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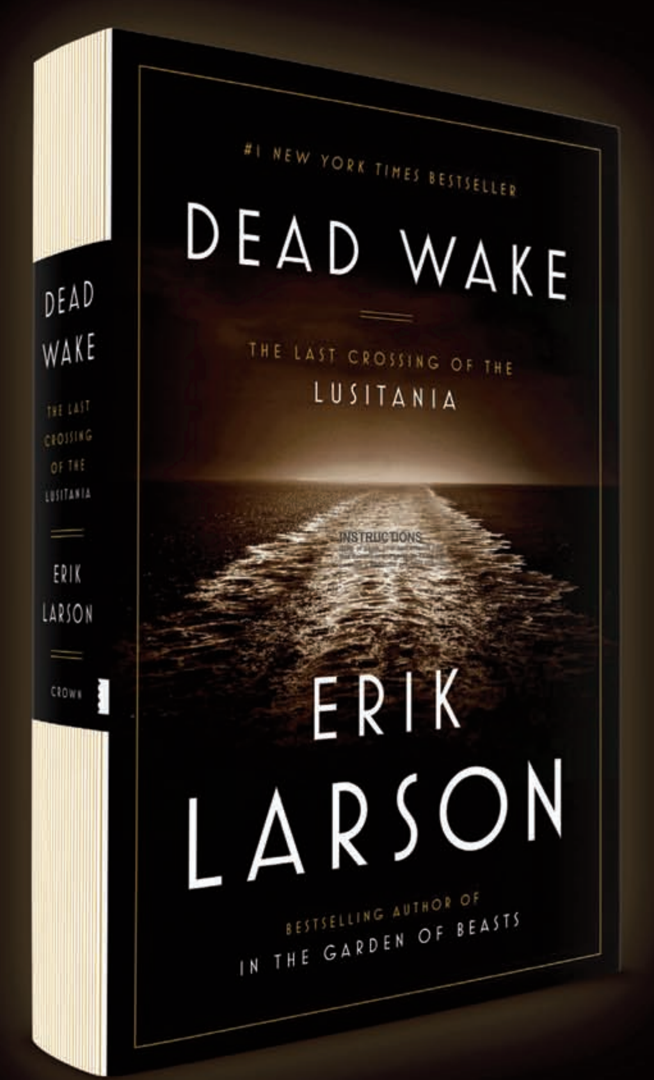

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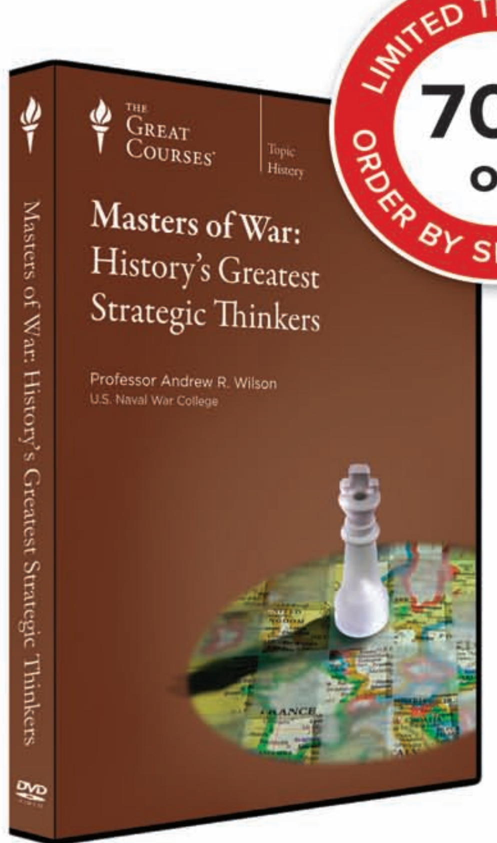

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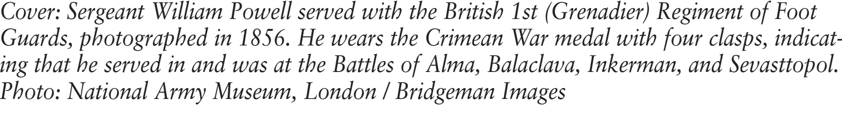
Cover: Sergeant William Powell served with the British 1st (Grenadier) Regiment of Foot Guards, photographed in 1856. He wears the Crimean War medal with four clasps, indicating that he served in and was at the Battles of Alma, Balaclava, Inkerman, and Sevasttopol. Photo: National Army Museum, London / Bridgeman Images

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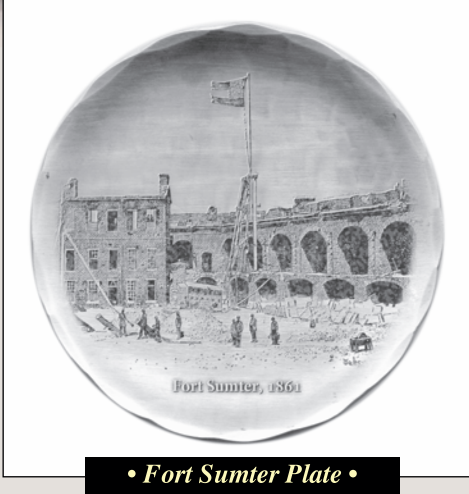

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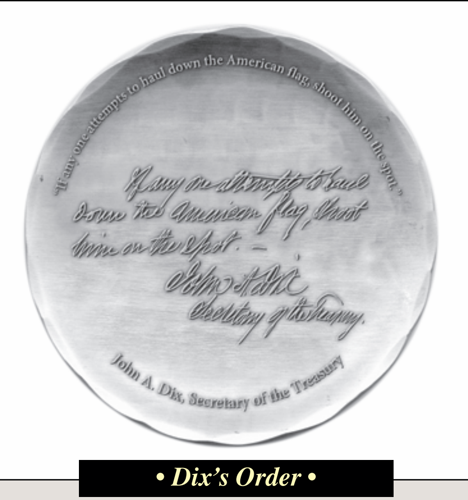

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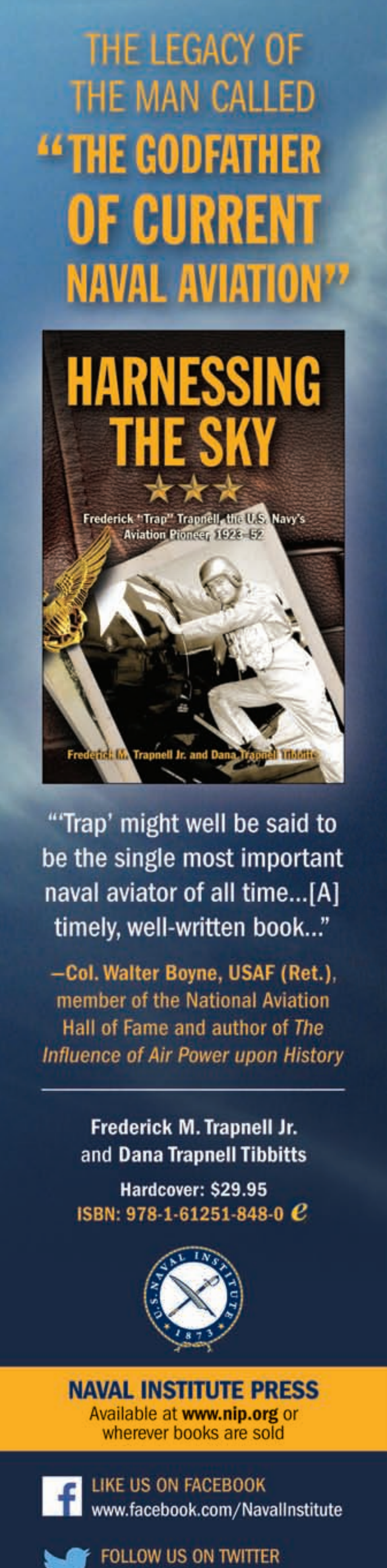

editorial

Victory in Norway Came at a Heavy Price

THE GERMAN INVASION OF DENMARK AND NORWAY, known as Operation Weseruebung, heralded a new stage in warfare in which cooperation of air, land, and sea forces was essential for successful offensive operations.

German Grand Admiral Erich Raeder first broached the idea of an invasion of Norway in 1939 to German leader Adolf Hitler for the purpose of using it as a base to attack British sea lanes. Raeder wanted access to the Atlantic Ocean for Germany's surface fleet, access that the Kriegsmarine had sorely lacked during World War I.

To add weight to the argument, Raeder subsequently noted that Germany should occupy Norway to ensure that it could obtain Swedish iron ore through the port of Narvik in winter months. The German war machine had a voracious appetite for iron ore. In the first year, the German war planners estimated they would need 15 million tons of iron ore, 11 million of which they hoped to get from Sweden.

Weseruebung was an incredible gamble considering that the British dominated the seas and that the Germans likely would have to resupply isolated combat units via air. As it is often said, the side that makes the fewest mistakes is victorious. The Norwegian campaign is proof of this maxim as the British made a substantial number of strategic and tactical mistakes.

Once engaged in Norway, the British failed to send sufficient aircraft to the theater and kept their aircraft carriers too far offshore to adequately support their forces. In contrast, Fliegerkorps X rose to the occasion and performed excellently. And from a strategic standpoint, the British sent forces to central and northern Norway when they should have focused entirely on central Norway. That is because control of central Norway would have made the German position in the north untenable.

The Battle for Norway lasted just two months. It ended with the surrender of the Norwegians on June 10. The upside of the victory for Germany was that it could establish air and naval bases in Norway on Great Britain's flank. What is more, German naval vessels would be closer to the North Atlantic and Arctic sea lanes.

The downside for Germany was more pronounced. German planners had rightly expected that the Kriegsmarine would suffer serious losses to its surface fleet during Weseruebung. Two-thirds of the German cruisers and destroyers were damaged in the campaign. Although new ships were being built, the Kriegsmarine had only one heavy cruiser, two light cruisers, and four destroyers operational at the end of the campaign.

Some historians believe that Weseruebung left Germany without enough ships to support a potential invasion of Great Britain later that year. But others argue that even if Germany had not undertaken Weseruebung it still would not have been able to conduct a successful invasion of Great Britain unless the Luftwaffe controlled the skies.

Hitler decided in 1943 that he would no longer invest in the Kriegsmarine's surface fleet and would invest solely in Germany's U-boat fleet. For that reason, Germany no longer took advantage of Norway's fjords as lairs for its cruisers and destroyers. It was at that point that Norway became as much of a liability as an asset to Germany. Indeed, a large number of German divisions were tied up in Norway as the war progressed. Of the nine divisions that participated in the invasion of Norway, most of them remained in the country throughout the war.

The final irony of the Norwegian campaign was that the Allies copied the close coordination among air, land, and sea forces that led to a German victory in Norway when they launched Operation Overlord in June 1944.

William E. Welsh

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By Alex Zakrzewski

The World War II Polish cavalryman was a well-trained and highly motivated elite mobile infantryman.

IN THE LATE AFTERNOON OF SEPTEMBER 1, 1939, THE 18TH UHLAN Regiment of the Pomorska Cavalry Brigade was holding its position along Poland's heavily forested northwest frontier when orders arrived to attack the flank of the advancing German 20th Motorized Infantry Division. Wasting no time, the regimental commander, Colonel Kazimierz Mastalerz, ordered his depleted squadrons to mount and set off to fulfill his mission. At around 7 PM, scouts spotted a column of German infantry badly exposed in a forest clearing, perfect prey for a saber charge. When the regimental adjutant suggested attacking dismounted, the colonel would hear none of it. "Young man," Mastalerz said tersely, "I am quite aware of what it is like to carry out an impossible order." Spurring their horses forward, the Poles burst out of the woods with sabers drawn and quickly scattered the enemy infantry. There was no time to celebrate, however, for hardly had their horses caught their breath before a troop of German armored cars arrived on the scene and opened a devastating hail of fire from their machine guns and automatic cannons. Twenty troopers, including Mastalerz, were killed before the horsemen could turn their mounts and flee behind a nearby hillock. The next day, Italian war correspondents were brought to the scene and told that the Polish cavalry had charged German tanks.

It was in this way that arguably the most enduring myth of World War II was born. To this day, the notion that Polish cavalry charged German armored vehicles with Quixote-like naivete continues to be cited as historical fact, even among academics. In truth, while Polish strategists in 1939 may have overestimated the value of their cavalry, they duly recognized its growing obsolescence in modern warfare and sought to adjust its tactics and armaments accordingly. Contrary to pop-

While Polish military strategists may have overestimated the value of their cavalry, they duly recognized its growing obsolescence in modern warfare and sought to adjust its tactics and armaments accordingly.

Polish cavalry are shown on maneuvers in the 1930s.

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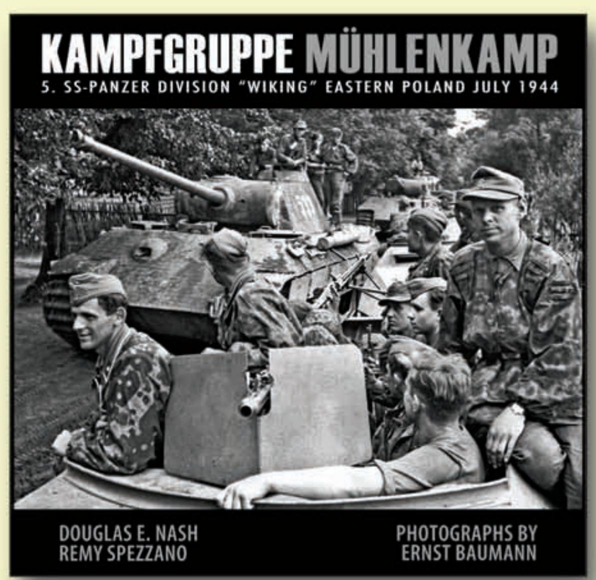

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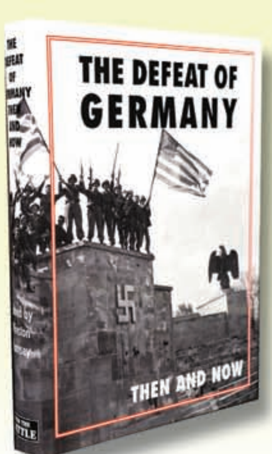

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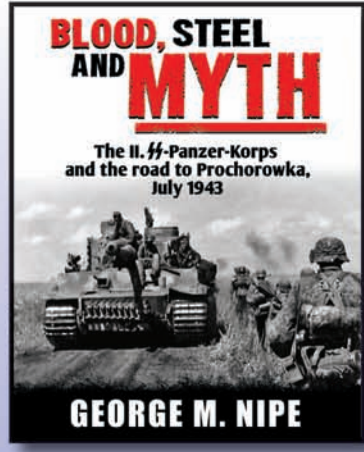

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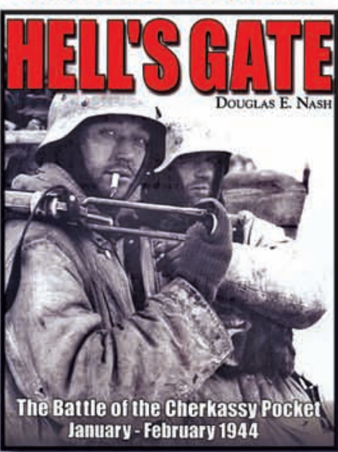

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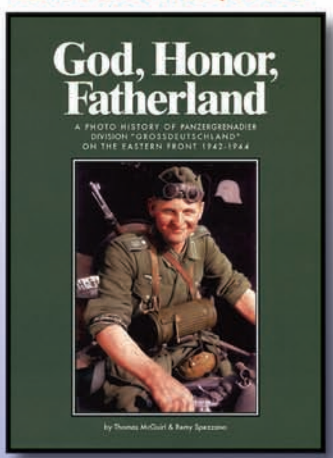

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ular belief, the Polish cavalryman at the dawn of World War II was not the lance-wielding anachronism depicted in German propaganda, but a well-trained and highly motivated elite mobile infantryman. An examination of the cavalry's combat record during the 1939 invasion of Poland, also known as the September Campaign, proves that, when deployed correctly and properly supported, the Polish horseman was still a force to be reckoned with, even in the face of insurmountable odds.

From King John Sobieski's legendary Winged Hussars to the famed Polish Lancers of Napoleon's Imperial Guard, cavalry has always played a defining role in the annals of Polish military history, not least of which was the repulsion of the Bolshevik invaders during the Russo-Polish War of 1919-1921. In that conflict, both sides relied almost exclusively on cavalry for reconnaissance, maneuverability, and transportation. Though armored vehicles were employed, frequent breakdowns and a lack of petrol limited their effectiveness. Instead it was the cavalry that proved to be the deciding factor in many of the war's most decisive and celebrated engagements. In great clashes like the Battle of Komarow in 1920, widely cited as the greatest cavalry battle since the Napoleonic Wars, Polish Uhlans and Soviet Cossacks dueled with sword and lance while bombs, bullets, and planes whizzed overhead. In the end, Marshal Semyon Budyonny's 1st Soviet Cavalry Army proved no match for the élan of the Polish horsemen, who were largely credited in the popular imagination of a grateful nation with having restored Poland to the map of Europe.

Hence, while the cavalry finished the war wreathed in laurels, the armored units had earned in the minds of many Polish officers a lasting reputation for unreliability. During the interwar years, as these officers rose to the Army's top ranks, many continued to cling to a misguided confidence in the continued value of horse and rider. In the war against the Bolsheviks, ingenuity and improvisation had allowed the cavalry to play a crucial role in conjunction with modern technology. Why would the same not be true for coming wars? They further pointed to the fact that along the Eastern borderlands, where communication was severely hampered by dense forest and vast wetlands, the cavalry was virtually the only way to maintain order and patrol against the ever-present threat of a Soviet invasion. Also worth considering was the influence of the aging Marshal Jozef Pilsudski, Poland's de facto dictator and the "founder and father of the Polish Army." Concerted reform was impossible without his consent, which became more difficult to ascertain as his health declined and he withdrew from public life.

