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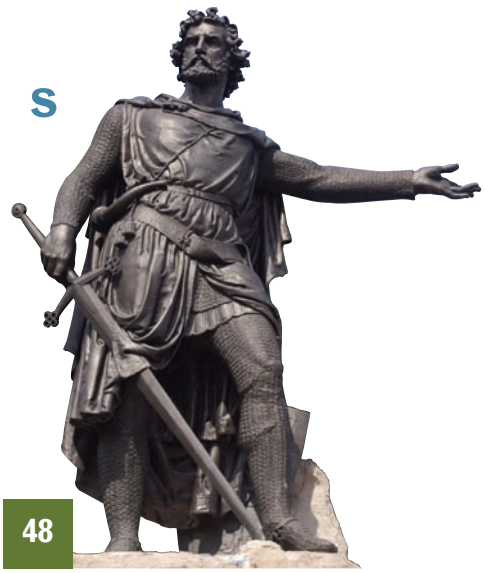

Cover: An American soldier takes aim during fighting around the Chosin Reservoir, North Korea in December 1950. Photo: AKG Images

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How the Romans Fell into a Terrible Trap

WITH THEIR PROCLIVITY FOR FEATS OF ENGINEERING, the Romans methodically advanced their frontiers. The glory-seeking Roman generals saw a wide river, mountain chain, or expansive swath of desert as a challenge. Once across the geographical barrier, they sought to subjugate the barbaric people and rival armies that lay beyond.

When the semi-nomadic Germans crossed the Rhine River during the Gallic Wars, Julius Caesar promptly slaughtered their forces on the west bank and drove the survivors back across the wide river. He later bridged the mighty Rhine, constructing a bridge in just 10 days in 55 BC. The bridge most likely was located in the territory occupied by the Belgic tribe known as the Treveri near where the Moselle River joins the Rhine. But the bridge was merely a propaganda ploy to overawe the Germanic tribes, and Julius Caesar destroyed it when he withdrew a short time later.

Caesar Augustus took things a few steps further in regard to the Germanic threat. In 12 BC, he ordered Roman legions across the Rhine as a way to protect Gaul and establish a foothold in the vast area inhabited by the Germanic tribes.

In the last two decades of the 1st century BC, the Roman army under various commanders, including Drusus, Tiberius, and Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, had expanded the empire's border east toward the Elbe River. But frequent revolts by the warlike Germans in the first decade of the new century threatened this expansion. It was an expansive, but ever tenuous foothold that the Romans established east of the Rhine.

The Romans had refrained from outright conquest of Germania in part because there simply were no large towns or cities to occupy and transform into Roman administrative centers replete with everything needed to supply their legions. The Romans, of course, continued to colonize northwestern Europe as evidenced by their conquest of Briton, which began during the reign of Emperor Claudius in 43 BC.

A dip in the cycle of revolts toward the end of the first decade AC lulled the Romans into a complacence in which they assumed that the Germanic tribes had accepted them as overlords. Arriving in Magna Germania in AD 9 was Publius Quinctilius Varus, who took over the governorship of the region. Varus' talents were those of an administrator, not of a soldier with the strategic and tactical brilliance of a Julius Caesar or Tiberius. Thus Varus set about doing what politicians do best: taxing the people. The Germans did not have the commerce of the Mediterranean lands, and therefore the Romans failed to grasp that the Germans could not be taxed in the same manner. A bad situation suddenly got worse.

Enter Arminius of the Cheruscan tribe, an ally of the Romans who had been trained as a Roman officer. He was an indispensible and trusted member of Varus' staff. Arminius' real loyalties lay with his people, and not with the Romans. Shrewd and cunning, Arminius deceived Varus into believing he was a loyal ally.

In autumn of that year, Varus made preparations to relocate from his forward headquarters on the Weser River to winter camp on the Rhine. About the same time, revolts suddenly erupted in northern Germany in much the same way small wildfires are started by lightning strikes. Arminius suggested the army detour to quash the rebellions before going into its winter camp. Varus agreed. The long Roman column set out. What awaited Varus was a horror he could not have imagined.

—William E. Welsh

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By William E. Welsh

French constable Bertrand du Guesclin steadily rolled back the English gains during the darkest hours of the Hundred Years' War.

ONE MONTH AFTER THE DISASTROUS FRENCH DEFEAT AT POITIERS in September 1356, a large English army besieged Rennes in eastern Brittany. With French King John II held prisoner in England following his capture at the battle, France was under the shaky control of Dauphin Charles, who lacked sufficient funds to assist the pro-French faction in Brittany.

Henry of Grosmont, Duke of Lancaster, arrived before the dilapidated circuit of walls around the second most important town in Brittany with 1,500 men. After his initial attempt to storm the town failed, Lancaster resorted to tunneling under the walls. The morale of Lancaster's army was high, and the duke's men sensed imminent victory.

Fortunately for the dauphin, one of the captains of local irregulars operating in eastern Brittany was Bertrand du Guesclin, the son of a minor noble from the region who had recently been knighted for his valor. Guesclin ruled his company of brigands with an iron fist. He told them what to do and they did it. And the Breton captain was always in the thick of the action.

RIGHT: French men-at-arms assault a formidable English position at Auray in September 1364. An English counterattack shattered the French. BELOW: The statue of Bertrand Du Guesclin in Dinan.

Right: AKG Images; Left: Wikimedia Commons

Quite to his surprise, Lancaster soon experienced one small setback after another. Du Guesclin's band fell on his supply trains, ambushed his forage parties, and overran his outposts. Lancaster aborted his siege after nine months. To save face, he demanded a ransom from the town. When he received it, he withdrew in July 1357.

Du Guesclin was indisputably one of France's great heroes of the Hundred Years War. During his service for the French crown from the early 1340s until his death in 1380, du Guesclin used Fabian tactics to counter English aggression in central and western France. While serving as Constable of France, he helped roll back the English conquests gained through the Treaty of Bretigny signed in May 1360. The treaty greatly extended Edward III's holdings in southwestern France. In addition to Guyenne and Gascony, the English took control of the provinces of Poitou, Saintonge, Perigord, Limousin, and other smaller areas. Significantly, the English king was no longer a vassal of the French king, and therefore did not have to pay homage to him.

Du Guesclin, born around 1320, was the eldest son of Robert du Guesclin, Lord of Broons, a town 50 kilometers northwest of Rennes. As

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Bertrand Du Guesclin entreats an English garrison to surrender during the Hundred Years' War in a period illustration.

a young man, he eagerly served as a squire in tournaments and got his first taste of battle on sieges and raids against English forces operating in his native region. When Duke John III of Brittany died in April 1341 without a male heir, his half brother, John Montfort IV, who had an estate in western Brittany at Guerande, claimed the right to rule the duchy. Charles of Blois, a nephew of French King Philip VI, disputed the claim, asserting that his wife, Jeanne de Penthievre, who was a niece of John Montfort III, should inherit the duchy under Salic law. The conflict became known as the War of the Breton Succession.

King Edward III of England backed Montfort, and French King Philip VI supported Blois. Squire du Guesclin served in a unit of Blois' army. English forces led by William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, defeated Blois at the Battle of Morlaix fought September 30, 1342. The French captured Montfort later that year. He was released during a truce in 1343 after which he journeyed to England. He returned to Brittany at the head of an army in 1345 but fell ill and died at Hennebont on September 26, 1345. His claim transferred to his six-year old son, John Montfort V, whose mother, Jeanne de Penthievre, pressed the claim on his behalf until he came of age.

Both Edward III and Philip VI considered Brittany a sideshow to operations in other theaters, and therefore the Breton Civil War was prosecuted by independent captains who financed their operations through plunder and ransoms. Du Guesclin, who was familiar with the roads and trails of eastern Brittany, was captain of a band of irregular troops that operated from the forest of Paimpont, a short distance west of Rennes. Du Guesclin's band conducted hit-and-run attacks during the 1340s on Montfortian towns and castles in the region.

Blois had been fighting for his claim in Brittany since the outbreak of the civil war with little luck. On June 19, 1347, he was captured by English forces during the bungled siege of La Roche-Derrien on the north coast. King Edward III held Blois captive for nine years.

The English retained the upper hand in Brittany in the early 1350s. During that time the French suffered another serious defeat when Sir Walter Bentley crushed Marshal Guy de Nesle's army at the Battle of Mauron on August 14, 1352. De Nesle fell during the battle.

The heavy attrition among top French commanders in Brittany presented an opportunity for du Guesclin, who was a rising star in the Breton theater. When du Guesclin captured Cheshire knight Sir Hugh Calveley in a clever ambush on the road from Becherel to Montmuran on April 10, 1354, French Marshal Arnoul d'Audrehem knighted him for his achievement.

Du Guesclin's exploits caught the eye of Dauphin Charles, who would eventually become King Charles V. Following the capture of his father King John II at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356, Charles served as regent for his father, who was held captive in England. Charles was delighted that du Guesclin had foiled Lancaster's siege of Rennes. As a reward, Charles gave the French captain an annual pension of 200 livres for the rest of his life.

The dauphin subsequently appointed the Breton knight to the post of royal captain of Franco-Breton forces based at Pontorson, a stronghold on the Breton March. Du Guesclin's job was to counter the periodic offensives of renowned English captains such as Bentley, Calveley, and Sir Robert Knolles. Using Brittany as a base of operations, the English captains conducted regular raids into Anjou, Maine, and Normandy.

Du Guesclin was the only French captain who was equal in skill and cunning to his English counterparts. Throughout his time as Royal Captain of Pontorson, he proved himself to be an able administrator, logistician, and recruiter.

The downside for du Guesclin was that he had to be everywhere at once and expose himself to capture. The English and French captains were always hard pressed for money. In addition to pillaging, captains of companies also sought to capture their counterparts as a means of raising funds. When the bands of Knolles and du Guesclin clashed at Evran just south of Dinan, Knolles' soldiers captured du Guesclin. The following year, the English again captured du Guesclin. This time it was Calveley's men who nabbed the Royal Captain of Pontorson. In that instance, du Guesclin applied for a loan from Duke Philip of Orleans to buy his freedom from the English. Two years later, in 1362, du Guesclin participated in a major offensive in northern Brittany with Charles of Blois, who having obtained his freedom the previous decade from the English renewed his claim to the Duchy of Brittany in earnest.

Larger battles awaited du Guesclin. Charles of Navarre, a French-born noble with a strong claim to the Duchy of Burgundy, declared war on the crown when King John gave the duchy to his fourth son, Philip. Navarre, who had extensive property in Normandy through his family, ordered his top commander, Jean III de Grailly, Captal de Buch, to attack the royal army. De Buch assembled an army of 5,000 men from Gascony, Brittany, and Burgundy. Du Guesclin and Count Jean of Auxerre gathered their forces at Evreux and then marched to Cocherel on the River Eure.

The two armies faced off on May 14, 1364, but each wanted to fight a defensive battle, and therefore neither side attacked. After a two-day stalemate, du Guesclin slowly began withdrawing his forces to the east bank of the Eure. De Buch, believing he could strike a hard blow on the remainder, sent a portion of his forces to outflank the rebels, but du Guesclin successfully checked the flankers. Du Guesclin then ordered his men to strike the rebels in the flank. Unlike de Buch, the Franco-Burgundian army was successful. The Navaresse army panicked and tried to retreat. During the heavy fighting, du Guesclin killed Bascon de Mareuil, a famous Gascon captain. Through his decisive victory over the Navaresse army at Cocherel, du

The British Library

Wikimedia Commons

The fighting between the English and the French spilled over into Castile in the 1360s. Both sides sought an alliance with the naval power, and du Guesclin ultimately won the struggle at the Battle of Montiel in March 1369.

Guesclin proved to the dauphin that he was not simply a superb guerrilla commander but also a skilled field commander who could lead a large army to victory.

Another battle that year drew Brittany closer into the sphere of England. While both kings withdrew direct support from the protracted civil war, John Montfort V consolidated his hold on the west coast by besieging Auray. Du Guesclin helped Blois raise a 3,000-man army to relieve Auray. Fortunately for Montfort, three experienced English captains—Calveley, Chandos, and Knolles—recruited additional forces from Gascony to support Montfort. When the two armies met at Auray, Blois tried a last-minute negotiation with Montfort. This was distasteful to the professional captains on both sides. "I will restore the duchy to you, clear of all these wretches," said du Guesclin. Although the English had only 2,000 men, some of the Breton troops under Blois refused to fight. This evened the odds.

The English deployed in their classic formation of dismounted men-at-arms in the center with archers on the flanks. Chandos, who assumed overall command, led a reserve stationed behind the center. The French were arrayed in a column of three divisions. Du Guesclin ordered his men-at-arms to advance dismounted. In addition, they were to stay in a tight formation and hold their shields over their heads to protect themselves from arrows. Despite the innovative tactic of holding their shields aloft, the French attack failed to break the English line. The English counterattacked and destroyed Blois' division. Included among the dead was Blois. Du Guesclin was captured for the third time. Chandos set his ransom at 20,000 pounds.

The kings of France and England also became embroiled in the Castilian Civil War in the late 1360s. Each wanted the Kingdom of Castile as a key ally so that they could have the assistance of its large fleet of galleys. The English backed Peter the Cruel for the throne of Castile while the French backed his half brother, Henry Trastamara. After the French drove Peter from the throne, Prince Edward of Wales, who was known as the Black Prince, led a large army into Castile to restore him to the throne.

Du Guesclin marched to Castile to assist Henry's royalists. The two sides clashed at the Battle of Najera, fought April 3, 1367. The Black Prince conducted a wide flank march against the Franco-Castilian position. As the English host approached, a large group of Castilians fled in panic. Du Guesclin counterattacked in a vain effort to disrupt the rebel army, but the Black Prince's flanks overlapped his division and engulfed it. Always in the thick of the fighting, du Guesclin was captured for the fourth time. Although the English won at Najera, du Guesclin returned with 600 veteran troops nearly two years later and defeated

Peter's royal army at the Battle of Montiel on March 14, 1369.

Once Castile was secured as an ally by force of arms, Charles V recalled du Guesclin to France. The French king was dissatisfied with the performance of Constable of France Moreau de Fiennes. The position of constable ordinarily was held for life, but Charles V broke with tradition and dismissed de Fiennes. Although the position traditionally went to a person of royal blood, Charles V nevertheless offered it to du Guesclin.

The humble Breton initially rejected the offer on the grounds that he was of low birth; but the French king insisted, and du Guesclin accepted the offer. On October 2, 1370, du Guesclin became the top military commander in France.

With added resources and greater authority, du Guesclin launched a winter campaign against his English adversaries in northwest France. When he learned that Knolles and his chief subordinate, Sir Thomas Grandison, had disagreed over where their respective forces should spend the winter of 1370, du Guesclin took advantage of the situation to strike them one at a time.

Knolles had advised Grandison to accompany him to Brittany, where he planned to camp for the winter. But Grandison refused to give up his conquests in Maine, so Knolles took his troops to Brittany and left Grandison to his own devices. Moving rapidly, du Guesclin smashed Grandison in the Battle of Pontvallain on December 4.

Du Guesclin was relentless in his pursuit of the broken English companies. While du Guesclin made preparations to send his prisoners to Paris, his subordinates chased the remnants of Grandison's corps as it fled south. When the English tried to make a stand at the Abbey of Vaas, the French overran their position again. Some of the English escaped and fled south into Poitou.

By that time du Guesclin had again taken control of the pursuit. The French constable chased the remnants of Grandison's corps to the stronghold of Bressuire. The English rode hard for the safety of the fortress only to have the garrison shut the gates before they could get into the town for fear that the French, who were hard on their heels, would be able to fight their way through the open gate. This left the English with no place to rally, and du Guesclin's men cut them to pieces beneath the town walls. Meanwhile, the constable's right-hand man, Olivier de Clisson, attacked Knolles' position in eastern Brittany. When the winter 1370 campaign was over, du Guesclin had smashed Knolles' 4,000-man army.

During the next several years the French systematically drove the English from Poitou, which had been ceded to the English in the Treaty of Bretigny. Initially, at least, John of Gaunt, who had been elevated to Duke of Lancaster in 1362, fielded forces against du Guesclin and his dukes. By late 1372, the English held less than a half dozen strongholds in southern Poitou. But it would be three more years before the English were driven completely from Poitou. The last English-held Poitevin fortress, Gencay, fell to the French in February 1375.

Du Guesclin simultaneously put pressure on English forces in Brittany. In April 1373, he blocked a large English army that had landed at Saint-Malo from moving inland. This forced the English to sail for the friendly port of Brest. By that time, John Montfort V had repudiated his ties to the French crown and openly declared his support for England. In response, Charles V ordered du Guesclin to drive the English out of Brittany once and for all. But the Brittany campaign was interrupted by Lancaster's Great Chevauchee.

Lancaster landed at Calais in August 1373 and began a 900-kilometer march across France to Bordeaux with 6,000 men. Although du Guesclin wished to engage him, Charles V

and the French dukes advised him to shadow the raiders and avoid a set-piece battle that might result in heavy casualties. Lancaster reached Bordeaux in December, but his army was crippled by attrition and disease. He returned to England in April 1374.

Charles V's offensive against the English resumed in earnest in 1376 when du Guesclin drove the French out of Perigord. The following year du Guesclin and Duke Louis of Anjou invaded Aquitaine. They marched against the formidable English fortress of Bergerac on the River Dordogne.

Working in concert with du Guesclin's northern column was a southern French column commanded by Jean de Bueil, who led his men north from Languedoc with siege equipment needed to reduce the strong fortress. When Sir Thomas Felton, England's Seneschal of Aquitaine, learned that de Bueil was planning to unite with du Guesclin, he marched to intercept him. Anjou sent reinforcements to de Bueil, which joined him before the inevitable clash with Felton's army. Felton planned to ambush de Bueil at Eymet.

The French learned of the ambush through informants. When de Bueil's 800 men-at-arms arrived at Eymet, they found Felton's 700 men-at-arms dismounted and drawn up for battle.

Bertrand du Guesclin's effigy at Saint-Denis Basilica in Paris, where he is buried.

The French attacked. The September 1 battle was even until a group of mounted French pages arrived in the French rear. The pages were bringing forward the horses in case they were needed to advance or withdraw, but the English mistook the pages for reinforcements and tried to break off from the fight. The French quickly gained the upper hand, and Felton lost three quarters of his troops in the disaster.

When the men in the garrison at Bergerac learned of Felton's defeat, they fled west to Bordeaux. Two days later du Guesclin's army was on the outskirts of Bordeaux. The French captured outlying castles and towns during the next month, but du Guesclin quit the siege in October because he lacked the supplies necessary for a long siege. Still, the French liberated 130 castles and towns in Aquitaine during the 1367-1377 campaign.

Charles V dispatched du Guesclin to the Auvergne region in 1380 to deal with unruly companies of unemployed soldiers who were pillaging towns and villages. Shortly afterwards, the 60-year-old French constable caught a fever and died on July 13, 1380. Modeling his burial after that of the French kings, his body was divided for burial not in three ways, but in four. His entrails were buried in Puy, his flesh at Montferrand, his heart in Dinan in his native Brittany, and his skeleton in the tomb of St. Denis outside Paris where Charles V was interred two months later.

In the years following his death, the French regularly celebrated the constable's achievements. They had every right to be proud of the Breton who devoted his life to erasing the English gains derived from the Treaty of Bretigny. □

By Christopher Miskimon

The Soviet Union's two primary antitank rifles saw wide use in World War II despite the limitations of their small calibers.

THE GERMAN PANZERS APPROACHED THE RUSSIAN ARTILLERY column as it moved to a new position. As the troops trudged toward their new firing point, six panzers appeared, rampaging into the Russian rear area, no doubt searching for vulnerable targets to destroy. The long line of Red Army trucks, which had cannons hitched behind them, were helpless. By the time they could be unlimbered and brought into action it would be too late.

As the tanks closed in for the kill, a Russian private jumped down from an ammunition caisson. He sprinted toward a low mound nearby. In his arms he clutched an antitank rifle, a heavy, cumbersome weapon that used a large-caliber cartridge more than six inches long. Taking up a firing position behind the sparse cover of the mound, he took careful aim over his weapon's open sights at the leading tank. As the steel monster rolled closer to the private and his comrades, he opened fire, striking the tank.

All: National Archives

Soviet soldiers fire a PTRD-41 antitank rifle from a protected position at a German tank on the Eastern Front in 1943. Although not powerful enough to penetrate the thick frontal armor of German tanks, the rifles were capable of breaking through their thinner side and rear armor.

The heavy bullet struck a vulnerable spot, stopping the panzer literally in its tracks. With the lead German vehicle stopped temporarily, the other tanks ceased advancing. The few precious moments of confusion gave the Russian artillerymen the chance they needed. Bringing their guns into action, they opened fire with their large-caliber guns, quickly knocking out four of the six tanks and causing the other two to make a hasty retreat. The Russian unit survived to fight another day, thanks to the bravery of one soldier and his skill with his antitank rifle.

The combat incident originally appeared in the *Red Star,* the official publication of the Red Army. It was reprinted in the U.S. Army's *Intelligence Bulletin* in January 1943 as part of a broad effort by the Allies to share lessons learned with each other.

The antitank rifle was one of the most common tank-killing weapons available at the beginning of World War II. Like many of that conflict's weapons, it had its beginning in World War I. During that war many new weapons were developed to break the trench warfare deadlock on the Western Front. The tank was one answer to that problem. The armor on the early tanks was comparatively thin. Since the Allies had a near-

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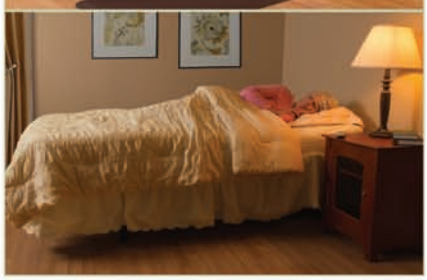

Lately there has been a lot of press about the many benefits of a good night's sleep. When you wake up rested, everything from your memory and focus to your diet and stress levels can improve. Some even believe it can help you live longer. Unfortunately, many older Americans have to choose between comfort and safety in a bed. If it's too high or too low, getting in and out of bed (particularly in the middle of the night) can be dangerous. Hospital type beds feature adjustable heights and railings, but they are hardly comfortable. Now, thanks to innovative design and superior engineering, you get the best of both. Plus, with an infinite number of positions controlled by remote control, you can pick a custom position for sleeping, reading watching TV or just relaxing with your feet up! It looks just like a regular bed... not institutional, and the mattress is luxurious and features a natural bamboo quilted cover that's anti-bacterial, deodorizing and breathable.

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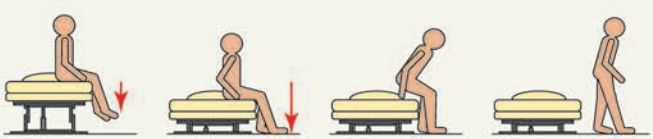

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ABOVE: A Soviet antitank rifle team, which includes a light machine gun, advances cautiously during combat in the Caucasus Mountains in 1942. Soviet antitank teams often let German tanks rumble past their position so that they could target the thinner armor in the rear. RIGHT: The bolt-action PTRD-41 initially incorporated a small incendiary mixture that created a flash upon impact, allowing the gunner to see where the round struck.

monopoly on tanks, it was only natural the Germans were first to developed an antitank rifle. These weapons were essentially large rifles that fired a powerful cartridge with a solid shot projectile of small caliber.

The first operational antitank rifle was the German Mauser 1918 T-Gewehr. It fired a 13.2mm round, roughly .525 caliber, and could penetrate 22mm of armor at 100 meters. The rifle was a bolt-action, single-shot weapon weighing approximately 41 pounds loaded. The Mauser T-Gewehr would set the pattern for antitank rifles until well into World War II. The only other comparable arm at the time was the American M2 .50-caliber machine gun, designed in part as a dual antitank and antiaircraft weapon, a role in which it served until the late 1930s when increases in tank armor thickness and design rendered it obsolete as a tank killer.

Following the Russian Revolution, the Red Army began work on its own antitank rifles. Initially, state arsenals simply copied the Mauser T-Gewehr using an indigenous 12.7mm round designed for a new heavy machine gun. Although the weapon worked, the Russians were looking forward. They were experimenting with their own tank designs and many of their trials were being carried out within the borders of the Soviet Union in secret cooperation with the Germans. They predicted the coming improvements in tank design and armor thickness and realized the 12.7mm round would not be useful against tanks for very long. The Red Army began work in 1932 on a new weapon with the firepower to keep pace with the steadily improving tank designs. At first the Soviets moved away from the rifle concept toward a 37mm recoilless design, but after several years of development and trials that weapon was abandoned.

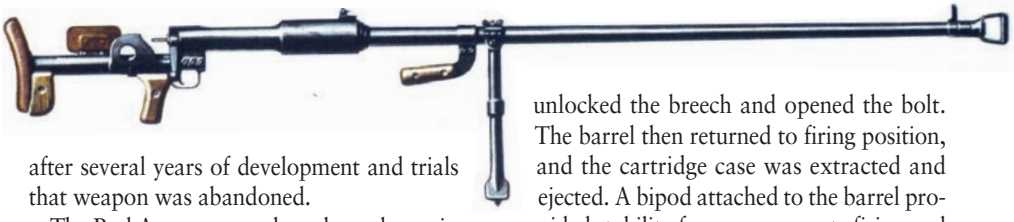
The Red Army resumed work on the antitank rifle in 1936 and began vigorously experimenting with new designs. The army tested no fewer than 15 new weapons from several design teams over a two-year period. For various reasons, though, all were rejected as unsatisfactory. The Red Army eventually decided to create an entirely new round, and yet another design team was set to the task of producing it. The design team produced a 14.5mm cartridge with a steel core that was capable of penetrating 20mm of armor at a slope of 30 degrees at 500 meters. Since sloped armor forces the projectile to push through a greater portion of the armor plate itself, this was equivalent to about 34mm of nonsloped armor.

The Red Army eventually adopted a tungsten-core projectile to increase penetration at shorter ranges. The 14.5mm had a muzzle velocity of around 3,300 feet per second. With acceptable ammunition selected, it remained to develop an appropriate weapon. After further testing, the Red Army chose Nikolay Rukavishnikov's design. Before the new type could enter service, though, the Russians decided not to produce antitank rifles and the design was shelved.

When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Red Army began working on multiple tank-killing weapons, including antitank rifles. The Rukavishnikov was a fairly complex design, and it was not believed enough could be produced in time. The Red Army therefore issued an order for new, easy-to-produce arms and two of the Soviet Union's most famous designers proved up to the challenge. They created weapons that compared favorably to similar designs, such as the British Boys Rifle and the German Panzerbuchse series.

The first was the PTRD, which was the brainchild of Vasily Degtyaryov. During the 1930s, Degtyaryov had designed a number of automatic weapons. Within a month of the order, he came up with a semiautomatic type which he quickly modified to be a simple single-shot weapon firing the 14.5mm round. The PTRD was 79-inches long with a 48.3-inch barrel. It weighed 38 pounds and used an unusual bolt action.

The PTRD was loaded by inserting a cartridge and closing the bolt by hand. When firing the rifle, the recoil pushed the barrel back along a slide until it hit a small cam, which unlocked the breech and opened the bolt. The barrel then returned to firing position, and the cartridge case was extracted and ejected. A bipod attached to the barrel provided stability for more accurate firing and was necessary to support the PTRD's weight. The original projectile carried a small incendiary mixture that created a flash upon impact, which allowed the gunner to see where the round struck. When the Red Army adopted the tungsten-cored ammunition, this feature was dropped because the PTRD was no longer effective at the longer ranges where the flash was truly useful.



The second weapon was Sergei Simonov's PTRS. The PTRS was a semiautomatic weapon with an attached five-round magazine. It had to be loaded using a clip, not unlike bolt-action rifles of the period. The magazine was hinged at the front so it could be opened for cleaning, which was a common feature of Simonov's weapons. The PTRS was both heavier and larger than the PTRD. It weighed 46 pounds and was 84 inches long. The PTRS used gas operation, meaning a small portion of the gases created by firing the weapon were used to cycle the action. This process ejected the spent cartridge case and returned the bolt to the rear so that it slid a fresh round out of the magazine and into the chamber. This model also used a bipod for stabilization and support.

With the Red Army's desperate need for weapons, both designs were accepted for service. Each entered production as fast as possible. The Red Army began issuing them to front-

line troops in November 1941. In the dark days of 1941 and 1942, the Soviets managed to perform numerous miracles of weapons production manufacturing many new weapons while simultaneously relocating much of their industry eastward away from the rapidly advancing German Wehrmacht.

These new weapons saw their first combat use in late November 1941 near the town of Petelino. Eight of them were issued to soldiers of the 1075th Rifle Regiment, part of the 8th Guards Rifle Division. Soviet infantry used the two antitank rifles against German panzers at ranges of 150 to 200 meters. Soviet infantry using the PTRD disabled two panzers during the fighting. Although it was certainly possible to damage or even destroy a tank with such a weapon, it was not easy since they were underpowered against medium or larger tanks. Neither weapon was considered particularly accurate because of the simple iron sights with which they were fitted, rather than more expensive and delicate optics. Still, through a sufficient volume of fire, skill, and luck the weapon could be effective. It was solution to the problem of enabling the infantry to fight tanks, though far from a perfect one.

Since the antitank rifle was an imperfect answer, the Red Army developed new tactics and doctrine to enhance their effectiveness. The antitank rifle required a two-man crew consisting of a gunner and loader. Compared to large-caliber antitank cannons, the antitank rifle crew could put its weapon into action more quickly and fire its rounds faster than the cannon. The crew could be readily concealed since the antitank rifles were relatively small and sat low to the ground. One drawback of this low profile was the amount of dust or snow kicked up by the muzzle blast. In the dry conditions of a Russian summer or the snow-covered landscapes of winter, the muzzle blast could easily give away the gunner's position and draw deadly counterfire. To solve this dilemma, soldiers could wet the ground around their position or place a blanket or poncho under the muzzle area.

In one well-documented case published in the Red Star, a Russian unit reported success using squads of soldiers armed with three antitank rifles. The weapons would be placed 15 to 20 yards apart, far enough to keep them from being knocked out en masse by enemy fire but still close enough to allow them to concentrate their fire on the same part of a single target. Massing their fire allowed these teams to have a greater chance of disabling a tank than a single shooter. Gunners often let tanks rumble past their position so that they could target the thin-

An antitank rifle team uses a smokescreen to take up a position in close proximity to their target. The two-man crew, which consisted of a gunner and loader, was hard for the enemy to detect at a distance since the weapon was relatively small and sat low to the ground.

ner armor in the rear.

Russian infantry also used the antitank rifles in defensive positions. The Red Army supplied its artillery batteries with them to give them a weapon that could be repositioned quickly if necessary to fend off a flank attack by enemy armor. Artillery officers usually tried to position them with the best fields of fire toward a direction where tank attack seemed most likely, such as along roads and open fields. When placing antitank rifles in a trench system, circular pits were dug to allow the weapon 360-degree traverse. Each position was connected to rifle and machine-gun positions to provide supporting fire. The leftover dirt would be used to create false positions to distract enemy fire. When possible, the antitank rifles would be tied into a layered defense with antitank mines, obstacles, and other weapons in the hopes of luring German panzers into kill zones where they could be immobilized and destroyed in succession.

Just as in other armies, the Russians published pamphlets containing lessons learned for their soldiers. Allied armies frequently swapped tips to help their respective soldiers improve their combat performance. The November 1942 issue of the *Intelligence Bulletin* contained a list of key tips from Russian antitank riflemen. The list stressed teamwork between the gunner and loader. It also advised the crews to let enemy tanks approach to within 200 yards so as to make their hits more effective and advised targeting the lead tank on a narrow road to block the path of following vehicles.

Further instructions included where to aim and how to lead a target. If a tank was moving at 36 miles per hour, which was roughly the top speed for many light and medium tanks, the gunner would have to lead the target by one yard for every 100 yards of range. Examination of German tanks revealed firing at the center of the rear half of the tank made it more likely a shot would damage the engine, while a shot to the rear of the turret was more likely to hit the tank's ammunition or gunner. The 14.5mm round was heavy enough that corrections for wind were generally unnecessary at ranges under 400 yards. Soldiers aware of such details could increase the chance of damaging a panzer.

Both antitank rifles proved equally effective in combat, enough so that almost a quarter million were manufactured during 1942 alone. Although it might seem the semi-automatic PTRS would be the preferred weapon of the two, the PTRD's simpler operation and robust construction placed it above its more complex brother. The PTRD was also lighter and a little smaller, making it easier to operate overall. With a trained crew, the single-shot weapon could fire fast enough to get the job done, eight to 10 rounds per minute being easily possible. Eventually production shifted exclusively to the PTRD, though both weapons remained in service through the end of the war.

As the war progressed, the Russians and Germans began a tank arms race, each side racing to construct ever more powerful tanks with thicker armor as well as more powerful antitank guns to defeat the thicker armor. In this circular competition, the antitank rifles gradually became obsolete. New tanks such as the Panzer V "Panther" possessed thick, sloped armor and most of the various tank destroyers the Germans were producing in 1943 and the years after were equally well protected. The Red Army had to accept that the antitank rifle had fallen hopelessly behind the curve. By late 1944 production of the weapon type ceased altogether.

Although their usefulness as a tank killer was over, the PTRD and PTRS were far from useless on the battlefield. Even with the manufacturing lines closed, there were hundreds of thousands of them still in the hands of soldiers. Even in the cauldron of the Eastern Front tanks were not

everywhere, but trucks, half-tracks, armored cars, and tractors were common enough. Antitank rifles had always been used against these softer targets when the opportunity arose and they continued in this role. They therefore became what in modern military parlance are called antimaterial rifles. In this fashion, both designs served until the end of the war.

