immortalized, for they were recorded not only on the Ramesseum, but also on the temples of Luxor, Abydos, Karnak, and Abu Simbel. In these impressive images and accompanying literary records, the battle was depicted as a much grander engagement, and the pharaoh's role in it was exaggerated. In following Ramses' instructions, the Egyptian accounts implausibly claimed that the pharaoh singlehandedly defeated thousands of Hittite chariots.

Once the construction projects were underway, Ramses spent the next few years of his reign ending the rebellions in the north and reestablishing his rule over Canaan, Palestine, and Syria. After the revolts were put down, the pharaoh moved on to reclaim Kumidi, Damascus, and the province of Upe. Ramses then copied the strategy of Adad-nirari by attacking the Hittites while they were distracted by threats from the Assyrian Empire. By 1269 BC, the pharaoh led his army eastward in a campaign to completely bypass the fortress of Kadesh and then invaded Hittite territory to capture the cities of Dapur and Tunip. With those Hittite lands in his possession, Ramses successfully cut off the city of Kadesh and most of Amurru from the rest of the rival empire. The pharaoh had finally achieved some semblance of the goal he had initially set. The ruler of Egypt may not have reclaimed its lost lands, but he had drastically decreased the importance of those territories.

Dapur and Tunip did not retain their allegiance to Egypt; they reverted to the Hittites once Ramses left. The pharaoh may have taken the cities several more times but never managed to keep control of them. For a decade tensions remained high between the Kingdom of Egypt and the Hittite Empire. Despite their mutual animosity, another major confrontation never occurred. The danger of Assyrian invasions and a power struggle over the Hittite throne prevented another major army, such as the one led by Muwattalli, from ever engaging Egyptian forces. As for the Egyptians, they did not have the logistical capabilities to invade and retain any lands in northern Syria.

In the long run, the Hittites could no longer hold up under threats from two fronts; therefore, in November 1259 BC, the new ruler of Hittite Empire, Hattusili III, reached out to Ramses, and the two kings formally made peace with a treaty. To strengthen the new alliance, the Hittite king allowed the pharaoh to marry his daughter. Ramses publicly stated how pleased he was with the union, which was a redeeming factor for the pharaoh when peace ultimately meant that he would never emulate his idol, Tuthmosis III, and reclaim the lost lands of Kadesh and Amurru. □

AKG Images

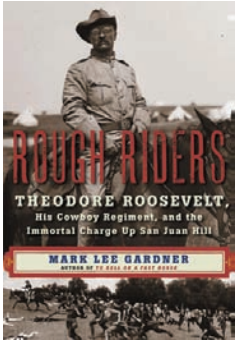


ABOVE: Hittite chariot crews drown in the River Orontes in this view of the climax of the battle. The Hittite casualties were heavy and included six army officers and many of Muwattalli's prominent bodyguards. OPPOSITE: Ramses is shown in the thick of the fighting in a modern painting. Through his counterattack, Ramses gained possession of the battlefield and a legitimate claim to a tactical victory.

By Christopher Miskimon?

The Rough Riders and their famous leader have become icons of American courage, patriotism, and determination.

THE LATE MORNING OF JULY 1, 1898, WAS A TENSE TIME FOR THE 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry. Known far and wide as the "Rough Riders," these American soldiers had earlier advanced toward San Juan Hill near Santiago, Cuba, after crossing a small stream. Their commander, Lt. Col. Theodore Roosevelt, had resigned a safe position as assistant secretary of the Navy to join the regiment and serve his country in the Spanish-American War. That morning he led his men forward against the Spanish-held heights beyond. They were to join with an infantry unit expected to arrive shortly. Then, the two units would attack the position together.



Lt. Col. Theodore Roosevelt leads the 1st U.S. Volunteer Cavalry up Kettle Hill outside Santiago, Cuba, during the Spanish–American War.

Roosevelt halted his men at a sunken road to await the infantry. He ordered them to face toward nearby Kettle Hill, so named for the large kettle that sat atop it, which was used for refining sugar. The men took cover as Spanish troops fired volley after volley, and a few well-hidden snipers took aim for them. The enemy was armed with a superior Mauser rifle using the new smokeless powder, making them hard to spot and fire upon. Every man in the regiment felt the weight of the Spanish fire raining down.

One of the Rough Rider officers, Captain William "Buckey" O'Neill, walked calmly along the road, smoking a cigarette. He ignored the danger, even though he surely recognized it. This was a common trait among leaders who wished to impress their soldiers with their bravery. In that era, such behavior was openly criticized as foolish, but it was expected anyway. A sergeant called to O'Neill to take cover, but the captain said, "Sergeant, the Spanish bullet isn't made that will kill me." Three minutes later, one of those bullets smashed through O'Neill's mouth and came out the back of his head, killing him almost instantly. A Rough Rider and two African American soldiers from the 10th Cavalry spotted the sniper 300 yards away. They crept forward until they were 100 yards away from him and shot him as retribution for killing O'Neill.