National Archives

During the week-long Bzura Offensive in September 1939, the Wielkopolska and Podolska Brigades led a counterattack against the German 8th Army that managed to divert its drive on Warsaw and recapture a number of key towns and villages.

Moreover, for a desperately poor country with a weak industrial base and shoddy rail and road network, Poland's four million horses proved a realistic way to provide the army with mobility. Although Poland devoted almost one third of its gross national product to the military, defense spending during the years 1935 to 1939 amounted to just one-thirtieth that of Germany's. As late as 1937, there were only 6,000 trucks in the whole of Poland that the army could draw on for transportation. As a result, the cash-strapped military was forced to adopt what one Polish historian has bluntly described as a "Doctrine of Poverty," meaning it was constantly forced to look for ways to improvise modern methods with outdated means. The reliance on the cavalry to fulfill the role of modern mechanized units is the exemplification of this "doctrine." In his memoirs, Lt. Col. Klemens Rudnicki, who commanded the 9th Lancers in 1939 and would go on to command the 1st Polish Armored Division in the West, wrote, "The material and industrial possibilities in Poland precluded any hope for a rapid change in armament."

That is not to say that the Polish Army and its cavalry arm remained totally unchanged between the Russo-Polish War and World War II. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, a slew of new tactical directives, coupled with profound changes in weaponry, transformed the cavalry into a highly versatile mobile infantry that shirked swashbuckling charges in favor of dismounted engagement. Indeed, Mastalerz's charge at Krojanty was the exception rather than the rule as 90 percent of cavalry actions during the September Campaign were fought on foot. During this time the lance, long out of use except on parade and training grounds, was officially dropped as a weapon, and in 1933 the cavalry began receiving specific instruction in antitank defense.

Reforms were accelerated following Pilsudski's death in 1935, by which point both the German and Soviet armies were mechanizing at a pace Poland could not hope to match. A specially formed commission determined that the country's armed forces were at a World War I military level and recommended, among other measures, the mechanization of four cavalry brigades by 1942. In the meantime, a 1937 "Directive on Combat between Cavalry and Armored Units" was issued to further instruct the cavalry on the doctrines of antitank defense. The directive discussed using rough terrain to set up ambushes and the use of modern tank-destroying methods such as antitank guns, antitank ammunition for rifles, and machine guns and artillery support. Although the Poles clearly recognized that tanks were a permanent fixture on modern battlefields, like many Western strategists they believed that armored units would primarily serve an infantry support role and badly underestimated their speed, strength, and maneuverability. This underestimation showed during a 1937 field exercise involving the Nowogrodzka Cavalry Brigade. Its commanding officer, Brig. Gen. Władysław Anders, future commander of the Polish II Corps in Italy, noted his horsemen's unpreparedness when confronted by tanks. His concerns would prove fully justified in the coming campaign.

The result of these reforms was that by 1939 the Polish cavalry was an eclectic blend of old and new tradition, tactics, and armament. Its 11 brigades totaling 70,000 men, constituted 10 percent of the army's total strength and were considered to be the elite of the Polish interwar military. Each brigade, the strongest of which numbered just over 7,000 men, contained three to four regiments that were each further divided into four squadrons. Although by the start of the war only one brigade had been fully mechanized, the remaining 10 were each assigned a squadron of 13 TKS Tankettes and seven Model 1934 armored cars, both armed with machine guns. Each brigade also received a complement of up to 78 "Ur" Model 7.92mm antitank rifles and 18 antitank guns, the best of which were the Bofors 37mm. The former was a close-kept national secret that fired an innovative tungsten-carbide-cored bullet capable of penetrating most armor at a distance of 250 meters. The latter was one of the best antitank guns of its size and capable of knocking out any German tank during the September Campaign. Each brigade also boasted a horse artillery troop armed with up to 16 75mm field guns. These guns were generally old, rechambered Russian pieces that proved surprisingly effective against tanks, mainly due to the superior quality of their crews.

Each cavalry trooper rode into battle armed with a heavy array of equipment that included a saber, M1929 Mauser carbine, bayonet, gas mask, ammunition belt, feedbag, and entrenching tool. On paper, a cavalry brigade possessed the same firepower as an infantry battalion. In practice, however, the cavalry's firepower was less due to many men being withdrawn from the firing line to serve as horse handlers. All regiments took immense pride in the quality of their mounts and their constant upkeep was the main reason why the cavalry arm absorbed almost 60 percent of the national defense budget (much to the resentment of the military's other branches). Although the horses were very well trained, the demands of the September Campaign would critically expose how out of place they were on a modern battlefield. While a horse may not require petrol or mechanical upkeep, it does need to be fed, watered, groomed, shod, rested, and treated when sick or wounded. A horse scares in combat, cannot be repaired or cannibalized for spare parts when destroyed, and is particularly vulnerable to air attack. During the campaign's final days, Rudnicki lamented how his regiment's mounts had been reduced to "saddled skeletons" that when killed were quickly hacked apart for meat by the starving Polish populace.

The Polish high command envisioned its cavalry acting as a mobile strike force that could be used to exploit gaps in the enemy line, determine enemy positions, and set up ambushes and flanking attacks. Yet, paradoxically, when the war began the cavalry found itself placed in a static defensive position in the initial line of defense where it had little room or time to maneuver. This was because Polish defensive strategy, codenamed Plan Z, called for the bulk of its forces to meet the German attack head on at the frontier. The Poles had no illusions about being able to stave off an invasion for very long and instead hoped to buy as much time as they could until the French and British could mount an invasion of Germany from the West. At the same time, however, they were determined to surrender as little of their new republic's hard-won territory as possible, particularly from the industrialized Silesian regions in the southwest. As the Germans pressed harder, the Poles hoped to withdraw in good order toward the center of the country where the Vistula River and its tributaries offered natural defense barriers. Polish interwar intelligence was very good (Polish cryptologists broke the German Enigma codes in the early 1930s) and Plan Z correctly estimated that the main German drive would come from the

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southwest. What they badly miscalculated was the speed and the strength of the German blitzkrieg, the devastation wrought by the Luftwaffe, and the willingness of their allies to come to Poland's aid.

Although at the dawn of World War II the Polish cavalry was one of the largest in the world and certainly the last to constitute an independent military arm, it should be noted that virtually every other combatant country entered the war with a cavalry force of its own. Germany, perhaps the country most associated with mechanization during this period, actually expanded its use of cavalry during the conflict and, at the start of 1945, had three active cavalry corps in the field. The Soviet cavalry made up a crucial component of Stalin's forces right up until the fall of Berlin, and by war's end it boasted 100,000 men on horseback. Nor were prewar foreign observers universally critical of the Polish cavalry—indeed, many shared the Poles' continued confidence. Shortly before the war, U.S. Ambassador to Poland Joseph Drexel Biddle wrote to U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt that having seen how the Polish countryside becomes a morass in the seasonal rains, he could "more readily understand why the Polish military authorities have maintained an exceptionally large cavalry establishment." One British military adviser went so far as to openly praise the Polish cavalry to the *Daily Telegraph,* on the delusional basis that armored vehicles, unlike cavalry, could not fight at night. "The cavalry will raid them, surprise them," he wrote. "They will destroy them. They will destroy some, and break the morale of the rest."

National Archives

A Polish uhlan is shown with an antitank rifle, from a military manual published in 1938.

In the early morning on September 1, 1939, the aging German battleship *Schleswig-Holstein* opened fire on Polish positions in the port of Danzig to signal the start of the most technological war yet fought. From the west, south, and north, German troops poured across the Polish border supported by huge quantities of tanks, planes, and automobiles. The British and French had advised the Poles to slow their mobilization plans so as not to antagonize German Führer Adolf Hitler. The result was that at the start of hostilities a large percentage of Polish troops were still in the process of mobilizing and many units were badly understrength. Because the cavalry's training year ended in September, most of the brigades were fully operational and their presence was immediately felt in the first hours of fighting. South of Danzig, in the so-called Polish Corridor, the action at Krojanty was just one of a series of engagements fought between the Pomorska Brigade and the German 2nd and 20th Motorized Infantry Divisions. So spirited was the cavalry's defense that by day's end the 2nd Motorized Infantry Division was forced to notify its corps commander, Generaloberst Heinz Guderian, that it was withdrawing. "I was speechless for a moment," Guderian wrote in his memoirs. "When I regained the use of my voice, I asked the divisional commander if he had ever heard of Pomeranian grenadiers being broken by hostile cavalry." The next day he made a point of visiting the division and personally directed the next attack.

Farther to the south, near the Silesian village of Mokra, the Wolynska Brigade found itself defending a 10-kilometer front against the head-on attack of the 4th Panzer Division. Despite being outnumbered by more than two to one and severely outgunned, the brigade managed to repulse repeated German attacks. The brigade's commander, Colonel Julian Filipowicz, employed his Bofors guns to such deadly effect that by day's end the burning steel carcasses of more than 50 enemy armored vehicles littered the field. Surely more would have been destroyed had the brigade not been forced to retreat due to breakthroughs on its flanks. On the night of September 3, Filipowicz achieved another notable success against the German armored columns when he launched a successful raid on the supply lines of the 1st Panzer Division near the village of Kamiensk.

In the north, along the East Prussian frontier, the Polish Mazowiecka Brigade clashed with the German 1st Cavalry Brigade in one of the war's few cavalry versus cavalry actions. Though most of the fighting was dismounted, there were incidents of Poles and Germans dueling on horseback in the Masurian forests just as they had more than 500 years earlier in the days of the Teutonic Knights. Farther east along the same front, the Podlaska Brigade became the first Allied unit to actually invade Germany when it launched a successful cross-border raid into East Prussia that terrified the local Landwehr, overran a number of bunkers, and netted a sizable amount of prisoners and equipment. Though the brigade was soon forced to retreat back across the border without having achieved any real strategic objective, news of the raid was broadcast across the country and provided a much-needed boost to national morale.

These limited successes, while certainly inspiring, did little to alter the course of the campaign. Within days of the invasion, the

entire Polish Army was in full retreat toward Warsaw with the German panzers on its tail and the Luftwaffe wreaking havoc from the air. Still, even in these darkening days, there are numerous examples of the cavalry units displaying incredible professionalism and resolve, despite suffering casualty rates as high in some cases as 60 percent. During the week-long Bzura Offensive, the Wielkopolska and Podolska Brigades led a counterattack against the German 8th Army that managed to divert its drive on Warsaw and recapture a number of key towns and villages. In the south, Major Henryk Dobrzanski of the 110th Uhlans ignored orders to surrender and instead disappeared into the forests around Kielce to wage a successful partisan campaign under the code name Hubal. Anders' bedraggled horsemen made a point of singing defiantly as they rode their emaciated mounts through throngs of fleeing refugees, and in besieged Warsaw, Rudnicki had to coax some of his officers out of leading suicidal final sorties to preserve the honor of their regiments. "The Polish cavalry attacked heroically; in general the bravery and heroism of the Polish Army merits great respect," wrote Generalfeldmarschall Gerd von Rundstedt, commander of Army Group South. Generalmajor Kurt Meyer of the Waffen SS agreed, adding, "It would not be fair on our part to deny the bravery of the Polish forces. The battles along the Bzura were fought with great ferocity and courage."

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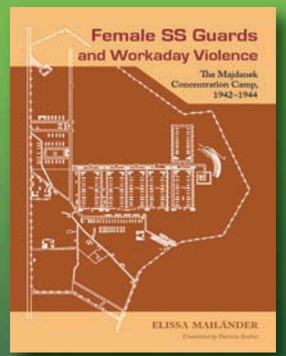
Polish cavalry operates in rough terrain against German forces. Not surprisingly, elite Polish cavalry units were among the last to surrender to the Germans in October 1939.

Not surprisingly, cavalry units fighting near Lublin were among the final Polish troops to surrender on October 6. By this point the Soviets had invaded from the east, Warsaw was in German hands, and Poland had once again vanished from the map of Europe. With it disappeared the timeless tradition of the Polish cavalryman. □



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Elissa Mailänder, translated by Patricia Szobar

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French Admiral François Joseph de Grasse unfairly blamed squadron commander Louis Antoine de Bougainville for the French defeat at the Battle of the Saintes in April 1782. RIGHT: Bougainville.

How a Chicago Doctor Shook Up the Hearing Aid Industry with his Newest Invention

New nearly invisible digital hearing aid breaks price barrier in affordability

Reported by J. Page

Chicago: Board-certified Ear, Nose, and Throat physician Dr. S. Cherukuri has done it once again with his newest invention of a medical-grade, all-digital AFFORDABLE hearing aid.

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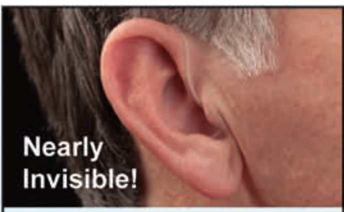

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Official relations between the governments of France and Great Britain were unfortunately not so cordial, as the two powers were then locked in a de facto war in their North American possessions. Border tensions had degenerated to armed confrontation in 1754, and the conflict escalated until 1756, when war was officially declared and France deployed a fresh army to Canada under the command of Montcalm. Strongly recommended by his previous superiors, Bougainville was promoted to the rank of captain and assigned to Montcalm's staff.

The pair formed a close bond from the outset. Bougainville relieved his commander from such mundane tasks as correspondence and journal entries with such fidelity that Montcalm came to regard him as a son. "He is bright and witty," Montcalm informed his wife, "and makes things easier for me by correctly anticipating my wants.... I prize his varied talents highly."

Montcalm opened an offensive in August 1756 by besieging the vital British trade port of Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario. After two days of desultory action, Montcalm's batteries opened fire and Oswego's unfortunate commander was cut in half by solid shot from a 12-pounder. Chosen for his fluency in English, Bougainville advanced under a flag of truce to demand surrender, which was quickly proffered by a rattled garrison. It was, however, a victory that afforded tarnished laurels for the French officers. Subsequent to the surrender, French-allied tribesmen got out of hand and commenced tomahawking prisoners. Before the brutal melee ended, upward of 100 had been killed.

The senseless slaughter at Oswego disabused idealistic officers such as Bougainville of the notion that European sensibilities would be honored in the horrific combat conditions of the North American wilderness. The Indians were, at best, unreliable auxiliaries—Bougainville likened them to mosquitoes—yet they were an integral component of the French war effort. Tribal practices such as scalping, the torture of captives, and ritual cannibalism offered a "horrible spectacle to European eyes," wrote Bougainville, who at the same time acknowledged the Indians' skill as scouts and irregulars as "a necessary evil." Consequently, even reluctant officers such as Bougainville were expected the help maintain tribal alliances. A bemused Bougainville eventually attended a tribal feast where he performed an awkward dance and was welcomed by his Caughnawaga hosts.

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Despite the victory, Montcalm was obliged to fall back on Fort Carillon due to critical supply and manpower shortages. By July 1758, a massive British army of more than 12,000 troops arrived to find Montcalm's 3,500 men dug in behind extensive fortifications. The British commander, General James Abercromby, spurned the admonitions of his subordinates and threw his men headlong at the French lines. What resulted was nothing short of disaster; 1,900 English troops were felled, and Abercromby's battered army retired entirely demoralized. The French had likewise sustained considerable casualties amounting to 400 men. Among them was Bougainville, who had suffered a head wound inflicted by enemy musketry. "Never had a victory been more especially due to the finger of Providence," he said.

Such losses in manpower could be ill afforded, and in the face of a worsening supply crisis Bougainville was dispatched to France that autumn in the hope that personal pleas would impress on the government the desperate nature of the situation in Canada. Although Bougainville was feted as a hero and made a chevalier in the Order of St. Louis, his requests for greater material support of the war in North America largely fell on deaf ears. France was embroiled in a global conflict that taxed its resources to the limit, and affairs in Europe quite simply outweighed all other considerations.

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ing and immediately set his men in motion for Quebec. By the time he arrived before the city, it was too late. Wolfe had launched a daring night amphibious operation, brought up seven battalions, and crumpled Montcalm's hastily formed lines with several devastating volleys. Quebec was soon surrendered and Montcalm, Bougainville's beloved mentor, was mortally wounded.

With Quebec secure, the English slowly began tightening their stranglehold across the rest of Canada. Despite a bold, if brief, offensive in the spring of 1760, it was all but over for French arms. Bougainville and the rest of the army, reduced to just 10 hollow battalions, were maneuvered into the confines of Montreal and cut off by three converging English armies. On September 8, 1760, Canada was surrendered.

Bougainville returned to Europe where, under the terms of his parole, he was unable to participate in active military operations and saw limited service in France and Germany until officially exchanged in May 1762. However, Bougainville, ambitious as ever, had already seized upon a grand scheme then afloat in the French court for the colonization of the Falkland Islands. The Isles Malouines, as the French referred to them, proved a boondoggle.