After World War II, the Soviets distributed both weapons to their allies around the world. Both the North Korean and Chinese armies used them during the Korean War. During this conflict an enterprising American ordnance officer, Captain William Brophy, wanted to create a long-range sniper rifle. Brophy was a World War II veteran of the Pacific and a competitive shooter since the 1930s, so he knew such a rifle was possible. The existing .30-caliber weapons were simply inadequate for the distances he contemplated. He took a captured PTRD and fitted it with the barrel from an American .50-calliber machine gun along with a scope. The weapon worked, and Brophy was able to hit targets as far out as 2,000 yards. The U.S. Army subsequently tested the hybrid at Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland.

The Soviet antitank rifles seemed to fade from the battlefield as newer antitank weapons, such as the rocket-propelled grenades, took precedence. They can still be seen in museums. Some are in the hands of private collectors, a few of whom still shoot them. A quick Internet search reveals videos of them being fired, showing the noise and muzzle blast to good effect.

The Soviet Union was renowned for keeping old weapons in storage against future need and the PTRD and PTRS are no exception. Stories abound of vast warehouses holding hundreds of thousands of old small arms, many of which hit the world's arms markets after the Soviet Union disintegrated. While the veracity of these tales is open to dispute, there is no doubt old Soviet weapons continue to surface. During the war in Eastern Ukraine, a video of soldiers inspecting a weapons cache showed machine guns, rifles, RPGs, and a battered-looking PTRD sitting atop an armored vehicle.

The antitank rifle led a relatively short life in combat because it just was not powerful enough to keep up with the rapidly advancing size of the tank itself. There were several other designs that are nothing more than footnotes in military history. The Soviet PTRD and PTRS have enjoyed longer lives than any of those designs. These venerable antitank rifles still manage to appear in conflicts more than 70 years after they were hurriedly designed and put into the hands of Red Army soldiers in an effort to slow the German blitzkrieg. □

By Arnold Blumberg

The Bureau of Military Information was the most sophisticated intelligence-gathering system created during the American Civil War.

THE UNION OFFICER SAW IT QUITE CLEARLY ACROSS THE Rappahannock River: a hand-painted sign held up by a Rebel soldier that read, "Burnside and his pontoons stuck in the mud. Move at 1 o'clock, 3 days' rations in haversacks." The blue-coated officer marveled with professional interest that at least one Southerner seemed to have full details on the latest movement of the Army of the Potomac. What the officer witnessed was one of many examples of enemy jeers and taunts directed at the Yankees as they were mired in the Virginia mud under rain-filled skies while on what would later be known as Burnside's Mud March. The attempt to steal a march on Confederate Army of Northern Virginia commander General Robert E. Lee was a floundering and ultimately futile four-day trek that began on January 20, 1863, and was designed to get around Lee's western flank.

The Mud March, together with Burnside's disastrous defeat at the Battle of Fredericksburg in mid-December 1862, prompted the removal of Maj. Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside from command of the Army of the Potomac. His replacement, Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker, immediately set to work to revitalize the army by improving its administration. One Hooker appointment, which was as important as any he made during his reorganization effort, was naming Colonel George Henry Sharpe, the officer who noticed the Rebel sign describing the Union Army's movements during the Mud March, as his chief of intelligence.

For the first two years of the war, Union intelligence gathering relied on Allen Pinkerton. As the Army of the Potomac's spymaster under Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan, Pinkerton and his agents occasionally penetrated Confederate-held northern Virginia. But their chief duty was the interrogation of captured enemy soldiers and deserters. Unfortunately, serious problems existed with Pinkerton and his organization, the most notorious being its penchant for grossly inflating Confederate troop strength. Often Pinkerton's estimates ran double the actual size of the Confederate army in the eastern theater.

Things did not improve from the standpoint of intelligence gathering under Burnside, who was the second commander of the Army of the Potomac. Burnside had only one secret service employee, John C. Babcock, when Pinkerton left the job after the Antietam Campaign. Although Babcock was a skilled interrogator and an order-of-battle expert, Burnside failed to properly use him. The

A Union column tramps through the rain during Maj. Gen. Ambrose Burnside's January 1863 Mud March. Burnside's replacement, Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker, improved intelligence operations significantly when he took command.

All: Library of Congress

Union intelligence chief Colonel George Henry Sharpe is pictured with his staff at Brandy Station in June 1863. Left to right are Sharpe, John C. Babcock, an unidentified man, and John McEntee.

result was that the intelligence service within the army functioned poorly since it focused solely on reconnaissance and espionage efforts and did not systematically exploit other sources of information and produce finished intelligence summaries. This situation changed radically once Hooker took over.

Hooker understood the need for effective intelligence gathering and interpretation as well as good operational security practices to defeat enemy intelligence activities. Less than two weeks after he took command of the Army of the Potomac on January 26, 1863, Hooker issued a general directive to Provost Marshal Brig. Gen. Marsena R. Patrick to "organize and perfect a system for collecting information as speedily as possible." In response to Hooker's wish, on February 11 Patrick named Sharpe deputy provost marshal general for the Army of the Potomac. Sharpe was tasked with establishing a secret service department. His appointment would turn out to be an excellent choice.

Sharpe was born on February 26, 1828, in Kingston, New York, to Henry and Helen Sharpe. He entered Rutgers University at age 15. In 1847 he graduated with honors from that institution. He subsequently graduated from Yale University Law School in 1849 at the age of 21. Afterward, he landed a job as an attaché to the U.S. embassy in Vienna.

In the early 1850s Sharpe became a highly successful attorney and investor in upstate New York. In 1858 he joined the 20th New York State Militia Regiment, being elected captain of Company B. After the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter, South Carolina, Sharpe and the 20th New York Militia were ordered to Maryland where they guarded railroads.

After the 20th Militia was released from service, Sharpe helped raise the 120th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment. As its colonel, Sharpe and the 120th joined the Army of the Potomac at the start of the Fredericksburg Campaign. During the Battle of Fredericksburg, the 120th New York was held in reserve. After Fredericksburg, Sharpe attempted to have his command assigned to the Army of the Potomac's Provost Marshal Guard. That assignment did not take place, but the request did bring Sharpe to the notice of U.S. Army Provost Marshal Marsena Patrick.

As the new spymaster for the Army of the Potomac, Sharpe brought his native intelligence, analytical thinking, strong work ethic, organizational skills, and charismatic personality to his new job. Sharpe and his intelligence staff generated intelligence using all available information sources, including scouts and spies, cavalry reconnaissance, Signal Corps observation and message interception, and aerial scouting from balloons. In addition, they culled Southern newspaper accounts and reports from other Union military commands. They also derived information from interrogation of prisoners, deserters, escaped slaves, and Union sympathizers. They analyzed the data and used it to create a picture of the enemy's order of battle, strength, dispositions, movements, and morale. Afterward, Sharpe and his staff issued reports directly to the army commander.

Sharpe's unit included two men whom he respected and relied on: John C. Babcock and John McEntee. The 26-year-old Babcock, a prewar architect, had been an enlisted man in the U.S. Army when he worked for Allen Pinkerton. Soon after Burnside took charge of the Army of the Potomac, Babcock was mustered out of the service but, as a civilian, remained as Burnside's chief of intelligence. Sharpe assigned him as the principal interrogator and leading

analyst, as well as his second in command.

Before the war, McEntee was a flour and feed merchant near Kingston, New York, who had conducted business with Sharpe. McEntee had risen to the rank of captain for his meritorious service during the battles in the eastern theater in 1862. The 27-year-old officer was chosen by Sharpe to be a major player on the intelligence staff by leading its scout and spy teams in the field as well as serving as an interrogator and writing intelligence reports.

Previously known as the Secret Service Department, Sharpe changed the agency's name to the Bureau of Military Information when he took over. The bureau initially was staffed by 20 employees. Although its staff increased, it never numbered more than 70 employees during the war. Sharpe picked soldiers from other commands in the U.S. Army with a wide variety of skills that would benefit his organization. Those recruited included scouts, detectives, telegraph operators, messengers, guides, and agents. He also sought out the services of local spies.

Hooker's bureau was barely up and running when its mettle was tested by a major movement of the enemy. As a result of the Union IX Corps' transfer from the Army of the Potomac to the Virginia Peninsula during the second week of February 1863, Lee dispatched his First Corps under Lt. Gen. James Longstreet from the main army to Suffolk, Virginia, as a counter to the Federal transfer. To verify Longstreet's move south, Sharpe sent several of his scouts across the Rappahannock River, which was the boundary between the opposing armies, to investigate.

One of these, 38-year-old Sergeant Milton W. Cline of the 3rd Indiana Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, obtained the best results. Passing himself off as a Confederate scout, Cline managed to travel, with a Rebel mounted detail, the length and breadth of the Army of Northern Virginia's positions, as well as well behind its front. The sergeant was not only able to report to his boss that part of Longstreet's corps had in fact withdrawn from the Rappahannock and headed southeast, but also gave the locations of more than 125 Confederate military camps and other installations. Cline's 250-mile sojourn between February 24 and March 5, 1863, was the deepest, most extended penetration of enemy lines by either side documented during the war.

On March 15, 1863, after only a month in existence, the bureau presented Hooker with an order of battle for the Army of Northern Virginia, as well as a record of its changing strength as it was gradually reinforced along the Rappahannock River. The report said Lee had 42,500 men when he actually had 49,000. Although the estimate was off, it was the most comprehensive piece of intelligence produced to date by the Army of the Potomac. The report prompted Maj. Gen. Daniel Butterfield, Hooker's chief of staff, to write later that until the advent of the bureau "we were almost as ignorant of the enemy in our immediate front as if they had been in China."

Sergeant Milton W. Cline (seated) disguised himself as a Confederate scout and reported on the location of 125 Confederate military camps and other installations during a harrowing mission behind enemy lines in winter 1863.

By mid-April 1863, Joe Hooker had decided to mount an offensive against Robert E. Lee by attacking the latter's right flank and rear above Fredericksburg using his cavalry to get behind the enemy to cut his supply line to Richmond. The bureau, together with the army's topographical engineers, mapped out the routes the army would take to accomplish its mission. About this time, Babcock submitted a revised Confederate order of battle as well as a new combat strength estimate. His report stated Lee had 52,200 men and 26 infantry brigades. Soon after the army started its march around the Confederate flank, Sharpe listed Southern strength at 54,600 and 243 cannons, which was relatively close to the actual numbers. Furthermore, Sharpe was able to inform Hooker that unlike the previous month, the Army of Northern Virginia's western flank and rear was only thinly guarded. With this vital information in hand, Hooker revised his plan of attack: he would now use most of his infantry to slash behind Lee's army and threaten his lifeline, thus forcing Lee to either run or fight at a disadvantage.

By day five (May 1) of Hooker's offensive, the right wing of his army was a little to the east of Chancellorsville squarely on the Confederate left flank. An evening report from Sharpe indicated the only opposition facing the Union army was two Rebel infantry divisions. But a further report later that night stated that Lee had dispatched between 10,000 and 15,000 troops of Lt. Gen. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson's corps to meet the Federals near Chancellorsville. After receiving this disturbing news of the enemy's movement, Hooker elected to halt his own advance and concentrate for a defensive battle near Chancellorsville. By ceding the initiative to Lee, the Union army leader set in motion the events that would lead to his defeat during the campaign.

Sharpe's last act would play in the ill-fated Union Chancellorsville Campaign was, as a member of the provost marshal's staff, negotiating the exchange of 4,000 Federal wounded soldiers who had fallen into the hands of the victorious Confederates after the Army of the Potomac reclosed to the north side of the Rappahannock. In this endeavor he was successful and considered it one of his finest achievements during the war.

On June 3, 1863, Lee followed up his spectacular success at the Battle of Chancellorsville with an invasion of the North. Weeks before Sharpe, during a visit to Baltimore, had arranged for spies to discover just such a Rebel ploy. On May 27, Sharpe forwarded to army headquarters a summary of enemy intentions. After listing the number of brigades gathered under Lee, Sharpe ended his report by stating that Rebel deserters claimed that the Army of Northern Virginia was about to move north against the Army of the Potomac's right flank.

To detect any enemy move north, at the end of May Sharpe sent a six-man detachment under McEntee to work with the Federal cavalry to scout the enemy, penetrate its lines, and gather as much intelligence as possible about Lee's intentions. The results of McEntee's and Sharpe's efforts resulted in a report that Lee's cavalry, under Maj. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart, was about to embark on a big raid to the north from Culpepper Court House, Virginia. Sharpe's analysis was incorrect, but it did set in motion the cavalry fight at Brandy Station, Virginia, on June 9. During this period Sharpe's organization was staffed with only 18 men and thus was not robust enough to thoroughly and timely shift through all the voluminous and conflicting material coming to it. Further, the Union cavalry commander, Maj. Gen. Alfred Pleasanton, had been controlling the movements of Sharpe's scouts and withholding information from Sharpe. As a result, the bureau's effectiveness was at one of its lowest points during the war.

It was not until June 12 that information

Confederate prisoners are shown at Chancellorsville. Sharpe negotiated the exchange of 4,000 Union prisoners after the May 1863 battle.

from some Negro slaves and observations by McEntee revealed that the Army of Northern Virginia was indeed heading north from the Rappahannock. Armed with this information, Hooker ordered his army in pursuit of the Confederates on June 14. Ten days later, Hooker received a report from Babcock conclusively stating that part of Lee's army had crossed north of the Potomac River. The Federal commander, who up to that time was still not sure if Lee meant to invade Maryland and Pennsylvania, then ordered his own army to pass north of the Potomac. It was a critical decision that allowed the Union force to eventually catch up with its perennial adversary in Pennsylvania.

Crossing the Potomac immensely aided Sharpe's quest for intelligence. Between June 24 and the first day's battle at Gettysburg on July 1, he received more than 100 reports, 75 percent of which were accurate, from his people as well as scores of citizen scouts regarding the strength and movements of the Southern army. Sharpe compiled almost all the analytical summaries based on this mass of material, and they were used to good effect by the new head of the Army of the Potomac.

On May 28, Maj. Gen. George G. Meade assumed command of the Army of the Potomac. He immediately used the information collected by the bureau to fan his army out in the Pennsylvania countryside in order to keep it reasonably concentrated and at the same time counter any moves on the part of his opponent. By June 30 Meade had enough intelligence from Sharpe to order a concentration in the vicinity of Gettysburg, where a major battle was fought July 1-3. After battling for two consecutive days, Meade was concerned that his army could no longer continue the contest. His decision whether to stay and fight or withdraw in part hinged on the news from Sharpe that most of Lee's army had been committed to the battle and that the enemy was as used up as Meade's force was. Meade decided to remain in the fight, resulting in a clear Union victory by the end of July 3.

Operations of the opposing armies between late July 1863 and April 1864 involved only a few major maneuvers and only one major clash, the Battle of Bristoe Station fought October 14, 1863. These events did not give the bureau much scope for action. This would change in May 1864 when the Army of the Potomac embarked on the Overland Campaign accompanied by General of the Army Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant.

Before the 1864 spring campaign season opened, Sharpe had placed intelligence liaison officers with the Army of the James and the Federal army in the Shenandoah Valley. During the first month of marching and fighting Sharpe used his scouts, in conjunction with Signal Corps parties, to accumulate intelligence to guide the efforts of the Army of the Potomac. Sharpe spent much of his time meeting with Grant and coordinating bureau operations with Grant's staff. In early July, the bureau was renamed, by order of Grant, as the Bureau of Information. This reflected the fact that Sharpe was not only back in the business of all-source intelligence, but no longer under Meade's control. Sharpe now reported directly to Grant. It also started a system of close intelligence coordination, supervised by Sharpe, between the Union armies before Richmond and the Shenandoah Valley army under Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan.

In July Confederate Lt. Gen. Jubal Early took the Army of Northern Virginia's II Corps on a raid into the North, threatening the safety of Washington, D.C. Panic gripped the Lincoln administration upon Early's approach to the capital. Sharpe was sent to calm the fearful politicians who swore Early had close to 100,000 men. Sharpe reassured them the Southerner had no more than 25,000 soldiers (he had only 13,000 troops), and he "offered a heavy bet that they [the Confederates] would fall back the moment the VI Corps [from the Army of the Potomac] appeared in front of Washington." And that turned out to be the case.

As the siege of Petersburg and Richmond by the Army of the Potomac and the Army of the James, which had commenced in June, dragged on, Sharpe strengthened his connection with the pro-Unionist underground in those towns, the most prominent being the group led by spinster Elizabeth Van Lew of Petersburg. Sharpe encouraged these clandestine organizations to report on Southern troop movements, troop morale, and the state of Rebel fortifications in and around Richmond and Petersburg.

In February 1865 Sharpe was promoted to brigadier general. One of the last acts of his military career was to supervise the parole of members of the Army of Virginia after their surrender at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865.

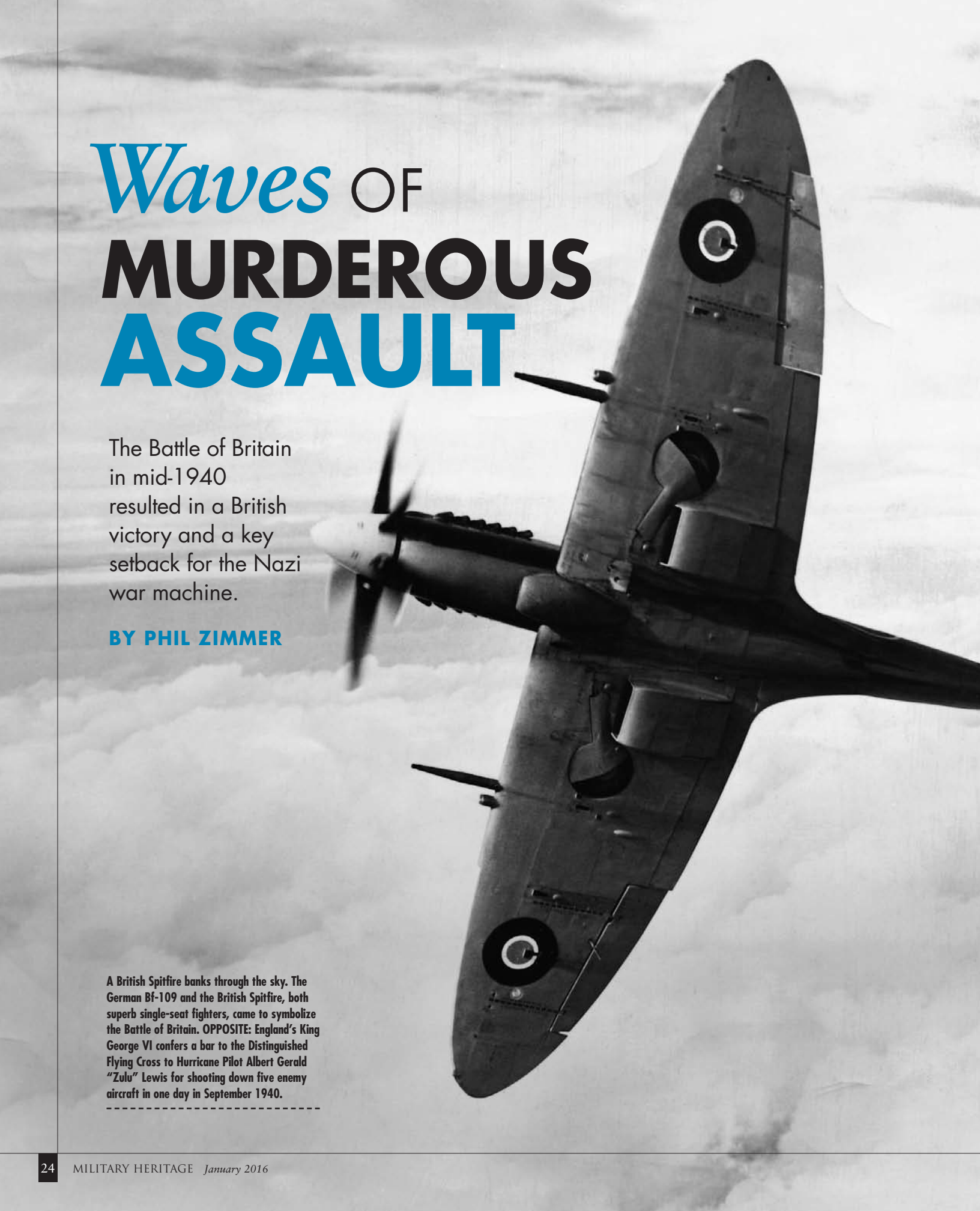
Returning to Kingston in June 1865, Sharpe resumed his law practice. Two years later he was sent to Europe by the Johnson administration to track down John Surratt, a suspected Lincoln assassination conspirator. President Ulysses S. Grant appointed Sharpe to serve as U.S. Marshal for the Southern District of New York in 1869 and surveyor of New York customs until 1878. Later Sharpe combined the practice of law with participation in local politics until his death in January 1900.

The Bureau of Military Information was successful because it effectively collated and analyzed masses of information from a variety of sources, presenting the finished product in a concise daily written summary. These provided not raw information but a careful analysis. This practice marked the first time in American military history that a professional department collected and analyzed information for the commanding general to aid him in the strategic and tactical decision-making process. The process was not fully replicated until World War II. What was equally significant was that none of its members was an intelligence professional. □

Waves OF MURDEROUS ASSAULT

The Battle of Britain in mid-1940 resulted in a British victory and a key setback for the Nazi war machine.

BY PHIL ZIMMER



A British Spitfire banks through the sky. The German Bf-109 and the British Spitfire, both superb single-seat fighters, came to symbolize the Battle of Britain. OPPOSITE: England's King George VI confers a bar to the Distinguished Flying Cross to Hurricane Pilot Albert Gerald "Zulu" Lewis for shooting down five enemy aircraft in one day in September 1940.

GERALD "Zulu" Lewis peered from his Hurricane and spotted 20 German Bf-110s circling with a heavy escort of fast and deadly Bf-109 fighters over Redhill, south of London. It was shortly after 9 AM on September 27, 1940.

Instinctively, Lewis dove down, laced a two-manned Bf-110 with two short bursts of fire from his machine guns and sent the intruder plunging earthward in a pale of smoke. Avoiding the temptation to fruitlessly follow the doomed plane down, Lewis turned back to the circling fighter bombers and used another burst from his guns to knock out the starboard engine of another Bf-110 and set it on fire.

The blond-haired South African pilot, who already had earned a Distinguished Flying Cross for his service months earlier in the skies over France, then pulled back on his control column and climbed upward toward the sun. As he reached the defensive ring of circling Bf-110s, he let loose with his eight Browning machine guns and downed his third Bf-110 for the morning.

Before day's end, the bright-eyed Lewis would claim six enemy aircraft destroyed and two probable kills to boot. But the day included the loss of another gifted pilot, 23-year-old Flying Officer Percival Ross-Frames Burton, who had pursued a fleeing Bf-110 for some 40 miles before he ran out of ammunition and his guns fell silent. In frustration, Burton then banked his Hurricane and used a wing to deliberately sever the German plane's tail, causing it to crash in a field in Sussex, instantly killing both the pilot and co-pilot. Burton tried in vain to maintain control of his plane before it crashed into an oak tree, instantly killing him.

That incident gave rise to the "Gone for a Burton" phrase used to describe a heroic, desperate act similar to that taken by the squadron leader.

Lewis, for his part, did not have an easy go of it that September day. On returning toward base later that afternoon, he was jumped by a Bf-109 pilot who caught him with cannon fire. With flames licking all around him, Lewis managed to pull back the cockpit cover and get out.

The ejection from the plane "caused me to be shaken around like an old rag; then there was the blissful peace and calm of falling free," said Lewis. He managed to land relatively safely, although his legs, face, and neck were burned, and he had a third-degree burn on his trigger finger. He spent two months in a hospital, was promoted to Flying Officer in November, and survived the war.

Lewis was one of the lucky ones. Hundreds of British pilots and Luftwaffe airmen and thousands of British civilians would be killed before the Battle of Britain ended. The protracted air campaign, in which the German Luftwaffe sought to achieve air superiority over Britain's Royal Air Force (RAF), lasted roughly from July 10, 1940, to October 31, 1940. The air campaign marked the first defeat in the war for Nazi leader Adolf Hitler's forces, which previously had seized Austria and Czechoslovakia and easily overran western Poland, Denmark, and Norway before conquering France, forcing the British and remnants of the French armies from the European continent by June 1940.

Although billed by British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and others as a battle of the few against the many in Britain's "Finest Hour," the hard-fought campaign fell somewhat short of that distinction. The battle was nearly a draw in terms of the number of planes lost. The British lost approximately 1,643 and the Germans lost approximately 1,686 aircraft during the campaign.

But it was not the heroic efforts of a few brave fighter pilots, but the combined and determined efforts of everyone on the British Isles that thwarted the German effort to subdue the island. Not only did the British Fighter Command do its duty, but the British Bomber Command and the British Royal Navy also played key roles in keeping the Germans at bay. In frustration, Hitler turned his attention eastward to the Soviet Union, a country he sought to conquer for *Lebensraum*; that is, additional living space, for the German people. Hitler believed the fall of the Soviet Union would ultimately force the recalcitrant British to the negotiating table.

In many ways the Battle of Britain is best viewed as a life-or-death struggle for supremacy based on men, machines, technology, and tactics. And it was the British who came out on top in all four categories. The difference was made by the women who manned the radar screens, the workmen who built the planes, those who refurbished damaged aircraft, and those who kept the sea lanes open so food and war matériel could continue to flow to the embattled British.

The German Bf-109 and the British Spitfire, both single-seat fighters, came to symbolize the battle. Each was a superb plane in its own right, although the Bf-109 initially had one key technological advantage. That edge was a fuel-injected engine that enabled the fighter to make sharp dives to avoid the attacking Spitfires and Hurricanes, which used traditional carburetors. The British, however, quickly learned to perform a fast flick of the aircraft before diving, a procedure that would fill the carburetor and prevent the engine from cutting out in a dive. But the absence of fuel injection would cause concern even for RAF veterans throughout the battle when an engine would cut out during a dogfight because of a lack of fuel.

Imperial War Museum

Willy Messerschmitt had designed the Bf-109 in the mid-1930s and it went through some modifications based on its combat use in the Spanish Civil War. A larger engine, giving the Bf-109 an added 400 horsepower, and the addition of 20mm cannons to each of its strengthened wings made for a fierce attack weapon. The plane was not without its faults and its narrow stance often caused mishaps on landing and takeoff.

Reginald J. Mitchell, the father of the Spitfire, also began design work on his all-metal fighter in the 1930s. Like the Bf-109 and the Hurricane, the Spitfire progressed from a fixed-pitch wooden propeller to a three-blade, variable-pitch, metal propeller that progressively increased its speed. Mitchell, a born engineer, amazingly got his start at age 16 working as an apprentice in a company that produced steam locomotives. He knew metal and was able to produce a sleek, elliptical-winged craft packing eight 50-caliber Browning machine guns and powered by a 1,000-horsepower Rolls Royce Merlin engine.

The Spitfire, and other metal monoplanes like it, necessitated the retraining of workers to make them familiar and comfortable with working with light metal alloys rather than the traditional fabric-over-frame airplane construction.

Sydney Camm of Hawker Aircraft began working on the Hurricane in the early 1930s. It also was eventually powered by the Merlin engine. He developed a thick, sturdy wing and a wider, more stable undercarriage than either the Spitfire or the Bf-109. Much of the Hurricane was covered with fabric rather than metal, making it easier to build and easier for ground crews to repair.

Imperial War Museum

Experience also would show that the Bf-109's cannon fire would pass cleanly through the craft, often without causing the extensive damage suffered by all-metal monoplanes.

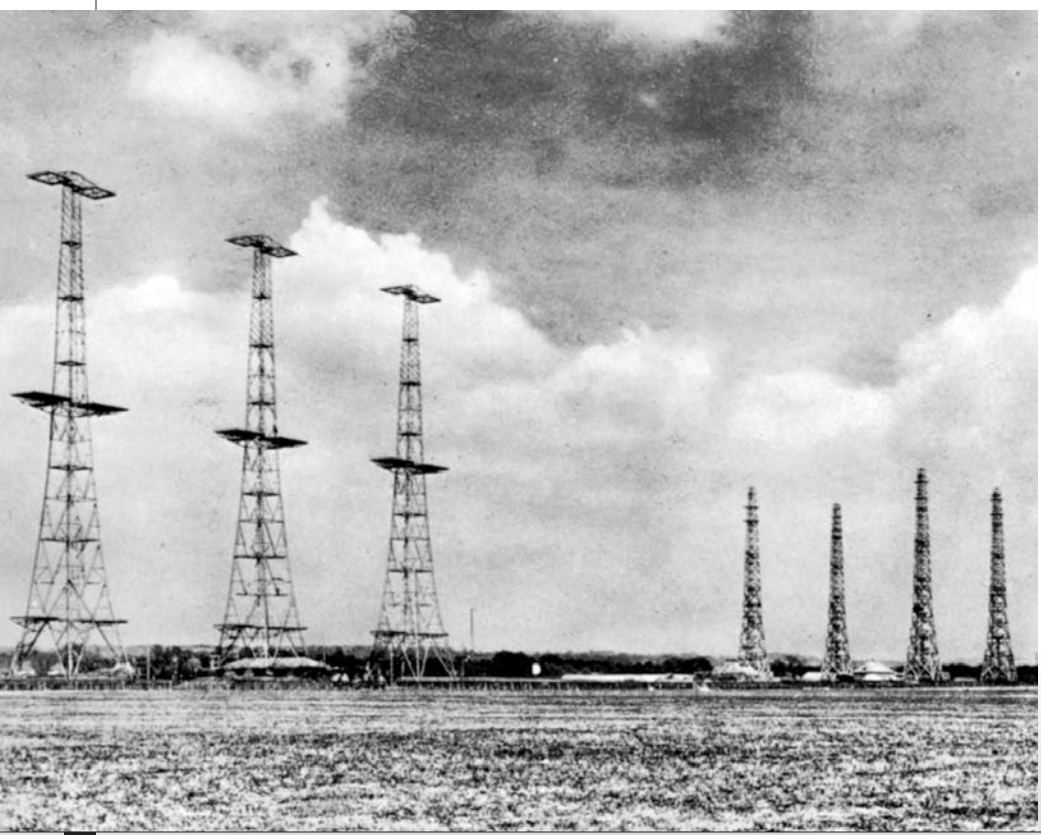
The British produced more Hurricanes than Spitfires, and that is the reason the Hurricane is credited with more kills in the Battle of Britain. Part of that success is attributed to the fact that the Hurricanes were more often deliberately sent against the slower moving Luftwaffe bombers while the faster Spitfires tangled with the cannon-equipped Bf-109s. The Hurricane also had another key advantage over the other two fighters: its wheels retracted inward and its wide stable landing gear made the craft easier to land and take off from rugged grass strips.

All three aircraft were superb planes for the day, and in the end it often came down to the skill of the individual pilot and a bit of luck that determined which adversary would be shot from the sky. In addition, the Germans initially had a solid system of pulling their downed airmen from the English Channel via pontoon planes and fast boats, but the British eventually put an end to that.

The RAF pilots had a major advantage in that they were often fighting directly over friendly territory, which gave them more time in the air, while the German fighters had a more limited time over the target before fuel concerns prompted them to head homeward. The Germans explored, but never developed, drop tanks to increase their time over their targets.

The close-in fighting also meant that a rather substantial number of crashed British and German airplanes were scattered across the British Isles. A remarkable and often overlooked group, the Civilian Repair Organization, proved to be highly efficient in salvaging nearly every scrap of airframe possible. The metal was melted down and much of the German metal took to the air yet again in the form of new Allied aircraft.

IN DOWDING'S VIEW, FRANCE WAS A LOST CAUSE AND BRITAIN COULD SURVIVE ONLY IF SHE HAD ENOUGH FIGHTERS TO PROTECT HER AIR SPACE, CRUCIAL PORTS, AND HER INFRASTRUCTURE FROM THE POWERFUL NAZI AIR ARMADA.



Imperial War Museum

The Civilian Repair Organization had an amazing record of getting RAF aircraft back in the sky. Fully 61 percent of aircraft crossed off squadron lists because they could not be repaired locally were successfully brought back into the fight by the organization. Even before the war began, the RAF had recognized the rather urgent need for a vehicle that could transport fighter planes by road with the removed wings stowed alongside. A low-riding trailer was developed and tested within days. The trailer system later proved invaluable in transporting damaged planes to central repair and smelting facilities.

In May 1940, the Civilian Repair Organization fell under Minister of Air Production William Maxwell Aitken, First Baron Beaverbrook. Beaverbrook took forceful command of the ministry. From that point on, it was Beaverbrook and not the Air Ministry that decided what types of aircraft were produced and in what quantities. Fortunately, Beaverbrook took a quick liking to the taciturn Air Chief Marshal Hugh S. Dowding. Beaverbrook and Dowding formed a solid bond against Dowding's critics in the Air Ministry.

Beaverbrook was a bold man of action. He was not above sending his Civilian Repair Organization staff to raid RAF squadrons for spare parts and engines that he then had delivered to production lines. He also relied on business experts outside the aircraft industry to help improve aircraft production.

Both: Imperial War Museum

ABOVE: British Minister of Air Production William Maxwell Aitken, left, and Air Chief Marshal Hugh S. Dowding, right. LEFT: Great Britain's radar installations could detect German bombers gathering for an attack and alert the Royal Air Force. Although the Germans were among the first advocates of radar, it was the British who made successful strides forward with its development in the 1930s.