National Guard Heritage Collection

It was an inauspicious start to the day's action, but within hours the Rough Riders would gain their fill of fame and glory when they charged up Kettle Hill alongside regular troops, seized it, and helped hold off a Spanish counterattack. The action was quickly reported around the United States by a press eager to highlight Roosevelt's exploits, often to the annoyance of the regular troops who had made the same attack mixed in with their volunteer comrades in arms. For an America eager to come to grips with Spain, it was a glorious moment for its citizen-soldiers. The battle and its context are presented in great detail in ***Rough Riders: Theodore Roosevelt, His Cowboy Regiment, and the Immortal Charge Up San Juan Hill***

(Mark Lee Gardner, William Morrow, New York, 2016, 352 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $26.99, hardcover).

The book focuses heavily on Roosevelt, who was crucial to the formation of the regiment. Once he knew war with Spain was coming, Roosevelt did everything in his power to get the unit raised and ensure his place in it. For much of the campaign, he was actually the second in command; the regiment was led by his friend, Brig. Gen. Leonard Wood. Eventually, the Army promoted Wood to a higher command, allowing Roosevelt to take charge. From the beginning the press, which loved to cover Roosevelt, gave him and the unit so much attention it seemed there were no other units in the Army. The Rough Riders had a lot to live up to, but in the end they delivered. Their stories became the stuff of legend.

The story is told from the moment war began to loom through the regiment's formation, training, and deployment. The unit's time in the Cuban campaign forms the bulk of the text. It is followed by an account of the Rough Riders' return home, mustering out, and postwar history. The author takes a tale that is already well known and breathes new life into it through detailed research, close attention to detail, and gripping narrative. He also does an excellent job of separating fact from fiction. The book is a worthy addition to the body of work surrounding this iconic tale of American history.

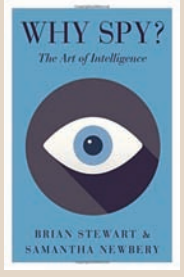
Camden 1780: The Annihilation of Gate's Grand Army (David Smith, Osprey Publishing, Oxford, UK, 2016, 96 pp., maps, illustrations, bibliography, index, $24.00, softcover)

The British changed the focus of their campaign after their defeat at Saratoga in 1777, shifting their weight to the Southern Colonies in the hope of bringing them to heel more easily than New England. General Charles Cornwallis was placed in command of this effort. Cornwallis lacked the numbers to hold this vast region, so instead he went over to the offensive, seeking to defeat any force significant enough to oppose him before the colonial troops could gather in overwhelming numbers. The British were able to seize Charleston and its vital harbor before moving inland. Opposing them was American Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates at the head of a substantial force of mixed regulars and militia. They met in a pine forest near Camden, South Carolina, where the British routed the Patriots.

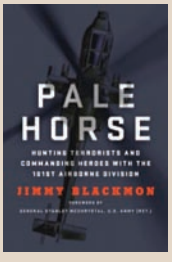
SHORT BURSTS

Pumpkin Flowers: A Soldier's Story (Matti Friedman, Algonquin Books, 2016, $25.95, hardcover) This is a memoir of the author's time at an Israeli outpost in Lebanon during the 1990s. It was a conflict during an undeclared war and would affect the young men's lives in the years that followed.

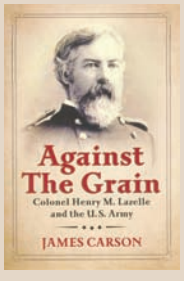
Waterloo 1815: Battle Story (Gregory Fremont-Barnes, Dundurn Books, 2016, $17.95, hardcover) This is a concise, yet detailed, retelling of one of Europe's most pivotal battles. The work includes multiple sidebars that convey interesting vignettes.



Why Spy? The Art of Intelligence (Brian Stewart and Samantha Newbery, Oxford University Press, 2016, $29.95, hardcover) The authors take a close look at the influence of intelligence on history and military campaigns based on Stewart's decades of experience.

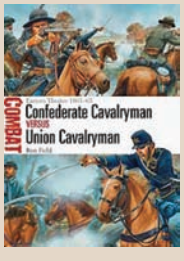


Pale Horse: Hunting Terrorists and Commanding Heroes with the 101st Airborne Division (Jimmy Blackmon, St. Martin's Press, 2016, $27.99, hardcover) The author commanded a helicopter brigade of the 101st Airborne in Afghanistan. He relates the story of the soldiers he felt honored to command.

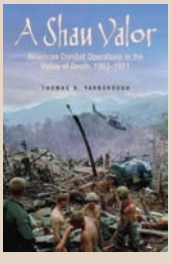


Against the Grain: Colonel Henry M. Lazelle and the U.S. Army (James Carson, University of North Texas Press, 2016, $32.95, hardcover) Lazelle was an American Civil War veteran who became embroiled in postwar controversy. This biography examines his life and achievements.

British Redcoat versus French Fusilier: North America 1755-63 (Stuart Reid, Osprey Publishing, 2016, $20.00, softcover) The book furnishes an in-depth look at soldiers on both sides of the French and Indian War. The author analyzes tactics, equipment, and battles of that conflict.