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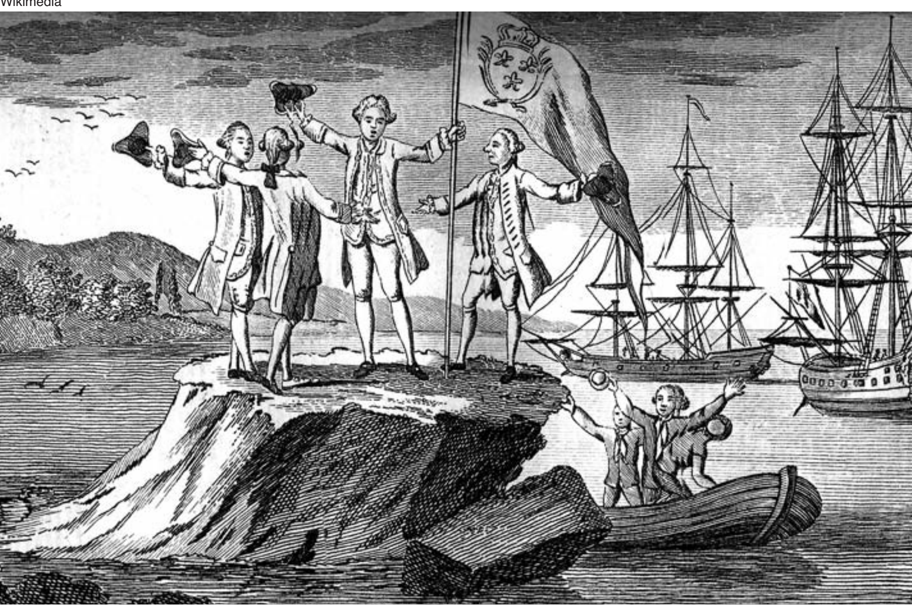

Though both Spain and England laid dubious claim to the uninhabited islands, Bougainville, who secured a transfer to the navy with the rank of captain, was authorized by Louis XV to undertake their colonization so long as the venture was backed by private funding. Bougainville succeeded in landing colonists on East Falkland in January 1764, but the following year a British colony appeared on West Falkland and the Spanish government grew restless at the prospect of two foreign settlements so near its own South American possessions.

Fear of alienating Spanish allies prompted French officials to abandon the project, and in April 1766 Bougainville met with Spanish envoys in Madrid to surrender French claims to the Malouines. For Bougainville, another venture suitable to his talents soon materialized.

"The Forts were so majestic on the way out, climbing up and circling, goin' east! Godspeed and be safe!"
- Sgt. M Johns

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French navigators had yet to circumnavigate the globe, and Bougainville advanced a plan to do just that. With royal funding, he was assigned the frigate *Boudeuse* and the supply ship *Etoile*. On November 15, 1766, Bougainville sailed from Nantes with truly monumental orders: "Proceed to the East Indies by crossing the South Seas between the tropics."

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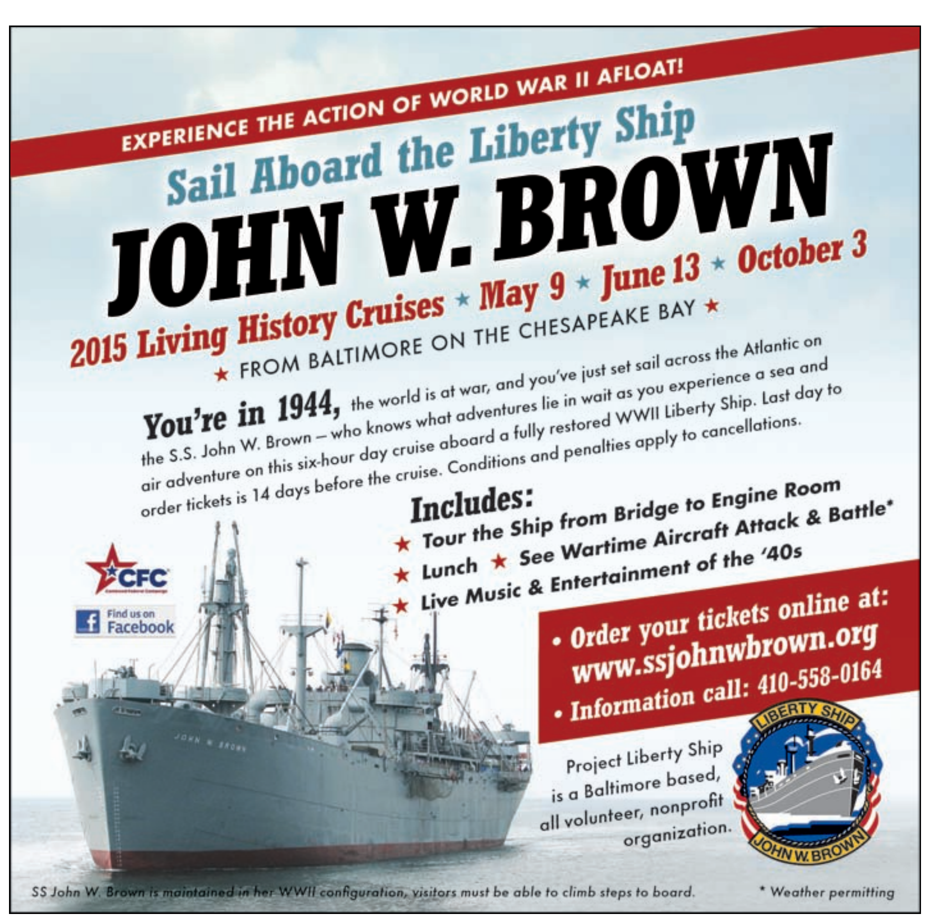

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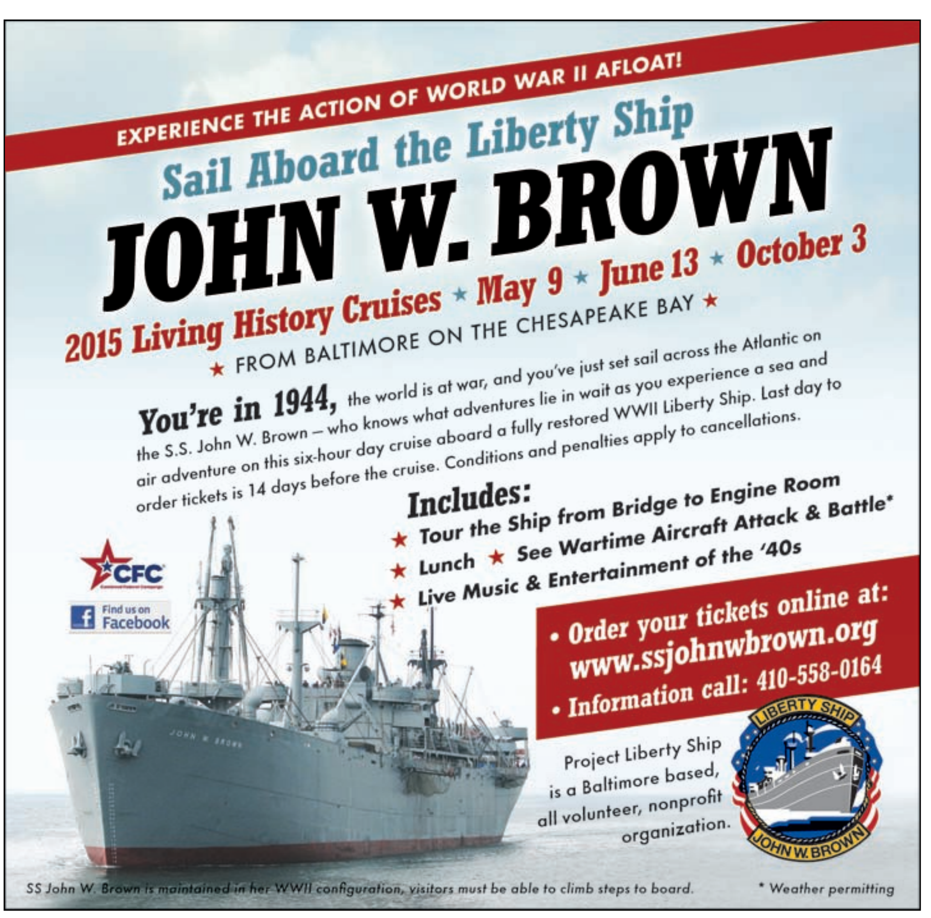

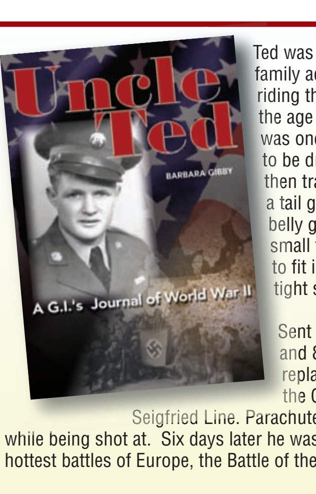

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Uncle Ted

by Barbara Gibby

By Peter Suciu

Commodore George Dewey's flagship *Olympia*, which has survived wars and the ravages of time, found a home in Philadelphia.

THE OLDEST STEEL WARSHIP AFLOAT HAS SURVIVED WARS, economic downturns, and even the harsh passage of time, but there was one battle that the USS *Olympia* (C-6), flagship of the American Asiatic Fleet during the Spanish-American War of 1898, almost was unable to win. The future of the ship remained very much in jeopardy for several years due to the rising costs of maintaining the protected cruiser.

Today the *Olympia* is at home at the Independence Seaport Museum on the Delaware River near downtown Philadelphia, where it has been since 1957. Interim repairs were made on the ship over the years, but following some mismanagement at the museum there was no money for a much needed full restoration. For a while, it looked like the once majestic vessel would meet a fate that no great warship deserves. She would be sunk and converted into an artificial reef.

The USS *Olympia* was launched in 1892 as part of the U.S. Navy's efforts to update its navy and to have a military presence in the Pacific Ocean. The *Olympia,* under Commodore George Dewey, steamed into Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, to engage the Spanish Navy at the start of the Spanish-American War. It was from the *Olympia*'s bridge that Dewey made his famous command to the ship's captain, "You may fire when you are ready, Gridely."

Time has not been kind to the once proud USS *Olympia*. Officials at the Independence Seaport Museum hope that one day the Spanish-American War-era vessel will receive comprehensive hull repairs.

Author's photo

Those words might never have been uttered, and the battle might not have occurred if not for U.S. interest in expanding its overseas trade and building an overseas empire. William Henry Seward, who had been secretary of state during the American Civil War and early Reconstruction, had proclamed that "the empire of the seas alone is real empire."

This was not to be another Seward's Folly, but rather a prophecy that would soon come to pass as America joined the European powers in looking to trade with a newly opened Asia, backing that effort with the 19th-century notion of gunboat diplomacy. To pull that off, however, required real gunboats, and the obsolescent American Civil War-era fleet of the 1860s was certainly no match for the modern British or French naval squadrons.

When President James A. Garfield took office in 1881, Secretary of the Navy William H. Hunt found that only 52 of the 140 vessels on the active list were in operational state. Of the operational vessels, only 17 were iron-hulled ships, and 14 of those were aging Civil War ironclads. Most military historians agree that at the time the United States would have been incapable of fighting a naval war with a European power and, for that matter, probably would have faced difficulties with many of the Latin American powers, such as Peru or Chile. If the United

A close-up view of a 127mm gun of the *Olympia*'s secondary armament.

States was to be a player in world trade, it needed a world-class navy.

In March 1883 the U.S. Congress appropriated $1.3 million for the construction of four new vessels—the *Atlanta, Boston, Chicago,* and *Dolphin*—known as the ABCDs. Unlike the Civil War ironclads, these were to be fabricated not from wood and iron but from steel. It truly would be a first-rate, modern navy.

The ABCD experiment was followed by the next step in naval modernization, which included the construction of the battleships *Texas* and *Maine* as well as six light, or protected, cruisers. These cruisers would feature an armored deck but still be able to maintain an impressive speed. Indeed, they would be faster than most warships of the day. Protected cruisers formed a new category that fell between the unprotected versions of the warships with no armor to those later stylized as armored cruisers, which were almost as heavily armored as true battleships of the era.

These efforts to modernize the U.S. Navy paid off. By 1889 the U.S. Navy ranked second only to Great Britain in terms of warships that could exceed 19-knot speeds while displacing 3,000 tons or more. The British had 10 ships with a total displacement of 56,000 tons, while America's eight ships displaced 32,010 tons. That exceeded the French Navy's five ships and 24,630 tons and notably Spain's three ships and 14,400 tons.

More importantly, this was a paradigm shift from the commerce-destroyer vessels used during the American Civil War to a fleet that had a true offensive spirit.

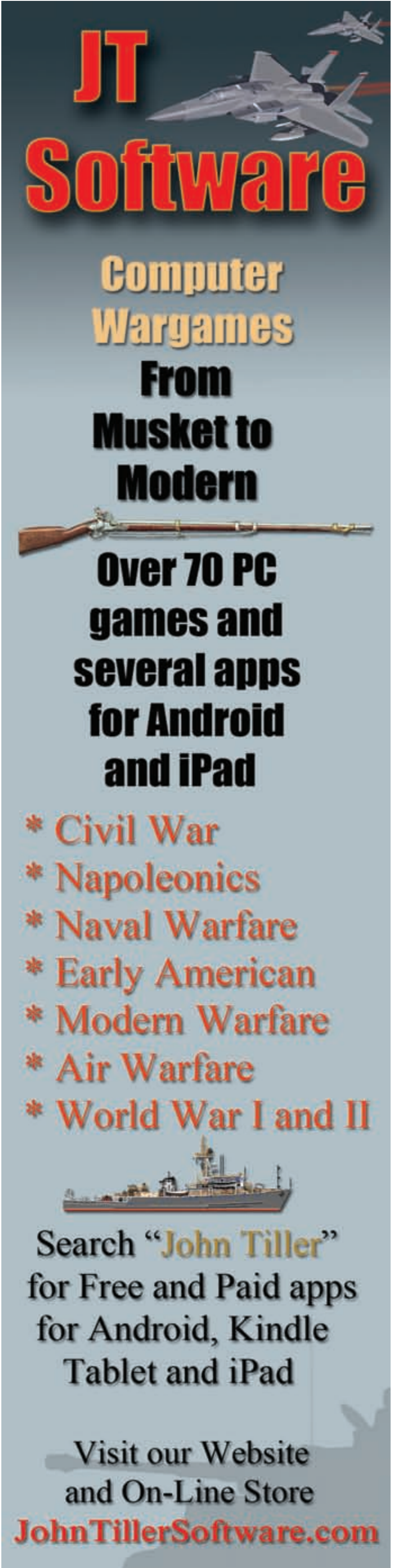
The *Olympia* began life as Cruiser Number 6, a 20-knot warship that was projected to cost no more than $1.8 million. The newly formed U.S. Board on the Design of Ships began the design process in 1889, and less than a year later the U.S. Navy solicited bids for the construction of the ship. Surprisingly, it found only a single bidder, the Union Iron Works in San Francisco. The *Olympia* remained the largest ship ever built on the West Coast of the United States until it was surpassed by the construction of the battleship USS *Oregon* a few years later.

The keel of Cruiser Number 6 was laid in June 1891, and the U.S. Navy launched the ship on November 5, 1892. While the primary construction occurred in San Francisco, the heavy armor plate was fabricated back east. The Navy tasked the Bethlehem Steel Company of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, with furnishing the steel. When the company had difficulties providing enough steel, Carnegie Steel Company stepped in to furnish the material for the ship's armor.

The U.S. Navy conducted sea trials in December 1891 in the Santa Barbara Channel. In February 1895, the ship was commissioned the USS *Olympia* and departed the Union Iron Works yard in San Francisco for the last time. It steamed for outfitting to the U.S. Navy's Mare Island Naval Shipyard at Vallejo, California.

The ship conducted its first gunnery practice in April 1895. Sadly, it was during this shakedown that a crew member was killed. Coxswain John Jonson lost his life in an accident while firing one of the 5-inch guns. Fortunately, it was not a portent of things to come.

In July 1895 the *Olympia* was assigned to replace the USS *Baltimore* as the flagship of the Asiatic Squadron, and it departed in August of



Author's photos

LEFT: Off-duty area for the ship's officers. CENTER: Typical officers' quarters on the *Olympia.* RIGHT: As they went into action in Manila Bay, Dewey allowed the crew to remove desks and cabinets because they might produce splinters as a result of a direct hit; however, he purposely chose not to have the wooden paneling removed.

that year for Chinese waters. However, due to an outbreak of cholera among the crew the ship was forced to remain in Hawaii until October, and did not arrive in Shanghai until November.

The *Olympia* spent three mostly peaceful years in the Far Eastern waters. During that time, the *Olympia* visited the ports of British Hong Kong and Kobe and Nagasaki in Japan. When two steamers collided and needed assistance, it performed humanitarian service at Woosung, China. The *Olympia* also went to Vladivostok, Russia, for a celebration of Czar Nicholas II's coronation. During this time the crew's baseball team played against a Japanese team, with the Americans coming out on top.

On January 3, 1898, Commodore George Dewey raised his flag on the *Olympia* and assumed command of the U.S. Navy's Asiatic Squadron. Dewey, along with the newly assigned Captain Charles Vernon Gridley, were about to sail into history.

Tensions had been simmering between the United States and Spain for nearly a decade over the latter's rule of Cuba, which sought independence from the mother country. The USS *Maine,* which had been sent to Havana, Cuba, by President William McKinley to ensure the safety of American citizens and interests, suffered a sudden and massive explosion on February 15, 1898. While McKinley tried to preach patience, especially as the cause of the explosion was not known and there was no evidence of an attack, the news of the event stirred popular opinion, and by the end of April the United States was at war with Spain.

The *Olympia* had been in Hong Kong preparing for action and following the declaration of war the Asiatic Squadron was ordered to Manila. Dewey was given the order to sink or capture the Spanish fleet and open the way for a subsequent invasion by American forces.