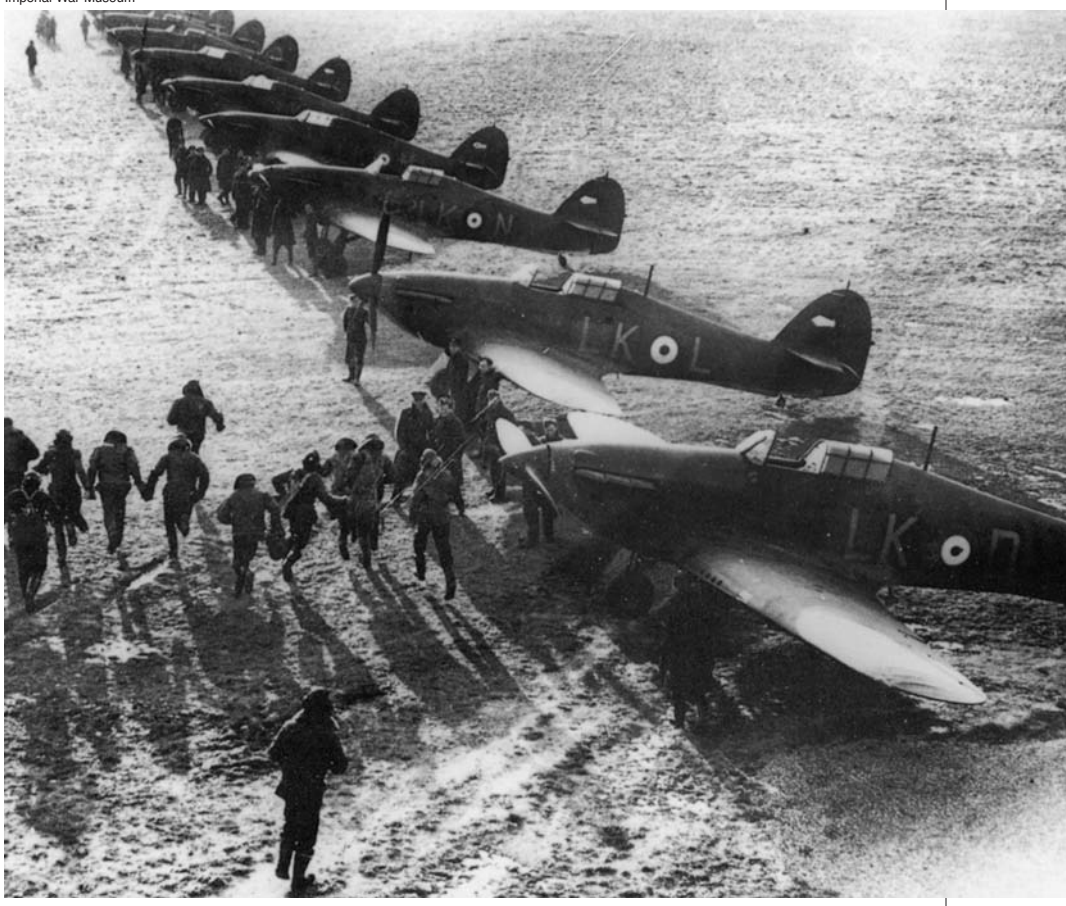
Beaverbrook's aggressive approach was evident early on when he ordered Supermarine, the company that had created the Spitfire, to take over a second Spitfire factory run by another firm that was lagging dramatically in production. He bluntly directed that Supermarine take over the factory in Birmingham and to

forget plans to produce Wellington and Halifax bombers there as well. Soon Spitfire IIs, a slightly improved model with a higher-boost Merlin XII engine, were rolling from the factory, which was located farther from the danger zone.

Beaverbrook advocated the ferrying of completed aircraft from the United States to England despite the Air Ministry's belief that it would prove impractical. He prevailed and was proven correct. The Civilian Repair Organization staff developed a system whereby fighter pilots flew damaged aircraft directly to centers where they were promptly repaired and the plane and pilot quickly put back into action.

National Archives

Imperial War Museum



ABOVE: RAF pilots scramble to their Hawker Hurricane fighters to defend the skies over England. Much of the Hurricane was covered with fabric, rather than metal, making it easier to build and easier for ground crews to repair. LEFT: Luftwaffe Commander-in-Chief Hermann Göring inspects captured Allied aircraft. He unrealistically promised Adolf Hitler that he would defeat the Royal Air Force in time for Operation Sea Lion, the amphibious invasion of England.

Dowding, who was Reichmarschall Hermann Göring's opponent during the campaign, advocated that the British use American-produced, 100-octane aviation fuel while the Germans relied on its standby, a lower grade 87-octane fuel. The specialized fuel helped offset the advantages of the German fuel-injected engines, but Dowding's decision was a risky one because the fuel needed to be imported from the United States, which at the time was a neutral nation, using limited financial resources and shipped through heavily infested U-boat waters by vulnerable merchant ships. Dowding made several other crucial decisions early on that shaped the outcome of the battle, including the use of armor-plated cockpits similar to those the Germans used to protect their pilots.

Dowding, a diligent administrator and an impatient technician, was feared by the Air Ministry. He had a few glaring faults; for example, he could be unnecessarily caustic at times, and he often readily deferred to his specialists rather than investigating matters for himself. The specialists told him that self-sealing fuel tanks would be too heavy for fighters, something that was later proved to be incorrect. He was relatively naive when it came to boardroom politics, which hampered his career at the end, but oftentimes his demands, such as the need for bullet-proof glass on his fighter planes, proved to be right on the mark.

Although the Germans were among the first advocates of what was to become known as radar, it was the British who made determined and successful strides forward with its development in the 1930s. They also developed the Identification Friend or Foe system of placing a device onboard to identify friendly planes to radar crews on the ground, and it was Dowding who gave the first go-ahead for radar.

ULTRA was another key component to the British defense system. Information from the intelligence program was collated for Dowding at Bentley Priory. By breaking the German codes, the British came to better understand the Luftwaffe's objectives. The decoding operations and the comparatively sophisticated integrated radar system were heavily cloaked in secrecy.

Perhaps one of Dowding's greatest contributions came before the Battle of Britain. Rather than going with the flow, Dowding protested loudly during the war in France when his superiors assigned four of his fighter squadrons to France and allocated six more squadrons if needed. Dowding argued that he needed fully 52 fighter squadrons, later raised to 60, to defend the homeland. He vehemently argued that Hurricanes should not be sent to France. He believed that sending British fighter aircraft to the rapidly deteriorating situation in France with poor airfields and without maintenance facilities and proper radar would prove disastrous. In Dowding's view, France was a lost cause and Britain could survive only if she had enough fighters to protect her air space, crucial ports, and her infrastructure from the powerful Nazi air armada.

Near-term events proved Dowding's assessment correct. Between May 10, 1940, and the so-called Miracle of Dunkirk between May 26 and June 3, the Germans destroyed the French Air Force and largely incapacitated the assorted collection of British bombers and the 10 fighter squadrons that had been sent by then to France's aid.

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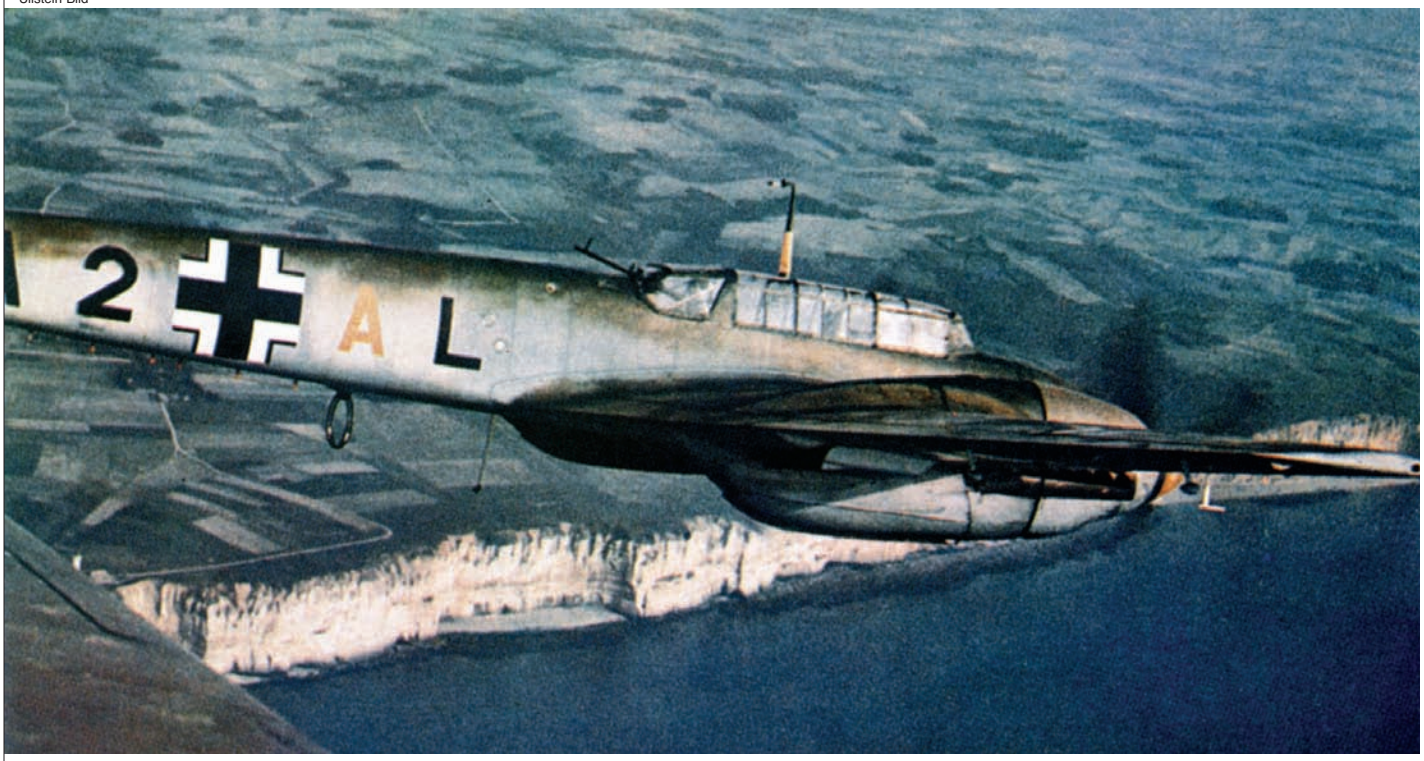


A twin-engine Bf-110 is shown flying above the famed white cliffs of Dover. The slow-moving, poorly armed Bf-110s were no match for the British single-seat fighters.

On May 15 Dowding asked to meet with Churchill and his war cabinet. During the meeting, Dowding warned them against sending any more fighter planes to France. At that time, Dowding only had 46 squadrons. He reiterated his need for an absolute minimum of 52 fighter squadrons for the defense of Britain. Churchill recalled the meeting a bit differently. A few days later the prime minister ordered another 10 fighter squadrons to France.

That was too much for Dowding, who sprang into action and wrote a blistering letter to his superiors. Cutting his home defense squadrons to 36 in a desperate and futile attempt to save France, he warned, would severely weaken Britain and "involve the final, complete and irremediable defeat of this country." The letter garnered the support of his immediate superior, although Hurricanes continued to be drained in limited numbers from Dowding's command for political expediency until the fall of France.

Dowding's letter and his calculations on the number of squadrons needed proved to be on the mark, but his bold action in putting his concerns in writing generated quiet animosity among Churchill and others. The letter and later political infighting would eventually lead to Dowding being eased from his position as head of Fighter Command once the Battle of Britain had ended.

While Fighter Command acquitted itself quite well against the German air armada, it was the Royal Navy that perhaps deserves more credit for being the unheralded hero in the Battle of Britain and in earlier skirmishes with the Germans. Hitler's forces did manage to take both Denmark and Norway just months earlier in the world's first combined land, sea, and air campaign, but the taking of Norway came at a substantial cost to the German Kriegsmarine. The Kriegsmarine lost one heavy cruiser, two light cruisers, 10 destroyers, and six submarines. In addition, two battleships and another heavy cruiser were badly damaged in the Norwegian campaign.

On July 16, Hitler ordered the Kriegsmarine to begin making preparations for an invasion of Britain, codenamed Operation Sea Lion, tentatively scheduled for mid-August. Some historians contend, perhaps rightly, that the Kriegsmarine was so weakened by its naval losses during the Norwegian campaign that it could not have properly supported a full-scale landing campaign against Britain as envisioned in Sea Lion. Although Churchill and others had eyes focused on the air campaign, a successful German landing could not have been prevented without sufficient naval protection from the powerful British Royal Navy.

The Kriegsmarine was well aware of its shortcomings, and its leaders were not above tossing obstacles, both real and imagined, in the way of the invasion planners. The Royal Navy was a powerful and formidable opponent, especially in defense of its homeland, and it would be difficult to protect any landing force against it. The Germans faced a host of challenges to a cross-Channel invasion. Chief among those was that they lacked a reliable landing craft that could navigate the choppy and unpredictable English Channel while withstanding British air, artillery, and sea attacks.

Although Göring, a World War I ace fighter pilot, was in overall command of the Luftwaffe, Field Marshal Albert Kesselring as commander of Luftflotte 2 handled much of the day-to-day activity during the campaign. Kesselring, who was affectionately called "Uncle Albert" by his men, worked closely in planning the daily attacks with Luftflotte 3 commander Field Marshal Hugo Sperrle. At the outset of the campaign, Luftflotte 2 and Luftflotte 3 had a combined total of 1,841 aircraft. The total number included 769 twin-engined bombers, 248 dive bombers, 168 Bf-110s, and 656 Bf-109s.

Together, the two carefully analyzed each raid and adjusted air tactics accordingly. The Luftflotte commanders often resorted to feints and circuitous routes in an effort to mislead the British as to the true targets for German bombers. One of their more interesting refinements was the development of a special beam, codenamed Kickebein, which led German bombers to targets. Once it became operational, the British worked to nullify it with jamming countermeasures.

Tactics varied considerably during the campaign. The first phase from July 10 to August 12 focused on attacks on British coastal convoys and air battles over the Channel. The Germans were determined to sweep the Channel clear of potential opposition to a landing and to create the type of stunned paralysis that the Luftwaffe had produced earlier in both Poland and France. The Germans believed they could pull Fighter Command into what the Luftwaffe believed would be a favorable attritional air battle that would weaken the British well before Operation Sea Lion began. Hitler's forces felt they could not lose; if the British planes did not rise to the occasion, they would sink the British convoys, causing the belt to tighten even further on the island.

Dowding recognized the dilemma and cautioned his superiors that he could only provide minimal protection in the Channel without severely hampering his force's ability to directly protect the homeland. Pressure mounted on him as more ships were sunk, and eventually he repositioned some of his fighters closer to the Channel where they could provide some added convoy protection even if those locations exposed the planes and airfields to more attacks from German marauders. Occasionally the German fighters did spring free from defending their bombers and did make attacks over Kent and elsewhere. And bombers occasionally came in from the North Sea during this period to drop a few reminders of their presence.

The repositioning of his fighters and the incursions concerned both Dowding and his superiors. Even more troublesome to him was the fact that British fighters downed in the Channel at that point had no dinghies, no sea dye, and no organized way to be retrieved. He took steps to ensure that those shortcomings were resolved.

The British also saw the advantage of the German Schwarm, in which the leader was positioned slightly ahead of the others and with the far outside pilot flying slightly behind the others to guard the tail of the formation. And all flew at slightly different levels to prevent collisions. Fighter Command attempted to copy that formation, but it would take time to master the rather complex system that the Germans had polished in years of combat going back to the Spanish Civil War.

The Germans resorted to some clever deceptive practices during this time frame. On July 18, for example, British radar detected a fleet of aircraft circling for height near the Strait of Dover in preparation for what appeared to be a bombing raid. It turned out to be a flight of Bf-109s circling to lure in the British fighters. They nailed a Spitfire without a loss of their own. Kesselring found that he could force the British defense to divide by attacking two coastal convoys at the same time. Attacks off Dover and near the Thames Estuary on July 24 had the desired result and proved an effective tactic from then onward.

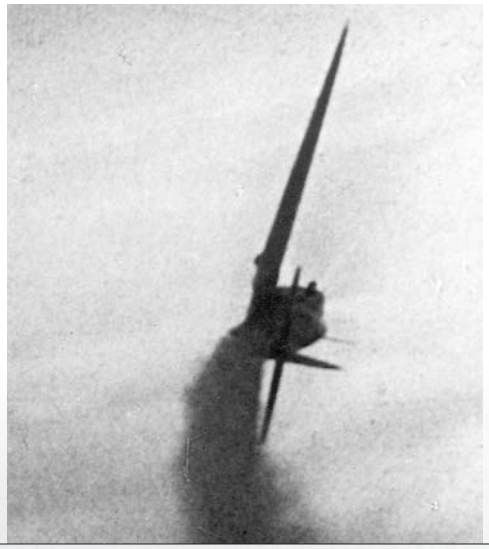
About the same time, the British began allowing fighter pilots to have their gun sights ranged in to their individual liking. This enabled the more brazen to score more direct hits with head-on attacks against German planes. Fighter Command also began allowing pilots to use a greater mixture of the new De Wilde incendiary bullets that provided a bright yellow flash on impact. The incendiary bullets had a severe damaging effect while serving as a superb aiming device for the British pilots. The British fighters also relearned the importance of striking from out of the sun to take the enemy by surprise.

Kesselring had other tricks up his sleeve, including a July 25 low-flying run of Bf-109s coming in at near wavetop height near Dover to lure the British fighters to them so the Stukas could be free to dive bomb a convoy. The British convoy called for help, and when a flight of nine Spitfires came to the rescue they were surprised by a large and well-prepared force of Bf-109s that ravaged the Spitfires and sent a flight commander to his death without the loss of a single German fighter.

That and subsequent losses for the next few days convinced the British that future convoys should only attempt to pass through the Strait of Dover at nighttime. Dowding resisted efforts to force him to provide more protection for the convoys, mostly carrying coal to industrial areas. From that point on, the British relied heavily on the existing railway system for transporting coal and related domestic materials.

This change saved countless Fighter Command airmen as well as British seaman who otherwise would have been lost. Just before that, during a three-week period in July, some 220 flyers had been lost in the Channel, along with a substantial number of seamen.

The modest change in British tactics had another significant effect. The Germans continued to overestimate the numbers of fighters downed and with fewer enemy airborne they came to believe the British were on their last legs, or nearly so. The Luftwaffe had failed to factor in the British system of limited response to aerial incursions and failed to calculate Beaverbrook's ability to produce new fighters. All these factors contributed to the Luftwaffe's belief that it, and not the British, was winning the day. But the German system of distinct and separate air fleets resulted in overlapping and duplicated systems that often enabled convoys to slip through the Channel relatively unmolested.



TOP: Luftwaffe Lieutenant Karl-Heinz Thurz pilots an He-111 during an air raid on England. The British were relentless in attacking the slow-moving German bombers. BOTTOM: A stricken British fighter pilot struggles to keep his aircraft aloft during a dogfight.

Both: National Archives

Perhaps frustrated with the progress of the campaign, on August 1 Hitler issued orders on to Göring to destroy the RAF as quickly as possible. Together with his Luftflotte commanders, Göring drew up plans for Adlerangriff (Attack of the Eagles) to achieve the goal. The attack would begin in earnest on Adler Tag (Eagle Day), designated August 13. The goal was nothing less than to wipe out Britain's Fighter Command. "Within a short period you will wipe the British air force from the sky," Göring told his pilots.

This set the stage for the second phase of the Battle of Britain, which ran from August 13 to August 23. Leading up to Adler Tag, Göring planned preparatory attacks on British radar stations. The attacks were directed against four radar sites, with their tall masts serving to attract the Bf-110 fighter bombers. Three of the sites were incapacitated, with only a station in Kent

National Archives

THE BRITISH CONTINUED THEIR ASSAULTS ON GERMAN BOMBERS, AVOIDING THE FIGHTERS WHEREVER POSSIBLE. THAT WAY THEY COULD INFLICT THE HEAVIEST DAMAGE POSSIBLE WHILE INCURRING FEWER LOSSES. BUT THE GERMANS CONTINUED THEIR EFFORTS.

remaining operational. The Germans were quick to exploit the 100-mile-wide gap that had been created in the defense system.

More than 1,400 Luftwaffe bombers and fighters were involved in attacks against RAF assets in the Thames Estuary on Adler Tag, with only 13 British planes downed and more than three times that number lost by the attackers. Dowding's previous decision to feed the planes slowly and piecemeal into earlier air battles proved correct. The British now had the resources necessary to fend off Germany's determined effort to break Britain's will to resist.

On August 15, Göring ordered Luftflotte 5, which was based in Norway, to augment the attack by Luftflottes 2 and 3. That day the Luftwaffe flew 2,000 sorties, but Luftflotte 5, which lacked Bf-109s, suffered heavy aircraft losses because its slow-moving, poorly armed Bf-110s were no match for the British single-seat fighters. Three days later, in another major air battle, the Germans lost 60 aircraft, half of which were bombers. Frustrated at the loss of so many bombers, Göring issued orders that future Luftwaffe air assaults were to consist of a two-to-one ratio of fighter escorts to bombers.

By the end of the third week of August, the British were still standing and resisting the onslaught. The third and final phase of the Battle of Britain, which began on August 24, marked heavy German assaults on British airfields. Working under a directive from Göring, the Germans bombed airfields around the clock all over the United Kingdom, even if it meant only one aircraft striking an airfield, to keep the British on edge. British radar operators were frazzled with aircraft forming up and those coming in as large numbers of German fighters and bombers took to the air. The tight German formations often managed to fight their way through to their targets, creating second guessing and rumblings by those who served under Dowding. Many had advocated large-scale fighter attacks against the intruders rather than Dowding's piecemeal method of sending the fighters into the fray.

While this argument smoldered, another incident occurred that was to mark changes in the way the battle was fought. During an August 25 early morning raid, one He-111 crew overshot its target and bombed London in the darkness. This was the beginning of total war, with the British deciding to bomb Berlin in reprisal, leading to further deaths. The Nazi leaders were understandably embarrassed because they had promised that Berlin would never be bombed and so further escalation began.

As the British garnered success in downing enemy aircraft during the day, the Germans developed an improved guidance system that made their nighttime bombing efforts more successful. And that system proved effective when used on cloudy daylight raids as well.

The British continued their assaults on German bombers, avoiding the fighters whenever possible. That way they could inflict the heaviest damage possible while incurring fewer losses. But the Germans continued their efforts to overwhelm the defenders with sheer numbers coupled with deceptive tactics. A Luftwaffe assault on August 30 proved critical, with a convoy attack near the Thames Estuary drawing off the defenders, when 40 He-111 and 30 Do-17 bombers, escorted by nearly 100 fighter planes, crossed over England's south coast to hit a series of airfields.

A second wave of bombers inflicted even further damage on the airfields and knocked out the radar system for England's entire southeast coast. A third wave headed toward the Thames Estuary before swinging southward toward Biggin Hill, where it caused severe damage to RAF hangars, workshops, stores, and quarters.

By the end of that bloody day, 36 German aircraft had been shot from the sky, with a loss of 25 British fighter planes and 10 RAF pilots. The Germans, for their part, could take consolation in the devastation caused to sector airfields with their resourceful and seemingly relentless attacks. The British hardly had time to land and refuel between attacks, and if the Luftwaffe could manage to catch the fighters on the ground, future attacks could prove decisive.

The Germans came on strong the following day, putting 1,300 fighter sorties into the air to protect some 150 bombers in their runs on the airfields with the same energetic thrusts used the previous day. A number of the Brit pilots were caught on the ground, with devastating results. That day 39 RAF fighter planes had been lost, with 13 pilots killed, while the Germans lost 39 aircraft. The British were near exhaustion as the result of the determined and improved German tactics.

During this phase, Britain's Fighter Command lost 200 more fighters than they received and of the 1,000 RAF pilots, 231 had been killed, wounded, or missing during this two-week period. In addition, six of seven sector fields had been badly damaged along with five forward airfields.

The Germans pressed their attacks on the airfields over the next several days, focusing in on

the sector airfields in southern England rather than Tangmere and Kenley, the only two surviving airfields in that area. Luftwaffe commanders also added aircraft factories to the objectives, further lessening damage to the two fields and giving the British more time to repair and bring the other airfields back into the fight. The Germans believed their own inflated intelligence reports, especially Kesselring, who contended that the British had few fighters left, even though Fighter Command had flown 1,000 sorties for the first time on August 30.

In reality, things had grown desperate for the RAF. Dowding had lost a quarter of his fighter pilots in the last two weeks of August, and another quarter of his pilots were fresh-faced volunteers with no real combat experience. But Dowding had calculated well; if he could protect British skies through September, his wily opponent would be forced to postpone the invasion with the coming of inclement weather.

The Germans simply would not rest. In September and October, the Luftwaffe focused on shattering the British will to resist with sustained air attacks on London, first by day and then by night. The London attacks were in direct response to continued RAF attacks on Berlin. This redirection away from the airfields provided a breather and allowed Fighter Command to further rebuild its airfields, infrastructure, and supply of pilots.

On September 7, the Germans mounted a bombing effort that included nearly 1,000 aircraft. An impromptu British large-scale effort, known as Big Wing, in which Fighter Command threw all of its strength against the Luftwaffe attack without holding back a reserve, did not have the desired result on the intruders. That led to still further behind-the-scenes infighting between Dowding and his opponents. The Germans had also given their new 3,600-pound high explosive bomb a try during that attack, leading the Joint Intelligence Committee to believe that a German invasion was imminent, causing further alarm among the defenders.

At the conclusion of the September 7 attack, Göring boasted of the RAF, "They have had enough." But he was wrong. The RAF continued to contest the relentless German air attacks even with dwindling numbers of fighter aircraft.

The damaging London raids shifted to nighttime two evenings later, and by September 13 there were only 80 Hurricanes and 47 Spitfires available. The fighting on September 15 provided quite a spectacle as nearly 200 Spitfires and Hurricanes tangled with the enemy over London. And twice that day some 300 British fighters were in the air defending southern England. For their part, the Germans had put 400 fighters of their own aloft to protect approximately 100 bombers. But it was the large-scale formation over London that day that convinced the Luftwaffe that Fighter Command was still alive, functional, and steadfastly determined to defend Britain.

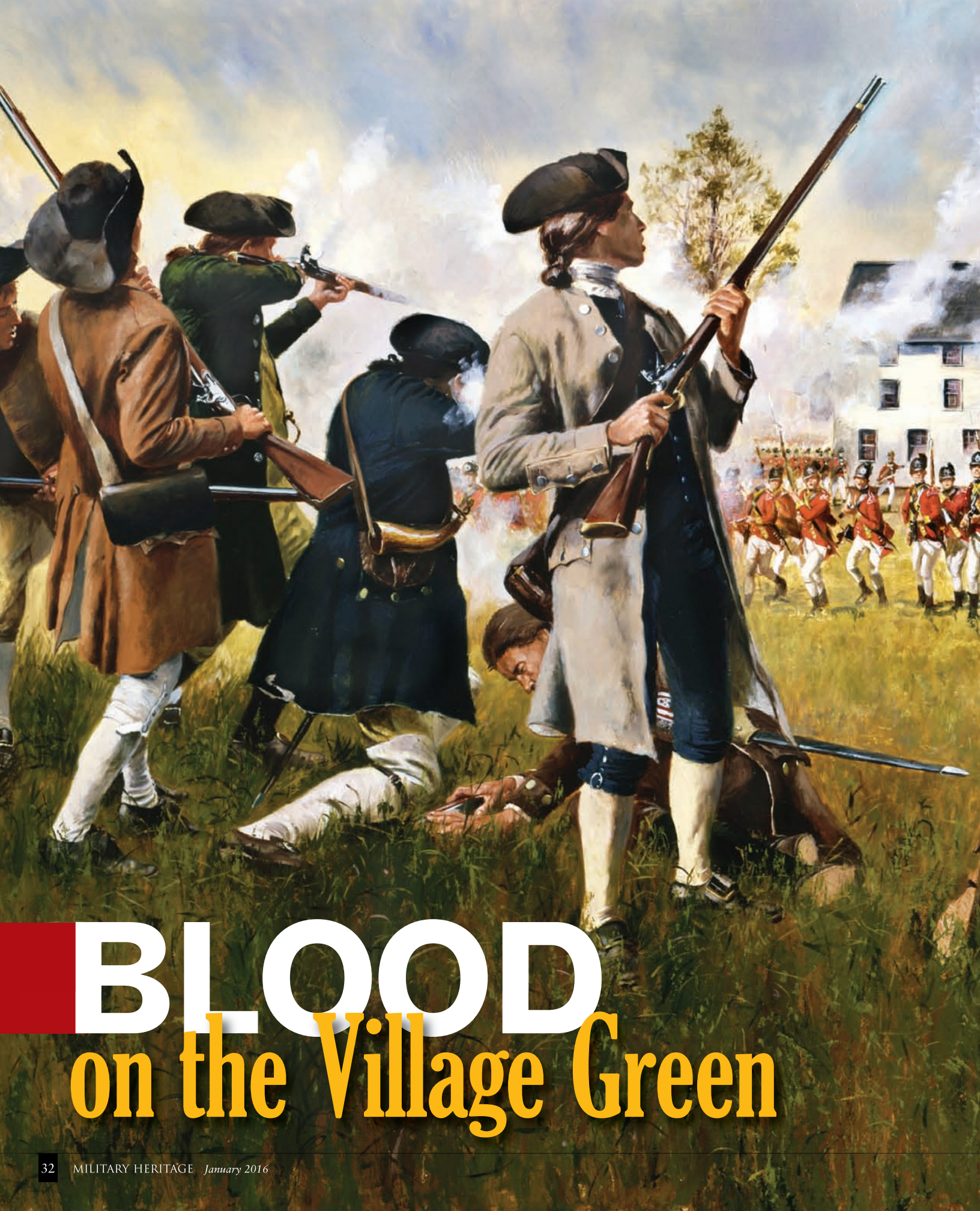
The RAF claimed 185 victories that day, but new research in German archives has shown it to be well less than a third of that. The actual numbers did not diminish the propaganda influence of the British efforts. "Using only a small portion of its total effort, the RAF today cut to rags and tatters separate waves of murderous assault upon the civilian population," said Churchill.

Fighter Command still had not taken full control of the air, and the Germans continued to make daytime and nighttime raids against the embattled country. But the weather was changing and just by remaining as a cohesive defensive force, Fighter Command had won the long, strung-out Battle of Britain. The Luftwaffe did not win firm command of the air over Britain and its beaches, and by the end of September British intelligence had learned that Sea Lion was postponed until further notice.

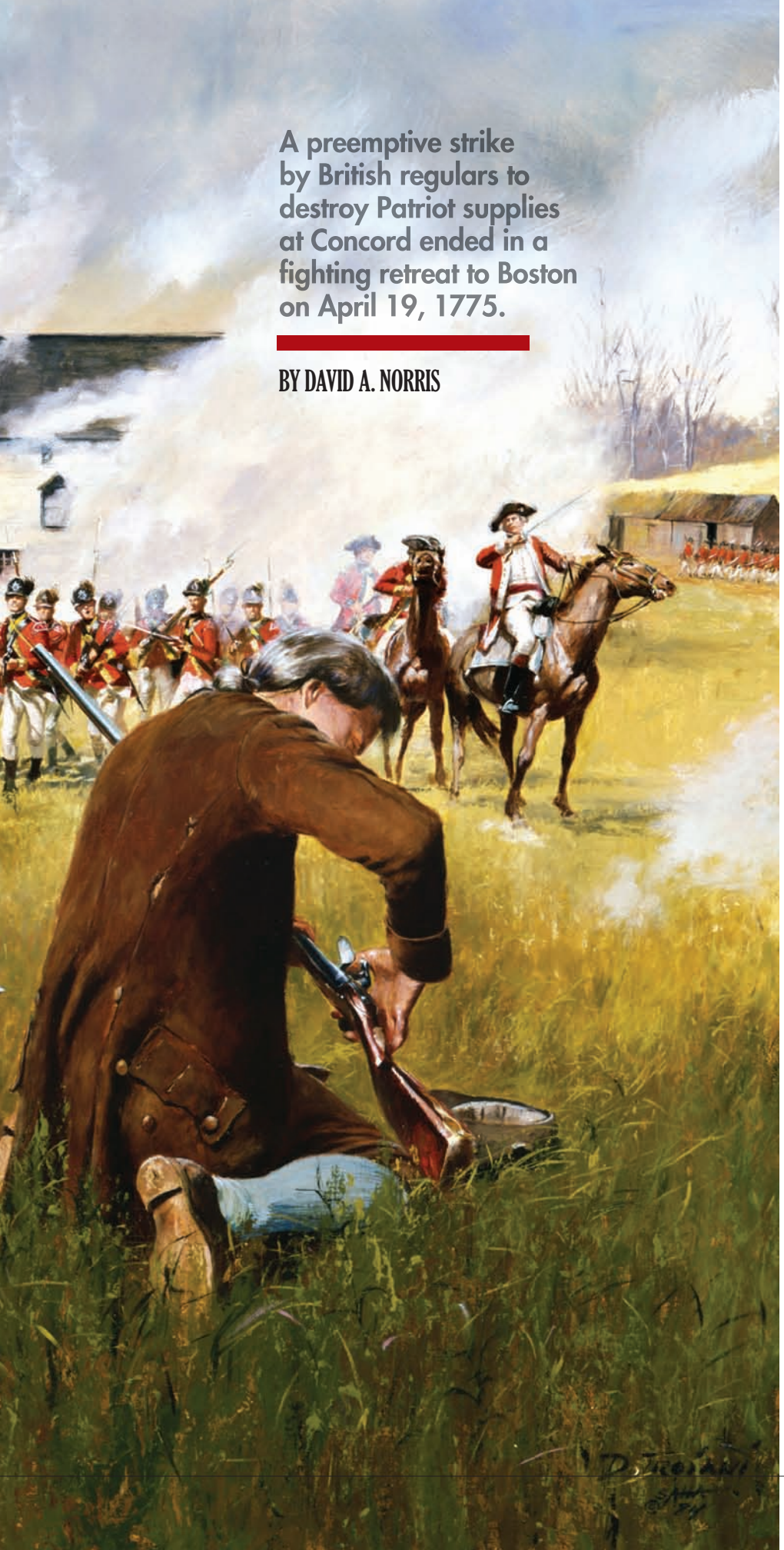
The Luftwaffe then resorted to nighttime bombing of the island, and Hitler turned his long-term attention toward the rolling steppes of the Soviet Union. It was the lure of *Lebensraum* that was to siphon off German military and its material strength over the next several years. That, in turn, gave Britain and the Western Allies time to regroup and rebuild for their eventual reentry onto the Continent in the final phase of what was to become an unwinnable two-front war for Hitler's forces.□

Map © 2015 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN

ABOVE: The map shows British radar cover, fighter bases, and fighter group boundaries, as well as Luftwaffe bases, during the Battle of Britain. OPPOSITE: A British Spitfire attacks a German He-111 during the Battle of Britain. On August 25, 1940, an He-111 crew overshot its target and bombed London in the darkness, unleashing British reprisal attacks on Berlin.