Confederate Cavalryman versus Union Cavalryman: Eastern Theater, 1861-65 (Ron Field, Osprey Publishing, $20.00, softcover) The author holds that cavalry was an important force on the battlefield during the American Civil War. He makes his case by comparing Union and Confederate cavalry and assessing how well each performed in various situations.

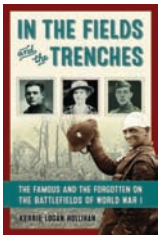


A Shau Valor: American Combat Operations in the Valley of Death 1963-1971 (Thomas Yarborough, Casemate Publishers, 2016, $32.95, hardcover) The North Vietnamese Army and the U.S. Army clashed frequently in this strategic valley near the Ho Chi Minh Trail. The author covers the nine years of fighting that occurred there.

A History of No. 6 Squadron: Royal Naval Air Service in World War I (Mike Westrop, Schiffer Books, 2016, $59.95, hardcover) This is a close look a British naval air unit on the Western Front in World War I. It draws on original documents and includes excellent illustrations.

Osprey books are known for their excellent maps and lavish illustrations, including original artwork. This volume has both in abundance. The text is concise yet detailed, focusing on the subject matter in question. This book offers comprehensive coverage not only of the Battle of Camden, but also the outcome of the battle.

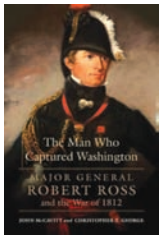
In the Fields and the Trenches: The Famous and the Forgotten on the Battlefields of World War I (Kerrie Logan Hollihan, Chicago Review Press, 2016, 186 pp., map ,photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $19.95, hardcover)



The assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand started a chain reaction that plunged much of the world into the hell of World War I. It pulled people from all walks of life into it, forcing them to set aside their plans and dreams to deal with the war's demands. Irene Curie, daughter of the famous scientist Marie, went to the front to work in the medical field. J.R.R. Tolkien, who would write *The Lord of the Rings,* went into battle in 1916 as a signal officer. The horror he witnessed there heavily influenced his writing in the decades to follow. Harry Truman, a future president of the United States, went to war as a young artillery officer. An unknown African American man, Henry Lincoln Johnson, worked as a porter before the war, but in the trenches he gained fame for almost singlehandedly fighting off a German raiding party, inflicting 28 casualties.

Some of the people covered in this book are household names; others gained fame during the war, but found it fleeting afterward. The author compiles the stories of a dozen such participants, outlining each of their lives and explaining how they came to take part in the war. The conflict's effects on them are also given attention. This work provides good examples of how the war's effects ripple through time long after the guns finally fall silent.

The Man Who Captured Washington: Major General Robert Ross and the War of 1812



(John McCavitt and Christopher T. George, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2016, 297 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $29.95, hardcover)

Major General Robert Ross is relatively unknown, but his actions during the War of 1812 resound even today. Irish by birth, he rose in the British Army through skill and battlefield bravery, serving in campaigns in both Europe and North Africa. Soon after the war in Europe subsided,

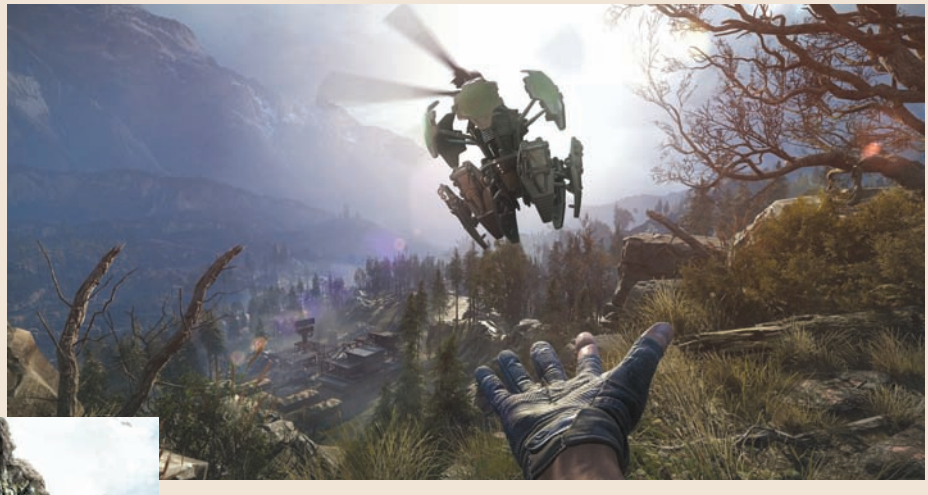
simulation gaming *By Joseph Luster*

THE *SNIPER* SERIES ATTEMPTS TO ENTER A HUGE OPEN-WORLD ENVIRONMENT, WHILE *CIVILIZATION VI* BRINGS BACK MORE CHARMING AND CHALLENGING STRATEGY.

SNIPER: GHOST WARRIOR 3

The cold and ruthless silence of sniping mixes even further with high-tech solutions and ghost-like infiltration in *Sniper: Ghost Warrior 3,* which is coming to PlayStation 4, Xbox One, and PC on January 27, 2017. While initially scheduled to launch within 2016, developer and publisher CI Games decided to give itself some breathing room to ensure the final product is as exceptional as possible. While time will still tell at this point, the latest entry in the series is shaping up to be a promising one.