Dewey, in command aboard the *Olympia,* steamed into Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, to face the Spanish flotilla commanded by Rear Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón. Montojo had anchored his ships close to the shore and under the protection of coastal artillery. However, the shore batteries along with the fleet were to prove no match for Dewey's squadron.

Dewey must have felt confident. While desks and cabinets were removed from the ship, as they might produce splinters and endanger the crew should it take a direct hit, the commodore opted not to have the fine wooden paneling inside the ship removed. The ornate panels were part of the ship's character and thus were spared.

While largely considered a one-sided affair, especially as the Spanish gunners were unprepared for action, the shooting from both sides could at best be considered rather poor. At one point Dewey withdrew when it was erroneously reported that the ship was running low on 5-pound shells. When it was discovered that the ship's ordnance supplies were high, the attack continued. By early afternoon Dewey had virtually destroyed Montojo's squadron along with the shore batteries, while the American ships took little damage. In total some 160 Spanish sailors died, while just a single American sailor lost his life during the battle. That casualty reportedly was due to sunstroke.

With the ships of Montojo's fleet either sunk or burning, Dewey anchored his squadron in the bay and accepted the surrender of Manila. The news of the successful attack soon spread around the world. Dewey and the *Olympia* would forever be linked to the attack, which was the first major victory for the American forces in the war, and the first victory for the U.S. Navy against a foreign power in decades.

The *Olympia* supported the U.S. Army's subsequent invasion of the Philippines before it returned to China in May 1899. Despite its success in battle, the ship was recalled to the United States soon after and headed home via the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean Sea. The ship reached Boston in October 1899 and a month later was decommissioned and placed in reserve. Her career had been colorful yet short lived.

The *Olympia*'s first retirement also was short lived, and the ship returned to duty in January 1902 when it was assigned to the North Atlantic Squadron and served as the flagship of the Caribbean Division. It took part in the U.S. intervention in Honduras in the spring of 1903, became a training ship for naval cadets from the U.S. Naval Academ in 1906, and later served as a barracks ship.

During World War I, the *Olympia* served as the flagship of the U.S. Patrol Force, and later carried an expeditionary force bound for Russia during the Russian Civil War. The ship arrived in Murmansk, Russia, and helped deploy the peacekeeping force and then assisted in the occupation of Archangel.

Despite her primary role as a warship, the *Olympia* carried out other duties. At the end of World War I, the ship traveled to the Black Sea to aid in the return of refugees from the Balkans, and in 1921 brought home the remains of the Unknown Soldier for interment in Arlington National Cemetery.

The ship was decommissioned for the last time in Philadelphia in 1922 and placed on reserve. This time she would not be called back to duty.

Although the *Olympia* was never to sail again as a warship, she survived the passage of time and was released to the Cruiser Olympia Association in 1957. At that point, she was returned to her original 1898 configuration, complete with beautiful wood paneling that had not been removed before the Battle of Manila Bay.

Since 1957 the ship has been part of the Inde-

pendence Seaport Museum at Penn's Landing in Philadelphia. With this transfer, the *Olympia* became the sole survivor of the U.S naval shipbuilding program from the 1880s and 1890s and the only surviving pre-dreadnaught protected cruiser in the world.

While the move to Independence Seaport Museum was in part because of the close proximity to the Philadelphia Naval Yard, it should be noted that the *Olympia* also had a strong connection to Pennsylvania as that is where its armor plating was produced.

Over the years members of the Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps from Villanova University and the University of Pennsylvania have acted as a maintenance crew, but time has not been kind to the once proud warship. It needed more than the midshipmen could provide. The last survivor of the U.S. Navy's Spanish-American War fleet, the ship had been in serious need of much more major repairs in recent years. The steel-hulled ship has been in the water continuously since 1945. During that time there have been leaks in the hull, many of which have put the future of the ship in jeopardy.

In February 2010, museum officials announced that the *Olympia* needed $10 to $20 million for repairs to her hull to prevent her from sinking. When it was determined that the museum might not be able to support the efforts to save her, plans were even considered to scuttle the ship and make her into an artificial reef. However, public outcry helped save the *Olympia.*

The Seaport Museum held a preservation summit in March 2011 and announced that qualified interested organizations could apply for stewardship of the *Olympia* through a transfer application process vetted by a review panel of historic ship and preservation experts. By 2014, though, the museum reversed course and decided it would retain the ship and look to efforts to have her restored.

Various groups have stepped up to help raise the money, and interim efforts have been made to keep the ship open to the public while long-term plans are discussed.

"It didn't look good, but thanks to an outpouring of support the ship was saved," said Jesse Lebovics, director of historic ships at the Independence Seaport Museum. "Because of this the museum has taken a much closer look at our metrics, and we've seen that people really do want to save the *Olympia*."

In 2014 the museum began a series of interim steps to preserve the ship while efforts for a major refit could be determined. Of course, Mother Nature has not helped matters in recent years. Both Hurricane Sandy in 2012 and the extreme weather in the winter of 2013-2014 put added stress on the vessel.

"The winter was brutal and the ship got a bit beat up, but we're far from the sea, however," added Lebovics. "The water that *Olympia* sits in is fresh."

So far the interim efforts have the *Olympia* looking better than she has in years, while new monitors and sensors can alert the museum's staff to potential dangers including breaches in the hull. A cofferdam was also instituted to help pump the water out from some particularly weak sections of the hull and allow it to be dried and repaired.

"There are also temporary patches where the hull is a little weak," said Lebovics. "All that said, these efforts are really just an interim measure until the money can be found."

When that money arrives, the museum might have to temporarily part with the ship if it requires major repairs. Like most ships, it would have to go to a dry dock where the hull can be properly repaired. Although Lebovics said he would like to do the repairs in a way that would allow the ship to remain open, the best solution would be for it to be completely closed to ensure that future generations also can enjoy the *Olympia*.

Fortunately, there are two dry dock facilities just 2½ miles from its present location. Both shipyards have expressed an interest in repairing the ship.

Those efforts still will have to wait until the money is raised, though.

"We're doing the studying," said Lebovics. "When you have a problem you can't afford to fix, you study it." He likened the process to fixing a house that needs a new roof and a new basement. Once repairs of this magnitude are completed, the ship will be good for another 25 years, he said.

"The truth is that you're never completely done with an old ship," said Lebovics. "It is very much like saying, 'This is the last roof I'll put on my house.' Even when the *Olympia* is restored it will still need work."

It is hoped the money can be raised and the work done. The *Olympia* has been a major part of Philadelphia tourism for more than half a century. Along with the World War II submarine USS *Becuna* (SS-319), the *Olympia* remains a major draw for the Independence Seaport Museum.

Since October 2000 the Spanish-American War flagship has had a good neighbor across the Delaware River where the World War II flagship USS *New Jersey* (BB-62) was opened as the Battleship New Jersey Museum and Memorial in Camden, New Jersey. The area is a great destination for naval history buffs. □

FURIOUS CHARGE AGAINST THE MALAKOFF

The key to the Russian defenses of Sevastopol during the Crimean War could only be taken by a suicide charge of determined infantry armed with the bayonet. Enter the French Zouaves.

BY CHARLES HILBERT

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE of Sultan Abd al-Majid I was in decline. Less than 200 years before, it had reached its high water mark in 1683 when Ottoman armies surrounded the walls of Vienna, only to be beaten back by the forces of Jan Sobieski, King of Poland, and Leopold I, Holy Roman Emperor, who were bankrolled by Pope Innocent XI and the Holy League. It was the turn of the tide for the Ottomans: by the end of the war, 16 years later, they had lost Hungary and Transylvania. More losses were to follow.

Over the course of the next century, the Hapsburgs and Empress Catherine the Great of Russia pushed the Ottomans out of the Balkans, nearly to the gates of Constantinople. With the assistance of Britain, France, and Russia, the Greeks won their independence in 1832. This was shortly followed by the revolt of Muhammad Ali, governor of Egypt, and his son Ibrahim Pasha. The revolt forced the sultan, whose father Mahmud II had, after repeated rebellions of the Janissaries, destroyed those elite troops, to ask for assistance from his former enemies, Britain and Czar Nicolas I of Russia. With their aid, Ibrahim Pasha was confined to Egypt, where Abd al-Majid then ruled in name only.

The obvious military weakness and political instability of the Ottoman Empire prompted the czar to liken the empire to a dying man, the disposition of whose possessions arrangements would soon have to be made. When the empire went to pieces, the czar wanted to be there to pick some of them up, especially any part that could fulfill the dream of every Russian potentate: a warm-water, all-weather port with access to the Mediterranean Sea, in this case, Constantinople or, as it came to be called, Istanbul.

Of course, the French did not like the idea of Russian ships sailing around the Mediterranean and possibly interfering with their North African trade, and the British were not thrilled at the thought of Russians in Turkey, which would put them a little too close to India, where they might interfere with Britain's lucrative subcontinental exploitation. Like a gathering of vultures, the great powers of Europe were poised to go to war over the spoils of the moribund Turkish Empire. They just needed a catalyst to set things off, and a few bellicose monks in Palestine would provide it.

Sacred ground for the three great monotheistic religions, Jerusalem in the mid-19th century was still under Ottoman control. Some 10 kilometers south, in Bethlehem, the Church of the Nativity was supposed to have been built over the manger where Jesus Christ was born. Turkish soldiers outside the building provided security for pilgrims visiting the church. Inside was another matter. Roman Catholic monks were supposed to share the church with their Greek Orthodox opposites, but the Greeks had the key to the front door, and in 1847 they removed a star that had been placed by the Catholics over the spot that they supposed had once been occupied by Jesus' manger. The subsequent argument regarding the return of the star led to blows with candlestick and crucifix. By 1852, the Catholics had managed to get their hands on the keys to the front door, and they replaced the star, not without violent objection from some Orthodox monks, several of whom were killed.

The Greek Orthodox Church turned to Czar Nicolas for support and gave him the opportunity for which he had been waiting. In early March 1853, he sent Prince Aleksandr Sergeyevich Menschikov to demand that the keys be returned and that the czar be made protector of all Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire. Menschikov was a wise choice if the czar meant to provoke war. The prince hated the Turks: at the siege of Varna in 1828, during the Russo-Turkish war, he had received a particularly painful and life-altering wound to his genitals. By the end of May, Menshikov had achieved nothing diplomatically beyond subtly insulting the Turks at every opportunity and getting the keys back. He gave the Turks eight days to proclaim Nicolas I protector of the sultan's 12 million Orthodox subjects or face a Russian invasion of Moldavia and Wallachia.

On June 8, a British fleet steamed toward the Dardanelles. On July 3, the Russians crossed into Moldavia and Wallachia. In August, British and French diplomats convinced the czar to soften his demands, but this time the sultan, who expected the British to back him as they had aided his father in the nominal retention of Egypt, issued his own ultimatum on October 4, giving the Russians two weeks to withdraw from Moldavia and Wallachia. They did not, and the Turks crossed the Danube on October 28. Two days later, the British fleet entered the Bosphorus. Three days after that, during fierce fighting in which both sides rou-

AKG Images / Joseph Martin

French forces raise the Tricolor over the captured Malakoff redoubt. French General Patrice MacMahon handled his Zouaves well in the Allied victory that constituted the climax of the Crimean War.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

ABOVE: In a short but vicious clash at Alma that occurred one year before Malakoff, British infantry suffered heavy casualties in frontal assaults against strong Russian defensive positions. BELOW: Allied commanders (left to right) British General Fitz Roy Somerset, 1st Baron Raglan; Turkish Ottoman General Omar Pasha; and French General Aimable Jean Jacques Pelissier. OPPOSITE: Russian forces (green) defend the southern approaches to Sevastopol from advancing French forces (blue) on the flanks and British forces (red) in the center. The French forces on the right were tasked with capturing the giant Malakoff redoubt.

Library of Congress

tinely bayoneted enemy wounded, the Turks, under Omar Pasha, captured the town of Oltenitza as a prelude to cutting the Russian line of communication by taking Belgrade. However, expecting Russian reinforcements to arrive at any time, Omar Pasha abandoned his attempt on Belgrade and withdrew across the Danube by November 15. He was then put in charge of a convoy of ships taking supplies to the Ottoman army, which held the upper hand in Georgia.

Admiral Pavel Nakhimov was ordered to cut the Ottoman lines of communication and supply. He came upon the Turkish fleet as it entered the harbor at Sinope on November 23. Reinforced on November 30, he attacked. The Russian guns outranged the those of the Turks, and their exploding shells ripped Omar Pasha's fleet to splinters. As the Russian ships moved closer, they changed to grapeshot: like giant shotgun shells, antipersonnel weapons that delivered multiple projectiles tore through the Turkish sailors. Only one Turkish steamship survived and made it to Constantinople.

The czar was happy, but the British and French were not. The British press called it a massacre, but the British government made no overt moves. The Turks were actually winning the ground war, and the British and French fleets, even more modern than the Russian, had nothing to fear from Nakhimov. In early January 1854, the Allied fleet entered the Black Sea. By the end of February, British public opinion, as well as government policy, led to an ultimatum ordering the czar to vacate Moldavia and Wallachia. In the event of what might now have seemed inevitable war, the British and French high commands targeted Sevastopol, the base of the Russian Black Sea Fleet, for destruction.

Although no formal declaration of war against Russia was announced by Britain and France until March 28, 1854, both nations already had troop ships sailing east. On their way to Varna on the Black Sea coast of what is now Bulgaria, a site chosen for its equal proximity to Istanbul and Sevastopol, the French and British stopped at Gallipoli on April 5. It was here that the uniquely accoutered Highlanders met and became fast friends with their equally flamboyant comrades-in-arms, the French Zouaves.

Dressed in short blue jackets, baggy red trousers, a blue sash, white leggings, and a white turbaned red fez, they were the cultural and martial descendants of the Zouaoua, a North African tribe that had first fought for the French in 1830. By 1854, after reorganization by Napoleon III, the ranks of the Zouaves were composed of Frenchmen and divided into three regiments.

In command of Britain's 26,000 men was 65-year-old FitzRoy James Henry Somerset, 1st Baron Raglan. He had a long military career that stretched back to the Peninsular War. In that conflict, he initially served as an aide-de-camp for Field Marshal Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington. He had been wounded at the Battle of Bussaco in 1810 and was then appointed Wellington's secretary, which did not stop him from being first into the breach at Badajoz in 1812. He was with the Iron Duke at Waterloo, where a musket ball smashed his right arm. Following the amputation of this limb, he calmly asked for it back so that he could remove a ring

that his wife had given him.

Somerset continued his military career in administrative posts but would, more than once in the coming struggle, demonstrate a cool disregard for enemy fire. The British Army organization was indeed hopelessly confused, which led to problems in supply and medical treatment, but there was no braver man in the British Army than Somerset, who, although he might perhaps have lacked the all-encompassing, unique military genius of his former commander, cannot be blamed for the failures of either the commissariat or medical department.

The French were commanded by 53-year-old Armand-Jacques Leroy de Saint-Arnaud, Marshal of France. Before fighting in Algeria as a captain in the French Foreign Legion, Arnaud had been a mercenary, a fencing instructor, actor, singer, and violinist. Unlike his British counterpart, he had commanded an expeditionary force before, but by the time he was appointed to lead the French contingent against the Russians he was already dying of stomach cancer. Neither he nor Raglan would leave the Crimea alive.

On May 28 the Allies sailed for Varna, where both armies spent the summer subject to the ravages of cholera. By August 2, after several reverses in June and July, and with the Austrians mobilizing, the Russians had withdrawn from Moldavia and Wallachia. Allied demands had now been met, but Britain and France were taking no chances. What was to stop the Russians from renewing hostilities once the Allies had sailed back to Western Europe? Only the complete destruction of the Russian Black Sea fleet and the capture of Sevastopol could guarantee the safety of Istanbul and, incidentally, end the czar's ambition to be a naval power in the Mediterranean and in the Black Sea too, which from the point of view of British and French politicians would not be an undesirable consequence.

One month after the Russian withdrawal, the Allies sailed for the Crimea. Two weeks later, on September 14, they landed at Calamita Bay, 35 miles north of their intended target. Five days after that, under the watchful eyes of some ragged Cossacks, they began marching south, the British inland on the left and the French close to the sea on the army's right. They had already lost 7,000 men to cholera.

At the Bulganak River, the British skirmished with the Russians. But Menshikov had already decided to fight at the next river crossing. Drawn up on the heights south of the Alma River behind fortified positions, 35,000 Russian infantry, cavalry, and artillery awaited 60,000 British and French troops. Menshikov expected to hold the line of the Alma for at least three weeks.

On September 20, the guns of the fleet cleared the Russians from the high ground on their left as General Pierre Bosquet led the 2nd Division of Zouaves charging uphill, prompting St. Arnaud to remark, "My soldiers run; [the British] walk." But, as the French center, the 1st Division under Marshal François Canrobert, and left, the 3rd Division, under Prince Napoleon, cousin of the emperor, bogged down, the British did walk in two lines down the slopes to the Alma, through tangling vineyards, across the Alma, and up the opposite slopes toward the Russian redoubts, constantly under fire of round shot, exploding shells, and musket balls. It was there that the superiority of Allied firepower became apparent to both sides. The Russians, advancing in columns, 32 men across and 25 deep, were armed with smoothbore muskets and trained to use the bayonet. The British and French were equipped with rifles firing the conical minie bullet, 10 times as accurate as the Russian muskets.

About 2½ hours after the battle began, Raglan led his staff forward for a better view of the proceedings. They rode past French skirmishers to their right and stopped on a little hill in the no-man's land between the two armies. As projectiles of all kinds whipped past them, Raglan, looking to his left, noticed Russian artillery firing on the advancing British lines. "Now, if only we had a couple of guns here," he said. Ordering up some artillery, he enfiladed the Russian guns and forced them to withdraw. His first line had been repulsed from the Russian redoubts, but, with the Russian guns withdrawn, the second line, including the Highland Brigade, recaptured them, and Menshikov was forced to withdraw. The battle had lasted 90 minutes. Three days later, the Allies were on the march toward Sevastopol.