BLOOD on the Village Green



A preemptive strike by British regulars to destroy Patriot supplies at Concord ended in a fighting retreat to Boston on April 19, 1775.

BY DAVID A. NORRIS

"Soldiers, don't fire!" In the half light of dawn on April 19, 1775, war was breaking out on a New England town common, and Major John Pitcairn of His Majesty's Marine Forces was trying to stop it. For several tense minutes, Captain John Parker's company of militia blocked British troops who intended to march through their home town of Lexington, Massachusetts. Someone pulled a trigger. No one saw who fired that shot, but everyone heard the explosion. In defiance of their orders, first one, then another, redcoat fired back. Separate shots blurred into a steady thunder. "Soldiers' don't fire! Keep your ranks, form, and surround them!" shouted Pitcairn. Again and again, the major hacked down with his sword, trying to deflect musket balls into the short grass instead of into American subjects of their mutual sovereign, King George III.

Pitcairn, in command of 600 British marines, arrived in Boston in late 1774. He found a city in the throes of chaotic social upheaval and practically under military occupation. Disputes over taxation and British governance of the 13 colonies on North America's Atlantic Coast started after the end of the French and Indian War in 1763. Boston was such a notorious hotbed of protests against British policies that the Crown sent extra troops to the city in 1768.

As the Crown essentially ignored the colonists' protests, as well as potential solutions to the disputes, friction grew between dissident colonists and London. On December 16, 1773, a mob of colonists made a violent protest against England's tea tax. Boarding three ships, the colonists dumped their cargoes of British East India Company tea.

In retaliation for the destruction of the tea, Parliament passed the Boston Port Act. The act banned ships from entering or leaving the port until the tea was paid for. Other laws, collectively called the Intolerable Acts, accompanied the Boston Port Act. Colonial officials would be appointed by the Crown, and Americans arrested in Massachusetts for antigovernment activities would be tried in England. Four thousand more British soldiers were sent to the city, and Lt. Gen. Thomas Gage became the military governor.

The 13 American colonies, founded and governed separately, had quite varying economic

Patriot militia engages the advance guard of a battalion-sized British force on Lexington Green in a modern painting by Don Troiani. Although the British regulars brushed aside the opposition at Lexington, they were ambushed at Concord and on their retreat to Boston.

National Guard

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Boston was such a notorious hotbed of protests against British policies in the 13 American Colonies that the Crown sent reinforcements to the city in 1768. Rather than conditions improving, friction continued to grow in the major New England port. OPPOSITE: Clockwise from top: Lt. Col. Francis Smith, Dr. Joseph Warren, and General Thomas Gage.

interests and social makeups. Parliament's heavy-handed response aroused sympathy for Massachusetts among the other Atlantic colonies and focused their anger against London. Dissatisfaction with royal policies inspired the establishment of the First Continental Congress, which convened at Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. Fifty-six delegates from 12 colonies (all the 13 colonies except Georgia) discussed how the colonies should proceed together. The meeting also laid the foundation of a governmental authority that would one year later unite the colonies against the Crown.

Meanwhile, the General Court (the Massachusetts legislature) was shut down by Gage. Ninety members met again, under the title of the Provincial Congress. At the head of this illegal body was its president, John Hancock of Massachusetts.

Royal officials saw the possibility of armed rebellion and knew that settlers in the Atlantic colonies had ample means for resisting the British. Based on medieval English precedents, the English colonies provided for their own defense with a universal part-time militia. Regulations varied according to time and place, but generally speaking, all male citizens of military age (from perhaps 16 or 18 up to perhaps 50 or 60) were required to enroll in the militia. A few times a year, companies mustered in for short training sessions, which created a pool of tens of thousands of potential soldiers. In the event of an Indian war, pirate raid, or other civil disturbance, a proportion of each unit was sent for active service with colonial or British forces.

Although the rank and file provided their own clothing, muskets, and accoutrements, local governments distributed gunpowder. Powder was difficult to procure in quantity because it was imported from Britain. From guarded forts or locked royal magazines, the British issued supplies of powder for each town.

William Brattle, an appointee of the royal governor, was in charge of a magazine at Quarry Hill west of Boston. He wrote to Gage, informing him that nearby towns had removed all of their allotments of powder, leaving nothing but the Crown's share. Lest the remaining powder fall into the hands of rebellious patriots, Gage took action.

On September 1, 1774, Gage ordered 260 armed soldiers to march to Quarry Hill and bring the gunpowder back to Boston. The troops seized 250 half-barrels of powder, which they brought back to the city. A detachment returning by a different route stopped in Cambridge to seize two cannons.

Gage's act and the reaction to it became known as the Powder Alarm. A harmless and legal action on the part of the British, the Powder Alarm made many colonists believe that the British did not trust them, and that the powerful British Army was in Boston to move against Massachusetts rather than protect it.

During the winter, Patriots spirited weapons and supplies out of Boston. Lieutenant Frederick Mackenzie of the Royal Welch Fusiliers noted on January 30, 1775, that the country dwellers were "taking every means to provide themselves with Arms; and are particularly desirous of procuring the Locks of firelocks, which are easily conveyed out of town without being discovered by the Guards." Two days later, a court martial in Boston tried some soldiers suspected of selling muskets and locks to civilians. One soldier was convicted and sentenced to receive 500 lashes. Mackenzie wrote that late in March, guards stopped a "countryman" taking 19,000 musket cartridges. No one knew how many other smuggled shipments went undetected.

Well aware of the Patriots' growing collection of munitions, Gage looked for officers who could produce useful sketches and maps of the towns and roads outside Boston. Among the officers sent out on such missions were Captain John Brown and Ensign Henry D'Berniere. They left Boston in late February, pretending to be surveyors. D'Berniere wrote that they went out "disguised like countrymen, in brown clothes and reddish handkerchiefs round our necks."

Brown and D'Berniere often felt suspicion and hostility on their trip. Most locals openly supported the Patriots and intimidated the relatively small proportion of loyalists who lived among them. Watching militia drill at Buckminster's Tavern, the pair listened, recalled D'Berniere, as "one of their commanders spoke a very eloquent speech ... told them they would always conquer if they did not break, and recommended them to charge us coolly, and wait for our fire, and everything would succeed with them ... [and] put them in mind of Cape Breton, and all the battles they had gained for his Majesty in the last war, and observed that the Regulars must have been ruined but for them."

It was shocking for the British commanders to realize that the colonial militia was well organized, included numerous veterans of the French and Indian War, and was firmly loyal to the Patriot movement. Worse than that, the amateur soldiers were confident about challenging the king's regulars.

On March 30, Gage ordered Brig. Gen. Hugh Percy to take his brigade on a march. Known as Lord Percy, the 32-year-old general was the son of the Earl of Northumberland. A veteran of European campaigns during the Seven Years'

War, Percy was a talented soldier. Politically a Whig, Percy sympathized with the colonists against the Crown's policies, although he was repelled by the Patriots' threats of violence.

Percy led 1,000 soldiers into the countryside for several miles, setting off a great deal of commotion. Riders galloped to spread warning of the British march. Locals pulled the planks up from a bridge at Cambridge and brought two cannons to guard the bridge at Watertown. In the end, Percy's men found no hidden weapons or powder and returned to Boston.

Nonetheless, Percy's march made the Patriots wary of warlike British forays into the countryside. Pondering the matter, the Provincial Congress decreed that if more than 500 British troops, with artillery and baggage, again marched outside of Boston it would be considered an aggressive threat. In such an event, the militia would be mustered to form an "army of observation." They could watch the British, but under no circumstance would the provincial troops fire unless fired upon first.

By early April most of the Patriot leaders in Boston had left town to avoid arrest. Most important of the leaders remaining behind was a young physician named Joseph Warren.

Each British foot regiment had two elite flank companies, one of grenadiers and the other of light infantry. On April 15, Gage pulled the flank companies from regular duty. At the same time, naval officers were asked to supply sailors and boats to transport a large force of infantry across the Charles River. Grenadiers and light infantrymen were told to expect instruction in new tactics and maneuvers. In reality, Gage was sending these 700 men to Concord to seize a large supply of gunpowder known to be in Patriot hands.

Although no direct word of Gage's plan leaked out, it seemed obvious to Warren and other Patriots that another out-of-town expedition loomed. The Provincial Congress had just wrapped up a session in Concord, but the Bostonian members were still there or in nearby towns such as Lexington, realizing that they risked arrest if they returned to the city. Boston silversmith, engraver, and political activist Paul Revere was a trusted figure in Patriot circles. Hancock chose him to ride to Lexington and warn John Hancock and Samuel Adams about the potential of a British threat to Concord.

When Revere returned, he stopped in Charlestown. He knew that if the British left Boston, getting word out to the countryside would be difficult. The only land exit at Boston Neck was guarded, and the ferryboats were tied up at night under the eyes of the Royal Navy. Old North Church, with its 191-foot-high steeple, was the city's tallest structure. Revere told several Patriots in Charlestown to watch for signal lanterns flashing from the steeple. One lantern meant the British were marching by land; two lanterns meant that the redcoats were crossing by boat to the mainland.

On the morning of April 18, Major Edward Mitchell of the 5th Regiment of Foot led a patrol of 20 mounted officers and men into the country. Mitchell scattered his men to guard strategic points along the area's roads with orders to arrest any messengers trying to warn the Patriots of the British expedition. About half of the patrol headed toward Lexington.

British officers often took pleasure rides into the countryside, but 20 was a lot of horsemen for an innocent jaunt. All the riders were all in full uniform rather than casual off-duty clothing. They asked a lot of questions, especially about the location of Adams and Hancock. Instead of riding for a few hours and then returning to town, they stayed out in the country long after sunset. Mitchell's party clearly signaled sinister intent to the Patriots.

On the afternoon of April 18, Lt. Col. Francis Smith learned from Gage that he was going to lead the flank companies out of town on a march. Aged 52, Smith had served for more than 30 years in the army without making much of a mark. He had led the 10th Regiment of Foot in Boston for several years. His peers thought him overweight, slow, and plodding, but he was a senior officer of the garrison with a reputation for caution. Gage could be assured that he was not sending a hothead in charge of this potentially volatile mission.

Second in command of Smith's force was Pitcairn. Scottish-born, Pitcairn generated respect and friendship among the military as well as Boston's loyalists and Patriots. He was a veteran of Canadian campaigns during the French and Indian War. One of his sons, Midshipman Robert Pitcairn, served in the Royal Navy. In 1767, the young Pitcairn was the first European to see the South Pacific island that bears his name: Pitcairn Island, later known as the home of the mutineers of the HMS *Bounty*.

Smith set out at about 10 PM on April 18. The navy did not supply enough boats to embark all of the troops at once, and it took about four hours to assemble the force on the west side of the Charles River at Lechmere's Point. Lieutenant William Sutherland of the 38th Regiment of Foot wrote, "Here we remained for two long hours partly waiting for the rest of the Detachment & for provisions." When everyone was across, the column marched at 2 AM, but "the Tide being in we were up to our middles before we got into the road."

Sutherland remembered that they saw no one until they had marched

No one had a clear view of the whole setting of the Battle of Lexington. First-hand memories of the next few moments of this landmark event in American history were remembered as a kaleidoscopic jumble of conflicting impressions.

National Army Museum, London

Wikimedia Commons

National Park Service

about four miles. Then, Lieutenant Jesse Adair of the marines shouted, "Here are 2 fellows galloping express to Alarm the Country." Riding after them, Sutherland and a guide captured both couriers. Shortly thereafter, Lieutenant William Grant of Mitchell's scouting party joined them. Grant told them that he was afraid that "the Country ... was alarmed," a fact proved by the sound of numerous gunshots echoing in the distance "between 3 & 4 in the morning."

Indeed, residents of the farms and villages ahead of the British were well aware of their approach. Gage was so secretive that hardly any of his commanders knew the intent of the upcoming march. Yet, British personnel in town spoke carelessly about the flank companies' relief from duty, the navy's preparation of boats to ferry troops, and rumors about an imminent military expedition. Patriots in town knew of the vital supply of powder and the concentration of their political leaders at Concord, so the town seemed an obvious destination for any British operation. Soon afterward hundreds of soldiers stepped into their boats, and the news of the event reached Joseph Warren at his home on Hanover Street.

Technically, Warren was not authorized to raise an alarm and call out the militia; although there were more than 500 soldiers assembled, they did not have artillery with them. But Warren deemed the expedition was enough of an emergency to bend the rules, so he ordered Dawes and Revere to warn their allies in the surrounding countryside to take up arms to resist the British march on Concord.

Library of Congress

A romantic engraving depicts Paul Revere's ride through the countryside near Boston to rouse Minutemen who would oppose the British raid on Concord.

Revere headed first to warn Adams and Hancock in Lexington. After leaving Warren's home, he arranged for the lighting of two signal lanterns in the Old North Church belfry. The lanterns burned only a short time, just in case a British soldier or loyalist chose to investigate the unusual lights. With the signal lanterns, the news reached Charlestown even before Revere set out in a rowboat to cross the water.

Stepping out of the boat at about 11 PM, Revere took the road to Lexington, evading British patrollers and shouting and awakening sympathetic households along the route. Dawes took a different route, leaving town by way of Boston Neck.

At 12 AM, Revere was at the Lexington home of the Reverend Jonas Clarke, where Hancock and Adams were staying. Pounding on the door, Revere was met by William Monroe, sergeant of a militia detachment guarding the delegates. Monroe admonished Revere about disturbing the household with so much noise. "Noise?" said Revere. "You'll have noise enough before long—the regulars are coming out!"

Dawes caught up with Revere in Lexington. The two riders headed together down the road toward Concord. Joining them was Dr. Samuel Prescott. Although sympathetic to the Patriot cause, Prescott was there only because he was returning home after a courting visit to his sweetheart.

Revere's party was far ahead of the British force, which was still gathering at Lechmere Point; however, Mitchell and some of his men lurked in the area and confronted them at 1 AM. Revere was captured, but Dawes and Prescott managed to escape. Prescott rode, broadcasting his warnings, on to Concord.

Back in Lexington, 130 militiamen assembled on the green, or town common. In command, Parker ordered the men to load their muskets and drilled them for a time. With the night being chilly and the regulars some distance away, Parker dismissed his company, telling them to return when they heard the beating of a drum. Many of the men remained close by, retiring into homes overlooking the green or inside Buckman's Tavern.

New riders took the alarm to other towns and villages in all directions far beyond the Concord Road. Church and town bells tolled, as they did for all emergencies. Militiamen pounded drums and fired musket shots to awaken and alert the population. Bonfires glowed from hilltops, sending warnings far away into the night.

With couriers, tolling bells, and signal shots buzzing around them, Smith sent back to Boston for reinforcements. Gage already sent orders at 4 AM for Percy to lead another force to aid Smith; however, two mishaps delayed the dispatch of help. First, Gage's orders went to the quarters of a brigade major who was not home. A servant placed the papers on a table but neglected to inform the major when he returned. No one realized the mistake until Smith's urgent appeal reached Boston an hour later. Then, the infantry assembled but expected the arrival of several hundred marines. After another long delay, inquiries determined that orders to dispatch the marines had been sent to Pitcairn, who of course was already gone. Five hours slipped by before Percy left Boston.

Approaching Lexington before 5 AM, Sutherland and Adair rode ahead of the main force with a sergeant and a half dozen men. Gunshots popped in the dark, but the advance men relaxed slightly, concluding that the shots were just fired in alarm and not directed at them.

Several horsemen appeared in the road. Most of the strangers quickly rode away, but one of them turned toward the British and aimed his musket. He pulled the trigger, and Sutherland saw the flare of gunpowder from the priming pan. But the weapon misfired, and the horseman rode away with his empty musket. Misfire or not, that flash in the pan proved that the locals would shoot at British troops. Pitcairn halted, ordered his light companies to load, and then pressed on to Lexington.

About 11 miles from Boston, the road from Boston split around Lexington Green, the town common. The road's left fork ran to Concord; the right, to Bedford. A short lane linking the Bedford and Concord Roads formed a top to the triangle-shaped common, about 100 yards across and covering two and a half acres. Like other American town commons, it was a publicly owned grazing ground for sheep and cattle, so the ground was mostly open and covered by closely cropped grass. At the bottom of the triangle at the fork of the road was a meeting house, something of a combination church building and town hall. Nearby was a separate belfry tower, on the northwest corner of the green stood a schoolhouse, and across the Concord Road was Buckman's Tavern.

Alerted to the redcoats' approach, a drummer pounded an alarm at 5 AM. Reassembled, the militiamen lined up with Parker near the north end of the green. Spectators watched from the edge of the green, from their homes, or other sheltered spots. One onlooker, Elijah Sanderson, did not have a musket but lingered

Library of Congress

When Major John Pitcairn's marines opened fire on the Patriots at Lexington Green, most of them fled, but some held on and returned fire. A period engraving shows the Patriot line withering in the face of British volleys on open ground.

to see what would happen. John Lowell, Revere and Hancock's secretary, passed behind Parker's line carrying a heavy trunk packed with secret papers out of harm's way. Parker steadied his men, telling them, "Stand your ground. Don't fire unless fired upon. But if they want to have a war let it begin here."

It was not full daylight yet, but when Pitcairn got as far as the meeting house, he could see the Patriot force standing on the common. Adair led part of the British force around the right of the meeting house. Pitcairn moved with the remainder around the left of the building. Altogether, the British on the scene numbered 250, with several hundred more not far behind.

No one had a clear view of the whole setting of the Battle of Lexington. First-hand memories of the next few moments of this landmark event in American history were remembered as a kaleidoscopic jumble of conflicting impressions.

Pitcairn and more than one other of the mounted officers rode ahead of the redcoats, shouting at the militia to throw down their muskets and get out of the way. One of the officers was heard to order, "Throw down your arms, ye villains, ye rebels!"

Parker, of course, saw that he was heavily outnumbered. Patriot sources later identified 77 men assembled on Lexington Green. It is unclear why Parker seemingly considered making a stand on the green. Stricken with tuberculosis, he had only a few months to live and left only brief statements regarding the Battle of Lexington. Like other officers, Parker had instructions not to let his men fire unless fired upon. Strategists among the provincial and Continental Congress wanted to cast the British as wrongful in the event of a serious armed clash.

For that reason, Parker ordered his men to disperse. Many of his men turned around and walked away. Others remained in line, whether from stubbornness or because they did not hear the order.

From somewhere, a musket boomed. No one could say for sure who fired it. Quite possibly it came from a militiaman shooting from behind a stone wall or a building overlooking the green. Nearly all of the Lexington Patriots claimed that the British fired first. John Robins testified that he heard a mounted British officer order, "Fire, by God, fire!" and numerous other witnesses stated they heard similar orders.

Revere, still moving away with Hancock's papers, heard two distinct shots that quickly gave way to "a continual roar of musketry." Firing from the redcoats intensified, and the troops disappeared into a heavy cloud of powder smoke that hid everyone except the mounted officers.

Chroniclers sympathetic to the Patriots identified Pitcairn as the angry officer ordering his men to fire without provocation. Pitcairn's face was not well known in Lexington, though, and the dim light would have made it hard to distinguish one mounted British officer from another. The major's marine uniform would have been similar to those of the army officers. British witnesses who knew Pitcairn stated that he rode his horse back toward his men, ordering them not to fire. Early in the fighting, two bullets struck the major's horse.

It is possible that some of the first men to fire did so reluctantly and shot over the heads of their opponents. At first the British gunfire had so little impact that it seemed that the redcoats were not using live ammunition. Sanderson saw a mounted officer fire a pistol. He then saw more of the regulars firing. "I looked and seeing nobody fall thought ... they couldn't be firing balls, and I did not move off," wrote Sanderson.

Most of the militia fled, but part of Parker's company held on and returned fire. One man, John Munroe, so heavily charged his firelock that when he pulled the trigger the explosion blasted off a one-foot-long piece of his musket barrel.

Solomon Brown took up a position behind a stone wall and shot back at the redcoats. Sanderson saw the British troops firing at the wall that was sheltering Brown. "I saw the wall smoke with the bullets hitting it," wrote Sanderson. The two men ran to a safer position.

British officers kept shouting for their men to cease fire. Defying their orders, many of the soldiers kept firing, and others charged with their bayonets. His sword swinging, Pitcairn hacked down several musket barrels to prevent their loads from striking more colonists.

Whether they stood their ground or obeyed demands to leave the field, Parker's men risked being shot or run through. Fatally wounded, Jonathan Harrington dragged himself to his home by the green. He died on his doorstep in front of his family. Jonas Parker, the militia captain's cousin,

placed his hat on the ground and into it tossed his flints and bullets. Parker was shot through the body, fell to his knees, and tried to reload. Before he could fire one more time, a soldier killed him with a bayonet thrust. John Tidd survived being struck in the head by a cutlass, which knocked him unconscious.

Smith soon reached the battleground. Aghast at his soldiers' loss of discipline, Smith ordered a drum roll to summon the men back into their ranks. By the time the officers regained control, the militia was driven from the green. Eight Lexington men had been shot dead and 10 more wounded. The British were almost unscathed; Pitcairn's horse and one or two wounded soldiers were the only casualties.

It was only after the unintended battle that Smith revealed to everyone that they were going to Concord. A few officers suggested turning back, but Smith brushed off their objections. Leaving behind the blood-spattered common and the stunned families of the dead, the regulars shouted three cheers and fired a musket salute.

The redcoats pressed on, marching into Concord at about 7 AM. Local militia gathered to resist the regulars, but they were not yet ready for battle. Steadily falling back, the locals finally withdrew from town and retreated across the Concord River by way of the North Bridge. Colonel James Barrett, the highest ranking officer present, halted them at Punkatasset Hill.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

ABOVE: Patriots behind a stone wall at Concord inflict casualties on the British column. The British made a costly mistake lingering at Concord because it gave ample time for Patriot reinforcements to arrive. OPPOSITE: The retreat to Boston was in no way a one-sided affair because British light infantry serving as flankers stalked pockets of Patriots, often catching them by surprise. Nevertheless, the British raid on Concord was a shocking defeat that resulted in serious losses for the British force engaged.

Smith sent Captain Walter Laurie with 115 men to guard the North Bridge while the rest of the British seized military supplies. In Concord, the soldiers smashed open 60 casks of flour, broke the trunnions off of three 24-pounder cannon barrels, and tossed some cannon balls into a millpond. Then the troops burned some captured carriage wheels and several barrels of wooden spoons and trenchers. After chopping down the town's liberty pole, the regulars set the courthouse on fire.

Punkatasset Hill was about 1½ miles from the center of Concord. For some time, the militia watched the regulars at the bridge but made no move against them, preferring to wait for more men to arrive from nearby villages. With a large and growing force of hostile militia gathering across the river, Laurie sent for help, but Smith did not respond.

At 9 AM, the militia force had grown to about 450 men from half a dozen towns. Smoke rising from the burning supplies was plainly visible to everyone on Punkatasset Hill. It appeared that the British were burning the town. Barrett ordered Major John Buttrick to take the militia to the bridge and cross over but not to fire unless fired upon.

When the enemy approached, Laurie withdrew across the river and ordered his men to pull up the bridge's floor planks. After some warning shots, Laurie's troops fired into the Massachusetts men, killing Captain Isaac Davis and a fifer named Abner Hosmer. Buttrick's men retaliated with deadly precision. Four redcoats were killed and nine were wounded. Among the wounded were half of Laurie's eight officers. Heavily outnumbered, the British soldiers broke and ran from the bridge toward Concord.

A wounded British soldier, left behind, was savagely chopped to death with a hatchet by one of the New Englanders. News of the barbaric incident spread through the British ranks, quickly twisting into a rumor that the Massachusetts men scalped every dead or wounded regular.

Crossing the bridge, the militia settled behind a stone wall. Laurie's troops rallied, and Smith and more troops joined them. For the rest of the morning, the two sides faced each other but fired no shots. Some of the militiamen slipped away to Meriam's Corner, a likely spot for an ambush on the road the British had to take east of Concord.

At noon, Smith ordered a withdrawal to Boston. On the road marched the grenadiers and the wounded. Light infantry shadowed them, prowling a ridge north of the road to clear potential attackers out of the way.

The first mile of the retreat from Concord was strangely quiet. No fifes or drums played, and no shots rang out as the British tramped along the road. At Meriam's Corner, a bridge crossed a creek that also cut the ridge, forcing the flankers down into the main roadway.

Since early morning, word of Smith's expedition had spread far and wide. Smith's lingering stay at Concord was a costly mistake. From villages 15 or 20 miles away, volunteers brought their muskets to join the men waiting in ambush at Meriam's Corner. When the British reached that point about 12:30 PM and the terrain funneled all of them together on the road, more than 1,000 New Englanders confronted them. A British volley, fired too high, had little effect on the rebels. Return fire killed two redcoats and wounded several more.

After Meriam's Corner, the British were under constant attack. The road from Concord dipped into little valleys and ravines, well suited for ambushes. Everywhere, it seemed, hills, trees, buildings, and stone walls offered countless firing positions.

At 2 PM, just outside Lexington, Parker and the survivors of the skirmish on the town green lay in wait. Some of the men wore bandages stained by wounds suffered early that morning. From their position on a hill, their muskets commanded a curve in the road. In what became known as "Parker's Revenge," the militia repaid the British for their callous cheering as they marched out of Lexington a few hours before. Smith was shot in the leg, and several

soldiers were killed or wounded.

All day the militia took special aim at the British officers and inflicted high casualties among them. Officers' uniforms were easy to pick out amid a mass of soldiers. Gold or silver lace, rather than simpler woolen lace, adorned officers' coats. Further tagging officers were their gorgets, which were the highly polished, crescent-shaped, ornamental silver plates hanging from their necks.

Even the color of his coat could earn an officer a bullet. Officers wore scarlet coats, which were colored with cochineal, a costly dye made from insects native to Central and South America. Cochineal yielded a scarlet red that held its vivid color for a long time. Enlisted men, on the other hand, wore red coats tinted with madder, a vegetable dye. With exposure to the elements, madder soon faded from red to pale shades of brownish or orangey pink.

Before reaching Lexington, the British met another ambush at Fiske Hill. Pitcairn was thrown from his horse. By this time, the column was in serious danger. They were slowed by having to carry dozens of wounded. Ammunition was running low. Anyone who looked back saw the road dotted with his dead comrades. More and more of the officers were falling dead or seriously wounded. Panic drove many soldiers to run away. With nowhere to go, they made for Lexington Green.

At Lexington, the fleeing troops found better salvation than they dared hope. Percy was just east of the village with more than 1,100 men and two 6-pounders. As Smith's demoralized troops ran for safety in a hollow square formed by fresh infantry, Percy's gunners opened fire on the meeting house and nearby buildings. Cannon balls punched through the walls, driving any potential ambushers outside.

Although the participants were only truly aware of the fact much later, the shootings at Lexington Green galvanized the disparate town militias into a single revolutionary army. There was as yet no official leader. Men acted on their own accord, or with their local officers, but overall the battle along the Concord Road was handled well enough by the insurgents.

Commissioned a brigadier general by Massachusetts in 1774, William Heath was the top-ranking Patriot officer present that day. Heath saw only a limited portion of the battle. Warren, who left Boston that morning, joined Heath on the road. They reached Lexington around 2 PM, about the time that Percy's guns had halted the momentum of the Patriots. Heath steadied the men after the British cannon balls had scattered them

With their forces united, Percy and Smith started again for Boston. Soldiers took out their anger by looting or burning houses along the way. Patriots hounded the British and heavy fighting continued for miles along the road. Mackenzie noted, "Our men had very few opportunities of getting good shots at the Rebels, as they hardly ever fired but from under cover of a Stone wall, from behind a tree, or out of a house; and the moment they fired they lay down out of sight until they had reloaded."

Redcoat casualties mounted, but the battle was not a one-sided affair. Light infantrymen, well trained in skirmishing warfare, stalked isolated pockets of Patriots.

Waiting in ambush for the British, a few militiamen hid behind some barrels at a place called Watson's Corner. Their attention riveted on the road, they didn't see a band of light infantry slipping up on them. The soldiers stabbed three would-be ambushers with their bayonets. Among the dead was Major Isaac Gardner, the highest ranking officer of either side to die that day.

Fighting on April 19 began in the dim light of dawn, and by the time it ended musket flashes blazed brightly in the gloom of dusk. Percy opted to return to Charlestown rather than taking the

Continued on page 69

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ULYSSES S. GRANT DEVISED A BRILLIANT PLAN TO CAPTURE VICKSBURG. IT BROKE A YEAR-LONG DEADLOCK AND SPLIT THE CONFEDERACY IN TWO. BY ERIC NIDEROST

THE CITIZENS OF VICKSBURG WOULD scarcely remember a more beautiful evening. The sky on April 16, 1863, was cloudless, and as the ruddy glow of twilight faded, the vast expanse was speckled with stars. The city was perched on high bluffs above the mighty Mississippi River, just below a place where the father of waters bent back on itself. It was the time of a new moon, and therefore much the surrounding countryside was shrouded in darkness. Vicksburg citizens knew that somewhere out there in the inky void Union land and naval forces were hovering. But the Northerners had tried to take the city for a year. All they received for their trouble were 12 months of aborted attacks and frustrated hopes.

In peacetime Vicksburg was a prosperous town of some 4,500 souls. In war it assumed a strategic importance far beyond its population figures. If the Mississippi River was, in Lincoln's phrase, the "backbone of the rebellion," then Vicksburg was its guardian. It was also a railroad hub where men and supplies from the western Confederacy were funneled through to the east.

The Federals had already taken New Orleans in April 1862 and were working their way north, while Grant's forces were moving south down the mighty river. Once Vicksburg was taken, the entire length of the river would be under Union control, and the Confederacy would be divided in two. The capture of Vicksburg was an essential ingredient in the North's plans to subdue the South and restore the Union.

But from late 1862 to the spring of 1863 Federal efforts were cursed by failure. In December 1862 an attack led by Maj. Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman proved abortive. It seemed that all Union plans were plagued by ill luck. However, Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant and his Army of the Tennessee were not about to give up so easily.

Grant pinned his hopes on trying to get his 45,000-man army to flank Vicksburg and proceed to the dry and stable ground to the east of the city. A cutoff canal was attempted, a project that would essentially bypass Vicksburg and allow the Navy to transport his army south of the beleaguered city. In a second effort, the Lake Providence Canal project begun in February 1863 was a bold effort to connect a labyrinth of bayous and small waterways and create a path into a 400-mile circuitous route past Vicksburg.

These efforts proved abortive because mud reigned supreme. Bluecoats traded rifle mus-

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Union troops assault Confederate earthworks at Vicksburg on May 19, 1863, in the first of two major attacks that resulted in heavy losses. Isolation and starvation ultimately compelled the Confederates to surrender.

BOLD GAMBLE at Vicksburg

kets for spades, dredging up tons of the viscous muck, but rains flooded the excavations and drowned their labors as well as their hopes. Disease was also present, and the ranks were thinned by dysentery, pneumonia, typhoid, and the dreaded yellow fever.

Ever probing, joint Union Army and naval forces also tried to break through the swampy, waterlogged territory just north of the city, first at Yazoo Pass, then at Steele's Bayou. The Union Army had started work on these projects in February 1863 and March 1863, respectively.

The low-lying terrain was a nightmare: 200 miles of bayous thick with trees, crawling with snakes, and riddled with disease. It was said bobcats, snakes, and other swamp creatures would suddenly drop down on gunboats from the overhanging canopy of dense trees, only to be swept off the decks by alert sailors armed only with brooms.

When Confederate infantry threatened to capture Rear Admiral David D. Porter's naval assets deployed in the struggling Yazoo expedition, it was the last straw. Literally bogged down, Porter asked Sherman for help to drive away the enemy. Sherman obliged, but the whole force turned back. It was another seemingly ignominious failure.

Confident that the Federal forces would never succeed, many Vicksburg townsfolk felt it was time to celebrate their good fortune. A ball was scheduled for the evening of April 16, 1863, at one of the city's finest mansions. Confederate officers wore their dress uniforms and ladies their finest gowns. The Yankees might be somewhere out there, but they were mere nuisances, no more than buzzing flies at a picnic.

But the Vicksburg celebrations were premature. Grant was about to open a whole new phase of the Vicksburg campaign, brilliant in design and bold in scope. Part of the plan was to run a convoy of transports downstream, but to do so meant running past several miles of Confederate guns that protected the city. It was a calculated risk, but it had to be done if Grant's plan was to succeed.

Porter readily agreed to Grant's proposals. Once south of Vicksburg, Porter and his ships would rendezvous with the Army of the Tennessee and shuttle the bluecoats from Louisiana to Mississippi. The heart of the plan was to approach Vicksburg from the east, where dry and firm ground provided stability for artillery and generally favored an attacking army.

Porter, imposing with his full beard and military bearing, was also a keen observer and subtle tactician. There would be about a dozen Federal ships making the downriver attempt, a mixed force of ironclads and transports. The admiral issued orders to pilots and captains that they were to hug the western, Louisiana shore where the thick groves of trees that lined the banks combined with the new moon's feeble light to cloak their passing.