PUBLISHER CI GAMES
GENRE SHOOTER
SYSTEM(S) PS4, XBOX ONE, PC
AVAILABLE JANUARY 2017



A key feature that makes *Sniper: Ghost Warrior 3* a larger undertaking than previous entries is its open-world environment. This time around players are dropped in modern-day Georgia where they must work against impossible odds to prevent another Cold War from happening. The story centers on Jonathan North, a retired American Marine assigned to eliminate an intruder in Georgia with whom he happens to share a dark and mysterious past. The results are a sandbox-style experience that will have players thinking and acting on their toes while taking on a number of harrowing missions across different locations.

Thankfully, players won't be acting alone in the process. In addition to some fresh parkour-style moves and high-tech weaponry, one of the most invaluable devices is the Recon Drone. This scouting device allows for easier exploration of the Caucasus environment, throughout which plenty of potentially deadly situations await. Players can scout enemy outposts and prepare for infiltration or line up a long-range attack in advance. The drone will also come in handy for detecting exploitable structural weaknesses, pointing out hazards before they can surprise you, hacking computers, and a variety of other tactics that will offer a much-needed advantage when traversing unknown terrain.

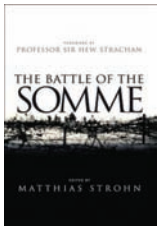
Speaking of terrain traversal, those bold enough to hit the roads will be able to do so in a vehicle that can be upgraded through various mods both discovered and crafted along the way. It's not just a means of getting around, though, because the vehicle also acts as a mobile secondary safe house and a place to store weapons. Just because you can keep your stash in one place on the go doesn't make it any less dangerous, of course. There are plenty of outposts and motorized enemies to up the challenge while rolling around the expansive landscape.

Considering how much is going on in *Sniper: Ghost Warrior 3,* it's definitely a good thing that the team at CI Games is taking its time. Open-world games are a dime a dozen these days, but

while recovering from a wound, he was sent to North America to lead operations in the Chesapeake Bay Region. He defeated the Americans at the Battle of Bladensburg in August 1814 before moving on to Washington, D.C. Much of the new American capital was burned by his troops. Baltimore was the next objective, selected in part for the privateers that regularly sailed from its port. Ross met his fate in Baltimore; an American sharpshooter killed him as the British force marched into the Battle of North Point.

This work is part of the University of Oklahoma's Campaigns and Commanders series, which looks at significant military leaders and the conflicts they fought. The authors place Ross in context with the larger events around him and seek to clarify some of the myths and controversies that have arisen about the man and his death. Ross took part in the campaign that gave rise to the "Star-Spangled Banner" and notable events in American history. The authors have produced a biography that tells us a great deal about Ross and the world around him.

The Battle of the Somme (Matthias Strohn, ed., Osprey Publishing, Oxford, UK, 2016, 288 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $35.00, hardcover)



The Somme was one of the largest battles of World War I, involving nearly five million soldiers. Of the five million participants, one million became casualties over the 4½ months of fighting in 1916. The offensive was designed to pin German forces and deny them the ability to move reinforcements to other areas, such as the maelstrom at Verdun. Prior attacks around the periphery of the Central Powers, such as Gallipoli and Salonika, had failed, so the Allies opted for a frontal assault where the opposing armies could grapple more evenly. The resulting fighting was so horrific it practically defines modern ideas of trench warfare and senseless conflict. The terrible conditions and vast destruction have left their mark both on human thought and the physical landscape a century later.

Rather than another chronological retelling of the Somme, this volume is a collection of articles on the battle, compiled from the works of a dozen of the best historians and writers on the subject. Each chapter focuses on a specific aspect, such as leadership, evolving tactics, the air war, and the different methods of the armies involved. Each provides the reader with in-depth coverage of topics that often receive scant attention in a more general book. With the centennial of the battle occurring this year, many new books on the Somme have been published. What makes this one stand out is the rigorous

they really have a chance to make an impact when given the right amount of care and attention to detail during the development process. We'll be sure to come back and report on how things turn out once *Sniper 3* is ready near the start of next year.

SID MEIER'S CIVILIZATION VI

The developers at Firaxis are currently hard at work on the next entry in the *Civilization* series, which should be nearing its worldwide October 21 launch date by the time this is in the hands of readers. According to preview builds showcased at events like E3, it looks like fans of the series can look forward to some welcome improvements, as Firaxis is hoping to keep players from falling into a strategic routine that makes the approach to each session less of a thrill. In its place is a focus on procedurally generated maps that will make for a more fluid experience, with each game of *Civilization VI* promising something different and unpredictable.

PUBLISHER
2K GAMES

GENRE
STRATEGY

SYSTEM(S)
PC, MACOS, LINUX

AVAILABLE
OCTOBER 21

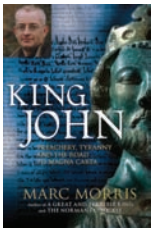
One of the new features of *Civilization VI* places emphasis on building up specific districts within cities, rewarding players for proper strategic placement, and granting bonuses as a result. For example, the placement of a military encampment district will grant bonuses to military structures, but you won't be able to place this district right next to the city center. There are also bonuses given in exchange for placement on the proper terrain, such as placing universities in forested areas to allow for the direct study of species diversity.