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

Built on the southwestern tip of the Crimean Peninsula, Sevastopol is divided by two great harbors, the larger of which opens onto the Black Sea to the west and extends six or seven miles eastward into the hinterland, being about a half mile wide. About a mile or so east of the harbor mouth, jutting south for slightly over a mile, is what was then called the Man of War Harbor. This was aptly named: Vice Admirals Vladimir Alexeyevich Kornilov and Nakhimov, the latter who had destroyed the Turkish fleet at Sinope, had, after hearing the news of the Russian defeat at the Alma, sunk seven large ships to block the entrance of the main harbor, stationing their remaining battleships in the Man of War Harbor. From there, the Russians could fire in all directions onto any hostile forces approaching from the land.

It was Lt. Col. Eduard Ivanovich Totleben, a Russian engineer officer, who had suggested sinking the ships to block the harbor, and then, having taken their guns, he began to create a U-shaped defensive perimeter around the southern part of Sevastopol. A continuous line of entrenchments linked several large, protected artillery positions. These were dominated on the east by the Great Redan and to the north by the Malakoff, a giant defensive work, fronted by a semicircular tower of white stone that was 28 feet high, 30 feet in diameter, and five feet thick. Five heavy guns were mounted at the top of the tower. Behind the tower were numerous transverse walls and secondary fortifications. There were other smaller bastions placed along the defensive line, and these works were sited so that they could support each other with artillery fire. The northern half of Sevastopol was protected by an old star-shaped fort and mostly contained warehouses and more fortifications. It was, of course, separated from the southern part of the city by the main harbor.

Taking the northern suburb of Sevastopol under the fire of the fort's 47 heavy guns would have been costly. It would have left the Allies with a half mile of water between them and the rest of the city south of the main harbor, and with their forces vulnerable to the guns of the Russian fleet stationed in the Man of War Harbor. They decided to march around the city and attack from the south. As the British and French marched south, Menshikov led his army out of the city heading east. Raglan, once again in front of his entire army, accompanied only by his staff, ran into the Russian rear guard. Ever bellicose, he ordered up some artillery and blasted the retreating Russians. His French counterpart, St. Arnaud, by then in the stages of advanced stomach cancer, appointed Canrobert commander of the French Army. Canrobert was a highly decorated combat veteran and had commanded a division of Zouaves at Alma, where he was wounded twice.

On September 26, the British took the harbor town of Balaklava, where they would land their supplies. The next day the French took Kamiesch to the west as their supply base. From these harbors the land rose to 3,000 feet and formed the Uplands, an eight-mile-square plateau devoid of trees. The British would hold the right of the U, the French the left. To the right of the British was the Tchernaya River, beyond which Menshikov awaited the opportunity for battle.

Pelissier called up his reserves and sent 20,000 French soldiers over the top. They pushed the Russians back, and retaking the Mamelon, once again charged headlong at the Malakoff. As before, they were unable to cross the ditch and were forced to retreat to the Mamelon.

As the armies made camp, Lt. Gen. Sir George Cathcart, who also had fought with Wellington and later in South Africa, urged an immediate attack on the southern defenses of Sevastopol. Canrobert declined, preferring to institute a textbook siege. Afterward, the Russians admitted that an immediate assault would probably have carried the city. As it was, the British and French settled down and began digging trenches and hauling their artillery up the heights.

The French held the left of the siege lines, with both their flanks protected. The French left flank was protected by the sea and the French right flank by the British, whose own right overlooked the Tchernaya River, beyond which was the Russian Army. Mounting a siege in the 19th century followed prescribed guidelines. First, artillery batteries would be emplaced, then trenches would be dug parallel to the enemy fortifications. From the parallels, saps would be extended in a zigzag manner, and from the ends of the saps new parallels would be dug until they were close enough to the enemy for the besiegers to mount an attack. By that time, the artillery would have created a breach through which the attack would take place. With the siege begun, Arnaud sailed for Istanbul. He died en route on September 29, 1854.

At 6:30 AM on October 17, the English and French opened fire on the defenses of Sevastopol with 125 guns. The Russians replied with 172 guns, mostly manned by sailors from the fleet. Some of the British guns were also manned by men of the Naval Brigade. With so many explosions, all happening at the same time as a continuous roar from all types of artillery, Sevastopol was soon shrouded in smoke. A half hour after the commencement of the barrage, an errant wind sprang up and revealed the top of the Malakoff shot away.

At 9 AM a Russian shell struck a French magazine, throwing debris and body parts into the air. The French fire slackened, and two hours later had stopped entirely. By 12:30 PM the French fleet had arrived and a half hour later was joined by the British fleet, which now exchanged fire with the Russian ships anchored in the Man of War Harbor. Although many Russian guns were destroyed in this savage artillery duel, the fire of the Russian batteries remained constant. Totleben had buried extra cannons near each emplacement; when a gun was destroyed, the surviving crews just dug up another one and manhandled it into place.

With the Malakoff destroyed and most of the guns in the Great Redan dismounted, the Allies had a good opportunity to assault the town. However, the French, with their artillery out of action, declined, fearing that enfilading fire would rip through their assault columns. As dusk fell, the firing lessened. The Russians had paid a heavy price, suffering 11,000 dead and wounded. Kornilov was among the killed, and Nakhimov was one of the wounded. A round shot had smashed the lower part of Kornilov's body as he and Nakhimov observed the battle from the Malakoff.

During the night the Russians repaired their damaged fortifications. On October 18 the British again opened fire, while the French repaired their works. The following day, the French joined the British. That night, the Russians again replaced every damaged gun and repaired every emplacement. The Allies realized that the siege would not be over quickly.

While the Allied and Russian siege guns were battling it out, Menshikov had been reinforced. He realized that if he could cut the British off from their base at Balaklava they would either have to retake it, with the Sevastopol garrison threatening their rear, or they would have to march to the French base at Kamiesch and disembark. Either way, it was a good bet that cutting the British supply line would end the siege. On October 25, he attacked and initiated the famous Battle of Balaklava, during which a "thin red streak," as reported by *Times* correspondent William Howard Russell, which would, years later, be metamorphosed into a "thin red line," of Highlanders repelled the Russian cavalry. The British Heavy Brigade further discomforted their more numerous opponents, and the Light Brigade executed its immortal but tactically unsound charge into history.

On the next day, two Russian columns attempted to turn the undermanned British right flank. Charging out of the city through the ravines that cut their way through Mount Inkerman, they were held up by the bayonets of

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British artillery is shown in action during the siege of Sevastopol. Constant shelling by large-caliber Allied siege guns was a decisive factor in the capture of the Black Sea port.

the British pickets and then shot to pieces by 18 guns firing grapeshot. This Battle of Little Inkerman convinced the British that their right was secure. It did not convince Menshikov.

On the morning of November 5, 35,000 Russians attacked the British right. In a confused series of small, desperate, hand-to-hand encounters, the battle lines swayed back and forth through the foggy canyons of Mount Inkerman. On the far right, at the head of his men, Cathcart was shot through the chest and fell dead from his horse. Things looked bad for the British when Bosquet led the Zouaves onto the field and drove back the Russians, accompanied by the beating of drums and the blaring of trumpets, which Raglan noted as "their infernal toot-tooting." The British commander had earlier ordered two 18-pounders forward. They now reached their position and, firing round shot, forced the Russian artillery to withdraw. Canrobert arrived with more French reinforcements, and, after shredding the Russian columns with minie fire, they, with whatever British units were still operable, drove the Russians from the field. The Russians had lost 11,000 men, including six generals; the British lost 2,357 of all ranks and 15 generals. The French suffered 786 dead and wounded.

With the British force now reduced to 16,000 effectives, the French assumed control of the far right of the siege lines. They now held both flanks, with the British in the center. Menshikov, realizing that his men could make no headway against the hail of minie bullets, decided to let the winter weather do what his shattered columns could not. He did not have to wait long. On November 14, one of the worst hurricanes ever to strike the Black Sea demolished a good part of the British navy, sinking 21 ships and most of the army's supplies.

Despite the efforts of Florence Nightingale, by the end of January 1855 more than 23,000 British soldiers had died or become too sick to report for duty. By springtime, the French, who were slightly better prepared for the cold, had lost more than 11,000 men. On January 17, the Russians attacked Eupatoria to the north of Sevastopol. They were slaughtered by the Turkish garrison. Czar Nicolas dismissed Menshikov. In February, the czar fell ill and died on March 2. He was succeeded by his son, Alexander II, who vowed to continue the fight.

By then, both sides had realized that the Malakoff was the key to Sevastopol. It lay before the French lines, with a small hill called the Mamelon 500 yards in front of it. Both sides decided to occupy this hill. The Russians got there first on February 22. The French assaulted the Mamelon that night but were driven back by heavy artillery fire from the Russian lines and the ships in the Man of War Harbor. To the left of the Mamelon, the Russians fortified another position known as the White Works.

By April 9 the Allies were ready to recommence the bombardment of Sevastopol. They did so with 501 guns and mortars. The Russians replied with 446 artillery pieces. The White Works were blown away by the French on the next day; the day after that they silenced the Mamelon. All the while, the Allies' parallels and artillery platforms were inching closer to the Russian defenses. The French, having an easier time of it because of the nature of the soil, were able to narrow the distance more than the British. The artillery duel lasted for 10 days.

In mid-May, Canrobert, at odds with Napoleon III, resigned his command. His replacement was General Aimable Jean Jacques Pelissier. Pelissier had mercilessly slaughtered Arabs in Algeria, and he was not afraid to attack, no matter what the cost. His first targets were the Mamelon and the White Works. For two days, the French bombarded these positions. About 6 PM on June 7, three rockets rose from the French positions, signaling the assault. The Zouaves were among 5,000 troops who leaped out of their forward parallel and charged up the slopes of the Mamelon, through a hellfire of musket balls, round shot, grapeshot, and exploding shells. Ten minutes later, 500 Zouaves lay dead, but the tricolore drapeau now fluttered over the Mamelon.

The Zouaves did not stop there. They surged forward toward the Malakoff, but, having no orders to attack the position, they were not equipped with scaling ladders and so were stopped by the ditch that lay before it. From the Malakoff the Russians poured down a murderous fire

ABOVE: Russian infantry organizes to defend a redoubt during an Allied assault. The French timed a general assault for noon on September 8, 1855, exactly when the Russians would be changing garrisons at the Malakoff. OPPOSITE: French Zouaves engage in hand-to-hand fighting with Russian defenders at the Malakoff redoubt in the final effort to capture the position. French attackers set fire to gabions to smoke out the last of the Russian defenders.

that forced the Zouaves back to the Mamelon; another assault drove the French back to their trenches. Pelissier called up his reserves and sent 20,000 French soldiers over the top. They pushed the Russians back, and retaking the Mamelon, once again charged headlong at the Malakoff. As before, they were unable to cross the ditch and were forced to retreat to the Mamelon. This time there was no Russian counterattack, and the French Tricolor remained fixed on the hill of the Mamelon. While the seesaw battle for the Mamelon was going on, the French also captured the White Works. They paid for their success with more than 5,000 casualties.

The British took the Quarries, a fortified position that put them closer to their next objective: the Great Redan. This was a giant earthwork built in the form of a V, the apex pointing at the British lines. To get to the redan, the British would have to cross 400 yards of no-man's land, somehow make their way through an abatis of tangled trees and branches four feet wide and five feet high, cross a ditch, and then charge 26 feet up the sides of the V, under fire from musket and cannon the entire way.

After a day-long bombardment on June 17, the guns of the Great Redan and Malakoff were silenced. The Russians worked through the night to remount them. Although a two-hour bombardment was planned to disable the remounted guns, Pelissier canceled it, and before dawn the next day, the French attacked. Crossing 160 yards under heavy fire, three French columns faltered. A handful of Zouaves made it to the Malakoff and crossed bayonets with the defenders, but they were too few to take the works and were forced back to their own trenches. As the sun rose, Raglan, observing the French attack from the Quarries, ordered an assault on the redan to draw the fire of the Russians and take some of the pressure off the French.

The British made it as far as the abatis, where they were shot to pieces by a storm of grapeshot and musket balls. They had to retreat under the same murderous fire. The French had lost 3,500 men, the British 1,500, and the Russians 5,500. As Raglan visited the wounded, one young officer accused him of being responsible for the slaughter. From this moment, Raglan's health began to fail, and after suffering an attack of dysentery, he died on June 28, 1855. Pelissier, who had mercilessly massacred tribesmen in Algeria and had repeatedly sent his own men to their deaths, cried uncontrollably at Raglan's bedside. Lt. Gen. James Simpson assumed command of the British forces.

Almost a month later, Nakhimov was visiting the Malakoff, looking through field glasses at the French positions about 250 yards away. He made light of the minie balls striking near him. He was hit above the left eye and died two days later on July 12. A month after that, the Russians under Menshikov's replacement, Prince Mikhail Dmitrievich Gortchakoff, launched their last attack. They were driven back by the French and the newly arrived Sardinians with a loss of 8,000 men. On the next day, August 17, 775 Allied guns opened up on Sevastopol. For the Russians, it seemed to be the last straw. Gortchakoff decided to abandon the southern half of the city and construction was begun on a pontoon bridge across the main harbor. Although the bridge was finished by July 24, and refugees had begun to leave the city, Gortchakoff changed his mind and reinforced the outer defenses.

With the French trenches now about 25 yards from the Malakoff, a general assault was set for noon on September 8, exactly when the Russians would be changing garrisons at the Malakoff. To draw the Russian fire, the British would once again attempt to take the Great Redan, while the French assaulted other fortifications on both flanks. The final bombardment of Sevastopol began on September 5.

On the appointed day 1,500 cannons of various caliber roared in an endless duel of shot and shell, while French General Patrice MacMahon impatiently waited for Chef de Bataillon de Marcilly of the engineers to bring

up scaling ladders for the assault on the Malakoff. General Barthelmy Lebrun, MacMahon's chief of staff, after finding the ladder company hopelessly bogged down in trenches filled with assault troops, ordered them to come up as soon as possible, and then rejoined MacMahon in the forward parallel where the general stood oblivious to the bullets and bombs striking and bursting around him.

Ladders or no ladders, the attack was scheduled for noon, and at noon the 1st Zouaves would advance. Lebrun stood near MacMahon, holding out his watch as the hands slowly ticked toward 12 PM. Captain See of the Zouaves, commander of the forlorn hope, gripped a gabion, a giant wicker basket filled with earth, that formed part of the rampart of the trench, ready to propel himself over the top. The Allies' artillery fire slackened, then stopped. Lebrun lowered the blade of his sword and announced: "Midi!" MacMahon, shouting "Forward! Long Live the Emperor," attempted to lead the attack, but was held back by his aide, Major Borel, and Lebrun, who grabbed him by the coattails, advising him to wait at least until the Zouaves had crossed the ditch in front of the Malakoff.

The Zouaves leaped out of the forward parallel and charged across 25 yards of no-man's land pitted with shell craters and raked by the fire of Russian cannons and muskets. In a desperate minute they reached the ditch, six to seven meters deep, but without scaling ladders. The Zouaves simply jumped into the ditch. From the forward parallel MacMahon watched his men disappear into the ditch. For a moment or two they were lost to sight, then the Zouaves, all trained in gymnastics and some equipped with pickaxes, began to crawl slowly up the rock escarpment of the tower of the Malakoff. MacMahon could no longer be restrained; the 47-year-old general climbed out of the trench and ran to join his men. Chef de Bataillon de Marcilly and the ladder company arrived just in time to stop him from jumping headlong into the ditch. Lowering their ladders and laying planks across them, the engineers made a bridge over the ditch, and the Zouaves poured across.

About 40 Zouaves had nearly reached the top of rampart when Russian infantry appeared and fired down on them. The colorful but deadly French troops reached the crest of the fortification and closed with their enemies in a hand-to-hand combat of bayonet and rifle butt, the Russian gunners clubbing Zouaves with their ramrods and knocking them into the ditch below. More Zouaves reached the top and the Russians gave way before their sharp bayonets, retreating to a transverse wall, part of the inner fortifications of the lozenge-shaped Malakoff. MacMahon arrived as the Russians withdrew. Ten minutes after they had left their trenches, the tricolor was hoisted above the Malakoff by a noncommissioned Zouave officer named Eugene Libaut. This was the signal for the British assault to begin. Unlike the French, their forward parallel was 200 yards away from their objective. As they advanced, they were subjected to heavy cannon and musket fire.

The tricolor had been standing for five minutes when a British officer arrived to ascertain the situation. MacMahon informed him, "Here I am, and here I stay." As he spoke, the Zouaves were advancing along each flank of the inside of the works, clearing the Russians from their traverse defenses. The Russians fought back every step of the way, retreating from one traverse wall to the next. As they neared the narrow entrance, facing Sevastopol, they bunched up, and here the struggle became hand to hand with the bayonet. This lasted but a few minutes, and then the survivors of the garrison ran headlong for Sevastopol. The Russians then began shelling their lost fortification and the French began taking casualties. A shell brushed MacMahon's head but left him unhurt.