But if they were discovered, the Federal ships were to proceed with all possible haste to the eastern banks of the Mississippi. This seemed counterintuitive, even suicidal, because that was the Vicksburg side of the great river. Nevertheless, orders were orders, so Porter's subordinates were going to follow his commands. But there was method to his madness. The admiral had observed something in previous gun duels with the Confederate batteries. Still, it was a gamble.

It was about 10 PM when the Union convoy rounded the point, Porter's flagship, the *Benton,* in the lead. At first all was well, but then Confederate spotters saw the Federal ships in the inky void and raised the alarm. Sentries fired signal cannon, their reports the first notes in the symphony of artillery fire.

Suddenly small flames shot up in one place, then another and another. These were from barrels of tar and pitch placed at intervals to provide light for emergencies like these. Cotton bales soaked in oil were also set ablaze. As if that were not enough, small sheds and warehouses that lined the levee were put to the torch. The flames cracked and danced, combining with the blazing cotton bales and tar barrels to produce a lurid but ever brightening glow that illuminated the Mississippi for at least a mile.

The Federal ships could be seen clearly now, seemingly perfect targets for the 30-odd guns that lined Vicksburg's riverfront defenses. These cannons sprang to malevolent life with ear-splitting roars. Union ironclads fired in counterbattery, the whole scene dissolving into confusion and chaos. Shells rained down to detonate in lethal bursts of metal, smoke, and flame.

The Federal ships began to maneuver toward the Vicksburg shore, seemingly to within point-blank range of the Confederate batteries. But Porter's observations were correct: for the most part the Confederate guns, mostly situated in high bluffs, could not be depressed low enough if the Union ships came too close. The upper works of the ships might be smashed to kindling, but they were still unscathed otherwise.

Ironically, the grand Vicksburg ball also unwittingly played into Union hands. Many of the artillery officers were attending the festivities, and it took time amid all the noise and confusion to report back to their posts. Yet the river seemed to be on the South's side that night. The Mississippi River was treacherous at the best of times, and currents and eddies threw some Union ships off course. A few were even grounded but managed to free themselves under heavy fire.

The *Lafayette* had the misfortune to run aground right in front of a Confederate battery. The rebels did manage to depress their guns enough in this sector to do *Lafayette* some serious damage. Nevertheless, though the crippled ship received nine direct hits, she freed herself and continued on. Only one coal transport, the *Henry Clay,* caught fire and was lost.

It was a spectacular success. All ships save the *Henry Clay* had made it though. Porter's casualties were also light, with no dead and only 12 wounded.

Pleased with this success, Porter ordered another run a few days later. The April 22 attempt was not as lucky; six barges were sunk out of the dozen that were being towed down the river. Still, the operation was enough of a success for Grant to begin the boldest and riskiest part of his plan. The first step was to have his army cross the great river to the Mississippi side, which was no small undertaking, especially if there was Confederate opposition on the eastern shore.

The Army of the Tennessee marched down to a spot some 35 miles south of Vicksburg and ferried across the Mississippi to the high ground at Bruinsburg. Grant's troops were no doubt pleased by the move, having literally gone through hell and high water during the preceding months

His passage was uncontested, thanks to some well-planned diversions. Colonel Benjamin Grierson led 1,700 Union cavalry on a raid behind Confederate lines, ripping up railroad lines and diverting Confederate attention away from Grant. Sherman's men also staged maneuvers that looked like the Federals were going to attack Vicksburg from the north, near Chickasaw Bluffs. It was only a diversionary feint, but the Southerners were completely taken in.

The next week or so would establish Grant's real worth as a field commander. Once his army was across the river, conventional military wisdom would have had him drive north toward Vicksburg, at the same time keeping contact with his communication and supply line on the Mississippi.

Grant had no intention of being conventional. He knew that Confederate General Joseph Johnston was at Jackson, the Mississippi state capital, 40 miles from Vicksburg, trying to scrape together additional Southern forces. Johnston commanded the Department of the West, one component of which was Pem-

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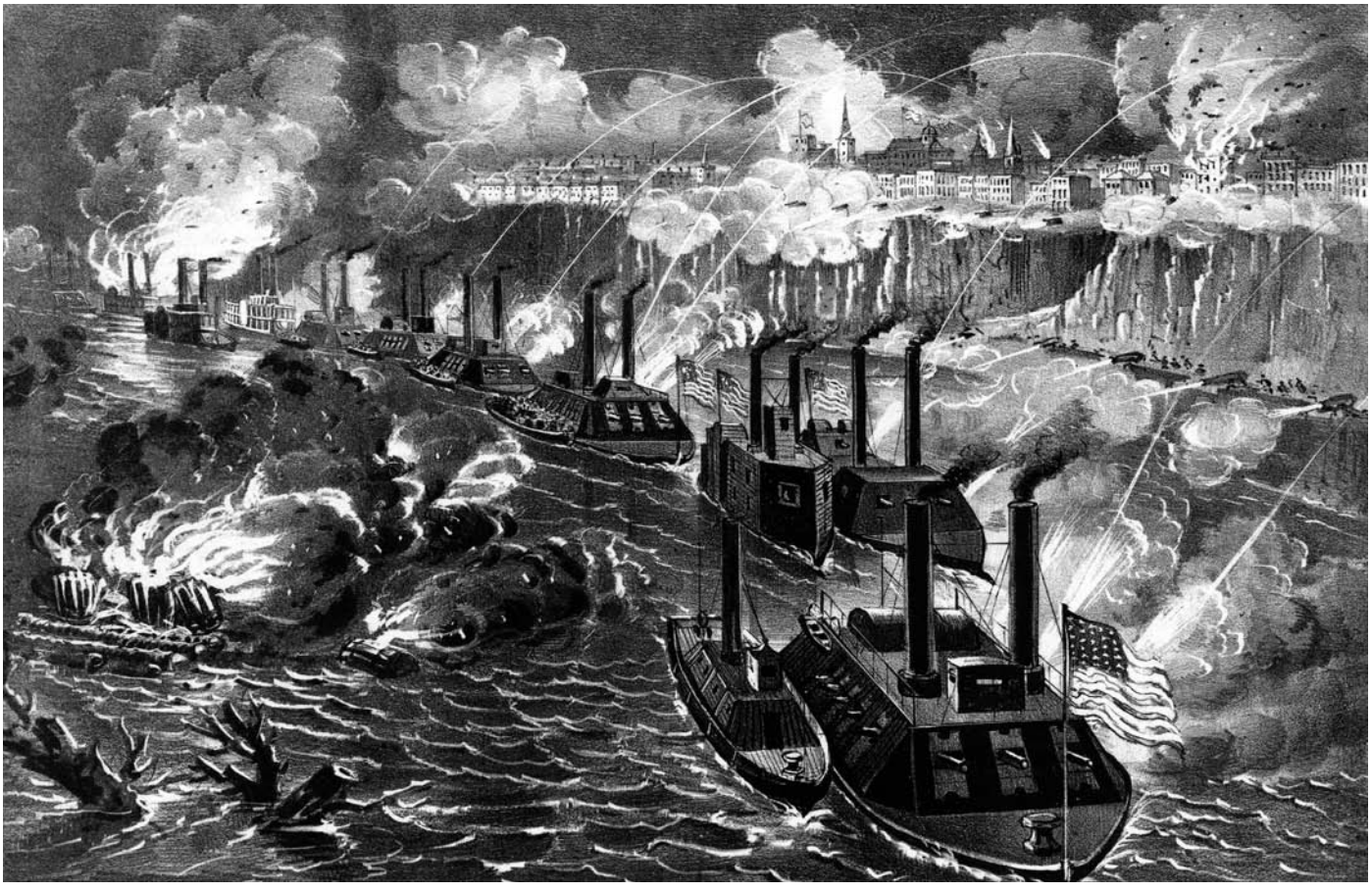

Rear Admiral David D. Porter's gunboats run past the Vicksburg batteries on April 16, 1863, in a Currier and Ives print. Lashed to the gunboats are transports and barges that would be used to ferry Union soldiers across the Mississippi River.

berton's Department of Mississippi and East Louisiana. If he besieged Vicksburg and left Johnston unmolested, Grant might eventually regret it. Johnston might hit Grant on the right flank and perhaps even relieve Vicksburg.

In Grant's view, it was better to drive inland and take on Johnston. Once Johnston was neutralized, he could turn back and attack Vicksburg. To drive inland meant breaking loose from his supply and communications, but Grant was confident his men could live off the land. He was right, but the maneuver produced some anxiety for Lincoln and the North, because for more than two weeks Grant and his army disappeared.

When the Army of the Tennessee finally reappeared, it had just completed a military tour de force. In 17 days Grant's army had marched 180 miles and fought and won five engagements against Confederate forces. The last engagement, a clash at Big Black River Bridge on May 17, was only 10 miles from Vicksburg. The Confederates had not only been defeated but suffered a collapse that ended in a near rout. Exhausted, ragged, and parched with thirst, the dispirited rebels quickly streamed back to Vicksburg.

A Vicksburg woman was shocked at their appearance, describing them as "wan, hollow-eyed, ragged, footsore and bloody." This exhausted and demoralized army seemed in no condition to defend the city. Their arrival also meant there would be some 30,000 extra mouths to feed.

Vicksburg was nicknamed the Gibraltar of the Confederacy, a description that was not far off the mark. The main defensive line around the city ran 6½ miles. Nature lent a hand with terrain of various heights, including lofty bluffs and hills with steep elevations. The natural features were augmented by forts, trenches, redoubts, and lunettes.

Major fortifications defended the city's approaches. There was Fort Hill, Stockade Redan, 3rd Louisiana Redan, Great Redoubt, Railroad Redoubt, Square Fort, and South Fort. Fort Hill was sat atop a high bluff north of the town, and Stockade Redan dominated the Graveyard Road approaches to Vicksburg. Railroad Redoubt protected the gap that allowed the vital, at least in normal times, railroad line to enter the city. A salient along Hall's Ferry Road was protected by Square Fort.

Grant decided to assault Vicksburg immediately in hopes that the city would fall quickly. His army was in an ebullient mood, having experienced a string of successes, and Confederate morale seemed low after the last devastating defeat. Then, too, Grant was worried about the potential fire in the rear; that is, Johnston might have received a drubbing, but there still was a good chance he could gather forces and march to Vicksburg's relief.

The Army of the Tennessee comprised three corps: XV Corps under Sherman, XIII Corps under Maj. Gen. John A, McClernand, and the XVII Corps under Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson. Grant ordered the assault to start at 2 PM on May 19.

Although the Union troops were in fine fettle and ready to go, they sweltered under a torrid Mississippi sun to which the men had a hard time adjusting. Private William Morgan Davies of the 95th Ohio of the XV Corps was part of the reserves assigned to exploit any breakthrough. He later recalled the extreme heat, noting that he and his comrades had "perspiration oozing out at every pore."

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A resident of Vicksburg prays in a cave in one of the many hills surrounding the city. The townspeople took refuge in man-made caves as a way to protect themselves from the constant shelling by Union forces.

The attack was launched on schedule, long lines of blue-coated infantry moving forward at a brisk pace, their regimental flags waving proudly. The Stockade Redan proved a particularly tough nut to crack. Confederate artillery was well served, and gouts of smoke and flame tore bloody gaps into the well-ordered ranks. Confederate rifle fire also peppered Sherman's men, and scores of stricken soldiers crumpled to the ground as the lead bullets slammed into their bodies.

The first wave attack was a failure, so the bluecoats fell back to their own lines. Grant ordered his artillery to soften up Confederate positions, and then troops from Maj. Gen. Francis P. Blair went forward to see if they could make a breakthrough.

The bluecoats scrambled up Stockade Redan's abatis then had to negotiate a six-foot deep, eight-foot wide ditch under heavy rifle and artillery fire. Once past these obstacles, the Union troops had to scale the redan's 17-foot-high wall. Some made it into the ditch but got no farther. There was little left to do but to call off the attack.

Bloodied but unbowed, the Army of the Tennessee was still confident it could take Vicksburg by general assault. It was obvious the Confederate defenses were strong, but the memory of the brilliant maneuvers of the past weeks sustained the army's basic faith in itself and its abilities.

Grant decided to renew the assault on May 22, but this time the preparations were going to be done with much more care. This would be a grand general assault, with all three corps taking part in the operation. Sherman would take the right, McPherson the center, and McClernand the left. Grant hoped that such a major effort would achieve a breakthrough.

The attack began at 10 AM after a preliminary bombardment of four hours. Once again, Sherman's men were going to have a crack at the Stockade Redan, but this time the operation included some thoughtful planning. A storming party of about 150 men would take the lead, carrying scaling ladders, roughhewn logs, and some lumber. Being in the vanguard was bound to attract Confederate fire, so chances of surviving were slim. Because of this, only unmarried volunteers were accepted.

The first volunteer to come forward was Private David Day of the 57th Ohio, who was only 16 years old but already a veteran with a year's soldiering under his belt. The idea was for some of the men to carry the logs, two men to a log, and dash forward toward the redan ditch. The men in the first group were to throw the logs across the ditch, making the foundation of a bridge. A second group would bring up lumber planking to complete the span. A third group would bring the scaling ladders to further assist in the assault.

Once the bridge and scaling ladders were in place, the rest of Maj. Gen. Francis Preston Blair's 2nd Division would move forward along a narrow front, a blue-clad column that just might break through Southern defenses. But things went sour quickly. Colonel William Wallace Witherspoon's 36th Mississippi Infantry bravely defended the Stockade Redan. The rebels poured a murderous fire into the first group.

To make matters worse, the first group had to cross nearly a quarter of a mile of open ground to reach its objective. By the time they reached the ditch about half were killed and wounded, and so many had fallen that there were not enough logs or lumber to make a bridge. As the survivors sheltered in the ditch, they found that the Confederates could not depress their guns low enough to get them. Frustrated, the Southerners improvised and began lobbing and rolling 12-pounder shells into the ditch.

Luckily for the first group, many of the fuses were too long, allowing the bluecoats a few extra seconds to throw the lethal shells back to the Confederates. Still, some shells did detonate in the ditch, and the explosions blew off heads and limbs with horrifying ease. Sherman's advancing infantry brigades also made little headway; as one Union soldier remembered, men "fell like grass before the reaper."

Sherman, a tough soldier not known for being squeamish, finally threw in the towel. "This is murder," he said. "Call those troops back." All along the three-mile assault line the story was the same. As Grant later remembered, "The attack was gallant, and portions of each of the three corps succeeded in getting up into the very parapets of the enemy and in planting battle flags upon them; but at no place were they able to enter."

Survivors who had managed to come so heartbreakingly close and even momentarily seize parts of the Confederate fortifications, had to make their way back to Union lines under the cover of darkness. Private Day survived. His courage under fire won him a Medal of Honor.

Grant's casualties for the day amounted to about 3,000 men; Southern losses were around 500. The troops had fought eight hours under a burning sun. It was so hot that some were felled by heatstroke, not bullets. Union dead and wounded lay sprawled in the killing ground in front of the fortifications, trapped in a kind of no-man's land between the two armies.

Apparently afraid to show weakness, Grant at first refused any notion of a truce to collect the wounded and bury the dead. Hundreds of corpses blackened and swelled in the heat, producing a sickening stench, but the plight of the wounded was truly pitiful. Grant relented, and a truce was declared on May 25.

By then the corpses were so foul and crawling with vermin they were almost indescribable, but the grim burial work had to be done. The thirst-crazed wounded, who somehow managed to survive the ordeal, also found help. But

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On June 25, 1863, the Union Army detonated 2,200 pounds of black powder in a mine beneath the 3rd Louisiana Redan. An immediate assault afterward by Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson's XVII Corps failed because the Yankees could not advance out of the crater.

it was also a time for a brief fraternization between North and South. Johnny Reb and Billy Yank swapped coffee and tobacco, played cards, and for a few brief hours forgot politics. Some were reunited with old comrades, people they had known before the war.

The assault gamble had failed. There was nothing to do at that point but to conduct a full-scale, traditional siege with basic techniques that had not changed much since the days of renowned French military engineer Marquis de Vauban in the 17th century. And while bombardments pounded the city, and trenches and parallels were dug, the noose would be tightened to make sure no supplies would reach the beleaguered city. Vicksburg would starve.

The gently undulating hills and high bluffs were made out of loess, a fine-grained clay soil that was fairly easy to excavate. As the Union bombardment intensified, more and more citizens burrowed into the hills to find shelter; as one woman put it, "Caves were all the rage." Their elegant antebellum homes were abandoned, replaced by man-made caverns that were dirty, stifling, and plagued by mosquitos and snakes.

Shelling was nearly around the clock, but familiarity did not lessen the terror. Constant detonations hammered at the ears and threw a fine mist of smoke, broken glass, plaster, and wood into the air that made breathing torture at times. Rations were cut again and again, until there was barely enough to keep body and soul together.

Indeed, hunger was probably the worst part of the siege. Dogs and cats quickly disappeared from Vicksburg streets, and there was little doubt they had been consumed by ravenous soldiers and citizens of the town. Mule meat began appearing in Vicksburg shops, and when that ran out, skinned rats were also sought after.

A Vicksburg soldier's ration was one cup of rice and one cup of cowpeas. Cowpeas were not a true pea but a kind of rough bean that was normally fed to cattle, hence the name. Rumors of hording by local merchants spread like wildfire, but nothing could be proved.

The artillery shells were not as destructive as those used in 20th-century wars, but direct hits were horrific enough. As casualties multiplied, row after row of hospital tents were erected in parks and on other open ground. Local minister William Foster visited the tents and was appalled at what he saw. "Every part of the body is pierced," he wrote later. Foster saw a man whose hair, eyebrows, and even eyelashes were burned off, and his head was a blackened mass. Still another had his jaw torn off, his face horrific to behold.

That was bad enough, but the tents also sheltered men tormented by infectious diseases like yellow fever, malaria, measles, and dysentery. Conditions were bad even by 19th-century standards; dirty bandages covered wounds infected with maggots, and flies swarmed everywhere.

As May turned to June criticisms of Vicksburg's commander mounted. Pemberton was the wrong man at the wrong place. He was vacillating and unsure of himself, but like most weak men he took refuge in both bombast and following orders to the letter. Confederate President Jefferson Davis had insisted he hold Vicksburg and hold it he would, with little thought of changing circumstances that might have made Davis's orders obsolete. He also issued a proclamation that was aimed to restore his flagging reputation.

"You have heard that I was incompetent, and a traitor, and that it is my intention to sell Vicksburg," he said. Pemberton went on to say that he was determined to hold out to the last grain of corn and until the last animal was consumed. Even then, there would be no talk of surrender until the "last man shall have perished in the trenches." Few believed these statements, especially when it was well known he originally hailed from the North.

Pemberton's origins did help matters. He was a Northerner by birth, one who had joined the Confederacy, so it was said, mainly because his wife was from the South. That made it sound as if he were lukewarm to the Confederacy at best. Others harbored darker thoughts against him. They suspected he might be a Northern spy.

Disgusted by their Northern commander, Vickburg residents pinned their hopes on Johnston. After all, here was a Southerner born and bred and a real gentleman to boot. The rumor mills

Minnesota Historical Society

Bedraggled soldiers and shell-shocked residents watch as Union troops march into Vicksburg on July 4, 1863. Though they were triumphant, the Yankees were not in the mood for celebration once they saw the condition of Vicksburg's soldiers and citizens.

began churning out stories that Johnston was gathering forces at Jackson and that a relief expedition could be expected soon.

What they did not know was that Johnston had already written off Vicksburg. He did manage to patch together a ragtag force of 30,000 men, but Grant by then had 70,000 battle-hardened veterans at his command. Johnston also was beset with insufficient supplies, transportation, and weapons for his army. Never one to mince words, Johnston told his superiors in Richmond on June 15, "I consider saving Vicksburg hopeless."

At one point Johnston urged Pemberton to break out and join him instead. Pemberton and his army stayed put, partly because of the commander's vacillation. As time went on, what Pemberton thought or did became irrelevant. By the end of June, the troops were literally starving and in no condition to fight their way out of the Union siege.

Grant's Yankees began to start tunnels, a time-honored siege technique. The idea was to burrow under Confederate fortifications, place explosives under them, and literally blast a hole in the defenses that could be exploited by infantry. At first the Confederates were puzzled by signs of Yankee activity, but they soon caught on and began sinking countermines.

The Rebels dug with an earnestness born of desperation. They had to find the enemy's tunnels, but it was an exercise in frustration for the most part. At times they could hear the sounds of picks and shovels, and sometimes the muffled but unmistakable sounds of Yankee conversation through the earth. They never did manage to intercept any of the Union tunnels.

In the meantime, Grant's miners had successfully dug a tunnel under the 3rd Louisiana Redan, though the Confederates were completely unaware of its presence. Slowly but surely the Union soldiers packed 2,300 pounds of explosives under the redan, and when all was ready detonated it.

The effect was horrific. The fortification momentarily disappeared, replaced by a huge flaming geyser that suddenly burst from the ground with an ear-splitting roar. As the blast lost some of its momentum, soil, blood, charred wood, and human body parts came cascading down. The explosion ripped a 40-foot-wide and 13-foot-deep hole out of the redan, an opening that seemed ripe for Grant's men to exploit.

Union infantry surged forward, including the men of the 45th Illinois Regiment, but the Confederates recovered quickly from the initial shock. The fighting was savage and often hand to hand, and it seemed for one breathless moment that the Federals were on the verge of success. It was not to be. Confederate resistance stiffened, and eventually the Yankees were thrown back.

The Confederates had won, but in a way it was a pyrrhic victory they could ill afford. It was said that as the Redan battle raged a steady stream of Confederate wounded came back to the town in a mournful procession. Some had skulls bleeding from rifle butt wounds, while others clutched their abdomens so that their intestines would not spill out. The makeshift hospitals were already overflowing, which meant the freshly wounded would not receive adequate care.

But spectacular fights like these were relatively rare. For Union soldiers, the siege was a combination of sweat, toil and boredom. Vicksburg, like the confrontation at Petersburg, was a chilling foretaste of World War I half a century later. The trenches were hot and dirty, but if a man tried to look over the top of these excavations he might fall victim to a sniper. Yankee sharpshooters fired approximately 150 rounds a day.

By early, July Vicksburg was on its last legs. Earlier in the siege, some provisions had been

made for a last stand just in case the city's outer defenses had been breached. Roadblocks had been thrown up at major intersections, but there were fewer and fewer fit soldiers to man them. The ceaseless pounding by Union artillery continued, but not many cared.

Roads were pockmarked by shell craters, and homes displayed varying degrees of damage. Bombed-out houses often were looted as well. Smaller buildings like sheds were deliberately dismantled for precious firewood. Since most of the civilians were sheltering in caves, their abandoned homes, damaged or not, made parts of the city look like a ghost town.

Finally, the emaciated garrison had had enough. Famished, reduced to ragged skeletons, they could endure no more. The soldiers drafted a collective letter to Pemberton which they titled "An Appeal for Help." Hunger had driven them to desperation. "You had better heed a warning voice, though it is the voice of private soldiers: This army is now ripe for mutiny, unless it can be fed," the letter read.

Pemberton did heed the advice. The commander contacted Grant under a flag of truce and surrender terms were discussed. At first Grant wanted nothing less than unconditional surrender but later thought better of it. Pemberton's starving army would be granted parole in part because there was not sufficient transport to convey the thousands of Confederate prisoners north to Union prisons. Parole therefore was granted in return for a pledge not to take up arms against the Union again.

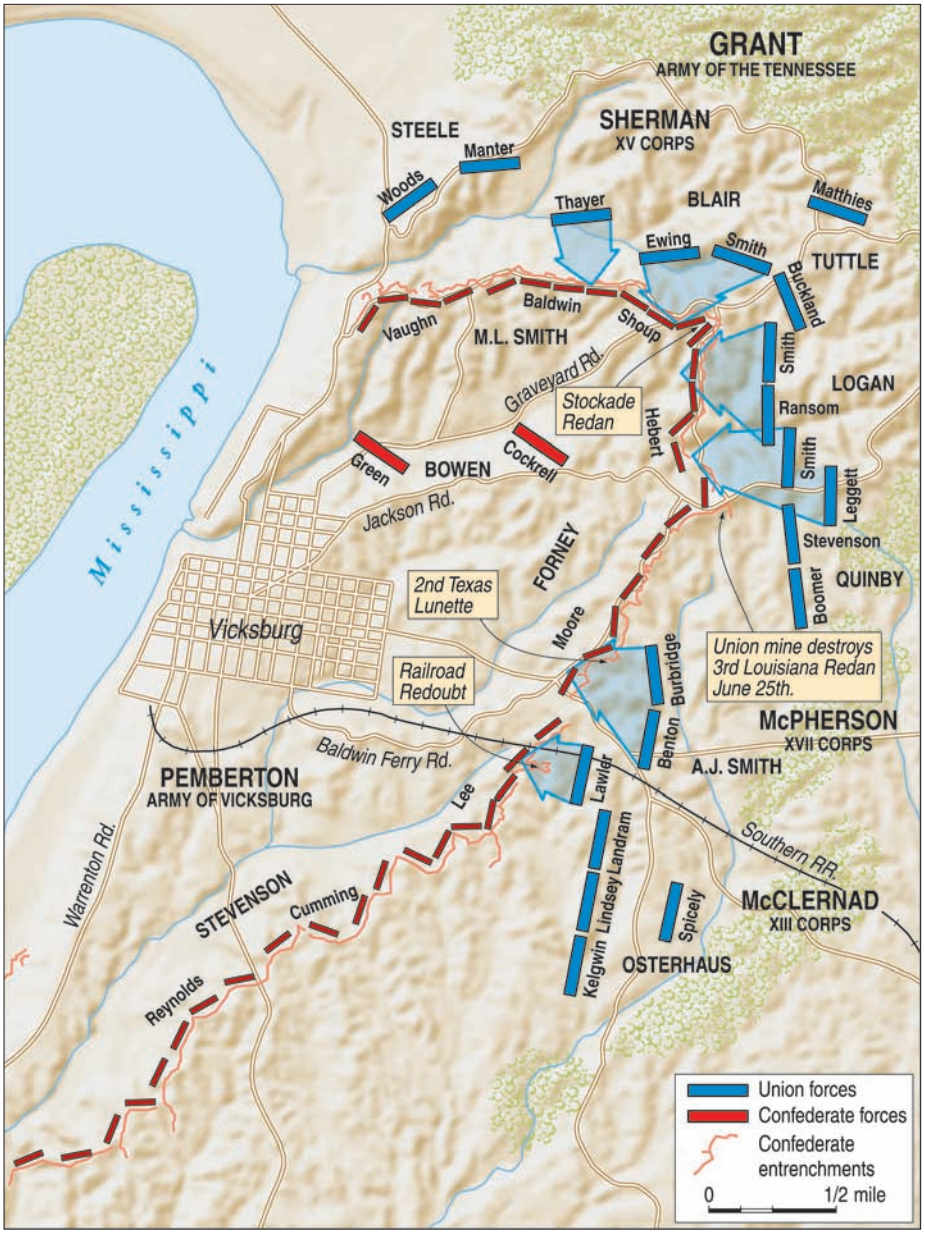
The formal capitulation came at 10 AM on July 4. There was some tension at Pemberton's headquarters when the two commanders met again to sign surrender documents. The Confederate officers were rude. They did not furnish a chair for Grant and ignored his polite request for a glass of water. Grant's own staff was outraged, but the general himself was calm, even nonchalantly taking out a cigar and puffing on it during the proceedings.

For the most part, though, humanity and kindness, not politics and bitterness, was the order of the day. The Stars and Stripes was raised over Vicksburg at Courthouse Hill, and about the same time long lines of blue-clad troops entered its battered streets. Though they were triumphant, the Northerners were not in the mood for celebration once they saw the condition of Vicksburg's soldiers and citizens.

Union soldiers passed out food, and Grant ordered that Federal rations be distributed freely. Confederate soldiers were dressed in dirty and ragged uniforms of gray or butternut, though a few were clad in undyed wool, in tunics that were a kind of dirty, off-color white. Many were lice-ridden and so skeletal the hip bones of some of them had actually broken through the skin. Others could barely walk more than a few feet without assistance.

When Union supply boats landed at Vicksburg, famished citizens crowded the docks and took as much food as they could carry. On the whole, Union soldiers and Vicksburg residents got along well under the circumstances. Yankees helped matters by breaking into stores in the commercial district where they found hidden stockpiles of food stored in barrels and sacks. There were piles of canned fruit and other goods. The discovery confirmed the rampant rumors of hording that circulated during the siege. All such provisions were immediately distributed to the townspeople.

The Union triumph at Vicksburg meant that the Confederacy was split in two. As Lincoln put it, the Mississippi could now flow "unvexed to the sea." At the same time Vicksburg was surrendering in the West, the Union defeated General Robert E Lee at Gettysburg in the East. These twin victories doomed the Confederacy, even though more hard fighting was to follow. □



Although Confederate forces were stretched thin defending Vicksburg, they benefitted from interior lines that allowed them to shift troops more easily than the Yankees. Upon Pemberton's surrender, Grant agreed to parole the Confederates to avoid tying up his transportation system with sending them to Northern prison camps.

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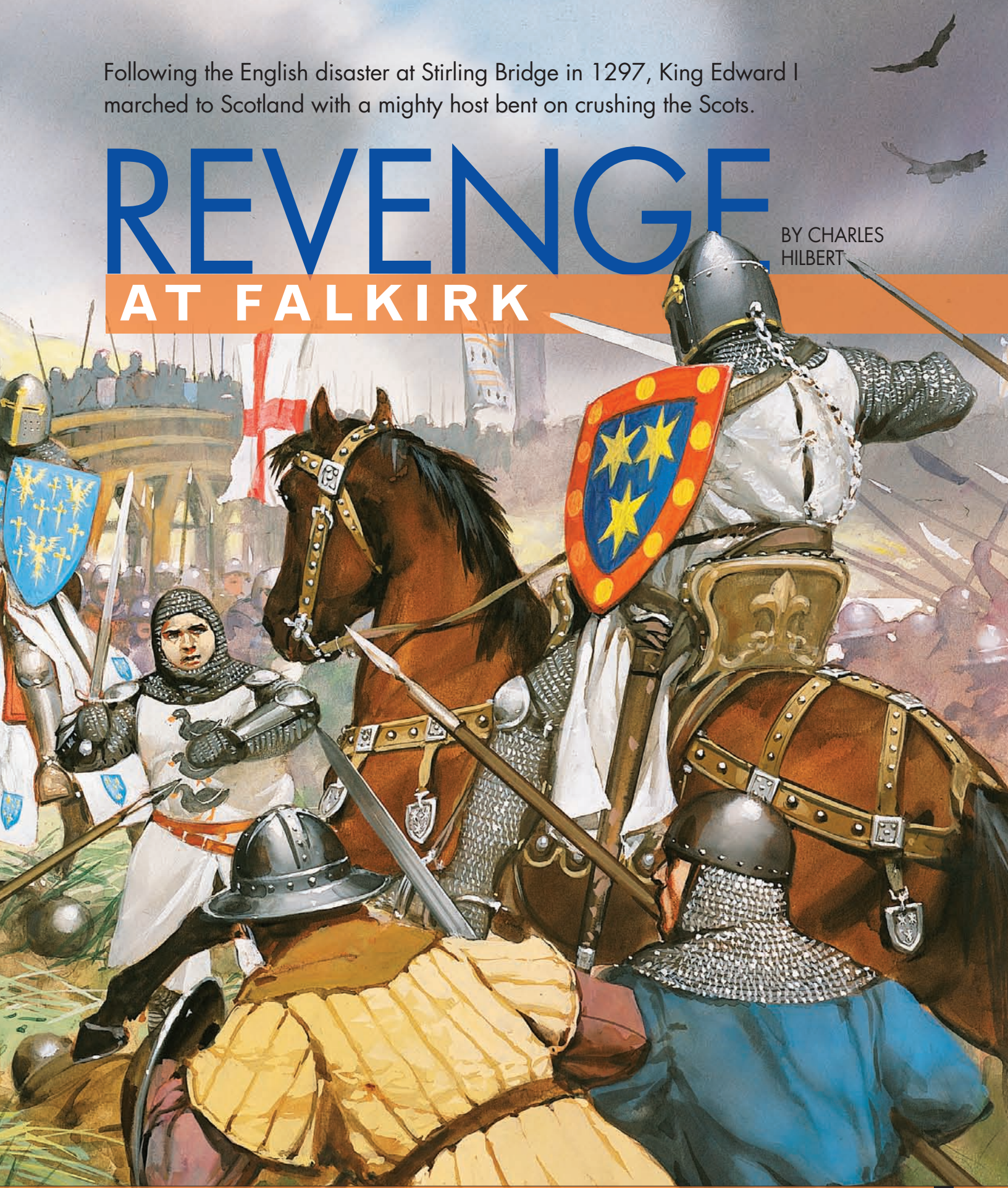
The inept leadership of John De Warenne led to the English disaster at Stirling Bridge. From their position on Abbey Crag, the Scots carried everything before them wiping out the English bridgehead on the north bank of the River Forth. Painting by Angus McBride

Following the English disaster at Stirling Bridge in 1297, King Edward I marched to Scotland with a mighty host bent on crushing the Scots.

REVENGE AT FALKIRK

BY CHARLES HILBERT



Standing 6 feet 2 inches tall with a fiery temper, English King Edward I was an imposing and intimidating figure. Born on June 17, 1239, to King Henry III and Eleanor of Provence, the sister-in-law of the King of France, Louis IX, he learned the art of war as a prince before William Wallace was born, fighting in the Second Barons' War and on the Ninth Crusade. While in the Holy Land, Prince Edward personally killed a would-be assassin who crept into his tent at night. He left the Holy Land on September 24, 1272. Two months later, he arrived in Sicily to learn of his father's death and his own immediate accession.