For a closer look at the history that fuels *Civilization,* the team recently put the spotlight on 16th-century Spain and its 48-year ruler, Philip II. Conquistadors are one of the unique units available in Spain—appropriately, they get a significant bonus when a Spanish Missionary, Inquisitor, or Apostle is on their hex—and players can also look forward to the improvement of the Spanish Mission. Historically speaking, missions were an attempt to convert indigenous peoples throughout the New World to Christianity, and they play a large role in the development of Spain within the game. Missions give bonus faith when built on a different continent from the capitol, and it grants science when built next to a campus.

As for the country's special ability, "Treasure Fleet" makes it so Spain's trade routes between continents give extra yields, and they can combine ships into fleets earlier than other civilizations. Other benefits of playing with Spain include a combat bonus against players following other religions and Inquisitors that can remove heresy one extra time. Spain is all about growth through religious influence and the bonuses tied to spreading it across the globe, so it should be interesting to see how it works within the grand scheme of *Civilization VI.* □

scholarship of the authors, who obviously care about their material.

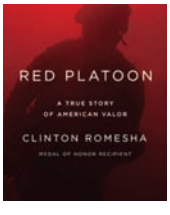
King John: Treachery and Tyranny in Medieval England: The Road to Magna Carta (Marc Morris, Pegasus Books, New York, 2015, 408 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $28.95, hardcover)



English King John is widely known as the villain in the Robin Hood stories. It is easy to make him out a villain; indeed, many of his actions would be seen as immoral today. He was the youngest son in his family, with only limited chances for glory or rule. He rose to power through a combination of murder, rebellion, and treachery of Shakespearian proportions. Described as "dynamic, inventive, and relentless," his rule set the standard for ruthlessness. John invaded Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, and he imposed taxes through the use of force. Eventually, it all became too much. His leading subjects rebelled against him, forcing him to sign the Magna Carta in 1215, which placed limits on royal power. John rejected the document, however, and this led to further warfare and his own demise.

John was a pivotal figure in English history, and this biography dramatically highlights his life. It draws largely on contemporary documents, including the king's own correspondence. The book looks at how John's rule affected England and its later evolution as a nation. The author is an acknowledged scholar on the period, and his expertise shows through both in the documentation he uses to argue his points and the smooth, fluid prose that allows him to make his points clearly.

Red Platoon: A True Story of American Valor (Clinton Romesha, Dutton Books, New York, 2016, 378 pp., maps, photographs, notes, $28.00, hardcover)



Combat Outpost Keating was going to be shut down. The most remote of a string of outposts in Afghanistan's Nuristan Province, it was built to prevent Taliban fighters from moving freely between Pakistan and Afghanistan. But it proved to be indefensible against enemy attack and difficult to reinforce. By late 2009, the U.S. military decided to dismantle the outpost on the grounds that it was too vulnerable. A platoon from the 4th Infantry Division was sent in to close it down.

Three days before they were to begin, the local Taliban decided to attack the outpost and destroy it. More than 300 of them gathered and assaulted the base, determined to shut it down their own way. They were able to get through the American perimeter and the situation was dire. Staff Sergeant Clinton Romesha helped organize the defense and then led a counterattack against the Taliban that forced them out of the outpost. The fight lasted 13 hours and left eight Americans and 150 Taliban dead.

Romesha was later awarded the Medal of Honor for his actions that day. This is the story of the battle at the outpost in his words. He makes it not just his story, but that of all 50 American soldiers at the outpost that day. This is not a dry retelling through time-distant interviews and official reports, but a personal view of the fighting by participants. It shows them as human beings placed in extreme circumstances rather than as overly dramatized stereotypes. The book is a fitting tribute to the soldiers who fell there.

Revolution on the Hudson: New York City and the Hudson River Valley in the War of American Independence (George C. Daughan, W.W. Norton, New York, 2016, 432 pp., maps, illustration, notes, bibliography, index, $28.95, hardcover)

The area around New York City and the Hudson River was one of the most vital in the American Revolution. New York was one of the largest cities on the continent at the time. After the British captured the city in 1776, it was a starting point for the campaign to capture Philadelphia in 1777-1778. It also had a key role to play in the ill-fated Saratoga campaign of 1777. If British General John Burgoyne had succeeded in securing the Hudson River Valley as planned, the colonies would have been split in two. Many important battles were fought in and around New York throughout the American Revolution. Although Great Britain would retain control of the city until war's end, it did not grant them victory.

This book highlights a role geography played in the war's outcome. It also touches upon the arrogance of English leadership and what it cost them. The author effectively argues that the British failure to seize control of the Hudson River Valley transformed the war from a conflict the English should have won into one they could not win despite successes in other regions. It is a compelling history of the region's importance to American victory. □

militaria

Continued from page 22

Throughout 2013 the museum was in the process of updating its World War I collection in anticipation of the conflict's 100th anniversary. Among the artifacts of note is a rare M1907 8mm Roth-Krnka self-loading pistol, a handgun that would not prove as successful as the American Colt 1911 .45 or the German Luger, but one it is one that is certainly iconic to Hungary.