About 400 Russians were still in the base of the tower firing on the French inside the works. Lebrun decided to smoke them out and, with this in mind, set fire to some gabions that covered the entrance to the tower. The Russians, prepared to fight it out to the last, were not prepared to burn to death and gave themselves up. Fearing that the flames might spread to one of the magazines, Lebrun ordered some engineers to throw earth on the fire and put it out. As they dug, they

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Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

“GIVE THEM ONE FIRE AND I’LL CHARGE THEM”

Lieutenant Colonel William Washington of the Continental 3rd Light Dragoons stood in his stirrups and looked out over the open drover’s field stretching before him. British infantry were eagerly charging forward, their breath blowing clouds in the winter’s morning air as they trotted forward with bayonets fixed and ready. Washington watched eagerly as American Whigs raised their rifles in reply and slowly took aim. The British kept coming nonetheless, and then a series of volleys flashed out, obscuring Washington’s view as the Whigs opened fire.

When the smoke cleared, Washington could see that a good number of British infantrymen were down, but still more were on their feet. Worse yet, they were now coming even faster, knowing the Americans would never have time to reload before the British bayonets reached their line.

Lacking bayonets of their own, the American riflemen began to turn about and abandon their position. This was no surprise; it was all according to plan. The riflemen had orders to retire to the rear line and once there reform and reload. Instead, the surprise came from the British side of the field as the 17th Light Dragoons, which were the best cavalry the British had, suddenly appeared at the gallop.

British swords flashed overhead and horses bowled through the retreating riflemen. It was a light horseman’s dream—unloaded, fleeing infantry on firm ground—and the British troopers went at it full speed. In seconds they turned the riflemen’s orderly retreat into a panicked mass streaming for the rear. If the riflemen were routed, the American battle plan would be ruined, defeat would be swift and certain, and there was little Washington and his light dragoons could do about it.

At the start of the American Revolution there were few on the American side that thought raising a force of cavalry would be necessary. In contrast, the British understood the indispensable value of cavalry and sent their light dragoons early in the conflict where they quickly proved their worth by scouting, skirmishing, and screening the enemy as well as routing American infantry at White Plains and Indian

Lt. Col. William Washington's Continental dragoons charge their British counterparts at the Battle of Cowpens in a painting by Don Troiani. Washington's charge was part of a large-scale counterattack that stunned the British.

WILLIAM WASHINGTON'S CONTINENTAL LIGHT DRAGOONS PLAYED A CRUCIAL ROLE IN THE DOUBLE ENVELOPMENT OF BANASTRE TARLETON'S ARMY AT THE BATTLE OF COWPENS IN 1781. **BY DANIEL MURPHY**

Fields in 1776. The success of the British light horsemen prompted General George Washington to write the Continental Congress that he could not carry on the war without a cavalry force of his own.

Congress complied and four regiments of Continental light dragoons were raised. William Washington, a distant cousin of George Washington, was awarded a major's rank in the 4th Regiment. The younger William was born February 28, 1752, at Overwharton Parish in Stafford County, Virginia. Although born into the Virginia planter class, it was on a decidedly more middle-class level than his wealthy cousin George, who resided at the top rung of the elite tidewater planters. Though raised on the wrong side of the Rappahannock River, Washington nonetheless grew up in horse country and was riding soon after he could walk.

At the start of the war Washington joined the Virginia militia and was elected captain of his company. The company was absorbed into the Continental infantry and Washington saw action at the Battles of Harlem Heights and White Plains. At Trenton, Washington was selected to lead a forward vanguard of foot scouts. They were some of the first troops to cross the Delaware River. During the Battle of Trenton on December 26, 1776, a Hessian artillery battery was wreaking havoc in the tight streets. Without orders Washington led his men forward and captured the enemy battery in a brawling hand-to-hand battle for the guns. Wounded in the attack, Washington was led from the field, but his actions and instincts drew the attention of his elder cousin and commander.

While George Washington could be methodical and deliberate, William Washington was lively, outgoing, and quick to action; he was the sort who would place his hand on a friend's shoulder when telling a funny story while walking through camp. William even formed friendships with noncommissioned officers, which was a crossing of social and military boundaries the elder George would have never sanctioned. Both men were brave before the enemy and magnetic leaders, with

Don Troiani / National Guard

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Washington, an infantry captain at the Battle of Trenton in 1776, led his men in a successful charge that resulted in the capture of a Hessian battery.

George always acting the proper Virginia gentleman and William affecting the rough and casual confidence of a country squire.

After the victory at Trenton, Washington was promoted to major, assigned to the light dragoons, and honed his new craft in the campaigns of Brandywine and Germantown in 1777 and Monmouth Courthouse in 1778. Like all light dragoons, Washington was also engaged in the day-to-day scouts, skirmishes, and screening actions of frontline cavalry where commanders survived on grit and instinct. Known as the *petit guerre,* or little war, the following account illustrates a skirmish fought between the lines by opposing light horsemen.

"Polasky with a body of his troops attacked a body of the enemy's light horse," wrote Colonel Samuel Hay. "He sets no store by carbines or pistols, but rushes on with swords.... They had severe cutting and slashing; the enemy had five killed and two taken prisoner besides a number wounded."

A second American officer echoed the same sword-based tactics: "Firearms are seldom of any great utility to cavalry during an enemy engagement," wrote Captain Epapharus Hoyt. "Indeed there is little hope of success from any who begin their attack with the fire of carbines or pistols.... It is by the right use of the sword they are to expect victory."

Why was this? Firearms certainly had a far greater range than a three-foot sword. A quick look at the carbines and pistols being used supplies part of the answer. They were smoothbore, muzzle-loading weapons and loading them from the back of a horse was a laborious process at best. Smoothbore pistols were also woefully inaccurate beyond 30 paces and the range was even worse from the back of an excited horse in a battle line. Longer length carbines increased the range but required both hands to aim and fire, which simply was not practical when engaging an enemy at close quarters. Opponents countered by drawing swords, clapping spurs, and charging through the weak gunfire to cut the mounted musketeers to the ground.

But it was not simply the sword that governed a light horseman's tactics or delivered the shock of the charge; the primary weapon of any light dragoon was his mount. With trooper and kit aboard, a light dragoon mount became a 1,000-pound missile that closed at more than 30 miles per hour to punch saddle-wide gaps through enemy ranks of infantry and cavalry. These gaps destroyed enemy discipline, and when light dragoons were marshaled together and led against the enemy at speed they could collapse entire flanks and create a rout. Once the rout was on, the sword was at its most effective. But it was the horses bowling through the enemy that broke the opposition; the attending sword blows were secondary.

After serving nearly two years on the front with the 4th Light Dragoons, Washington was promoted to lieutenant colonel and given his own regiment, the 3rd Light Dragoons. Once in command, Washington requested the 3rd be sent south where the British were now seeking a new strategy to bring the American rebellion to heel. After years of fighting in the northern colonies, the British had failed to land a killing blow. But on December 29, 1778, the British captured the port of Savannah, Georgia. The British noose was now in place to choke off the lucrative rice trade that helped fuel the foreign support floating the American cause. If the British course continued, Charleston, South Carolina, would fall along with the rest of the profitable rice crops. North Carolina and Virginia would then be next in line with their bankable tobacco fields. The British were determined to end the American exports and chop the Revolution off at its knees.

Washington arrived in South Carolina just as the British war machine was launching an overland assault on Charleston. He quickly joined the deadly skirmishing taking place and soon won a galloping victory against a rising star in the British cavalry, Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton, when Washington pinned Tarleton's troopers at Rantowles Bridge on March 27, 1780, and cut a number from the saddle. Tarleton later turned the tables and caught Washington's 3rd Light Dragoons on May 6 at Lenud's Ferry on the Santee River. Washington's men were returning from a foraging raid when ordered to dismount and unsaddle their horses with the broad Santee at their backs. Washington protested the order to dismount and unsaddle, but he was overruled by Lt. Col. Anthony White of the 1st Light Dragoons. Washington's men had no sooner complied with White's order than Tarleton arrived at the gallop and cut through the dismounted Americans. Tarleton's victory was total. Washington's men suf-

fered heavy casualties and all but 12 of his horses were seized. Washington and a few others escaped by swimming the Santee, a 300-yard stretch of snake-infested water, as Tarleton's men galloped down the bank snapping pot shots at the swimming Continentals.

Charleston fell on May 12 and with it went 5,000 Patriots and their arms. It was the greatest American defeat during the war, and the British now held the most lucrative port in North America. Washington and the few surviving Continentals retreated to North Carolina where they were out of range of a British attack. The 3rd Light Dragoons were in tatters and Washington, no doubt itching for a chance to avenge his fallen comrades, could only dream of a day when he could exact his retribution against Tarleton.

Less than six months later Washington was back at the front with his refurbished command. Funding for remounts had been almost impossible to find, and it was a cobbled-together force he now led with only three undermanned troops of the 3rd Light Dragoons and an additional single troop appropriated from the 1st Light Dragoons. Returns show they were properly uniformed but lacked carbines of any kind and were short on pistols. But every man in the saddle was fitted with a proper horseman's sword and well drilled in its use. Upon reaching the lines, Washington and his men were assigned to the command of Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan.

Daniel Morgan was a frontier legend. He was a former teamster and Indian fighter who led a corps of riflemen with great success in the Saratoga campaign of 1777. Morgan was rough edged and gregarious by nature and a soldier's kind of soldier. He surrounded himself with men who would fight when put to it, and he did not tolerate anyone unable to toe the line. Morgan was also the sort that would not stand for the jaunty, preening sort of cavalry officer many were reputed to be. But Washington was a former infantry officer himself, comfortable with thinking on his own feet and known for leading his men from the front. Morgan found a like individual in the young Washington, and unlike most Continental officers who treated the militia like unwashed step children, both Washington and Morgan would overlook tiny details of military discipline if a man was motivated, loyal to the cause, and willing to fight. Both officers also understood the potential value and experience militias could share about local terrain and environment, and the expertise they could offer from previous fights with the enemy.

This rare trait would soon serve the officers well as Morgan was ordered to lead a small, fast-moving strike force, or flying army, of hand-picked troops into the Carolina backcountry. Morgan had orders to threaten the flank of the British troops building under Maj. Gen. Lord Charles Cornwallis and to stall any plans the British might have for moving north into North Carolina and Virginia. Once in the backcountry, Morgan's flying army would be dependent on local frontier Whigs for provisions, and he would also need to draw troops from backcountry militias if he was to have any hope of offering battle against the British.

Morgan's flying army moved west in December with Washington's 3rd Light Dragoons leading the advance. Also in Morgan's ranks was a mix of veteran Continental infantry from Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia under Lt. Col. John Howard. Despite Morgan's frontier reputation, he soon found the backcountry Whigs were not streaming in to join his ranks in the numbers he had hoped. This was in part due to a force of 400 Georgia Horse Rangers under British Colonel Thomas Waters, who had been raiding and razing the frontier farms of backcountry patriots in Georgia and South Carolina. When word arrived that Water's notorious horse rangers were pillaging south of Morgan's position, he turned Washington loose.

Both: Independence National Historic Park

Lt. Col. William Washington (left) and Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan. BOTTOM: Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton.

Wikimedia

Washington rode fast and hit hard. He covered 50 miles in a day and a half, leading his light dragoons along with a picked force of backcountry militia dragoons to catch Waters' Rangers at a frontier trading post called Hammond's Store on December 27.

"Colonel Washington and his dragoons gave a shout, drew swords, and charged down the hill like madmen," wrote Private Thomas Young of McCall's Mounted Militia, which fought alongside Washington's men.

Washington led his men in at the gallop and cut the British Tories down in heaps. The casualties were decidedly one sided, and it is quite likely that Washington considered Waters' men to be little more than outlaws. Certainly the Tories' reputation as plunderers and barnburners did them little favor with the backcountry militia accompanying Washington. All told 160 Tories were killed or wounded and 40 captured. Waters and the remainder took to the woods. The threatening presence of the Georgia Horse Rangers had been removed, and Morgan soon saw a marked increase in the numbers of militia coming into his camp.

The British high command quickly recognized this new development and sent their star performer, Banastre Tarleton, to deal with it.

Since landing outside Charleston, Tarleton had gained prominence through a series of bold, headlong charges and won victories at Monk's Corner, Lenud's Ferry, Fishing Creek, and Waxhaws, including a brilliant flanking charge at the Battle of Camden on August 16, 1780. Tarleton was bold, cunning, and capable. He was everything a light horseman was supposed to be. He was also ruthless, headstrong, and deceitful, and happy to brag on his laurels and strut about as the *beau sabreur* of all British cavalry. However, Tarleton had recently suffered a costly reversal on November 20 from backcountry Whigs at Blackstock's

Farm. For the first time Tarleton's headlong charges had been answered with disciplined volleys that stopped him cold and forced him to retire from the field. Undaunted, Tarleton returned the following day after the Whigs left the field and claimed a victory. Tarleton then falsely reported the outcome to his superiors. When Cornwallis picked Tarleton to chase down Morgan's flying army, Tarleton no doubt jumped at the opportunity.

Cornwallis gave Tarleton his own flying corps of horse, foot, and artillery. For cavalry Tarleton had 250 troopers from his own British Legion dragoons and another outstanding troop of British regulars, the 17th Light Dragoons. On foot Tarleton had an excellent mixed force of highlanders, fusiliers, and light infantry, as well as his own British Legion infantry. He was also trusted with a pair of mobile three-pounder cannons called grasshoppers, containing two gun crews and mounted drivers. All together this force consisted of more than 1,200 men. It was a fast-moving corps, a flying army perfectly suited to the mission and the best troops Cornwallis had available. With this command in hand there was little British doubt Tarleton could annihilate any American force he caught up with in the backcountry.

In the meantime, Morgan was collecting one of the largest forces of American militia ever seen in the backcountry. Whig riflemen were now riding in from the Carolinas, Virginia, and Georgia. Together with his Continentals, Morgan now had a total force of approximately 2,000 men, and he chose a popular drover's field, known as the Cowpens, to offer battle. The ground at the Cowpens was well suited for a defensive fight and centered around a large open field with little underbrush, few trees, and the ground sloped rearward in a series of low ridges that would help hide Morgan's men. Natural springs and thick vegetation on either side offered protection from wide flanking attacks of enemy horsemen.

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

The appearance of the Continental cavalry at the Battle of Cowpens caught the British by surprise. The British cavalry, which was disorganized, ultimately fled the field leaving the British infantry unprotected.

Morgan received word that Tarleton was moving against him with a powerful force of combined arms, and he began polling the veterans in his camp who had fought Tarleton before—backcountry men like Majors James McCall and Benjamin Jolly and Continentals like Howard and Washington. After talking with everyone he could find, Morgan formed a plan that combined both terrain and resources. Nearly all the veterans predicted Tarleton would want to attack straight away. For this reason, Morgan felt his best chance for success would be a defense of multiple lines and weaponry. He placed his slow-loading militia riflemen in two forward lines at the head of the field, and his quicker loading Continental muskets in a third line in the rear on lower sloping ground where they would be harder to identify. Washington's light horsemen would hold in reserve and guard the flanks from mounted attacks.

As the British attacked, the forward rifles would first engage the enemy and aim for the epaulets of British sergeants and officers to cripple the British command structure at its most fundamental level. The riflemen would then fall back and join the third line. This way the militia would not have to stand up against the British bayonets; instead, they could fire their rifles and make an orderly retreat. The third line of Continentals would then blast quick, close-range musket volleys of buck and ball at the disordered British ranks while the militia reformed and came back on the flanks to take the remaining British in an enfilading fire. Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens would command the forward militia riflemen while Howard would command the third line of Continentals. Washington would command the cavalry and stand ready to exploit or defend any breaks in the line as he saw fit.

One major risk in Morgan's plan was that his militia riflemen were excellent skirmishers, but they were not regular troops disciplined to stand in pitched combat. Because they lacked bayonets, they might not reform and reenter the fight according to plan. Without their support, Howard's third line of Continentals would potentially be outnumbered and exposed to Tarleton's greater force of cavalry, which might cut them to pieces. Nearly all of the militia riflemen had arrived mounted and would have their horses tied in the rear. It was because they had a ready escape mechanism in place that they were willing to risk battle in the first place. Morgan knew he would have to do all he could to keep the militia from fleeing, so the night before the battle he worked his way through the militia camp, joking and cajoling with the men. Fire and reform in the rear to win, he told them repeatedly.

That same night found Washington squaring away his 80 light dragoons and their horses. He was also busy attending to the mounted militia troops of McCall and Jolly.

McCall was a tough-minded frontier dragoon and former Indian fighter who had taken part in a number of engagements against the British, including Washington's recent victory at Hammond's Store, as well as Tarleton's defeat at Blackstock's Farm. McCall's troop of backcountry dragoons was also one of the few militia units armed with broadswords and therefore able to fight from the saddle as true cavalry and not just mounted infantry. Jolly was another flinty backcountry veteran who, like McCall, had made a positive impression on Washington. Jolly was selected to form and command an additional troop of mounted volunteers from men who rode at Hammond's Store, and Washington issued the new troop 40 swords stored in the 3rd Light Dragoon's baggage. Between McCall and Jolly there were roughly 90 state dragoons, enough to form a separate squadron of militia dragoons capable of independent action.

First contact with the enemy was made well before dawn by a vedette sent from Washington's 3rd Light Dragoons. Commanded by

Cowpens National Battlefield, National Park Service

Lt. Col. John Eager Howard's Continental infantry breaks up a British charge with a strong volley as Washington's dragoons prepare to strike the British right flank.

Sergeant Lawrence Everhart, the vedette stumbled into range of the British van in the dark predawn woods and Everhart had his horse shot out from under him. Dragged before Tarleton, Everhart was asked if Morgan would stand and fight. Everhart hedged the numbers and slyly replied they would if able to keep but a few men together. Tarleton then boasted that if they did it would be another defeat like the American disaster at Camden. Everhart brashly answered back that he hoped to God it would be another Tarleton defeat, referring to the recent action at Blackstock's Farm. Just what Tarleton said in reply is lost to history, but he ordered a British surgeon to dress Everhart's wounds.