William Wallace was born on or about the same year that Prince Edward sailed back to England. Our earliest authority for his life is a rather long poem attributed to Blind Harry, who was associated with the court of James IV of Scotland. Harry claimed to have based his poem on a book by John Blair, a monk who became Wallace's personal chaplain and was later commissioned to write a book of his life by Bishop Sinclair of Dunkeld. No copy of this book has ever been found. Wallace was an infant when Edward, having returned to England, invaded Wales in 1276.

During his conquest of Wales, Edward became familiar with the longbow and adopted it for use by his military forces. He knew that his mounted knights would be at a disadvantage fighting in the mountains and forests of Wales against the guerrilla tactics of his enemy, so he simply hired 9,000 Welsh mercenaries to augment his forces. After their defeat, those Welsh lords who were allowed to retain their lands now became feudatories of the king, who annexed what was left as his personal property.

On March 18, 1286, King Alexander III of Scotland fell from his horse in the dark and was found the next day with a broken neck. His granddaughter Margaret became heir to the Scottish throne. King Edward was quick to take advantage of the king-less Scots and negotiated the Treaty of Birgham, by terms of which Margaret would marry Edward II, but Scotland's independence would be guaranteed.

Unfortunately for Scottish political stability, six-year-old Margaret fell ill and died in September 1290, leaving multiple adult contenders for the throne. To avoid the bloodshed of a civil war, the Scots asked Edward to arbitrate the succession. Happy to comply, he arrived in Scotland with an army in May 1291 and informed the Scots that only the feudal overlord, or Lord Paramount of Scotland, could decide the future of Scotland. Under threat of military intervention by the bellicose English king, the Scottish nobles, many of whom owned lands in England and wanted to keep them, gave in and paid homage to Edward.

One of those who did not submit was the father of William Wallace. An English knight named Fenwick is purported to have killed Wallace's father and older brother Malcolm. Up to that time, Wallace had been studying for a career in the church, not unusual for a second son, who according to the rules of primogeniture would not inherit his father's lands. Blind Harry's epic poem narrates a series of encounters between the angry young Wallace, described as a tall and strong man, and various English antagonists, resulting in a rather large body count of dead Englishmen, one of whom was Fenwick. Wallace was declared an outlaw, which only encouraged him in his resistance to English domination.

Both: Wikimedia Commons

Scottish commander William Wallace (left) and English King Edward I.

After slightly more than a year of legal wrangling between 13 contenders for the throne of Scotland, in November 1292 Edward decided upon John Balliol, who paid homage to him. In 1293, Edward's attention to Scottish affairs was diverted by problems with French King Philip IV, who had confiscated Gascony.

Edward summoned the Welsh and Scots to provide military service against Philip. The Welsh rebelled, and the English king spent 1295 reasserting his control over Wales. At the same time, the Scots forged an alliance with the Philip, and Balliol's men raided the north of England. Wallace spent the year slaughtering English soldiers, alone or with a small band of followers, according to Blind Harry. The encounters occurred from Dundee to Air. Wallace conducted his sorties from the forests of Clyde and Methuen.

Having dealt with the Welsh, Edward invaded Scotland and in March 1296 attacked the rich port of Berwick on the east coast. The town was not strongly fortified, its defensive perimeter consisting of a ditch and stockade. The inhabitants had just repulsed the English fleet and were not afraid of Edward. "Some of them bared their breeches and reviled the king," according to the *Lanercost Chronicle*. The disrespectful Scots improvised insulting songs that identified Edward as Longshanks. Edward already was unhappy about the defeat of his navy. He would not bear the insults of the town's defenders and personally led the attack, leaping his warhorse over a low point in the wall. Then the slaughter began. For two days, Edward's men sacked the town, killing most of the inhabitants. The king then paid a large number of men a penny a piece to bury the bodies, according to the chronicle.

While rebuilding Berwick, Edward received a message from Balliol renouncing his homage to the English king. "If he will not come to us, we will go to him," said Edward. He then dispatched John de Warenne, 6th Earl of Surrey, to take the castle of Dunbar, about 30 miles to the northwest. The resulting Battle of Dunbar fought April 27, 1296, was a disaster for the Scots. The English cavalry killed hundreds of Scottish infantrymen, and approximately 100 nobles and knights were captured. Edward arrived the next day to accept the surrender of the castle.

John Balliol surrendered on July 2 and was publicly stripped of the insignia of kingship, leading to his unfortunate nickname, Toom Tabard (empty shirt). A month later he was sent to the Tower of London, and a month after that Edward returned to England. The king left Surrey as governor and Sir Hugh de Cressingham as treasurer of Scotland. But by spring 1297, Scotland was again embroiled in rebellion.

Sir Thomas Grey of Heaton "was left stripped for dead in the mellay when the English were defending themselves," wrote his son, English chronicler Sir Thomas Grey, in the *Scalacronica,* of Wallace's attack on Lanark. "The said Thomas lay all night naked between two burning houses which the Scots had set on fire, whereof the heat kept life in him."

The elder Thomas Grey was rescued the next day, but the sheriff, Heselrig, was not so lucky. As the story goes, Wallace kicked in the door of the sheriff's house, struck him on the head with his sword, and then killed his son and every Englishman in the town.

In May, Andrew Moray had raised the flag of revolt in the north, ambushing Sir William fitz Warin, constable of Urquhart Castle, and besieging the castle, eventually capturing it sometime that summer. At the beginning of July, the Scottish nobles drew up their army against the English at Irvine in the southwest of Scotland. Dissension in the Scottish ranks prevented a battle, and the Scottish nobles submitted to Edward. But operating independently of one another, Wallace and Moray controlled most of Scotland north of the River Forth. Edward sent Cressingham and Surrey against the Scots, and on August 24, 1297, left for the Continent to deal with Philip IV. Wallace sent a message to Moray, suggesting that they join forces.

At that time, knights on both sides were covered from head to toe in ring-mail, though by then they sported genouilleres, which were knee-guards of metal plate or boiled leather, and ailettes, which were small, variously shaped shields of the same materials, attached to the shoulders. The ailettes bore heraldic symbols and were probably used as a protection for the neck. A conical steel helm was supported by the knight's shoulders, though some knights preferred a simple iron cap with greater visibility. They wore over their armor a surcoat of varied material, also covered with heraldic symbols.

Knights carried a slightly concave heater-shaped shield composed of layers of wood and leather, and for offense a variety of weapons including lance, sword, and mace. The horses of those who could afford such protection also were armored. Foot soldiers generally wore less body armor and did not wear mail leggings. They also wore a simple metal cap or kettle-hat with a wide brim. Foot soldiers were armed with spear, ax, mace, sling, or bow.

In September, both sides headed toward Stirling Castle and the strategic bridge that linked the northern and southern halves of Scotland. The fragile bridge was made of wood and only wide enough for two horsemen abreast. But above the bridge was an impassible swamp, and below it the water was deep and wide. About a mile upstream was a ford. The existence of the ford must have been known to Wallace and Moray, who chose to station their men on rising ground at the foot of the hill upon which stands Abbey Craig, a half-mile from the bridge. From the foot of the hill ran a raised causeway, not much wider that the bridge at which it had its terminus, the land on either side being muddy and swampy, passable perhaps by the Scots in their light mail shirts, but a potential morass for the heavily armored English knights on their heavy destriers. From the heights, Wallace and Moray observed the enemy in order to be able to react to a movement across the bridge or the ford.

Moray's 5,000 infantry and 180 cavalry had joined Wallace's 1,000 irregular troops. The English army was not much bigger, since Cressingham was known to be more parsimonious with respect to the kings' money than the king himself, though he did not stint himself at the dinner table. For his greed and grasping ways, the rather obese Cressingham was absolutely loathed by the Scots and not especially well liked by his countrymen. Restricted by Cressingham's financial constraints, the English probably fielded about 6,000 infantry, including 400 Welsh archers and 300 cavalry in the field.

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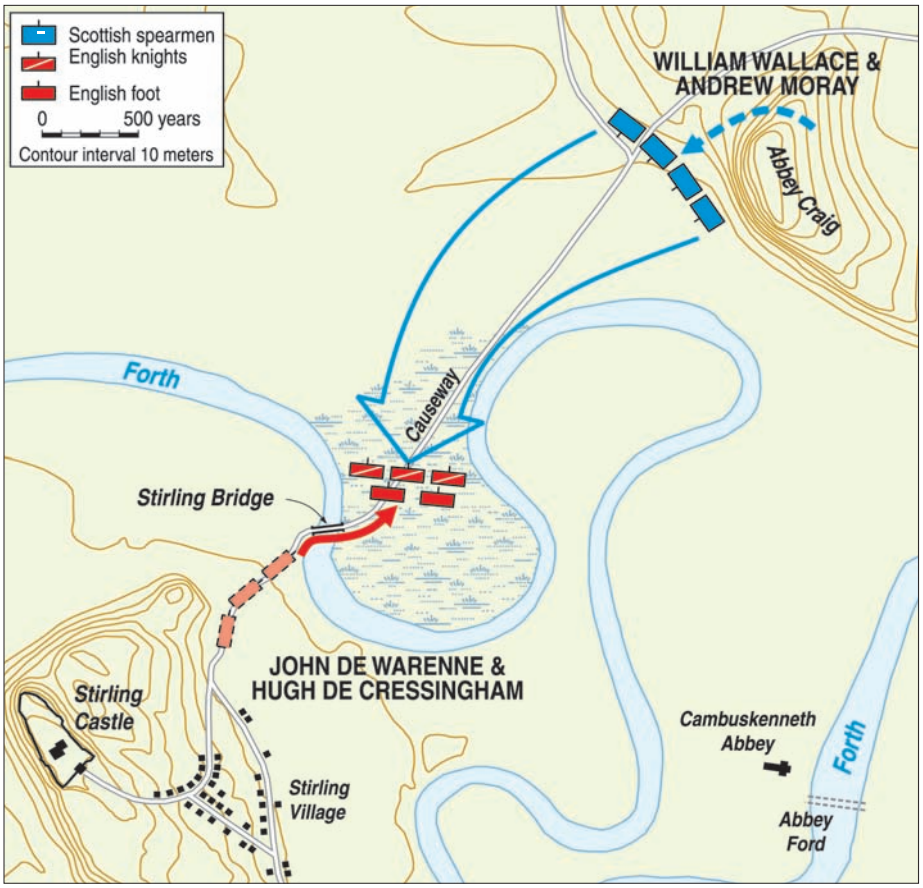
ABOVE: Two Blackfriars unsuccessfully entreat a mounted William Wallace to surrender before the battle. Andrew Murray stands behind the monks in this painting by Angus McBride. BELOW: After the last-minute negotiations failed, De Warenne sent his vanguard across the river where the English heavy cavalry was ineffective in the marshland.



Map © 2015 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN

Most of the English army arrived at Stirling late in the day on September 9, the baggage train lagging behind. James the Steward and Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, who had both submitted to Edward, arrived and offered their services as mediators to Surrey. On the following day, they rode over to the Scottish position, where their offer of peace was refused. That afternoon the baggage train and rear guard arrived with messengers from Sir Henry Percy and Sir Robert Clifford offering reinforcements. Cressingham, wishing to avoid the expense of paying any more men, sent them back with word for Percy and Clifford to disband their force.

On the morning of September 11, 1297, "5,000 of our men and many of the Welsh crossed the bridge and returned again," according to chronicler Walter of Guisborough. The reason given was that Surrey was sleeping late. Although Surrey was in his mid-60s and hated being in Scotland, it

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ABOVE: Stirling Castle looms in the background as the wooden bridge gives way under the English army. One account states that Wallace had sabotaged the bridge, but it is equally likely it simply collapsed under the weight of the heavily armored English knights. OPPOSITE: Ralph Basset, Lord of Drayton (right), eager to make contact with the Scots, informs the Anglican Bishop of Durham that he will lead the English vanguard into an immediate attack despite the bishop's order to wait for King Edward's division to deploy in support.

is more likely that he was indeed awake and sent only a few men across the bridge to examine the structure and the ground beyond, upon which they might have to fight.

Around that time, James the Steward and the Earl of Lennox arrived with only a few armed men, not the 40 mounted men they had pledged the day before. It must have been obvious to Surrey that they had probably not made much effort to raise the promised contingent, but 40 cavalry would have made a formidable addition to his force. Without the added strength of a substantial body of reinforcements, Surrey perhaps thought that it might be prudent to try one last attempt at negotiating a peace.

Two Dominican brothers were sent to the hill to negotiate the surrender of the Scots. Moray, rather than Wallace, was most likely in command of the Scots, for he had more men and more experience with respect to organized warfare. What is more, he had taken several castles in the north of Scotland. In contrast, Wallace and his men had been a guerrilla band, specializing in ambushes and raids, suddenly attacking and then disappearing into wooded areas before the English could strike back. The Scots rebuffed the invitation to negotiate.

"Go back and tell your men that we come not for the good of peace, but we are ready to fight to defend ourselves and free our realm!" wrote Walter of Guisborough. "Therefore, let them advance when they wish, and they will find us ready to fight them even into their beards!"

Was it Wallace or Moray who uttered these defiant words? The death of Moray not long after the battle would leave his army and his legacy in the hands of Wallace, whose stature would assume legendary proportions over the following centuries, while the deeds of Moray were largely forgotten.

When the Dominicans returned with the Scots' reply, some of the English knights were for an immediate advance. Others suggested careful deliberation. Richard Lundy, a Scottish knight, who, apparently disgusted at his countrymen's lack of resolve at Irvine, had joined the English then and there, offered sound advice: "My lords, if we ascend the bridge, we are dead men; we can only cross two-by-two, and the enemy are on our flank."

Did Lundy anticipate a flanking maneuver by the Scots designed to turn the English left, which, once they had crossed the bridge and formed up facing the Scots, would be unprotected by any natural barrier, while the English right would rest on a bend of the river? Or, did he have an informant among the Scots, who had divulged to him their plan of attack?

Lundy offered to lead a small group of cavalry and infantry across the ford and get behind the enemy, thus outflanking the Scots while they were trying to outflank the English. Lundy's plan was rejected by those who thought that dividing the army would weaken it. The war council continued until Cressingham, perhaps considering that time is money, ended the debate. "It doesn't help ... to prolong the business further and to spend the treasure of the king in vain, but let us go up and let us fulfill our obligation as we are pledged," he said.

Surrey must have reviewed his options in view of what had gone before. English knights at Dunbar had ridden down a disorganized mass of Scottish horse and foot, and at Irvine the Scots had capitulated before a blow had been struck. How could they stand up to the same English knights who had whipped them soundly in one battle and intimidated them into surrender before another? Who would expect them to show fight after that?

"The army of the Scots ... lay hidden on a high part of the mountain," wrote Walter of Guisborough. Although he knew the Scots were there, Surrey might not have been able to see them. In light of the previous encounters and putting no stock in the Scots' tactical ability, he must have supposed that his army had plenty of time to cross the bridge and assume battle formation before the Scots could mount an organized offensive. Even if they moved before he was ready, the English knights would ride them down, as they had done at Dunbar. Surrey ordered Cressingham to lead the vanguard over the bridge. What happened next was probably related to Walter of Guisborough by one of the participants whom the chronicler names "that most vigorous knight, Lord Mameducus de Tweng."

The English knights and mounted men-at-arms clattered over the bridge, led by Tweng and Cressingham and flying the battle flags of the King Edward and Surrey. At the site of the bridge, the river flows in a huge meander bend, the narrow neck of which is about 450 yards

across. Through the low-lying land inside the bend ran the causeway to Abbey Craig. The 150 or so English knights must have followed the causeway to the point where it abutted the downstream loop of the bend, at which point they probably formed line to their left, most likely a single rank in open order, which would have given their line a frontage of 300 yards. Behind them, the infantry slowly filed over the bridge, marched up the causeway, and began to form line some yards behind the cavalry.

Moray and Wallace monitored the English deployment from the heights of the Abbey Craig . They could see the vanguard crossing the bridge and the middle guard and rear guard, two distinct formations of cavalry and infantry, lining up to follow. The Scottish infantry must have been deployed on the wooded lower slope of the Craig, possibly unseen but ready to advance at a moment's notice. When most of the vanguard had crossed the bridge, the Scottish war horns sounded, and the Scots descended the mountain. The Scots were drawn up in four infantry phalanxes, called schiltrons, each six ranks deep, armed with 12-foot spears, held in both hands. To the English they must have appeared as a long line of pikemen, with a frontage close to 1,000 yards.

The English cavalry, remembering past victories and habitually contemptuous of foot soldiers, immediately charged the line of the Scots. They had less than a mile of ground to cover and the Scots were advancing as quickly as they could. Both sides crashed together; horses and men were spitted on the pikes. The English would lose about 100 mounted men that day, and many of those must have fallen at the first contact.

It may have been at this point that Cressingham was slain by the Scottish spearmen. It was a short, sharp fight, and then the surviving knights and men-at-arms recoiled from the Scottish spears. While this was happening, Lundy's prediction became fact as the schiltrons of the Scottish right overlapped the English cavalry and wheeled toward the bridge. Walter of Guisborough's chronicle seems to imply that a special force of spearmen, perhaps the schiltron or a smaller formation on the far right of the Scots' line, had been designated to take the northern end of the bridge. "With spearmen sent, they occupied the foot of the bridge," states the chronicle. Was this formation composed of Wallace's lightly armored guerrillas, chosen for their ability to move more quickly than their more heavily armored counterparts, and led by the hero himself?

Seeing most of their cavalry down and themselves outnumbered three to one by the relentlessly advancing phalanx of pikes, the English line of foot disintegrated in a mad rush for the bridge. Blind Harry's account of the battle, heroically legendary as it may be, supports this: "The South'ron's Front ... Did neither stand, nor fairly Foot the Score, But did retire, Five Aiker breadth and more." As the English broke ranks to run for their lives, the Scots broke ranks to pursue. Only the company tasked with the capture of the bridge maintained its formation while it bore down on its target.

As the disorganized Scots merged bloodily with the fleeing English, the battle became a melee. Men alone or in small groups fought hand to hand for survival. Some of the Scots discarded their long pikes and swung battle axes. In the midst of this raging mob of shouting, screaming combatants, Tweng and two companions, caught up in the retreat toward the bridge, looked back and "saw that many of our men and the standard bearers of the king and count had fallen, and they said, 'already the road to the bridge is closed to us, and we are cut off from our people," wrote Walter of Guisborough. "At this, that most vigorous man Marmaducus [said], 'you follow me ... I will make a way for you as far as the bridge.'"

Marmaducus was "powerful in physical strength and of a lofty stature," according to Walter of Guisborough. He was covered head to foot in expensive armor, his horse was probably also barded, and being a big man, he perhaps preferred a hand-and-a-half sword.

The bridge was now crowded and congested with a shoving, heaving mass of men and horses, those of the vanguard, fleeing the Scots, crashing into those of the middle guard, already on the bridge and being pushed forward by the ranks behind them. Men were falling and jumping from the bridge. The Scots assigned to capture the bridge smashed into the backs of the routed vanguard. With no room for them on the bridge and the sharp spears of the Scots piercing them from behind, the English foot soldiers were pushed into the death trap formed by the loop of the Forth. The Scottish horse, probably originally formed up behind or on the right of their infantry, had joined the pursuit led by Moray.

Tweng, striking left and right, cut his way through the disorganized Scots, headed for the bridge. He fought his way across, cutting down his enemies and pushing his way through any English infantrymen who blocked his path. As he reached the other side, the bridge collapsed. Blind Harry attributes this to the machinations of Wallace, who had sabotaged the bridge days before the arrival of the English. It is possible that the wooden structure of the bridge simply gave way under the weight of so many armored men and horses. "Our Earl ... when the Lord Marmaducus had returned to his own men, ordered the bridge to be broken and burned," wrote Walter of Guisborough.

What was left of Surrey's vanguard was now trapped. Some of those who were stranded on the far side crossed the river by swimming. In a feat of determination, one knight somehow managed to cross the river on an armored horse. Approximately 2,000 English soldiers were killed. When the Scots discovered Cressingham's body, "the Scots flaying, divided amongst themselves the skin of this man in small parts," wrote Walter of Guisborough. "William Wallace

"RETURN AND SAY TO THE BISHOP THAT HE IS A MAN OF PIETY ... NEVERTHELESS IN THIS BUSINESS IT IS NOT RIGHT TO EXERCISE PIETY ... YOU HOWEVER ARE A MERCILESS MAN, AND BEFORE I DISAPPROVED YOUR EXCESSIVE CRUELTY ... BUT NOW INDEED, GO, AND EXERCISE ALL YOUR TYRANNY...."

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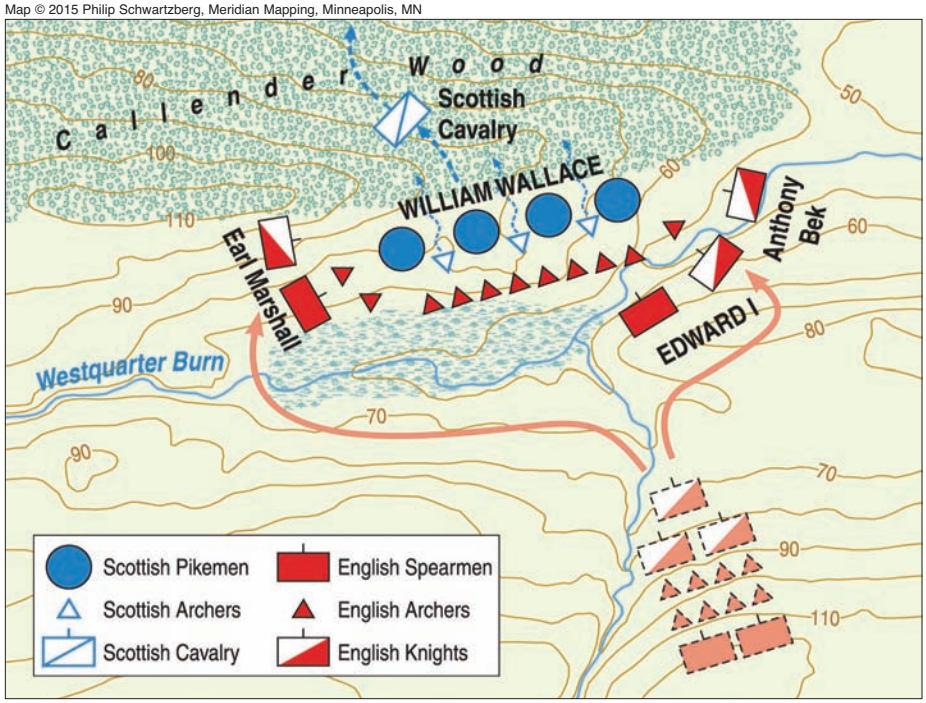


ABOVE: English spearmen and archers decimated the front ranks of the schiltrons and the English cavalry attacked the Scots from the rear. Wallace fled the battlefield and two months later resigned as Guardian. OPPOSITE: Using lances, swords, and maces, English knights overpower schiltrons drastically weakened by the English arrow storm at Falkirk.

caused a broad strip to be taken from the head to the heel, to make therewith a baldrick for his sword," adds the *Lanercost Chronicle*.

With the bridge down, Surrey wasted no time leaving the vicinity. Observing the English defeat, the Steward of the Scots and the Earl of Lennox returned to their men concealed in the woods. As Surrey and his knights rode as quickly as possible to Berwick, the Steward and the Earl of Lennox harried the slower moving infantry and baggage train, slaying many of the enemy and carrying away plunder in the process.

Surrey continued on to London, and the Scots, as the *Lanercost Chronicle* relates, "entered Berwick and put to death the few English that they found therein." In October, Wallace savagely raided the north of England, and it was at this time that Wallace was knighted; popular legend has it that this ceremony was performed by Robert the Bruce. In November, Moray died of wounds received in the battle, and, perhaps a month later, Wallace was made Guardian of Scotland in the name of John Balliol.

By February 1298, Surrey was back on the Scottish border with an army. Meanwhile, Edward had reached an agreement with Philip IV and returned to England on March 14. "He called a parliament of his men at York on the Feast of Pentecostes [and] he sent a letter to the magnates of the Scots," states Walter of Guisborough. These developments occurred in late May. The letter instructed the Scottish magnates to present themselves at the parliament or be considered public enemies.

When the Scottish nobles failed to show, Edward mustered his army at Roxborough on June 24. It was much larger than the army that had been defeated at Stirling. Although the primary source documents record impossibly large numbers of horse and foot, modern historians put the numbers at approximately 2,500 cavalry, 13,000 infantry (most of whom were Irish and Welsh), and 5,000 archers.

The English army advanced into Scotland. It found the majority of towns and villages destroyed and people unwilling to divulge the location of the Scottish army. King Edward stopped at Kirkliston and sent the Bishop of Durham to take Dirleton Castle and two other nearby castles, which were full of armed Scots and might thwart his line of march.

The bishop's initial attack failed. The English were short of supplies, having no wood with which to build siege engines, and no food other than peas and beans in the fields. Johannes Marmaduk asked King Edward for his instructions." According to Walter of Guisborough, the king told him: "Return and say to the Bishop that he is a man of piety ... nevertheless in this business it is not right to exercise piety ... you however are a merciless man, and before I disapproved your excessive cruelty ... but now indeed, go, and exercise all your tyranny, and not indeed will I censure you, but I will praise you." He further advised Marmaduk not to show his face "till those three castles are burning."

It took the bishop one month to fulfill his task, but now the army had run low on supplies and contrary winds prevented resupply by the English fleet. However, a few ships did manage to make landfall and furnish 200 barrels of wine and a small amount of food. Edward immediately distributed the wine to his hungry troops.

Of course, violence followed as the Welsh foot quarreled with the English foot, killing 18 of them. When the English knights heard of this, they armed themselves and attacked the Welsh, killing 80 of them and driving the rest from camp. The next morning it was reported to Edward that the Welsh were considering changing sides and joining the Scots.

"Why care I if enemies are joined to enemies ... in one day, we will punish both," said Edward. If the Welsh longbow men had indeed gone over to the Scots, the outcome of the Battle of Falkirk might have been quite different, but the English king was paying them, and without recompense they would be in the midst of an alien land, facing an uncertain fate, so, keeping a safe distance, they remained in Edward's service.

On July 20, with the army starving, Edward decided to retreat to Edinburgh to await the supply ships. Before the army could march off, on the morning of the very next day, two Scottish nobles rode into camp. They informed the king that the Scots were within six leagues of Edward's army near Falkirk. "When they heard that you planned to return to Edinburgh, immediately decided to follow you and to attack your camp the following night," wrote Walter of Guisborough. To that Edward said, "It will not be necessary for them to follow me, since I will go to meet them this very day."

The English king was as good as his word, for he immediately called his men to arms, broke camp, and marched toward Linlithgow, where they stopped for the night. Sometime during the middle of the night, the king's destrier stepped on his master. The camp went into an uproar as the troops suspected treachery and imminent attack by the Scots, but when they learned the cause of the king's injury, order was restored.

Since he was up already, Edward decided to advance, and the army passed through Linlithgow at dawn on July 22. "When they raised their eyes and they gazed upon the mountain opposite, they saw on the brow, many spearmen," wrote Walter of Guisborough. "And believing that there was the army of the Scots, they hurried to ascend ... but arriving in that

place they found no one. They set up their tents there, and the king and the bishop heard a mass of Magdalene." While the mass was in progress, English scouts spotted the Scottish army assembling for battle.

Modern historians disagree as to the exact location of the Battle of Falkirk. Some place the battlefield south of Falkirk and some north of the town. The chronicles are vague. "The Scots, indeed, stood all their foot in four companies, in the form of circular circles, on hard ground, and on one side next to Falkirk," wrote Walter of Guisborough.

The *Lanercost Chronicle* is even less exact as to the location: "The Scots gave [King Edward] battle with all their forces at Falkirk." However, the *Salacronica* of Sir Thomas Grey might provide the best information regarding the location. Grey was an English knight whose father, as mentioned earlier, barely survived Wallace's attack on Lanark. When he writes, "They fought on this side of Falkirk," he must mean the side from which the English were advancing. And that would place the battlefield south or southeast of Falkirk. Some modern accounts place the Scottish position to the south of Callendar Wood.

When mass was over and the Scots' position was reported to the king, he decided that it was time for the army to have lunch since they had not eaten since the day before. But the English nobles were, as usual, impatient to join battle, and by way of persuading the king to skip lunch they pointed out that the only natural obstacle that separated the two armies was a small stream.

Edward, apparently unconcerned with respect to the Scots' offensive capability, was unperturbed. But badgered by the glory-hungry aristocrats, he gave the order to advance. Walter of Guisborough provides the most detailed account of the fighting. In the aforementioned circular formations the Scottish "spearmen waited with their lances raised obliquely and with faces turned toward the circumference of the circles," wrote the chronicler. "Between those circles there were certain intermediate spaces in which were stationed the bowmen ... behind, were their horsemen." The Scots had probably mustered 5,500 infantry and 180 cavalry.

The English army was divided into four "battles" (divisions) instead of the usual three. The four English battles were no doubt a response to the four Scottish formations (schiltrons). Immediately upon Edward's order to advance, the first battle, 450 mounted men led by the Earl of Lincoln, "drew up ... in lines toward the enemy, not noticing a bituminous lake in between [them and the enemy]," wrote Walter of Guisborough. "When they saw it, they went around it to the west, and so they were delayed a little."

No trace of any bog remains today, but there must have been some kind of marshy ground some distance in front of the Scottish position, perhaps having something to do with the small stream, which caused the earl's movement to his left.

The Bishop of Durham, leading 425 horsemen of the second battle, observed Lincoln's detour to the west and the reason for it. He led his men to the east, where they rushed forward in order to have the honor of striking the first blow. Realizing that his contingent was outnumbered by the Scottish foot, and perhaps noticing the Scottish cavalry drawn up at a distance behind their infantry, possibly in place to attack the flank or rear of the bishop's 425 men, "the bishop himself ordered them to wait until the king approached with the third battle," wrote Walter of Guisborough. "Radulphus Basset de Drayton answered him and said, 'It is not your place bishop to teach us now concerning military matters, you who ought to be concerned with saying mass. Go if you wish to celebrate mass, since we all will do, here on this day, those things which pertain to military matters.'"

Disregarding the bishop's order, they immediately charged the schiltron on the Scots' left. The long Scottish spears clashed with the English lances. At the same time, as Lincoln and his battle appeared on the Scot's right, the Scottish cavalry fled without having engaged the enemy. Those few who did not flee took refuge in the schiltrons.

Library of Congress

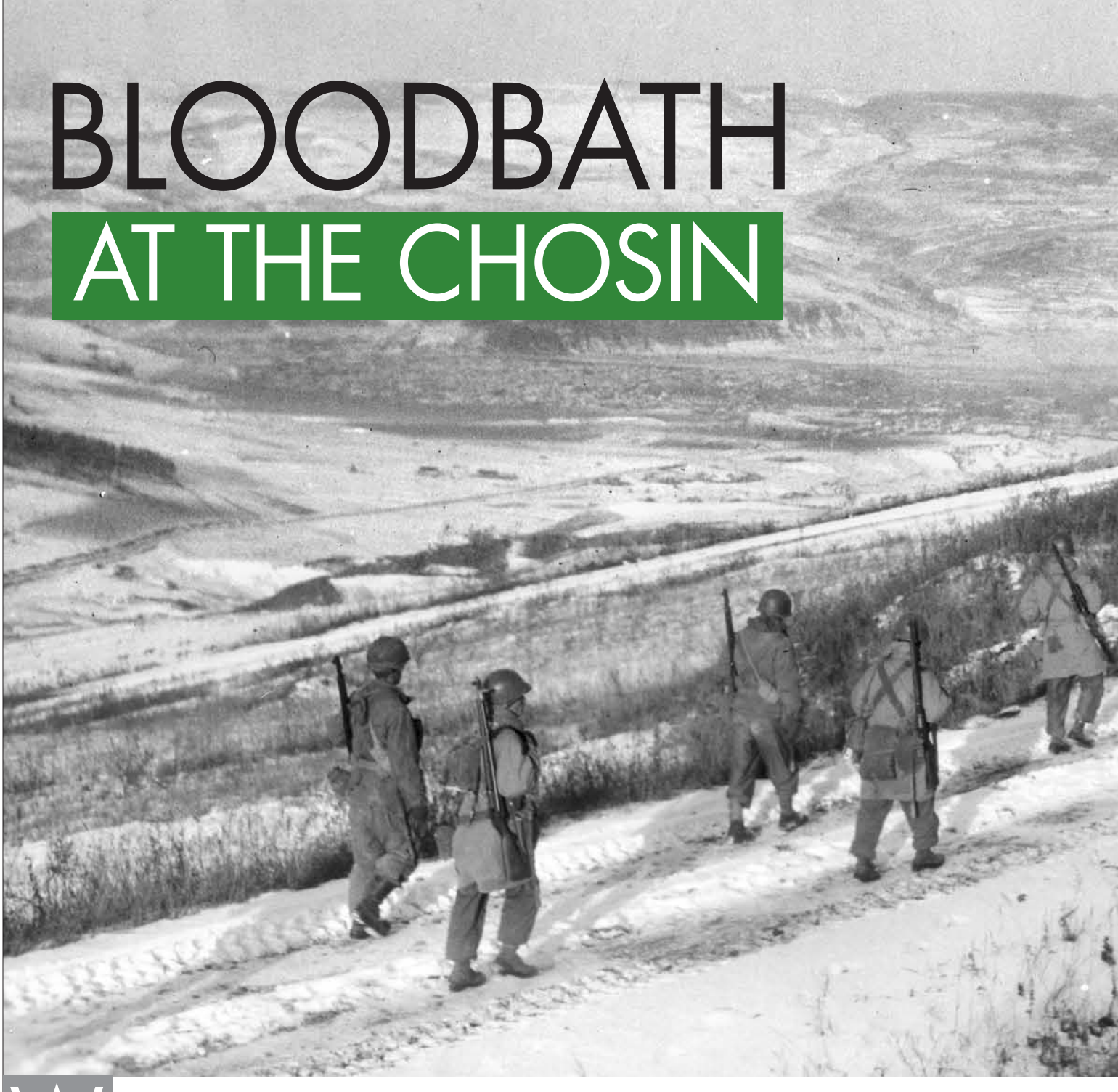
Although Walter of Guisborough does not mention the arrival of King Edward, who led 800 horsemen and 100 mounted crossbowmen, or the fourth battle of 425 cavalrymen led by Surrey, these divisions must have come up in support of the English horse that had already engaged and who were now turning their attention to the Scottish bowmen, drawn up in intervals between the schiltrons. The archers did not have much of a chance against the armored chivalry of England. Although they may have accounted for some of the 111 horses reported as killed that day, the archers died fighting over the body of their commander, Sir John Stewart.