The collection also includes a rare example of the M1908 Pike Grey Field Uniform of the Austro-Hungarian Army, which proved unsuitable for the horrors of World War I, as well the updated M1915 Field Gray Uniform that was used throughout the remainder of the war.

The museum also has a small collection of naval artifacts, which can help the visitor understand how the landlocked nation had Admiral Miklos Horthy as a leader.

The collection also includes numerous artifacts of the post-World War I Royal Hungarian Defence Forces, including an M1924 Officer's Parade Dress Helmet, which was influenced by the grandeur of the 1896 millennium celebrations and evoked the Zischagge helmets of the Middle Ages. There are also various examples of the interwar dress uniforms, which feature the traditional cords that were often used with Hussar jackets, which is fitting since this particular style of dress originated in Hungary. The 1926-pattern coat thus was known as the "Atilla Coat," named after Attila the Hun.

The irony of the Royal Hungarian Defense Force, of course, is that the Kingdom of Hungary had no king. At the end of World War I, under the Treaty of Trianon, the nation ceded lands to Czechoslovakia, Romania, Austria, and Yugoslavia, which meant the nation lost two-thirds of its territory and one-third of its native Hungarian speakers. In March 1919, Communist Bela Kun looked to seize power in Budapest, founding the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

This led to a brief but devastating war in which French-supported Romanian forces entered Budapest and remained until early 1920. During this dark time, Red and White forces battled one another and the people of Hungary suffered greatly. In early 1920 Miklos Horthy was elected regent by the National Assembly, a position he held until October 1944.

The museum's collection includes a variety of other artifacts, including flags and banners and uniforms from the Red and White forces.

"This was an interesting time in Hungarian history," said Balogh. "The palace was restored

ABOVE: A display features swords and other weapons that were used by Hungarian nationalists during the revolution. LEFT: A display features Hungarian Guard uniforms from the 1920s. RIGHT: The post-World War II exhibit houses numerous Warsaw Pact items, including uniforms of the Hungarian Army during the Cold War.

but it is noteworthy in that no king of Hungary actually lived there."

With the rise of Nazi Germany to the west and the Soviet Union to the east, the Kingdom of Hungary found itself in a difficult position.

"It is very true that Hungary was an Axis power in World War II and an ally of Germany, but it was a difficult position at the time," said Balogh.

Like the German Army, the Hungarian Army was limited in size by the Western powers and took measures to secretly rearm. This is apparent in the collection of the Hadtorteneti Museum, which includes numerous pieces devoted to Boy Scout units and other paramilitary organizations that allowed the nation to circumvent the restrictions placed on it.

In addition, the current collection includes a number of notable weapons, including a Kiralygeppisztoly submachine gun, one of the least encountered small arms of World War II.

Other pieces include uniforms not only from the Hungarian military forces, but also those of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Germany. The World War II collection is impressive and further features such notable items as an actual German Schwimmwagen, the amphibious four-wheel drive vehicle that was used extensively on the Eastern Front.

"We're very proud of the artifacts that give the visitor insight into what the fighting must have been like on the Eastern Front in World War II," said Balogh. "We have tried to highlight the role that Hungary played during the war."

A number of Soviet items, including various medals issued to soldiers of the Red Army, are also in the collection.

"It remains interesting to me that the Soviet Red Army issued a Liberation of Vienna medal, despite the fact that Vienna was part of the Third Reich," said Balogh. "But the medal for the Battle of Budapest is for the Capture of Budapest."

Equally controversial are the uniforms of Hungary's Arrow Cross Party, which was led by Ferenc Szalasi from October 1944 to March 1945.

At the end of World War II, Hungary was no longer a kingdom, and many had expected that the Soviet occupation would be short lived.

"The idea was that countries would get to decide their own government," said Balogh. "This was not the case and in 1947 the communists essentially rigged the election."

The Hadtorteneti Museum chronicles the transformation of the Royal Hungarian Army to the Hungarian Democratic Army, which was charged with keeping peace in the postwar era. The Royal army had a British look and cut, but with the transformation to communism, it took on a Soviet-style appearance.

"The Hungarian Army was quickly converted according to the Warsaw Pact, and many of the Democratic Army's officers and NCOs were used to train the new People's Republic Army, only to then be sent off to prison," said Balogh.

The museum also contains a section covering the 1956 uprising. This includes displays that recreate the look of the freedom fighters, the weapons they used, and the cost of rising up against the Soviets.

"During the era when Hungary was a Communist power this section did not show the uprising as anything nearly heroic," said Balogh. "This gallery changed completely only after 1990."

The post-World War II collection still includes numerous Warsaw Pact items as well as Soviet small arms, such as the infamous AK-47, which is notable because the first time the assault weapon was widely seen by Western reporters was during the 1956 uprising.