The rest of Everhart's vedette rode back to the American lines and warned of the coming British assault. Just as dawn broke the horizon, the sound of rifle fire split the cold morning air, and a party of probing British dragoons was driven back by a rifle volley. Tarleton then edged forward in the early morning light, briefly studied Morgan's lines and, as predicted, decided to attack immediately.

The British dropped packs and quickly readied for action. Tarleton directed the British Light Infantry battalion to the British right, his legion infantry to the center, and the 7th Fusiliers on the British left. Lieutenant Henry Nettles' troop of 17th Light Dragoons was formed in rear of his right flank behind the light infantry, and on the British left Tarleton placed a troop of British Legion Dragoons under Captain David Ogilvie. Tarleton's two artillery pieces came forward to support the infantry's advance, and the 71st Highlanders were posted as a reserve in the rear along with the remaining 200 British Legion dragoons.

The British infantry gave a shout and moved forward at the trot, soon coming in range of Pickens' militia riflemen. The backcountry riflemen opened a rolling fire and the lethal volleys cut through the British ranks in a whistling rain of buzzing and spinning rifle balls. Stunned, the British dressed their lines, dragged their wounded clear, and kept coming. Years of fighting in America had taught the British to absorb the first volley and rush ahead with the bayonet before the slow-loading rifles could manage a second fire. Only one rifle battalion managed a second volley as the British closed with their bayonets, and then Pickens ordered his remaining battalions to fall back as planned.

When Tarleton saw the riflemen withdrawing, he waved the 17th Light Dragoons forward to charge the retreating militia and create a rout. Militia rifleman James Collins remembered thinking, "My hide is in the loft," as the British Light Dragoons slammed into the retreating Americans and quickly turned an orderly withdrawal into a panicked flight. The impending rout would annihilate Morgan's battle plan.

Watching this from behind Howard's third line was Washington, no doubt standing in his stirrups and marking every step of the British attack. The militia was fanning out before the pursuing British horses and with Howard's line still in place Washington had no line of attack. Washington also knew that could quickly change as the enemy light dragoons passed Howard's line and spread out in their pursuit of the fleeing riflemen. By then past Howard's line, the 17th Light Dragoons' left flank was suddenly hanging wide open, and every Continental veteran of Lenud's Ferry realized revenge was but a short charge away.

Trumpets sounded, spurs swept back, and Washington led his Continentals forward with swords aloft, crushing the 17th Light Dragoons' open flank and cleaving the British rankers from their saddles.

"Col. Washington's cavalry was among them, like a whirlwind, and the poor fellows began to keel from their horses, without being able to remount," wrote South Carolina militiaman James Collins. "The shock was so sudden and violent, they could not stand it, and immediately betook themselves to flight."

Washington's troopers rallied and rolled on, pursuing the 17th Light Dragoons, cutting them down until they overtook the British artillery drivers posted on the British right flank. The British drivers refused to yield and the Continentals quickly shot down the artillery horses with their pistols, severely retarding the British gunners' ability to move their pieces. Washington then rallied his men and brought them back behind Howard's line, rejoining McCall's and Jolly's waiting

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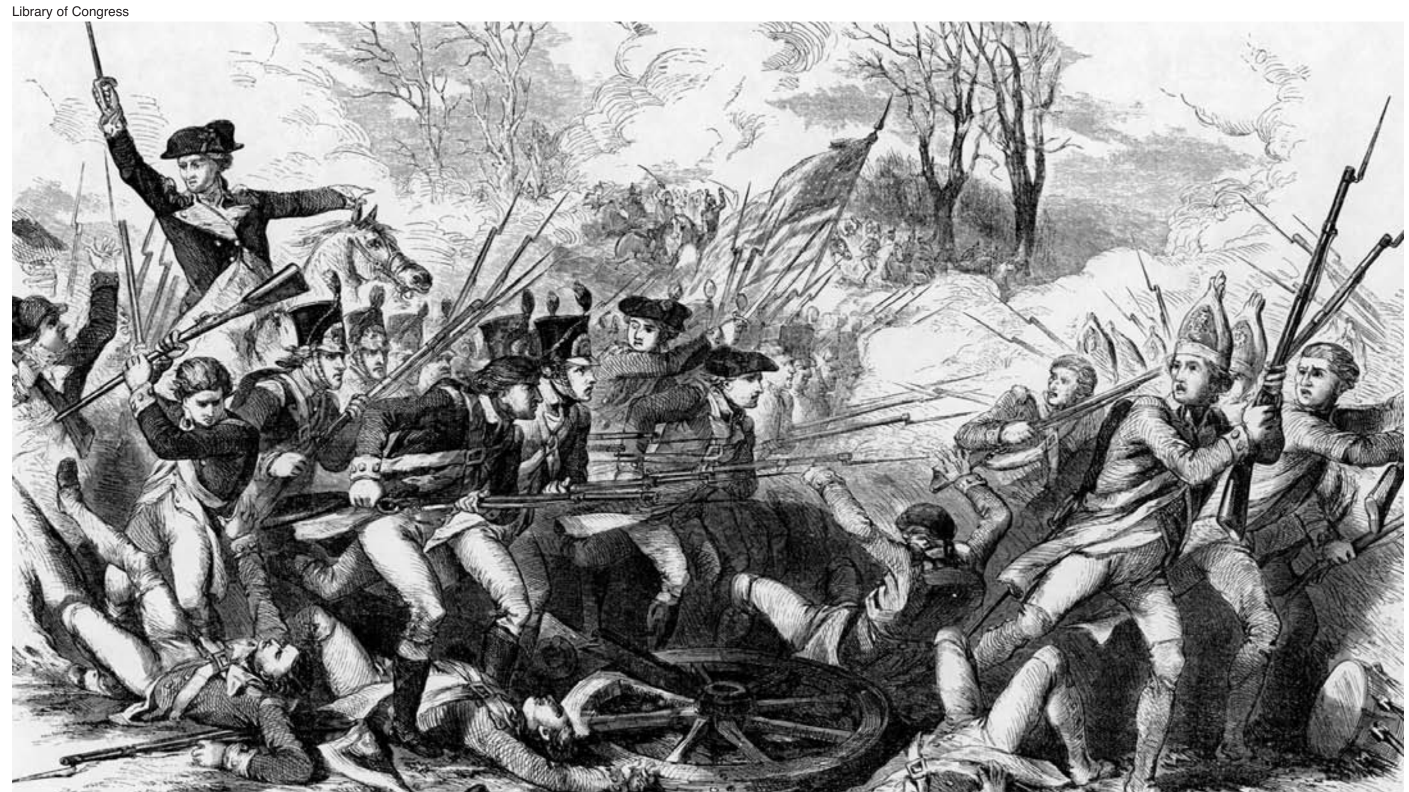

Howard ordered his Continental infantry to charge the British with their bayonets. As Washington's dragoons hewed their way through the British right, Howard's men swept the 71st Highlanders back on the British left.

militia squadron that Washington had left in reserve to cover his attack. Washington simply had not needed to commit his entire command to attack the 17th Light Dragoons' scattered troop of British cavalry. Now free of threat, the backcountry militia riflemen began to rally under Pickens' direction, and Morgan's battle plan was again intact and functioning as planned.

Meanwhile, the infantry fight heated up before Howard's line of Continentals. Advancing in the wake of Pickens' fleeing riflemen, the British infantry now pressed forward and suddenly came under a crisp fire from Howard's Continentals. As the two sides began to trade standing volleys, Tarleton decided to try and turn the opposite American flank and sent word for the 71st Highlanders to move forward and flank the right of Howard's line.

Leading the Highlanders' attack was a single troop of British Legion Dragoons. They spurred forward and cut through a company of riflemen posted on Howard's right flank to guard his line from attack. The British Legion's attack scattered the riflemen and the legion dragoons charged after them, in turn opening an avenue of attack for the 71st Highlanders, who swung in on Howard's open flank.

Seeing this new break in the line, Washington sent the militia squadron under McCall and Jolly to attack the British dragoons while Washington held his own Continental Light Dragoons in reserve. The two companies of mounted militia rolled forward and struck the British dragoons at a gallop. They cut their way through the British ranks and, showing a discipline worthy of the finest veterans, McCall and Jolly wheeled their men about and rode through the British ranks a second time to drive the broken British Legion Dragoons from that portion of the field.

Meanwhile, a fresh disaster was in the making as the Highlanders swept forward against Howard's open right flank. A mix up of orders occurred when the 1st Maryland tried to refuse its flank, and some of the Marylanders suddenly began marching to the rear. Smelling blood, the Highlanders broke forward in ragged pursuit. Morgan was furious and came galloping toward Howard to loudly inquire what was going on. Howard assured Morgan that his men were not beaten and just needed to fall back and redress. Morgan then directed Howard to reform in front of a small rise where Washington was fortunately still holding his Continental Light Dragoons in reserve.

The crux of the battle was now approaching. Washington watched the ragged pursuit of the Highlanders running forward in clumps of threes and fours, which in turn was creating disorder across the entire British line. Seeing this, Washington realized an opportunity was in the making and sent a courier galloping for Howard with the following message: "They're coming on like a mob, give them one fire and I'll charge them."

The Highlanders continued to clamor after Howard's men, closing to within 30 yards before Howard ordered his line to suddenly turn about and fire. A solid sheet of smoke and fire blasted out point blank at the Highlanders; when the smoke cleared half the Scots were on the ground.

Howard called for a bayonet charge and Washington's trumpets split the air. Swords scraped free and Washington led his dragoons around Howard's left to pitch into the right flank of the British infantry. The militia squadron was just rallying from its charge on Ogilvie's dragoons as Washington was rolling forward.

"At this moment the bugle sounded," wrote Young. "We, about half formed and making a sort of circuit at full speed, came up in rear of the British line, shouting and charging like madmen."

Washington's light dragoons struck the British ranks at a gallop, bowling their mounts into the flanks of the light and legion infantry and driving them back on the 7th Fusiliers, a rippling effect as the fleeing British troops piled roughly into their fellow soldiers and masked their fire. As Washington's dragoons spurred and hewed their way through the enemy right, Howard's men swept the Highlanders back on the British left. McCall and Jolly's militia

squadron now struck the enemy as well and Pickens' rallied riflemen followed suit and swept in to open an enfilading fire on targets of opportunity. Morgan's battle plan was now performing on a higher plane than the old wagoner had ever imagined.

Tarleton sat dumfounded as he watched his broken and fleeing infantry from across the field. In the span of mere minutes the fight had gone from rolling British victory to running British defeat. Tarleton turned to his reserve of 200 British Legion Dragoons. They had seen no fighting so far and with a spirited charge could perhaps turn the tide. However, the veterans of Monck's Corner, Fishing Creek, and Lenud's Ferry wanted no part of the hard fight and instead turned about and left their fellow British infantrymen to fend for themselves.

But the game Tarleton was not done. He grabbed a handful of mounted officers, couriers, and the remaining survivors of the earlier 17th and British Legion Dragoon charges and galloped forward with some 40 men in a desperate attempt to stem the tide, or at least gain some honor by rescuing his two guns stranded by Washington's earlier attack.

Washington and his men were still focused on the British infantry, and Tarleton's attack first took them by surprise, but the Continentals quickly rallied and repulsed Tarleton's makeshift attack in a flurry of darting horses and ringing sword cuts. Outnumbered and outflanked, Tarleton's men retreated without ever reaching the guns. Tarleton now realized the jig was up and turned his back on the field.

By this point most Continental officers were busy taking prisoners, but Washington was instead watching three British officers lagging behind Tarleton's makeshift force. Two of them were officers of the British 17th Light Dragoons, but the third officer must have struck a chord with Washington as he clapped spurs to his mount and took out after this trio of enemy officers at a gallop. He outdistanced his fellow 3rd Light Dragoons and came on with the shout, "Where is now the boasting Tarleton?"

On this day British chivalry was decidedly lacking as not one but all three British officers turned about and made for the lone Washington. Rashly or not, Washington had made the challenge and it was now too late to turn back as he spurred straight on and closed with the three enemy officers in a swirling exchange of sword blows.

Luckily for Washington, help was on the way. Sgt. Maj. Mathew Perry of the 3rd Light Dragoons galloped into the ongoing melee and slashed a lieutenant of the British 17th Light Dragoons across the arm to knock him out of the fight. Seconds later a pistol cracked and the second officer of the 17th Light Dragoons reeled in the saddle and peeled off, mortally wounded from a snap shot fired from Washington's waiter, a young steward too small to wield a sword. Meanwhile, Washington had closed with the third British officer and traded blows. "Washington made a hack at [Tarleton] ... and glanced his head with his sword," wrote James Kelley of the 3rd Light Dragoons.

This third officer made a lunge that Washington parried and broke the enemy officer's sword in the process. The officer then wheeled out of range, drew a pistol, and shot Washington's horse before galloping off the field.

"The one in the center who it is believed was Tarleton himself made a lunge which Washington parried [and] perhaps broke his sword," wrote Howard. "The third then wheeled off and retreated ten or twelve paces when he again wheeled about [and] fired his pistol which wounded Washington's horse."

Most historians have thought that it was Washington's sword that was broken in this duel, but the subject of the key sentence in Howard's firsthand account is clearly Washington's adversary, and as it follows, the possessor of the broken sword. A thrust blade always suffered the hazard of being parried and bound in an opponent's webbing or saddlery, where the caught blade could easily twist, bind, and break as the two parties whirled about. Once the enemy officer's sword was broken he wheeled out of range, drew a pistol, and took a shot at Washington. If it were Washington's blade that was broken, the enemy officer would have closed in and dealt Washington a heavy blow.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Washington and a sergeant duel with three British cavalry officers while Washington's young steward at left fires at one of the enemy. One of the British officers is believed to have been Tarleton.

Less conclusive is whether this third officer was actually Tarleton. Washington left no written account of his actions during the war; however, Tarleton was one of the first officers to publish a memoir. Tarleton went into much detail of the Battle of Cowpens but curiously, of this particular phase, only claimed that he and his collected force of 40 men charged and drove off Washington's light dragoons, a dubious claim that was later refuted by officers on both sides.

Regardless of who this third officer actually was, he quickly scampered from the field in an effort to join the rest of the fleeing British dragoons. Washington switched horses, gathered his men, and gave chase to Tarleton and his dragoons but was purposely misdirected by a woman whose husband had been forcibly impressed by Tarleton as a guide and held hostage on pain of death. Washington was directed down the wrong road and failed to catch his quarry.

In any case, the Battle of the Cowpens was over and the Americans had scored a resounding victory. To this day, the battle is considered the most complete tactical success of American forces

Continued on page 69

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMER SIMON DE MONTFORT WON A GREAT VICTORY AT LEWES AT THE OUTSET OF THE SECOND BARON'S WAR. BUT PRINCE EDWARD CRUSHED HIM AT EVESHAM IN AUGUST 1265.

BY WILLIAM E. WELSH

MONFO

RT'S LAST STAND

The narrow barge drifted slowly along the Thames River on a muggy summer day in July 1258. King Henry III had chosen to dine on the water that day, but his outing was cut short by the approach of a sudden storm. The sky darkened, thunder pealed, and a pelting rain fell. The king ordered the crew to dock at the residence of William Kirkham, Bishop of Durham.

Lodging with the bishop was Simon V de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who was the king's brother-in-law and one of the realms most powerful magnates. Upon learning that Henry was in the bishop's garden, Montfort came out to greet him. Noting the king's frightened look, Montfort asked him what he feared since the storm was over.

"I fear thunder and lightning beyond measure," replied Henry. "But by God's head, I fear you more than all of the thunder and lightning in the world." Montfort assured the king that he was his faithful friend. "You should fear your enemies, who destroy you and speak falsely," said Montfort, referring to Henry's half brothers, the sons of Hugh of Lusignan and Henry's mother, Isabella of Angouleme, through her second marriage.

The month before, a group of disaffected English barons led by Montfort, who were angry at the king for the way he squandered royal funds on outlandish international schemes, forced Henry to agree to a series of reforms known as the Provisions of Oxford that limited his power. The king chafed at the idea, and he spent the following years searching for a way out of them. Henry was right to fear Montfort, for the earl was willing to go to war if necessary to compel his brother-in-law to adhere to the provisions.

Six years later the Second Baron's War began. It pitted royalists such as Henry, Prince Edward, and their allies against Montfort and his allies. At stake was whether Henry III would continue to follow the reforms embodied in the provisions or be free of them. The war would last three years.

Montfort was the youngest son of Simon IV de Montfort, who achieved great fame leading the Albigensian Crusade against the Cathar religious sect in southwestern France. Young Simon V was only 10 years old when his father was killed at the Siege of Toulouse in 1218. For a time, Simon IV was the Earl of Leicester, having inherited the earldom through his mother, Amicia, the daughter of Robert of Beaumont, the third Earl of Leicester. But the claim lapsed while Simon IV was crusading in Languedoc, and King John of England transferred the claim to Ranulf of Chester in 1215.

Nevertheless, Simon V intended to get back the earldom. At the age of 19, Simon transferred any claims he might eventually have to the Montfort lands in France to his older brother Amaury in exchange for the family's claim to the Earldom of Leicester. Simon departed in 1229 for London where he was favorably received by King Henry III. Henry subsequently hired Simon to be one of his household knights.

Three years later, while Montfort was campaigning in France with Henry, he was befriended by 60-year-old Ranulf. Ranulf had no male heirs; therefore, he recommended to Henry that the king restore the earldom to Simon. Henry agreed, and in 1231 Montfort became the sixth Earl of Leicester.