"And so, with the archers killed, our men moved themselves toward the Scottish spearmen, who, as it was reported, stood in circles with their lances leveled in the manner of a dense wood," wrote Walter of Guisborough. "While the horsemen were not able to enter because of the multitude of spears, they struck the outermost and stabbed many with their lances."

At this point, there must have been a bit of

Continued on page 69

BLOODBATH AT THE CHOSIN



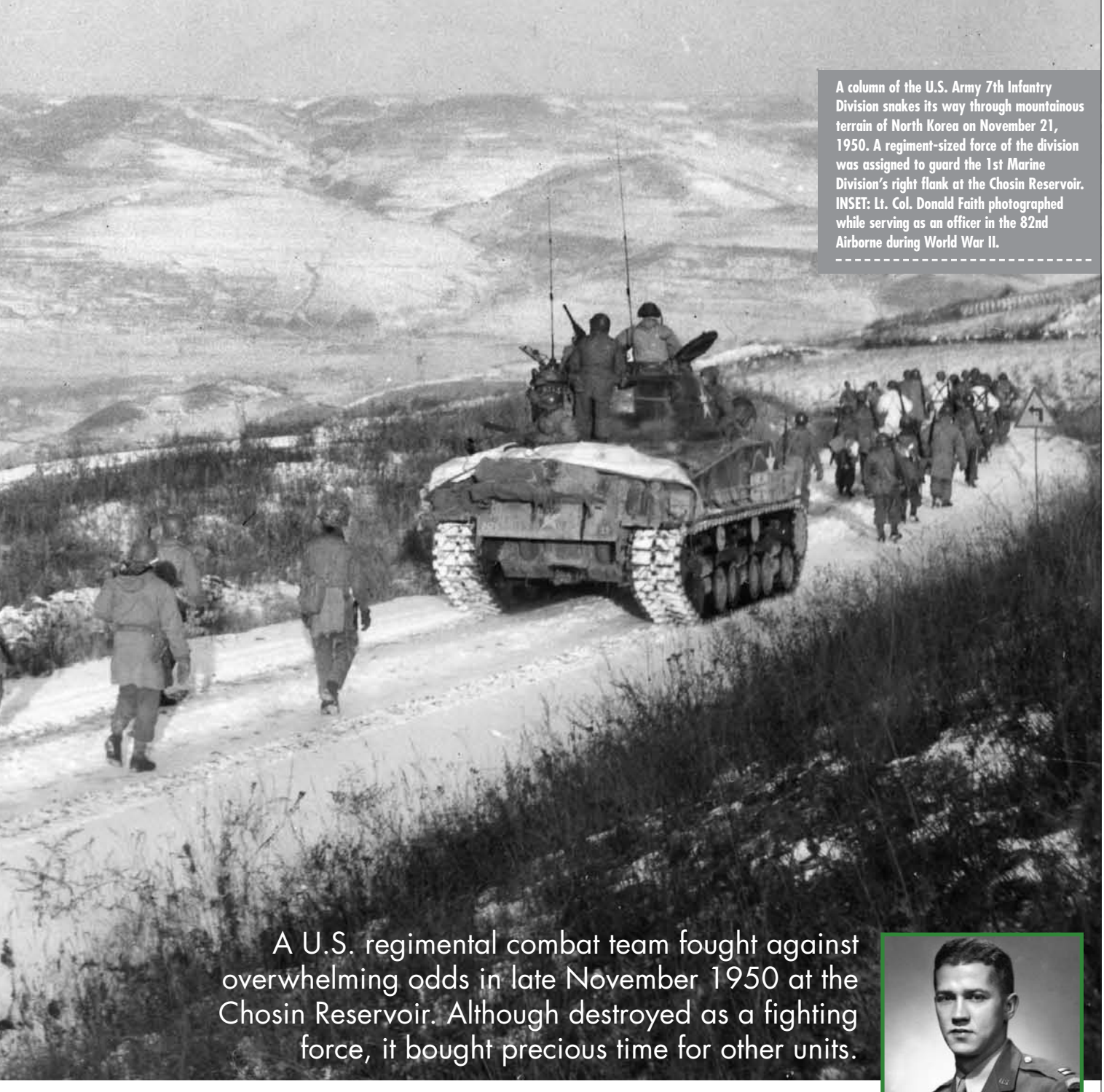
When dawn broke on December 1, 1950, on the barren hillsides on the eastern shore of the frozen Chosin Reservoir in northeastern North Korea, the ragged, tenuously held perimeter of the U.S. Army's Task Force Faith was a scene of utter desolation. The task force's surviving members were on the verge of annihilation. The perimeter was little more than groups of starving, exhausted, and frostbitten American and South Korean soldiers, in varying numbers, huddled around campfires near the remaining artillery pieces and heavy weapons, trying to find warmth. Thousands of frozen American, Chinese, and Korean frozen corpses lay strewn about the terrain, the detritus of sustained, vicious, close-in fighting. Frozen hands and feet were common. Some wounded men, who were unable to move, had frozen to death.

BY JOHN WALKER

The American dead were from the previous night's attack. The Chinese commander had exhorted his troops to wipe out the task force before dawn. The dead bodies were gathered in central collecting points. Survivors searched the bodies for ammunition, weapons, and clothing. Nearly 600 wounded Americans and South Koreans awaited evacuation at the overwhelmed aid station.

The men of the beleaguered regimental combat team had been under attack against overwhelming odds for 80 hours in the harshest, sub-zero weather conditions ever faced by American troops. Lt. Col. Don Carlos Faith had taken over command of the task force after the group's commander, Colonel Allan MacLean, had been mortally wounded three days earlier.

Caught by surprise on the night of November 27, the understrength task force had suffered



A column of the U.S. Army 7th Infantry Division snakes its way through mountainous terrain of North Korea on November 21, 1950. A regiment-sized force of the division was assigned to guard the 1st Marine Division's right flank at the Chosin Reservoir. INSET: Lt. Col. Donald Faith photographed while serving as an officer in the 82nd Airborne during World War II.

A U.S. regimental combat team fought against overwhelming odds in late November 1950 at the Chosin Reservoir. Although destroyed as a fighting force, it bought precious time for other units.

through four consecutive nights of repeated ground attacks. The Chinese had massed their troops in human waves and swarmed over American foxholes into the perimeter, fighting hand to hand, firing burp guns, and throwing hand grenades.

The depleted task force now was going to launch a last-ditch breakout attempt, their goal the U.S. Marine Corps perimeter at Hagaru-ru village near the reservoir's southern edge, eight miles away to the southwest. Cut off by tens of thousands of enemy foot soldiers, perilously low on ammunition for their heavy weapons, and burdened by 600 wounded they would bring out with them, the task force's chances seemed hopeless. Faith, however, and many of his men were convinced they could not survive another night of enemy mortar, machine-gun, and ground attacks. The believed the breakout attempt was their only hope for survival. Unfortunately, the weather appeared to be getting worse, threatening air cover for the breakout column and the promised airdrop for that morning, which would provide precious shells for the 40mm dual cannons and ammunition for the .50-caliber machine guns.

Events on the Korean peninsula unfolded rapidly in the months after June 25, 1950, the day North Korean armored forces rolled across the border into South Korea, shattering all resistance and bottling up United Nations and South Korean forces inside the Pusan perimeter. U.N. Supreme Commander General Douglas MacArthur's strategic masterstroke, the unexpected and risky amphibious landing at Inchon on September 15, led to the recapture of Seoul two weeks later and

effectively ended the North Korean invasion. Buoyed by visions of quick and total victory, U.S. President Harry Truman and the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff endorsed MacArthur's plan for a follow-on advance across the 38th Parallel to destroy what remained of the North Korean armed forces, end the war, and unify the peninsula under South Korean control. Two large U.N. armed forces would cross the 38th Parallel and attack in a giant pincer movement.

Red Chinese leader Chairman Mao Zedong, who had tacitly supported North Korea's invasion, considered the movement of United Nations and South Korean forces across the 38th Parallel northward toward the Yalu River and the Chinese province of Manchuria as tantamount to an act of war against China. Chinese Communist Forces (CCF), including a number of experienced combat units from the recently concluded Chinese civil war, began marching south toward the border. On October 16, 1950, the CCF 124th Division of the 42nd Army crossed the Yalu River, adding another combatant to the Korean War. Tens of thousands of CCF troops infiltrated North Korea. They marched at night, hiding in the rugged, mountainous terrain during the day, awaiting the order to launch a massive counteroffensive against the U.N. forces' two-front advance into North Korea.

The western prong of the U.N. advance consisted of Lt. Gen. Walton Walker's U.S. Eighth Army backed by four Republic of Korea (ROK) divisions and units from other U.N. nations. The eastern prong, which was separated from Walker's forces by the Korean peninsula's mountainous spine, the Taebaek Mountains, consisted of Maj. Gen. Edward Almond's U.S. X Corps, made up of three American divisions and two ROK divisions. The three American divisions were the crack 1st Marine Division, the U.S. Army's 3rd Division, and the U.S. Army's 7th Infantry Division. MacArthur's strategy to end the war by Christmas called for Walker's force to move north on November 24. Forty-eight hours later, Maj. Gen. Oliver Smith's 1st Marine Division would strike west from the Chosin Reservoir and then north to the Yalu. Meanwhile, 7th Infantry Division forces, after relieving a Marine regiment on the reservoir's east side, would attack on Smith's right flank and advance to the Yalu. The 3rd Infantry Division would have the dual mission of providing rear security for the Wonsan-Hamhung corps base area on the Sea of Japan coast and sending a force northward on Smith's left flank.

As the date for the massive offensive into North Korea approached, both Walker and Smith began to harbor strong misgivings about thinly stretching their units over such a vast expanse of territory. Walker tried several times to delay the inevitable by protesting the lack of logistical support and supplies that were en route from Japan and the United States, but all he accomplished was to increase MacArthur's ire toward him and impatience at the delay. The Army's 7th Infantry Division was not prepared for arctic warfare yet was ordered forward regardless.

Even as Almond urged Smith to get his division charging north to the Yalu River, Smith's Marines began noticing ominous signs of activity around them, such as large numbers of deer moving down from the ridges. Before the battle erupted, Smith sent a letter to the commandant of the Marine Corps, stating his misgivings. "Our left flank is wide open," he said. "I have little confidence in the tactical judgment of X Corps or in the realism of their planning." These misgivings were quickly pushed aside. MacArthur's promise to have the boys home for Christmas gave strong impetuous to the ill-conceived move to the Yalu River. Pressure to bring an early end to the war in one massive operation became too difficult to contain, especially in the aftermath of the Inchon victory.

TOP Maj. Gen. Edward M. Almond, U.S. Army X Corps; General David Darr, U.S. Army 7th Infantry Division; and Colonel Allan D. MacLean, U.S. Army 31st Infantry Regiment. BOTTOM: Two soldiers of the U.S. Army 7th Infantry Division patrol the banks of the Yalu River at the Chinese border. OPPOSITE: The map shows the positions of the principal units involved in the Battle of the Chosin Reservoir and also the retreat routes of U.S. forces to the forward supply base at Hagaru-ri.

Intelligence reports given to MacArthur and his intelligence chief, Maj. Gen. Charles Willoughby, indicated the presence and capture of Communist Chinese Forces (CCF) troops in late October and early November. A daily intelligence briefing in early November indicated a dramatic increase in combined North Korean and Chinese troop strength. The briefing put enemy strength somewhere between 40,100 and 98,400 men. As late as November 24, Willoughby estimated that no more than 34,000 Chinese were fighting alongside North Korean People's Army (NKPA) units. These estimates did not seem to take into consideration that U.N. units had been bloodied in heavy fighting earlier that month against Chinese forces on both sides of the peninsula, and therefore the Chinese must have been heavily reinforcing the North Koreans.

Moreover, the Chinese soldiers already engaged were assumed to be merely stragglers or remnants fleeing north across the border, and therefore of no real significance. The true size of the CCF forces south of the Yalu River, which was 30 infantry divisions, had rapidly grown to at least 240,000 men and possibly as many as 300,000. A Chinese division at full strength numbered 10,000 men, but it is believed some of the divisions engaged in North Korea were understrength, and numbered between 7,000 and 10,000 men.

The CCF 13th Army Group, 18 divisions strong, was preparing to strike Walker's front while the CCF 9th Army Group, 12 divisions strong, was about to hit Almond's X Corps. Twelve under strength divisions of NKPA troops, having recovered sufficiently from their earlier reverses to be judged battle worthy, added 65,000 men to the enemy's order of battle. Another 30,000 to 40,000 guerrilla fighters were operating behind U.N. lines in North Korea. MacArthur remained firmly convinced, despite evidence to the contrary, that the Chinese would not dare intervene in the Korean civil war. He assured Truman that the war "was already won" and that any Chinese divisions

identified in North Korea would be quickly destroyed by American air power. In the wake of one of the most egregious command and intelligence failures in the history of American arms, a disorganized, hastily assembled, and understrength task force of U.S. Army soldiers from the 7th Infantry Division was about to be virtually abandoned on the barren eastern hills of northeastern North Korea in late 1950, sacrificed to the foolish haste and hubris of top U.S. Army commanders.

Several factors adversely affected the 7th Infantry Division when it deployed to South Korea in late 1950 and found itself facing a savage and tenacious enemy, extremely severe weather conditions, and overwhelming odds. The U.S. Army numbered 89 divisions at the end of World War II but then underwent a drastic reduction in size. By 1950, the 7th Infantry Division was one of only 10 active divisions in the Army. It was one of four understrength divisions on occupation duty in Japan, along with the 1st Cavalry Division and the 24th and 25th Infantry Divisions, when war broke out on the Korean peninsula. The 7th Division already was depleted by postwar shortages of men and equipment when its commander, Maj. Gen. David Barr, assembled the division at Camp Fuji. It was further depleted when it was ordered to send large numbers of its most experienced officers and noncommissioned officers to South Korea to strengthen the two American divisions already fighting there, reducing the division to 9,000 men, half its wartime strength.

To replenish its ranks, the ROK agreed to assign more than 8,600 poorly trained South Korean soldiers to the 7th Division. These troops were known as KATUSA, which stood for Koreans Attached to the U.S. Army. They had been rounded up in Pusan and Taegu and informed they were now members of the ROK army. The ad hoc task force that would be formed to participate in X Corps' incursion into North Korea would be saddled with 700 of these augmentation troops, which Barr described as "stunned, confused, and exhausted."

Under the emergency conditions of the war's early weeks, there was no opportunity to properly train these men and they remained unpaid, separated from their families, poorly equipped, and indifferently supplied. Almost a quarter of the 7th Division was eventually composed of these ineffective KATUSAs, who tended to behave more like prisoners of war than soldiers.

After reinforcements arrived from the United States, 7th Division was slowly brought up to its normal strength, albeit with augmentation troops numbering more than 8,000 among its ranks. In the rush to comply with MacArthur's

orders for X Corps to deploy into northeastern Korea, the units of Task Force MacLean were given no stockpiles of ammunition, fuel, or rations. Nor had any effort been made by X Corps to issue winter clothing to the troops; MacLean's men were outfitted in field jackets with flimsy pile liners and thin cotton trousers. The item most sorely lacking was the long, hooded, fur-lined parka. To make matters worse, the gross lack of preparation was evident in the virtually nonexistent radio communication equipment made available to the various units of the 7th Division. When it hastily deployed to the east side of the Chosin Reservoir, Task Force MacLean could not make radio contact with either the 7th Infantry Division's headquarters at Pungsan or the Marines' command post at Hagaru-ri village near the reservoir's southern edge. When the order for the task force's scattered units to converge at the reservoir came, they were isolated not only from the rest of the 7th Division and the 1st Marine Division, but also from each other.

On November 24, for better or for worse, Walker's reinforced Eighth Army went on the offensive. On the night of November 25, the Chinese struck Eighth Army's front with massive numbers of troops. With bugles blaring, tens of thousands of Chinese foot soldiers armed with burp guns and grenades swarmed the American, United Nations, and ROK positions. After several beleaguered units were overrun and nearly wiped out, Eighth Army was in full retreat south. The CCF onslaught, which cleared Walker's entire command from North Korea and captured Seoul in the first week of January 1951, took MacArthur completely by surprise and instantly changed the tide of the war. It was clear that MacArthur had blundered badly in crossing the 38th Parallel. He had been outsmarted by a peasant army without air support or tanks, and hardly any artillery, whose communication and supply systems could only be called primitive. Despite the CCF attack, MacArthur decided that the X Corps offensive scheduled for November 27 would proceed according to plan.

Expecting to face only token resistance, Almond had begun his advance by fragmenting X Corps' five divisions across an extended 500-mile front in northeast Korea's rugged terrain. All of his forces, save the 1st Marine Division, were entirely focused on racing to the Yalu River, unaware that CCF divisions were about to strike. When Smith protested that his Marine division was becom-

ABOVE: A tank of the Heavy Tank Company, 7th Infantry Division, engages the enemy at the Chosin Reservoir as infantrymen escort a prisoner to the rear. OPPOSITE: Artillerymen of the U.S. Army X Corps fire on enemy positions at the Chosin Reservoir.

ing dangerously dispersed, Almond dismissed his concerns. Almond had already urged Barr to get his 7th Infantry Division units heading toward the Yalu as rapidly as possible. Barr and his staff, aware that Almond had been dissatisfied with the division's performance during the September Inchon operations, were thus desperate to excel in their corps commander's eyes.

Barr's 7th Infantry Division, though, was totally unprepared to launch its proposed attack on November 27, since its 17th Infantry Regiment and 32nd Infantry Regiment, which constituted two-thirds of the division's combat strength, were 80 air miles from the reservoir and approximately twice that distance by road. It would take days to redeploy the infantry regiments, along with their artillery and armor support, over the miserable clogged roads and prepare them for a major offensive. Barr's advance was therefore postponed, but only for a day. Almond ordered Barr to strike north on November 28 with whatever 7th Infantry Division forces were available. When Smith wisely refused to launch his attack until 7th Division units had relieved the 5th Marine Regiment from its position east of the reservoir, and it could join the rest of his division, Almond, anxious to get the corps' advance going, ordered Barr to rush his closest available units to the reservoir.

Brigadier General Hank Hodes, 7th Division's assistant commander, would manage the redeployment to the east side of the Chosin from his command post at Hagaru-ri village. Since the bulk of the units would come from the division's third infantry regiment, which was MacLean's 31st Infantry Regiment, MacLean would exercise tactical command.

Under the ad hoc and hurried redeployment plan, Task Force MacLean comprised the 2nd and 3rd Battalions, 31st Infantry (2/31 and 3/31); 31st Tank Company with 22 medium tanks; and the 1st Battalion, 32nd Infantry (1/32) under Faith's command.

The task force also included two batteries of the 57th Field Artillery Battalion (equipped with 105mm howitzers); one platoon of Battery D, 15th Antiaircraft Battalion; and the 31st Heavy Mortar Company. The 57th Field Artillery Battalion was composed of eight self-propelled antiaircraft vehicles, four of which were M19 fully tracked vehicles with dual 40mm cannons and four of which were M16 half-tracks boasting quad .50-caliber heavy machine guns.

Task Force MacLean numbered 3,200 men, 700 of whom were ROK augmentation troops.

One welcome addition to the task force was a four-man U.S. Marine forward air control team known as a tactical air control party, consisting of Captain Edward Stamford and three enlisted Marines. Stamford, who would receive a Silver Star for his heroic effort, was a tower of strength throughout the entire ordeal, calling in Marine airstrikes and supply drops, sometimes on the same radio frequency, and finding a way to maintain radio contact with the Marines at Hagaru-ri even after his primary radio equipment was destroyed by Chinese fire. On the first night of Chinese attacks, he assumed command of one of Faith's rifle companies when that unit's commanding officers were killed in action.

Moving north toward the reservoir over jammed, precarious, and icy roads, Task Force MacLean's units made slow and difficult progress. Faith's 1/32, whose starting position was closest to the reservoir, arrived first, while MacLean's other units remained strung out in an eight-mile column on the road from Hamhung on the coast to Hagaru-ri. After relieving the men of the 5th Marines and occupying their positions, which were the farthest positions north on that side of the reservoir, Faith's battalion was dangerously exposed and unsupported and went without artillery backup for a full day.

Even though other task force units were only slowly arriving, MacLean went forward and confirmed to Faith that their attack would go on as planned the next morning, November 28, spearheaded by Faith's 1/32. Still absent from Task Force MacLean was 2/31, which constituted one-third of the task force's infantry strength, while the 31st Tank Company remained well south of Hagaru-ri. Due to their deplorable communications, Faith's men were out of radio contact with 7th Division headquarters, the Marines at Hagaru-ri, and all other task force units.

Since Faith's infantry battalion had relieved the 5th Marines, General Smith had been able to launch the 1st Marine Division in its attack westward from Yudam-ni on November 27, but it was quickly halted by huge concentrations of Chinese troops. The Chinese units the Marines encountered were part of a six-division force then deployed around the reservoir, preparing for a surprise attack on the night of the November 27. The Chinese planned to hit the widely dispersed X Corps units everywhere simultaneously, isolate them, and then destroy them piecemeal. Three CCF divisions would target the Marines west (Yudam-ni) and south (Hagaru-ri) of the reservoir, while two more attacked farther south to isolate the Chosin area and cut off any retreat routes. The sixth division, the CCF 80th, would attack what the Chinese believed would be more Marines on the reservoir's east side, but actually was Task Force MacLean. Faith's 1/32 held its forward position, while two miles to the south 3/31 and two artillery batteries had hurriedly created a perimeter on poor defensive ground at the Pungyuri Inlet. A couple of miles farther south, Hodes had set up a rear command post in a schoolhouse in Hudong-ni village, where the 32nd Tank Company along with 275 headquarters and supply personnel would spend the night. Late in the day, MacLean ordered the 31st's Intelligence and Reconnaissance Platoon to scout the enemy's positions. The platoon was ambushed in the hills east of Faith's position by CCF troops and every member was either killed or wounded.

With the temperature nearing 30 degrees below zero on the night of November 27, 80,000 Chinese soldiers attacked X Corps along a 35-mile stretch of road east and west of the Chosin Reservoir. At 10 PM, reinforced by an additional infantry battalion from the 81st Division, 80th Division launched its surprise attack

upon two of Task Force MacLean's positions: the forward position of Faith's battalion and the Pungyuri Inlet position two miles farther south. Blowing whistles, bugles, and horns and shooting flares, they hit Faith's 1/32 along the north side of its perimeter. Airstrikes called in by Stamford and the men of 1/32 together inflicted heavy casualties upon the CCF attackers, but the battalion suffered more than 100 casualties. Two miles south, the situation was similar. The CCF struck 3/31 Infantry and two batteries of the 57th Field Artillery, overrunning much of the perimeter and killing or wounding most of the senior officers and noncommissioned officers. The 31st's medical company was wiped out as well. Confused fighting went on through the night, with the Chinese withdrawing at dawn for fear of American air attacks. The 3/31 and artillery personnel suffered heavy casualties and one antiaircraft vehicle was destroyed.

Hodes' rear command post at Hudong-ni was not attacked and he awoke early on November 28 to the sound of heavy gunfire to the north. Aware something had gone terribly wrong, he ordered Captain Robert Drake to push north with his 31st Tank Company toward the 3/31 and 1/32 perimeters. Drake set off with 16 tanks, with Hodes following in a jeep, and soon ran into trouble with the terrain. The ground was icy in some places, causing tanks to skid out of control, but was mushy in other areas, causing tanks to become mired. CCF troops attacked the tank column with American-made 3.5-inch bazookas, knocking out two; two others became hopelessly mired and were abandoned. With no air or infantry support, Drake called off the advance and he, Hodes, and the 12 remaining tanks withdrew to Sudong-ni. Upon arrival, Hodes borrowed a tank and rode to Hagaru-ri, ostensibly to seek help. He never returned to Hudong-ni.

Later that day, Almond flew into the 1/32 perimeter to confer with MacLean and Faith. Seemingly unaware of the crisis at hand, and although he had canceled any further Marine attempts to advance, he announced that Task Force MacLean would press on with the attack the next day after the expected arrival of 2/31. When Faith tried to inform Almond in detail of the previous night's assault by elements of two enemy divisions, Almond said, "That's impossible. There aren't two Chinese divisions in the whole of North Korea! The enemy who is delaying you for the moment is nothing more than remnants of Chinese divisions fleeing north. We're still attacking and we're going all the way to the Yalu. Don't let a bunch of Chinese laundrymen stop you." Although Task Force MacLean was weak and vulnerable, especially after the previous night's casualties, MacLean did not object to Almond's order and was later much criticized for it.

At midnight on November 28 the CCF 80th Division attacked Task Force MacLean once again. The fighting inside both perimeters—1/32 and 3/31—was savage and hand to hand. At 2 AM MacLean, still with Faith inside the 1/32 perimeter, ordered the battalion to withdraw south in the darkness to 3/31's perimeter in a temporary measure to consolidate forces. Once 2/31 arrived the next day, MacLean fully expected to attack north as Almond had ordered. At dawn, however, when the 1/32 column reached high ground overlooking 3/31's perimeter, MacLean and Faith were stunned to find the perimeter under heavy attack. One of Faith's men later recalled it as a "scene of total devastation. In the confusion, while Faith and MacLean were fighting their way forward, MacLean mistook a column of CCF troops coming up from the south to be his overdue 2/31. When the Americans inside the perimeter began firing on the advancing column, MacLean ran forward onto the ice of the Pungyuri Inlet to stop what he thought was friendly fire and was shot several times by CCF troops. He was captured and died of his wounds four days later en route to a prisoner of war camp. He was the highest-ranking officer to lose his life in the Korean War.

Faith and his men finally fought their way into 3/31's perimeter, only to encounter a ghastly mess. Hundreds of American, Chinese, and Korean dead littered the frozen ground. The 3/31 had suffered 300 casualties and its L Company had been wiped out. In MacLean's absence, Faith assumed command of the consolidated forces; after search parties failed to find MacLean, the task force became Task Force Faith. That morning, Drake's 31st Tank Company made another attempt to reach the

task force perimeter only to be driven back to Hudong-ni by CCF troops dug in on Hill 1221. For the rest of the day, the newly designated Task Force Faith remained in position, saddled with almost 500 casualties and in no position to carry out any attack as ordered by Almond. Marine close air support and an airdrop of supplies helped matters somewhat, although the drop lacked 40mm and .50 caliber ammunition. Still without radio communication with the 7th Infantry Division headquarters or the Marines at Hagaru-ri, Task Force Faith's position remained desperate.

Faith's exhausted troops got a respite on the night of November 29. Chinese probing attacks and attempts to infiltrate the Pungyuri Inlet perimeter continued throughout the night but no general, coordinated attacks were launched. The CCF may have been pillaging Faith's abandoned perimeter and may have been waiting for reinforcements. Barr flew in by helicopter to give Faith plenty of bad news: all X Corps units, including Task Force Faith, were now under the operational control of the Marines and were to withdraw. The Marines could supply Faith with air support, but other than that they would have to fight their way back to Hagaru-ri on their own. The 2/31 would not arrive. To make Task Force Faith's situation even more desperate, the 31st CP, the 31st Tank Company, and the headquarters battery of 57th Field Artillery Battalion, approximately 275 soldiers, had all been ordered to evacuate to the Marine perimeter at Hagaru-ri, further isolating Task Force Faith. Not long after the task force's sister units at Sudong-ni left for Hagaru-ri, the area was

The rugged, unforgiving terrain of North Korea along the Chinese border is evident in this aerial shot taken shortly before the attack of the Chinese Communist Forces. The Chinese victory at the Chosin Reservoir came at a heavy cost in casualties from human wave attacks.

crawling with Chinese soldiers from the 80th and 81st Divisions, blocking Faith's breakout route to Hagaru-ri.

The CCF 80th Division attacked at 8 PM, the fighting escalating as the night wore on. One task force survivor later stated he believed the enemy had been ordered to take the perimeter at any cost. Faith's force suffered another hundred casualties during the night, bringing the number of wounded to almost 600. That morning, convinced the task force could not survive another major Chinese attack, Faith decided to make a break for Hagaru-ri and instructed his subordinates to prepare to move out at noon or shortly after, depending on when air cover arrived. The promised airdrop of badly needed ammunition for the antiaircraft weapons that might have saved the task force never materialized, diverted instead to two Marine battalions fighting on the other side of the Chosin. The breakout column's heavy weapons teams remained critically short of ammunition; during the previous night's attacks, the quad .50-caliber machine gunners had been forced to use only two of their four barrels in an effort to save ammunition.

The first Marine aircraft, which would stay with the column until nightfall, arrived at 1 PM, and Faith's column prepared to exit the perimeter. Thirty two-and-a-half-ton trucks were carrying 600 wounded; due to acute ammunition shortages, Faith's column included only four of the eight antiaircraft artillery vehicles, one 40mm gun each at the front and rear of the column and two .50-caliber machine guns in the middle. Chinese soldiers stood boldly in the open not far from the perimeter, watching the exhausted Americans prepare for the move south. As the vehicle column formed up on the road, the Chinese began moving down from the slopes, taking up positions along the breakout route.

Faith's column finally moved out at 1 PM only to come under fire soon after exiting the perimeter. Chinese riflemen were shockingly close. As Stamford directed airstrikes for Marine Corsairs overhead, the lead plane dropped a napalm canister a millisecond too early. It landed just to the front of the column, striking the ground in a billowing gush of flame that engulfed a dozen Americans and sowed panic within the column. Until the napalm incident, the platoons and companies had maintained a semblance of their organizational structure, but now several units disintegrated into leaderless clusters of men, some of them flooding down the road in a mob, out of tactical control. Faith rushed forward, his .45-caliber pistol drawn, and managed to restore order.

The column moved on in fits and starts, the Corsairs swooping down to drive the Chinese away from the road. Several pilots overhead reported massive concentrations of enemy troops all along and around the breakout route. As the Chinese poured in fire from the high ground, taking a dreadful toll upon the task force's drivers and wounded, the column was forced to halt at a destroyed bridge. The tracked antiaircraft vehicles were able to bypass the barricade, but only one wheeled truck could be winched across a dry streambed and up the steep slope on the other side, a grueling two-hour task. It was already nearing dusk when the last truck was winched over the frozen marsh.

Wounded men in the trucks were now being wounded again or killed outright, and truck drivers were heavily targeted as well. Under heavy fire, many members of the rear guard sought shelter in a ditch below the road rather than protect the trucks. Some even headed for the reservoir, hoping to move across it to the safety of Marine lines. "Toward dusk I looked toward the end of the column and saw Chinese closing in on the rear, and there were already some GIs walking up to them with their hands above their heads," said Sergeant Chester Bair afterwards.

The column finally began moving again, only to be stopped a short distance to the south by a Chinese roadblock at the base of Hill 1221. The hill was within range of some of the tank guns and artillery now at Hagaru-ri, and Faith's column would have profited from artillery support, but it wasn't forthcoming. Two groups of brave soldiers, led by wounded officers, stormed Hill 1221 and cleared most of it despite suffering severe casualties. It was getting dark and the lights of Hagaru-ri could be seen across the frozen reservoir. Many of the men who stormed the hill, unfortunately, rather than returning to the convoy, continued out onto the frozen reservoir and headed for the Marine perimeter at Hagaru-ri.

Faith got the convoy moving again only to hit yet another roadblock after rounding a hairpin turn. Gathering a small force of able-bodied volunteers, he charged the roadblock and cleared the area of enemy soldiers. Faith, though, was

critically wounded by the fragments of a Chinese grenade. His men managed to prop him up on the hood of his jeep, and the column began moving slowly forward once again. Despite the heroic efforts and the few remaining officers, the task force began to come apart. The column managed to creep forward in the dark but was finally halted for good by another Chinese roadblock just north of Hudong-ni village. The Chinese intensified their attacks, throwing white phosphorous grenades into stalled vehicles loaded with wounded, setting some of them on fire. Faith, hit again by rifle fire, died of his wounds. He received the Medal of Honor posthumously. At about 10 PM, in total darkness, Task Force Faith ceased to exist. Those who could escape ventured out onto the ice and began the arduous march to the Marine lines.

Behind the men escaping across the ice lay a long line of destroyed trucks. During the night of December 1, the shattered remnants of Task Force Faith trickled into Hagaru-ri, and by dawn 670 soldiers had been taken to the hospital or warming tents. Many came through a sector held by the Marine 1st Tractor Battalion. The unit's commander, Lt. Col. Olin Beall, led rescue missions across the ice in a jeep, picking up more than 300 survivors, many suffering from wounds, frostbite, and shock. Of the 1,050 survivors that reached the Marine lines, only 385 of them were considered able bodied. The survivors, along with other 7th Infantry Division troops, were organized into a provisional battalion that numbered 500 and attached to the 7th Marine Regiment. Known as 31/7, the battalion participated in the 1st Marine Division's breakout from Hagaru-ri to the coast beginning on December 6. More than a thousand members of the task force were killed or died in Chinese captivity, almost a third of the task force's original strength.