The museum also includes a section devoted to aircraft. While the museum is unable to house a full-size aircraft, it does display various aviation equipment and even the cockpit of a MiG fighter. The museum also has the charred wreckage of a German Bf-109 fighter aircraft in its collection.

The Hadtorteneti Museum strives to make a number of exhibits as user friendly as possible, making available artifacts that visitors can hold and touch.

"We like to have items that children and younger visitors can touch," said Balogh. "This is our way of piquing their interest in things they can relate to, such as the gallery of war and military toys, as well as the deactivated guns that they can touch, or the helmets they can put on. This is our way of getting them hooked on military history."

With so many artifacts on display—from bronze cannons to helmets to an impressive amount of military firepower, as well as many fine military-themed paintings to propaganda posters—the Hadtorteneti Museum has a wealth of treasures. □

Continued from page 70

and will help you to Philip's head before Indian corn be ripe," her war chief told him.

"I am glad of the success [of] Benjamin Church that it is the good fruit of the coming in of Indians to us, those that come in are conquered and help to conquer others," wrote Puritan minister Thomas Walley,

Given command of 200 men, mostly Sakonnets, loyal Wampanoags and, as Church recalled, "English not exceeding the number of 60," he pursued the war in the native fashion. "When he wanted some intelligence of [the hostiles'] kenneling places," his son wrote, "he would march to some place likely to meet with some travellers or ramblers, and, scattering his company, would lie close, and seldom lay above a day or two, at the most, before some of them would fall into his hands, whom he would compel to inform where their company was. And so, by his method of secret and sudden surprises, he took great numbers of them prisoner."

The rangers were soon hot on Philip's trail. On the morning of August 1, they got a shot at him from across the Taunton River. They missed, but in the pursuit captured a number of Wampanoag women and children, including the chief's wife and nine-year-old son. "You have made Philip ready to die, for you have made him as poor and miserable as he used to make the English, for you have now killed or taken all his relations," the Wampanoag prisoners told Church.

Church, however, was after more than women and children. At one point he was almost killed in hand-to-hand combat with Totoson himself. A volley of ranger fire drove the war chief off him. And on August 10, Captain Goulding brought news that a Wampanoag, whose brother Philip had killed for advising surrender, had deserted to the English. He revealed that the beleaguered, disheartened chieftain had gone home to Mount Hope, ground Church knew well.

That night the rangers and Sakonnets crept into the swamp on their bellies and surrounded Philip's camp, awaiting first light. However, one of the hostiles, coming out to relieve himself, stumbled into Goulding, who shot him. In the ensuing firefight the war chief Annawon shouted for his men to make a stand, but Philip darted into the swamp. He ran into one of Church's rangers and the turncoat Alderman, who had loaded his musket with two balls and put them through the chief's heart. When the fight was over (Annawon having escaped), Church announced Philip's death, recalling, "The whole army gave three loud huzzahs."

Church ordered the body dragged from the muck and, in accordance with English law regarding traitors (as they considered Philip to be), he was quartered and decapitated. His parts were hung in trees, and his head was mounted on a post in Plymouth as a warning. Alderman kept his hand in a bottle of rum as a trophy.

With Philip dead the war devolved to mop-up operations. Weetamoo had drowned on August 6, trying to escape across the Taunton River. Church, with 20 Indians and five rangers, on August 28 climbed down a cliff face to surprise Annawon in his camp. The war chief presented Philip's wampum belts and blanket to Church as trophies and marched off into captivity.

By September the rangers had captured or killed most of Totoson's family; harried literally to death, the chieftain's surviving son, eight years old, sickened and passed away. Totoson's "heart became as a stone within him," Church wrote, "and he died." That same month they captured the family of Tispaquin, who surrendered on Church's assurance that all their lives would be spared. Church planned to recruit the chieftains to help fight rebel tribes in Maine, but Plymouth authorities overruled him. Church never forgot finding "the heads of Annawon [and] Tispaquin, cut off, which were the last of Philip's friends." Tispaquin's wife (Philip's sister) and her children were sold into slavery along with some 1,000 Indian captives. Besides 3,000 native dead, 2,000 more fled to the interior. Up to 800 English died, which was not a large number on the scale of later wars, but in those days amounted to one in 16 men of fighting age, making King Philip's War the costliest in American history.

In later years Church would be called back into service against the French and Indians in King William's War and Queen Anne's War. He led several campaigns to Maine and Nova Scotia. But he was much less nimble at that point in his life than he had been in his prime. What is more, he was operating in unknown country against well-supplied, unfamiliar foes. For those reasons, he was not nearly as successful as he had once been.

It is for his exploits in King Philip's War that Church is revered as America's first army ranger. Church told his men that it was necessary to "make a business of the war as the enemy did." The tactics he adopted from Native Americans would serve his nation well 100 year later against the mother country in the American Revolution. □

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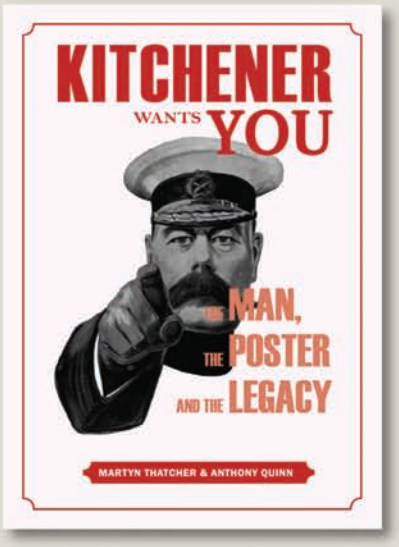

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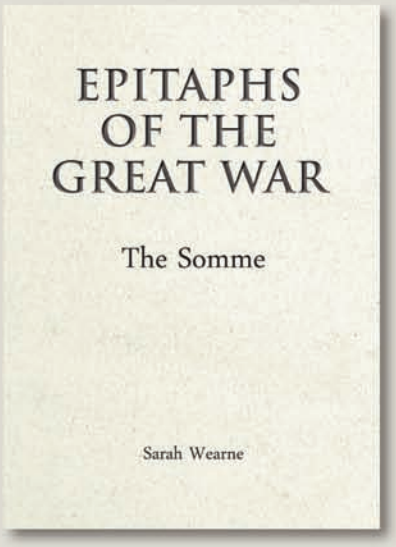

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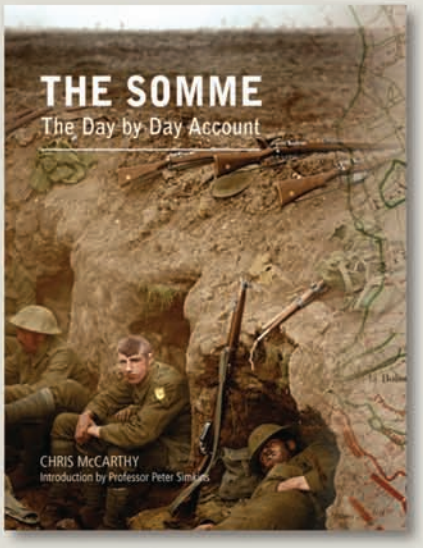

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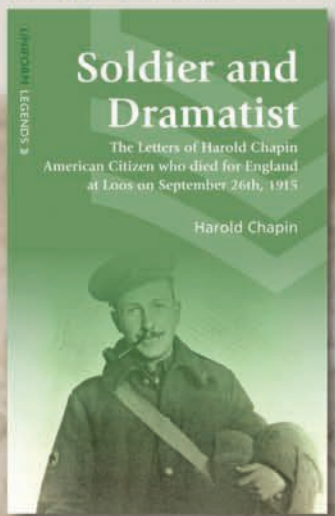

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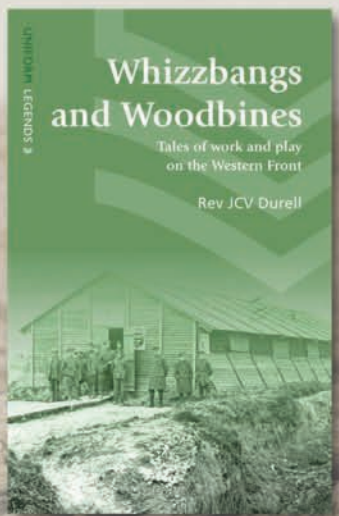

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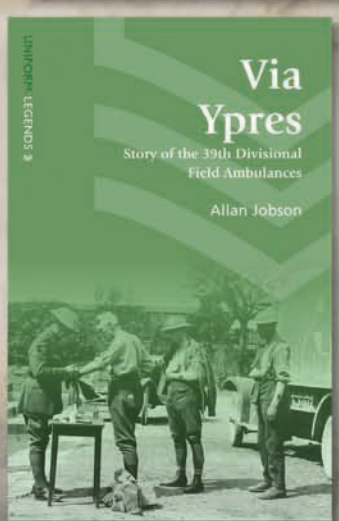

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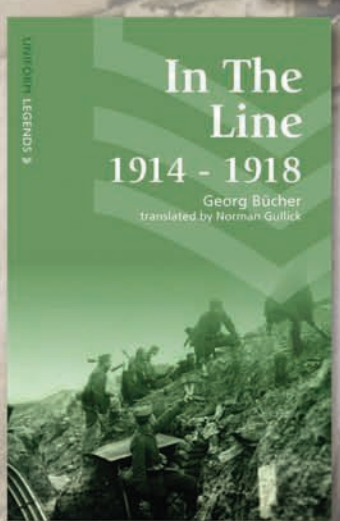

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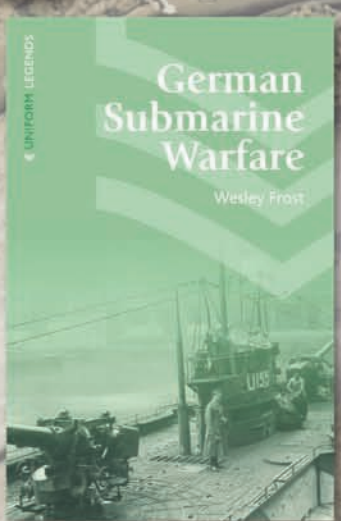

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