When the Korean War ground to a halt with inconclusive results, Task Force Faith was ignored and forgotten, one of the war's many unfortunate and regrettable actions. Therefore, the presence and fate of Army troops east of Chosin in November and December of 1950 is not well known. Many accounts of the Chosin campaign tend to overlook or minimize the Army's role there, or even suggest that the task force disgraced itself. Also overlooked is that Task Force Faith accomplished at least part of its mission: it successfully guarded the right flank of the also surrounded 1st Marine Division, protecting it from additional Chinese attacks for four full days. If not for the presence of the Army task force, the CCF 80th and 81st Divisions might have captured the key Marine base and airstrip at Hagaru-ri before the Marines had concentrated sufficient units to defend it.

Such an event would have blocked the only escape route of the Marines and other Army units. A number of historians, and some Marine veterans of the campaign, now believe the 1st Marine Division might have been destroyed had the understrength soldiers of Task Force Faith not bought time by keeping the Chinese from sweeping south. Recently released Chinese documents show that Task Force Faith fought a significantly larger enemy force than previously believed. Despite heavy losses, X Corps preserved much of its strength and Smith was rightly credited with saving his division from annihilation.

The CCF's "victory" came at a staggering cost. Chairman Mao's mission of annihilating X Corps, and especially the 1st Marine Division, never materialized. The effects of combat, severe cold, and poor logistical support wreaked havoc within the divisions that attacked X Corps. The Chinese soldiers alsosuffered from the lack of winter clothing due to Mao's haste to get them deployed to the reservoir area. The 80th Division that attacked Task Force Faith was virtually destroyed. Not until March 1951 did the CCF Ninth Army Group return to its normal strength and become combat effective once more. With the absence of nearly 40 percent of CCF forces in North Korea in early 1951, U.N. forces were able to maintain their foothold on the Korean peninsula.

After the war, a U.S. Navy chaplain wrote a report denigrating the performance of Task Force Faith. He went so far as to suggest possible cowardice and dereliction of duty. Smith continued to insist, until the day he died, that "the U.S. Army forces made no contribution whatsoever to the withdrawal of the 1st Marine Division." For 50 years, the Navy Department refused to support

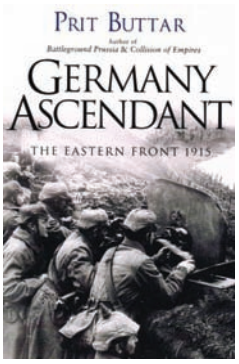
ABOVE: U.S. Marines suffering from exposure to freezing weather retreat from their advanced positions at the Chosin Reservoir. LEFT: Wounded 7th Infantry Division soldiers and Marines await evacuation during the harrowing retreat from the Chosin Reservoir.

the awarding of a Presidential Unit Citation to the U.S. Army's units east of Chosin, though it awarded one to the 1st Marine Division in 1952. The task force's records remained in the National Archives. The U.S. government declassified the records in 1979 when service members and historians began to reevaluate the battle. Historians now believe that the men of Task Force MacLean/Faith fought bravely and performed well given the dire circumstances. The task force ultimately received the Presidential Unit Citation in 2001.

Lieutenant Colonel Faith's remains lay for decades in an unmarked grave in North Korea. They eventually were recovered and positively identified in October 2012 nearly 62 years after the battle. He was buried with full honors in April 2013 at Arlington National Cemetery. □

By Christopher Miskimon

The combatants on the Eastern Front in World War I faced daunting transportation and logistical challenges in their military operations.



Russians and Austrians fight hand to hand in an Austrian trench at Przemysl in 1915. The vastness of the Eastern Front made it difficult to strike a decisive blow and supply far-flung armies.

A HORRIBLE SIEGE ON THE EASTERN FRONT OCCURRED AT THE outset of 1915. The city of Przemysl in southeastern Poland belonged to Austria Hungary. In the decades leading up to World War I, the soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian Empire fortified the city against the possibility of war with Russia. They planned to garrison it with at least 85,000 troops. As war loomed, it was selected as headquarters for operations to be conducted farther east. The soldiers dug miles of new trenches and laid barbed wire to increase its defensive strength.

Unfortunately for Austria Hungary, a string of defeats in 1914 forced its armies to retreat from their frontier with the Russians close on their heels. The Russians encircled the city by the end of September. The Russians trapped 131,000 Austro-Hungarian soldiers and civilians inside the Galician city. The soldiers of Czar Nicholas II expected a quick victory. One general did not believe that a prolonged artillery bombardment would be necessary to force the Austro-Hungarians to surrender. He was wrong. Przemysl proved a difficult objective. Russian attacks temporarily seized some ground, but at the cost of tens of thousands of casualties. An Austro-Hungarian relief army arrived, and it counterattacked the Russians. The relieving troops restocked their supplies of ammunition and food from the city stores and pursued the retreating Russians.

Before long, the see-saw war on the Eastern Front pushed the Austro-Hungarians back again, and the Russians were once more at the city gates. This time, Przemysl, which had been denuded of supplies, came under sustained attack. By late December, those inside the city began slaughtering horses to feed the hungry. A cruel joke began to circulate: What was the difference between the soldiers of Troy and Przemysl? In Troy, the soldiers were in a horse's belly; in Przemysl, the horses were in the soldiers' bellies.

The city's military leaders, who hoarded supplies for themselves, determined they could hold out until March if they killed more horses. Relief attempts were organized, but it was taking time to raise and train new troops. The half-trained levies succeeded in battering themselves against the Russian lines, leaving the city isolated and starving. By the end of February 1915 the last relief attempt had been driven away. During the second week of March the Russians began to overrun the defenses. Time had run out for Przemysl.

A breakout attempt failed, so the remaining Austro-Hungarian leadership ordered the city stripped of its remaining supplies before surrendering to the Russians. The surrender of Przemysl was a military disaster for Austria Hungary. Approximately 117,000 soldiers, including nine generals, went into captivity. No one predicted that fighting around the city could be so costly. The loss of morale also affected the struggling empire.

Illustrated War News, Jan. 13, 1915

You deserve a factual look at . . .

Palestinian Incitement to Terror

Refusing peace talks with Israel, Arab leaders issue incendiary lies and anti-Semitic slander, inciting waves of deadly hate crimes against innocent Jews.

The Palestinian Authority, desperate for international attention, now falsely accuses Israel of threats to al-Aksa mosque atop Jerusalem's Temple Mount. Denying all Jewish rights to Judaism's holiest site, President Mahmoud Abbas rants about Jews defiling the mosque with their "filthy feet." Result: Dozens of terror attacks and five murdered in 21 days.

What are the facts?

A teenage girl on an official Palestinian Authority TV show proudly recites a poem with the lines "Oh sons of Zion, oh most evil among creatures/Oh barbaric monkeys, wretched pigs." The program host cries "Bravo!" and applauds. A young girl on Palestinian TV explains she wants to be a policeman when she grows up "so that I can shoot Jews."

In fact, Arab Palestinian culture is saturated with anti-Semitic incitement, starting from the first grades of school, in daily news media, political speeches and most insidiously the mosques of Gaza and the West Bank. (Imagine our outrage if the U.S. President declared that an ethnic group had filthy feet and would contaminate a place of worship.) The core issue at the heart of Palestinian hate for Jews is an obsessive belief that Jews are non-believers who have zero rights in Muslim Palestine—this despite inarguable scientific proof of the Jews' 3,000-year continuous history in the Holy Land, preceding Muslims' arrival by 1,600 years.

> If incitement does not stop, Congress should reduce the $500 million in aid we currently spend to prop up the Palestinian Authority.

The most recent incitement has been the fantastical claim by Palestinian authorities that Israel is planning to tear down al-Aksa mosque—for which there is no evidence and which Israel has steadfastly denied. In addition, Palestinians are now insisting that Jews, Christians and other "non-believers" no longer be permitted to visit the Temple Mount—despite the allowance of such multi-sectarian visits since Israel liberated the site from Jordan in 1967.

No surprise that a rash of anti-Semitic terrorist violence is currently roiling Israel. One Jewish man was killed on Rosh Hashanah when Palestinian youths bombarded his car with large stones, forcing him to crash. Another 30ish couple was shot in their car as their four children watched from the back seat. Two Orthodox Jews were killed in Jerusalem's Old City when a Palestinian teenager stabbed them to death. Dozens more rock, firebomb, stabbing, shooting and car attacks on innocent Israelis have occurred in recent weeks.

What's worse, perpetrators of such murderous hate crimes are celebrated as heroes by Palestinian leaders and the Arab street. Indeed, instead of condemning the Jerusalem killings, the Palestinian Authority (PA) "saluted" the murderers and denounced Israeli police for shooting them. No wonder terrorist Dalal Mughrabi, who hijacked and blew up an Israeli bus, killing 38 Israeli civilians, has had Palestinian schools, summer camps and a town square named after her. Likewise, the Hamas terror organization in Gaza glorified as "heroic" the execution of three innocent Israeli teenagers last year.

Collapse of the PA and Chances for Peace. The Palestinian Authority is in shambles—on the edge of bankruptcy, in a mortal struggle with archrival Hamas and staggering under the leadership of 80-year-old Mahmoud Abbas, now in his twelfth year of a four-year term, with no successor in sight. Abbas refuses to return to peace talks, though Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu invites such negotiations with no preconditions. Truth told, since recent polls show the majority of Palestinians believe their mission is to conquer all of Israel, it is unlikely the Arab street would accept any peace deal based on a two-state solution. Meanwhile, Hamas continues to gain strength in the West Bank and is likely to seize power on Abbas' departure, putting radical Islamists in control of the entire Palestinian enterprise.

What Can Israel Do, What Can the U.S. Do? Israel continues to show restraint in managing terror attacks throughout Israel and on the Temple Mount. But clearly, in the face of the current wave of murders and other hate-motivated violence against civilians, Israel has no choice but to keep the peace—increasing police presence in violent hot spots and levying stiffer penalties for perpetrators (and their parents, since many offenders are juveniles).

The U.S., for its part, can pressure Mr. Abbas and the Palestinian Authority diplomatically to cease its lying about the Temple Mount, anti-Semitic slanders and other incitements to violence. In addition, if such incitement does not stop immediately, the U.S. Congress should take steps to reduce the $500 million in aid we currently spend to prop up the Palestinian Authority, millions of which provides "salaries" to convicted Palestinian terrorists in Israeli jails.

The Palestinian Authority's inflammatory anti-Israel rhetoric has led to a wave of terrorism that threatens to devolve into a third intifada. Although President Abbas claims he wants peace, his words and actions prove he wants to provoke another explosion of violence to win international sympathy and bring pressure on Israel. Israel must deal firmly with these violent outbreaks, and the U.S. must indicate to Abbas and the PA that it will not fund lies, racism and terror.

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The Russian losses, which totaled more than 100,000, also were heavy. Ironically, the Russians would in turn lose the city again just a few months later.

This was both the blessing and curse of the Eastern Front during World War I. Too vast for the digging of long trench networks as in the Western Front, troops in the east were free to maneuver. At the same time, that very vastness made it hard to strike a decisive blow and to supply the far-flung armies. It was a complex situation for which neither side was truly prepared. The story of how Russia and the Central Powers struggled to gain the advantage is little known outside Eastern Europe, but Prit Buttar's new book ***Germany Ascendant: The Eastern Front 1915*** (Osprey Publishing, Oxford UK, 2015, 448 pp., maps, photographs, notes, index, $29.95, hardcover) sheds light on this subject with great detail.

Buttar does an excellent job revealing the struggles of both soldiers and civilians along with the efforts of national leaders to provide for them and continue the struggle. His narrative includes pogroms against the Jews, supply challenges, as well as the difficulty of supplying troops, particularly on the Russian side. Austria Hungary had many troubles of its own, and it needed frequent assistance from Germany.

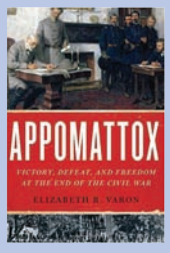
This new work is the second in a four-volume history the author is writing on the Eastern Front in World War I. The series is intended to be a definitive set on this part of the war for Western readers. The first volume was reviewed in this column in May 2015, and this second book continues with the value set by its predecessor. The author pulls from numerous sources in many different languages to give the reader an easy-to-follow narrative that provides a good overview of the Eastern Front. This is among one of the better works on the conflict published during the centennial of one of the world's most destructive conflicts.

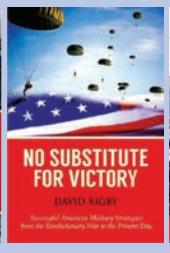
Co. "Aytch": The First Tennessee Regiment, or a Sideshow of the Big Show (Sam Watkins, Zenith Press, Minneapolis, MN, 2015, 256 pp., maps, illustrations, index, $35.00, hardcover)

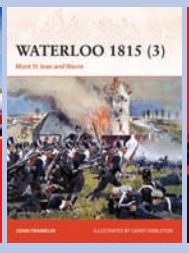
Sam Watkins was a Confederate soldier during the American Civil War. His unit was Company H of the 1st Tennessee Regiment, colloquially known as Co. "Aytch." He served throughout the conflict, and by the war's end in 1865 he was one of only eight men left of the original 120 in his company. Watkins estimated that at least 3,200 men went through his regiment over the course of the conflict. The company's official strength was set at 1,250. When the unit surrendered, only 65 soldiers of that 3,200 remained to receive parole and go home. Watkins fought in 20 battles, including Murfreesboro, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge and Jonesboro. The young soldier was wounded three times during the war.

Watkins returned home after the war and many years later he wrote his account of it. His

SHORT BURSTS







Appomattox: Victory, Defeat and Freedom at the End of the Civil War (Elizabeth R. Varon, Oxford University Press, 2015, $19.95, softcover) A close look at the end of the Civil War. The author argues it was the beginning of a long period of postwar struggle.

No Substitute for Victory: Successful American Military Strategies from the Revolutionary War to the Present Day (David Rigby, Carrel Booaks, 2014, $40.00, hardcover) Using examples from throughout American history, the author reveals the techniques that enabled American success.

Waterloo 1815 (3): Mont St Jean and Wavre (John Franklin, Osprey Publishing, 2015, $21.95, softcover) This is the third installment of a series covering the climactic battle of the Napoleonic Wars. The book is well-illustrated and detailed.

The End of Tsarist Russia: WWI & Revolution (Dominic Lieven, Viking Press, 2015, $35.00, hardcover) The book provides a history of World War I from a Russian perspective. It links events in Russia to the wider scope of the war and 20th century.

Embattled Rebel: Jefferson Davis as Commander in Chief (James M. McPherson, Penguin Press, 2015, $32.95, hardcover) The author studies Confederate President Jefferson Davis' performance as a military leader and as president of a new and struggling nation.

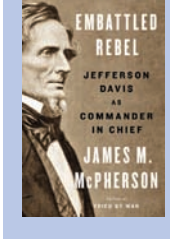
Predator: The Secret Origins of the Drone Revolution (Richard Whittle, Henry Holt Books, 2014, $30.00, hardcover) This work explores the development of unmanned aircraft. A disparate group of scientists and airmen pushed the idea through despite heavy opposition.

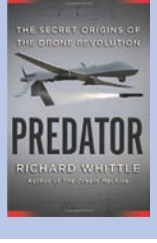
Dead Men Risen: An Epic Story of War and Heroism in Afghanistan (Toby Harnden, Regnery History, 2015, $32.99, hardcover) This is the story of a British task force fighting in Helmand Province. They went through some of the harshest combat British troops have seen in a generation.

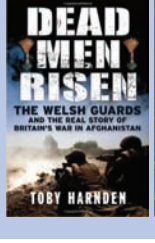
The President's War: Six American Presidents and the Civil War That Divided Them (Chris DeRose, Lyons Press, 2014, $28.95, hardcover) U.S. President Abraham Lincoln dealt not only with the war crisis, but also with five former presidents, each with their own agendas.

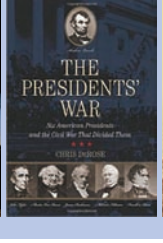
American Reckoning: The Vietnam War and Our National Identity (Christian Appy, Viking Press, 2015, $28.95, hardcover) A study of how the Vietnam War affected America's domestic situation and how American self-perception changed.

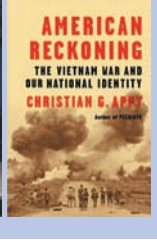
Where Youth and Laughter Go: With the "Cutting Edge" in Afghanistan (Seth Folsom, Naval Institute Press, 2015, $34.95, hardcover) The story of a Marine Battalion at war in the volatile Sangin District. The unit's former commander wrote the book.

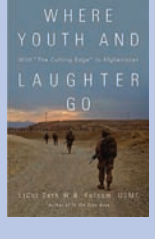






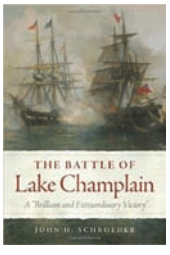






account originally was published as a serial in a newspaper during 1881-1882. Immediately afterward, his accounts were collected into a book which, at the time, was a bestseller. It is still considered by many to be among the best of the Civil War memoirs.

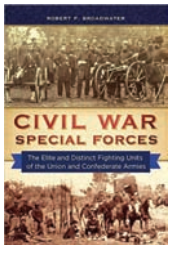
This new edition of Watkins' writings comes in a sharp new format as a coffee table book full of illustrations and maps. Essays are contributed by leading Civil War authorities, such as Bruce Catton, Doris Kearns Goodwin, James McPherson, and Allan Nevins. Period photographs, paintings, and reenactor photos are all used cleverly to give visual impressions of the text. This is a fresh, unusual way to present a soldier's memoirs, and it really adds life to the story of Sam Watkins.



The Battle of Lake Champlain: A "Brilliant and Extraordinary Victory" (John H. Schroeder, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2015, 164 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $26.95, hardcover)

The War of 1812 is famous for a number of American naval victories over the nominally superior British Royal Navy. Many of these were ship-to-ship duels at sea. But just as significant were the battles on the various lakes that dotted the area along the Canadian border. On September 11, 1814, a British force on Lake Champlain, taking part in the British invasion of the Champlain Valley, was decisively defeated by an American squadron led by Master Comdt. Thomas MacDonough. The victory effectively ended the invasion and affected the war situation not only in North America but also in England and Belgium, where peace talks were taking place.

The author argues that the war was won on the lake rather than at New Orleans four months later, after the peace treaty was already signed. To make his point, he weighs how each side's leaders planned their actions and later fought the engagement. The battle was replete with examples of bravery, cowardice and, at times, simple luck. The result of the engagement led the British to moderate their demands during subsequent peace talks.

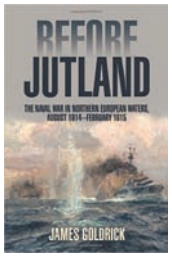


Civil War Special Forces: The Elite and Distinct Fighting Units of the Union and Confederate Armies (Robert F. Broadwater, Praeger Books, Santa Barbara, CA, 2015, 285 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $48.00, hardcover)

Although Special Forces units in the modern sense did not come into existence until World War II, specialized and elite groups have existed throughout history. During the American Civil War the need for such formations to fulfill unique roles in a war that ranged across a continent was great. What most often comes to mind are the cavalry units that rode behind the lines and across Border States sowing destruction. There were many others, however.

Snipers and sharpshooters, sappers, Marines, submariners, and Native American scouts and light troops—all these exceptional soldiers had a niche in the prosecution of the war. There also were new types of professionals who brought new technologies to the battlefield. The signal corps, balloon corps, chemical corps, and ironclad crewmen all carried out new dimensions of warfare.

All these types of units and more are covered, each in their own chapter, in this new work. The author explains how each force, with its sometimes unique weapons, fought the war in its own way. Each essay is concise and easy to read in one sitting yet impressively informative. It is hard to find books on the Civil War that are not just going over well-worn subjects. This one is a welcome exception.



Before Jutland: The Naval War in Northern European Waters August 1914-February 1915 (James Goldrick, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2015, 400 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $44.95, *hardcover)*

World War I was a naval conflict as well as a land war. In the first seven months of the Great War, the German Navy essentially had to fight on two fronts. The British Royal Navy awaited in the North Sea for the Germans to come out and fight. Meanwhile, the Russian Navy was a threat in the Baltic Sea. All three fleets went to war with preconceived plans and ideas of how the war would be prosecuted. Each had to evolve to meet the demands of a modern mechanized conflict with new weapons.

This book is a revised edition of the author's 1984 work, *The King's Ships Were at Sea*. It benefits from extensive new research and reappraisals of existing resources using new methods. German and Russian sources are used liberally alongside the English ones. The result is

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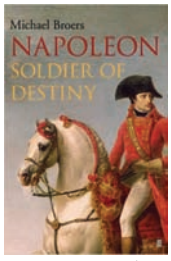
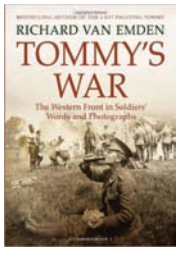
a complete retelling of the war at sea at the beginning of the Great War.



Napoleon: Soldier of Destiny (Michael Broers, Pegasus Books, New York, 2015, 608 pp., illustrations, notes, index, $35.00, hardcover)

Napoleon Bonaparte is widely recognized as one of history's great military leaders. Born on the island of Corsica, he became a soldier and an artillerist during a tumultuous time in French history. Using his wits, skill, and cunning, he rose from relative obscurity to become the effective master of Europe by 1807. He led his armies to one victory after another, becoming the scourge of the Continent and forcing nations with disparate interests to unite against him.

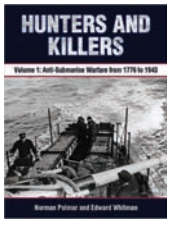
The new biography is the first volume of a two-book set; book two is scheduled for 2017. What sets this book apart is the author's full use of the newly released personal correspondence of Napoleon himself, recently compiled and published by the Napoleon Foundation, based in Paris. The writer's analysis of the great man and his decisions is interesting and insightful. The central driving force of the Napoleonic Wars, the conflict between France and England, is given extensive and careful attention. The scope of this book is as wide as the events it chronicles.



Tommy's War: The Western Front in Soldiers' Words and Photographs (Richard Van Emden, Bloomsbury Press, London, 2014, 375 pp., photographs, bibliography, index, $45.00, hardcover)

World War I went on for four long years. It was more than just the famous battles, such as the Somme, Ypres, and the Marne. The terrible attrition of these engagements took a horrible toll on the frontline soldiers both mental and physical. To cope with the extreme stress of their situation, average British soldiers used various methods. Perhaps chief among these was humor. As a coping mechanism, humor has few equals, even the sometimes dark and grim humor of the battlefield. Scrounging and scavenging little luxuries are often mentioned in diaries and journals. Many soldiers took small cameras to document their experiences; the tiny Vest Pocket Kodak was particularly popular. These aspiring photographers soon found their devices banned and confiscated due to security concerns. Soldiers tend to be resourceful, however, and many found ways to surreptitiously take pictures.

Combining a wide array of soldiers' journals and photographs, this detailed work focuses on the day-to-day life of the English fighting man. The pictures, often taken on tiny cameras, can be rough but this only adds to the total feel of the book. These are images created on the spot by men who were part of the event; photos of everything from the Christmas Truce to a haunting view of Vimy Ridge soon after the war ended are included in this fascinating look at the Tommy's experience.



Hunters and Killers, Volume 1: Anti-Submarine Warfare from 1776 to 1943 (Norman Polmar and Edward Whitman, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2015, 224 pp., maps, photographs, appendix, notes, bibliography, index, $44.95, hardcover)

The submarine is a fearsomely effective weapon. Like any new development, its early days were difficult and results were mixed, but over time technological progress and experience helped it evolve into a vessel able to strike fear into the hearts of both merchant and fighting sailors. By World War I, the submarine was able to threaten the warships and commerce of enemy nations, endangering their ability to continue fighting.

Countering this threat began very quickly and has continued to evolve to the present day. Convoy systems, sonar, specialized antisubmarine ships, and aircraft have all contributed to the body of knowledge and weaponry poised to fend off the undersea killer. Perhaps most important have been advances in intelligence gathering and codebreaking that have allowed navies to predict where the enemy will appear and mass firepower against them.

The story of antisubmarine warfare is one of innovation, flexibility, and determination. This book brings those qualities to light in a well-organized, easy-to-read way. The story of developing technology, not all of which was successful, is told alongside the gripping stories of individual submarines and their crews, making it simple for the reader to understand how the combination of science and seamanship has defined both the submarine as a weapon and the men who have fought in and against them. This volume takes the reader through the mid-point of the Battle of the Atlantic in 1943; a second upcoming book will complete the story. □

Lexington

Continued from page 39

longer route to Boston Neck. By 9 PM, the British were safe on Charlestown's peninsula. There were approximately 4,000 Patriots in pursuit by then, but the soldiers held a strong and easily defended position on high ground. Later, that choice of a safe place would seem ironic: it was Bunker Hill.

In their shocking and unexpected defeat of April 19, British losses reached 73 officers and men dead, with 200 wounded or missing. Patriot losses were much lower, estimated at 49 dead, 39 wounded, and five missing.

Enough rebels poured in to form an army that put Boston under siege the next day. At the most intense clash of the siege, the June 17, 1775, Battle of Bunker Hill, the British won a hard-fought but costly victory to drive patriot forces away from commanding heights in Charlestown. The Continental Congress found a leader who pulled together the disorganized Patriot forces: a Virginian named George Washington. Boston's siege went on into the next spring. Washington and his army would fight many battles, but there was no Battle of Boston. Under orders from London, the British evacuated the city on March 17, 1776.

American militiamen, mostly amateur soldiers without professional military training, performed with great success on April 19, 1775. Their brave but doomed defiance at Lexington, their determined and successful stand at Concord, and the staggering defeat they dealt to a large army of regulars have ever since echoed down through American history. Revolutionary Patriots gained the confidence they needed to see them through to the end a war with a major European power. After all, the fighting on April 19 proved that the Patriots could make Britain's professionally trained officers and regulars flee in panic.

Perhaps the lessons of Lexington and Concord were learned too well. For decades, Americans felt secure under the protection of their militia. But the early United States also learned a longtime contempt for professional troops, hindering development of a permanent, trained army with a corps of experienced officers. In situations where trained regulars might have survived and won, thousands of poorly trained and incompetently led militiamen would die in early Indian wars or the War of 1812. Even during the Revolution, the final victory at Yorktown required regiments of American regulars and French allies who could stand and exchange volleys with rows of redcoats. □

Falkirk

Continued from page 55

a standoff. The schiltrons could not maneuver, but they outnumbered the English horse, which were unable to break them. It is now that Edward's Welsh bowmen must have arrived: "Our foot shot them with arrows, and indeed, with round rocks ... they stoned them," wrote Walter of Guisborough. "And so, with many dead and others stunned, who, at the edges of the circles, had stood forth, and the rest of the front line recoiling back on those behind, the horsemen entered, killing all."

Wallace fought his way out of the rout, leading what was probably by now the only disciplined force of Scots left on the field, perhaps a schiltron under his personal command. Wallace sent his men across the River Carron, to the northwest of Falkirk, while he held the ford with a small rear guard. At that place, while still mounted, Wallace engaged in single combat with Brian le Jay, Master of the Templars, and killed him with a single blow. Walter of Guisborough mentions the death of "the master of knights of the temple, who in following the fugitives into the bog was somehow intercepted and killed." Walter's bog is perhaps marshy ground near the River Carron. The *Lanercost Chronicle*, however, says that "the Master of the Templars" was killed "with five or six esquires, who charged the schiltrons of the Scots too hotly and rashly."

The number of casualties given by the ancient chroniclers is hopelessly inflated. Nevertheless, Scottish casualties were undoubtedly heavy while English losses were substantially less. Edward went on to take Stirling Castle, but with supplies running low and his army dwindling as his feudal levies headed home, he returned to Carlisle on September 9.

Wallace resigned the Guardianship and was succeeded by Robert the Bruce and John Comyn. The former Guardian spent the next few years on the Continent, trying to drum up support for his cause. He returned to Scotland in 1303 and seems to have once again engaged in guerrilla war against the English.

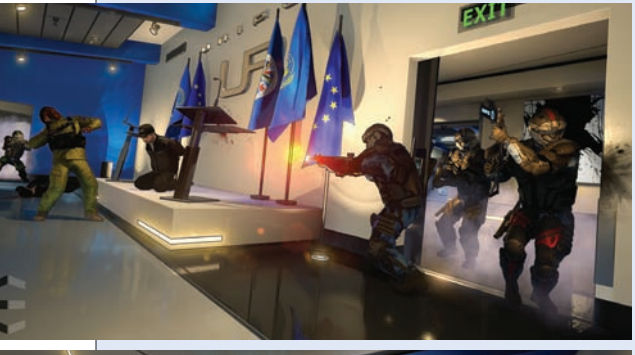
Two years later, Sir John Menteith betrayed Wallace, and he was taken to London to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. In 1306, Robert the Bruce personally killed his Comyn rival and declared himself King of Scotland. Edward led an army north but died on July 7, 1307, leaving affairs in the hands of his son, Edward II, who would meet Bruce at Bannockburn on June 24, 1314, in yet another pitched battle between the two bitter foes. □

EPSILON BRINGS SOME MODERN SQUAD-BASED SHOOTER TACTICS TO PC, AND A CLASSIC 1985 STRATEGY GAME GETS A CROWD-FUNDED REBOOT.

EPSILON

PUBLISHER SERELLAN, LLC.
GENRE ACTION.
SYSTEM(S) PC
AVAILABLE NOW (EARLY ACCESS)

Titles that make their way to Steam Early Access vary in size by sometimes insanely wide margins, but occasionally you get something interesting with a storied pedigree behind it. Such is the case with indie game studio Serellan, which is staffed by veterans of the video game industry who have collectively worked on titles ranging from the *Halo, Ghost Recon, Killzone,* and *SOCOM* series to recent hits like *Shadows of Mordor.* Their current project is *EPSILON,* a squad-based tactical shooter influenced by current events and available to dig into via Early Access.



As is the case with any Early Access title, the team is still hard at work on updates for *EPSILON,* but the shooter came with a decent amount of content at launch. Chief among the offerings are a handful of single-player story missions, a starting set of core weapons, and an Elimination Mode that Serellan says puts a premium on nonlethal combat. Future updates to *EPSILON* will bring in more story mode chapters, weapons, game modes, and the addition of cooperative multiplayer.

One of the most interesting aspects of *EPSILON* is the aforementioned approach to nonlethal combat options. In modern military games it's exceedingly rare to see much beyond the concept of racking up kill streaks and points for each lethal takedown, but Serellan aims to reward players for choosing nonlethal measures. With any good reward, however, comes an equal or greater risk, because enemies who are taken down without lethal force may pop up later to pose a returning threat. With both lethal and nonlethal combat options, there's a constant sub-game being played that puts an emphasis on fast reactions and on-the-fly decision making.

The gadgets and weapons available in *EPSILON* so far run the gamut, and most will be familiar to those well versed in squad-based shooting. Stuff like cameras that can slide under doors for a sneaky peek at enemies, unmanned weapons that can be operated remotely, and other gadgets significantly expand tactical options. Of course, it's crucial to go into a mission knowing what you'll need and how you plan on succeeding, and that's where premission planning comes into play. Players can use digital maps to coordinate their squad and note enemy positions, preparing in advance for any possibilities that may arise. If you end up halfway through a mission before realizing your plan isn't going to work, you can always ditch it and switch things up accordingly.

EPSILON's story touches on matters like the ongoing Eastern European crisis, the current state of America, and more. Dr. Stacy Cecchet, Seattle University's Adjunct Professor of Criminal Justice, has served as an adviser on the subject matter throughout the development process, so it should be interesting to see what future story missions come out of the collaboration. At the moment it's a good time to give *EPSILON* a spin, because while the kinks are still being worked out on a regular basis, those who try it out now can get in before the price rises incrementally leading up to the game's full launch in early 2016.

COLONIAL CONQUEST

Fans of classic turn-based strategy games might recall 1985's *Colonial Conquest.* Argonauts Interactive ran a successful Kickstarter campaign for a reboot earlier in 2015, reimagining and rereleasing the conquest simulator for today's strategy-loving PC players.

PUBLISHER ARGONAUTS INTERACTIVE
GENRE ACTION
SYSTEM(S) PC
AVAILABLE NOW

Argonauts Interactive's take on *Colonial Conquest* retains its dedication to simulating aggressive expansion and achieving global dominance by any means necessary. *Colonial Conquest* is set in the Victorian age of the late 1800s and early 1900s, featuring the ability to play as the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan. Choose your side and you have the potential to conquer more than 130 regions, all the while paying careful attention to resource management, deceitful tactics against your opposing forces, and the strategic positioning of your nation's attack fleets.

Depending on which country is chosen, players will be able to take on the role of historical figures like Theodore Roosevelt, Grover Cleveland, Queen Victoria, Jules Ferry, Tsar Alexander III, Kaiser Wilhelm II, and Emperor Meiji. There are options to play against the AI or online multiplayer with other players, so there's plenty of challenge to be had whether you choose to go it alone or test your might and your wits against friends.

If you've never played *Colonial Conquest* before, this is a nice way of digging into a classic with a modern coat of paint and some added bells and whistles. Strategy games like this one can get pretty deep and intense, especially once you get the hang of it and start doing impressively sneaky things, like sending out spies and managing bribes on a consistent basis. Whatever it takes to secure your position at the top of the global domination heap. Hopefully we'll see more updated takes on the classics in the not too distant future. □

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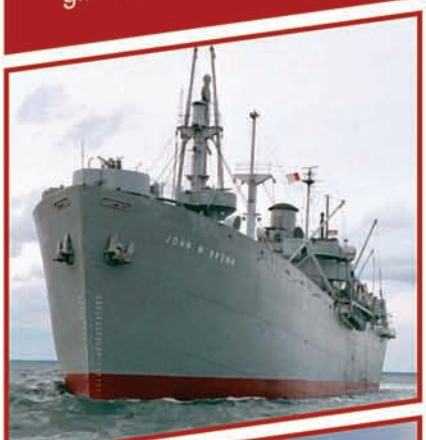

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