Henry III had no shortage of faults. He was weak willed, a poor military commander, and prone to dishonesty. After an 11-year regency, he assumed full control of England in 1227 at a time when the French monarchy was slowly but steadily gnawing away at the continental possessions of the Angevin empire. Following his marriage to Eleanor of Provence in 1236, Henry appointed some of his in-laws from Savoy to key positions in the royal court that came with lands that made them wealthy.

Henry repeated the same mistake in the 1250s with his Lusignan half brothers from Poitou. The English barons greatly resented the patronage that Henry bestowed on the Savoyards and Poitevins at their expense.

Montfort wed Henry's sister Eleanor in January 1238. Eleanor's first husband, William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, had died in 1219. Montfort benefitted greatly from the marriage. When Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, died in 1242 without an heir, Henry presented his brother-in-law with Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire. Three years later, Henry gave Simon Warwickshire, Derbyshire, and several key properties in southeast England. Montfort's good fortune was a result not only of his being Henry's brother-in-law, but also being one of Henry's most able military captains. Earl Simon fought with Henry in France in 1230 and 1242. He also led a group of crusaders in 1240 to the Outremer during the Barons' Crusade.

Prince Edward leads his heavy cavalry against raw recruits from London on the left of Earl Simon Montfort's line at the Battle of Lewes fought May 14, 1264, in a modern painting by Graham Turner. Edward's pursuit of the fleeing Londoners had a detrimental effect on the outcome of the battle.

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Henry appointed Simon to serve as Seneschal of Gascony in 1248 for a term of seven years. Montfort faced the daunting task of keeping the local lords from feuding and preventing aggression by the kings of Aragon and Navarre. Montfort ruled with a heavy hand. When a Gascon lord committed an offense that disturbed the peace, Montfort's troops destroyed the offender's property as punishment. Some of the Gascons went to England to complain directly to Henry. Rather than backing Montfort, Henry was frequently sympathetic to their complaints. Three years before his term as seneschal was set to expire, Henry recalled Montfort to England.

During the 1250s, the English barons became increasingly frustrated with Henry for allowing his foreign relatives to dominate his court, and also for a scheme to put his second son, Edmund, on the throne of the wealthy Kingdom of Sicily. In discussions with Pope Innocent IV in 1254, which continued under his successor, Pope Alexander IV, Henry agreed to pay the Papacy a vast sum to secure the throne of Sicily for Edmund. Although the scheme never came to fruition, Henry wasted considerable funds on the enterprise. Henry made these investments at a time when the English crown was already overextended financially by having to raise armies to crush rebellions in Gascony and Wales.

Furious with the English king for his financial mismanagement, Earl Simon and a half dozen other barons compelled Henry to accept a set of reforms known as the Provisions of Oxford. The reform-minded barons drafted the provisions in June 1258 in Oxford. Henry, who by then was

bankrupt, signed the agreement. The provisions established a 15-member Privy Council to advise the king on the administration of his royal assets, ministerial appointments, and other matters. The provisions also required that Henry expel from England all of his foreign advisers.

Not surprisingly, Henry greatly disliked the restrictions on his authority. He therefore asked Pope Alexander to excuse him from the provisions. On April 14, 1261, Pope Alexander issued a papal bull annulling the provisions. When a papal envoy arrived in England with the bull the following month, Henry undertook steps to regain complete control over England. But the sheriffs and bailiffs throughout England saw the provisions as a way for them to protest in parliament excessive taxation and unfair patronage; for that reason, they were unwilling to return to the status quo.

LEFT: King Henry III. RIGHT: Simon de Montfort's seal.

By 1263 England was divided between those who supported Earl Simon and those who supported King Henry. Montfort, who by then had become Henry's enemy, had changed greatly from the person he was when he arrived in England more than three decades earlier. Although he sincerely believed in the reforms he had crafted to ensure fair rule by the king, Montfort had become greedy and power hungry. The reason for his greed was that he wanted to be able to pass land on to his four sons.

A significant number of the barons who came to a session of parliament in October 1263 refused to bow to Henry's wishes that he be allowed to appoint his own advisers. Shortly afterward, Henry summoned a number of barons to Windsor and told them he intended to adhere to the provisions. At that point, Earl Simon and King Henry approached French King Louis IX to arbitrate the matter. The French king issued his ruling in January 1264. Not surprisingly, Louis ruled in Henry's favor, thereby freeing the English king from the provisions.

The previous year, Earl Simon had traveled widely throughout southeast England building support for the reform effort. As a result, on the eve of the war he not only had a strong base in the East Midlands but also in southeast England.

The first act of the war was an effort by Henry's brother, Richard of Cornwall, to secure Gloucester for the royalists before Earl Simon's sons occupied it. Cornwall succeeded and Prince Edward, who was in France at the time, returned to England and arrived at Gloucester Castle on March 5 to take command of the royalist forces on the Welsh border. With southwest England firmly in royalist hands, Edward joined his father at Oxford. A baronial army under Peter de Montfort (a relative of Earl Simon) and Simon the Younger (Earl Simon's second son) fell back on the baronial stronghold at Northampton. Meanwhile, Earl Simon marched to London to secure the capital city for the baronial cause.

On April 3, King Henry unfurled his standard in Oxford, signaling he was at war with the barons. The royalists initially benefitted from interior lines. The two main baronial armies were positioned at Northampton and London. The main royalist army was between them at Oxford. First blood was shed on April 5 when King Henry defeated a baronial army at Northampton. The royalist army "ravaged the manors of the barons in all directions with fire and sword," wrote chronicler Matthew of Paris. Henry's army continued north to Leicester and Nottingham, both of which were secured by mid-April. The royalists bypassed Kenilworth Castle, choosing to avoid a protracted siege against its garrison, which was led by Earl Simon's eldest son, Henry Montfort.

Earl Simon marched east from London and on April 17 laid siege to strategically important Rochester Castle on the Medway River, which was held by a royalist garrison under John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey and Sussex. Montfort's army was joined by another large force of rebels that arrived from Tonbridge under Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who was Montfort's most powerful ally during the 1264 campaign. While de Clare deployed his troops south of the castle, Montfort's troops on the north bank of the Medway sent fireships against the castle on the night of April 18. Simultaneously, de Clare's men fought their way into the castle. Rather than surrender, de Warenne and his men retreated to the strong keep in the hope that Henry would march to their rescue.

When Henry learned that the main baronial army was besieging Rochester Castle, he promptly marched south. By doing so, he played into Montfort's hands—the earl wanted to engage the royalist army in southeast England on ground of his choosing. While Henry was marching south, Earl Simon countermarched to London to raise additional forces. Earl Simon left a skeleton force behind at Rochester Castle to keep de Warenne penned inside the keep, but when the main royalist army arrived it easily defeated that meager force. In no mood for mercy, Henry ordered the execution of the rebels captured at Rochester.

During the next two weeks King Henry's royalist army marched through Kent as a show of force before entering East Sussex. Rather than allowing himself to be blockaded inside London, the Earl of Leicester departed the great city on March 6. For the next week Earl Simon remained largely stationary in East Sussex waiting for a good opportunity to attack the royalist army.

King Henry's army bivouacked in the royalist town of Lewes on May 10. The town of Lewes included a castle, which belonged to de Warenne, and the Cluniac Priory of St. Pancras. Prince Edward moved into the castle, and King Henry took up quarters at the priory.

Lewes is situated southeast of an escarpment known as the Downs. Both the castle and 20-acre priory were located on the western outskirts of Lewes about one mile from Mount Harry, as the southern end of the escarpment was known. The castle was situated on the northwest corner of the town, and the priory on its southwest corner. The Ouse River flows past the town on its east side on its way to the English Channel. A wide bend in the Ouse protected the royalist position from an attack from the east, and extensive marshland protected it from attack from the south.

The day after the royalist host arrived in Lewes, the baronial army marched into Fletching, a half day's march north of Lewes. The morning of May 12, Montfort sent an offer of reconciliation to Henry. The message stated

that the barons would immediately end their revolt and pay 30,000 pounds in reparations for property damage if the king would replace his foreign advisers with English ones. King Henry replied that he had no intention of negotiating with the rebellious barons.

On the night of May 13, Montfort led his army two miles west into the Downs and then turned south toward Lewes. The baronial army arrived undetected on Mount Harry at dawn. A royalist foraging party spotted the baronial army and alerted the rest of the army. Royalist trumpets blared, calling troops to arms. To help his men identify friend from foe, Earl Simon had ordered his troops to sew a white cross on the front and back of their tunics, similar to that worn by crusaders.

Earl Simon had approximately 4,000 infantry and 500 cavalry. He organized his troops in four divisions for the battle. The right division was commanded by his sons: Henry, Simon the Younger, and Guy. The baronial center was led by de Clare, who was aided by John FitzJohn and William Munchensay. The baronial left was led by Nicholas of Seagrave. Earl Simon commanded a rearguard stationed behind the center.

The baronial army's right and center had contingents of Welsh troops armed with spears or bows. The weakest part of the baronial army was Seagrave's division, which was composed of green foot soldiers from London. A line of horsemen that included Seagrave, Henry of Hastings, John Giffard, Hervey de Borham, and their mounted men-at-arms was deployed in front of the untried Londoners. Earl Simon deployed his left and center on Mount Harry and his right on the level ground of Houndean Bottom.

King Henry had assigned the right division to Prince Edward. The prince had with him a large number of mounted troops. Among the nobles fighting in Edward's battle were his uncles, Guy de Lusignan and William de Valence, and marcher lord Roger Mortimer. The royalist center was commanded by Cornwall. Fighting under Cornwall were his son Henry and Scottish barons Robert de Bruce, John Baliol, and John Comyn. As for the royalist left, it was led by Henry, who was assisted by Humphrey Bohun IV, Earl of Hereford. Bohun's son, Humphrey Bohun V, would fight that day on the baronial right with Earl Simon's sons. Altogether, King Henry had approximately 7,000 infantry and 1,500 cavalry.

At 9:30 AM, the baronial army began a slow advance down the southern slope of Mount Harry. Prince Edward's battle was the first to respond. His mailed cavalrymen had covered three quarters of a kilometer of ground at a walk. When they were within 150 meters of the enemy, they began to trot with couched lances. Edward's cavalry easily shattered the thin line of cavalry opposing it. Even before the two lines made contact, the Londoners at the back of Seagrave's battle, who were intimidated by the large number of mounted men attacking them, had begun to flee the battlefield. They were quickly followed by the foot soldiers in the front ranks of Seagrave's battle.

Henry III denounces Montfort in a romantic portrayal of the clash at Lewes. In reality the leaders of the opposing forces exchanged messages two days before the battle.

"Edward with his division rushed on the enemy with such impetuosity that he forced them to retreat," wrote Paris, adding, "Edward … pursued them for the distance of four miles, and made a dreadful slaughter of them; but by his absence, he much weakened the king's forces." Rather than regrouping to attack de Clare's exposed left flank, Edward's horsemen pursued the fleeing Londoners, running them down with their lances or slashing them with their swords. Besides those that were cut down as they fled, a large number drowned trying to ford the Ouse River.

De Clare waited for the royalists to come to him in the hope that they would tire themselves attacking uphill. The remainder of the royalists, with the cavalry leading the attack, advanced at about 10:30 AM against the baronial divisions led by de Clare and the Montfort sons. The mounted knights and men-at-arms on both sides conducted the bulk of the fighting with the infantry in a support role.

As for King Henry, what he lacked as a strategist he made up for in combat. "The king was much beaten with swords and maces, and [had] two horses killed under him, so that he escaped with difficulty," states a contemporary account of the battle.

The main fight began at around 11 AM and lasted one hour. After about 30 minutes, it became apparent to Earl Simon, who was watching the fight from atop Mount Harry, that de Clare's troops had outfought those of Cornwall. Some of Cornwall's men had begun to retreat toward the town. Exhausted and convinced that they could not carry the hill and drive off the rebels, these men took it upon themselves to quit the fight.

At that point, Montfort committed his reserve to the fight. The fresh baronial troops easily overwhelmed the thin line of royalists in the center. Seeing the center give way, Henry and his captains tried to disengage and fall back to the town. Montfort's sons on the right side of the field ordered their men to pursue the retreating enemy. To buy enough time for King Henry's household troops to escort the king to safety, the royalists made a determined stand just north of the road to Brighton near the town's jail. While his troops held off the right division of the baronial army, the king gained the safety of the priory.

Henry's brother was not as fortunate. Finding himself cut off from the town during the confused retreat of his division, Cornwall took refuge in a windmill not far from where Henry's division made its stand. A large number of foot soldiers who had participated in the pursuit of Cornwall's division gathered around the windmill. They jeered and taunted the haughty earl. "Come out, you bad miller!" the men shouted. After a short time, Cornwall emerged and was taken prisoner.

Aware that Prince Edward was rampaging nearby, Earl Simon reformed his troops outside of the town in case the prince decided to renew the battle. The prince returned with a portion of his division to find that the bulk of the royalist army had been driven from the field. Edward's captains strongly advised him not to make an unsupported attack against Montfort's army. They promptly quit the field to drive home their point.

Edward decided to find his father. The prince and his household troops rode around the baronial army to the castle. Not finding King Henry there, they rode to the priory where they found him unharmed.

The baronial army had a number of key prisoners, including Cornwall, Bohun, and John FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel. The following morning, Earl Simon requested and received the surrender of the royalist army. Earl Simon took into custody Henry, Prince Edward, Cornwall, and Cornwall's son Henry, but freed all of the captured royalist barons. The decision to allow the barons their freedom was a risky one. Perhaps the most dangerous of these was Mortimer. He had a deep-seated hatred of Earl Simon because the earl was an ally of Welsh King Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, with whom Mortimer had long been at war.

Earl Simon compelled Henry to sign an agreement known as the Mise of Lewes, which restored the Provisions of Oxford. King Henry's half brothers and Queen Eleanor went into self-imposed exile in France rather than submit to Montfort.

Earl Simon called an immediate session of

parliament, which met in June. During the session, he announced that the realm would not be ruled by a 15-member Privy Council but instead by a council of three consisting of himself, de Clare, and Stephen Bersted, Bishop of Chichester. To give his interim government a degree of legitimacy, Montfort asked French King Louis IX to arbitrate a new reform agreement known as the Peace of Canterbury. Drafted in August, the new agreement drafted put limitations on King Henry's authority, if and when he was restored to power, and also on that of his successor. King Louis, as expected, declined to approve such unprecedented restrictions of royal authority.

Montfort's tenuous reign was under constant threat of attack by Welsh marcher lords loyal to King Henry, as well as Henry's relatives who were in exile in France. In October, Prince Edward's knights rose up in southwest England, and the marcher lords rebelled in November. To crush these uprisings, Earl Simon enlisted the assistance of Llywelyn. Outnumbered and overwhelmed, the rebellious royalist barons and knights were forced to relinquish their gains.

Following the Mise of Lewes, Earl Simon began systematically accumulating wealth to pass on to his four sons. He did this by whittling away at Prince Edward's appanage. To his already substantial holdings, Earl Simon added the towns of Bristol, Chester, and Newcastle. De Clare increasingly became annoyed with Earl Simon and his two oldest sons, Henry and Simon the Younger. In de Clare's eyes, the sons were as deceitful and rapacious as their father. What is more, de Clare also found himself having to defend his holdings in the Welsh marches against attacks by Llywelyn.

In May 1265, Earl Simon traveled with his closest supporters to Gloucester to attempt to reconcile his differences with de Clare. On May 12, the two earls agreed to submit their disagreements to arbitration. Earl Simon did not seem to realize it at the time, but he already had lost de Clare's support. Indeed, at that point in time de Clare was actively participating in the planning of a major rebellion aimed at removing Earl Simon from English politics. The rebellion would involve a coordinated uprising by Edward's retinue, the marcher lords, and King Henry's half brothers. The latter were already planning to land in Pembroke.

Already having defeated two rebellions since the Battle of Lewes, in the spring of 1265 Earl Simon kept a tight hold on southwest England from his base in Gloucester while Simon the Younger held down London and southeast England. Earl Simon had the royal prisoners with him at Gloucester. When the fire of rebellion appeared to flame anew in the Welsh marches, Earl Simon switched his base to Hereford to be closer to the Welsh marches where he could monitor the activities of de Clare, Bohun, and Mortimer. On May 28, Prince Edward escaped with the assistance of sympathizers within Earl Simon's army. Edward rode hard for Wigmore, which was Mortimer's base.

When de Clare switched sides, the balance of power in southwestern England and Wales shifted to the royalists. Earl Simon spent the next two months trying to evade Prince Edward and the marcher lords. In mid-June, Earl Simon met with Llywelyn at Glasbury where he received a small number of Welsh troops to assist him. In the meantime, Edward secured the town of Gloucester, and by the end of the month he had forced the baronial garrison in the castle to surrender. At that point, Earl Simon was trapped in Wales. He believed his best move would be to escape by boat, so he fought his way toward Newport. As ships were being prepared for his departure from Newport on July 4, a squadron of royalist vessels from Gloucester arrived and sunk Earl Simon's ships.

Earl Simon was not about to give up. He countermarched and reached Hereford on July 17. The previous month, the earl had instructed Simon the Younger to march from southeastern England to rendezvous with him in southwestern England. Taking his time when he should have been conducting forced marches, Simon the Younger arrived at Kenilworth on July 31. About that time, he received orders from his father to rendezvous with him on August 4 at Evesham in Worcestershire.

To prevent reinforcements from reaching a beleaguered Earl Simon, Prince Edward decided to strike a crippling blow against Simon the Younger's army at Kenilworth. Edward would conduct a cavalry raid to kidnap the leaders of the baronial army at Kenilworth. The raid was made possible by information from a traitor in Simon the Younger's army. The informant told Edward the exact location of where each commander was billeted in the town.

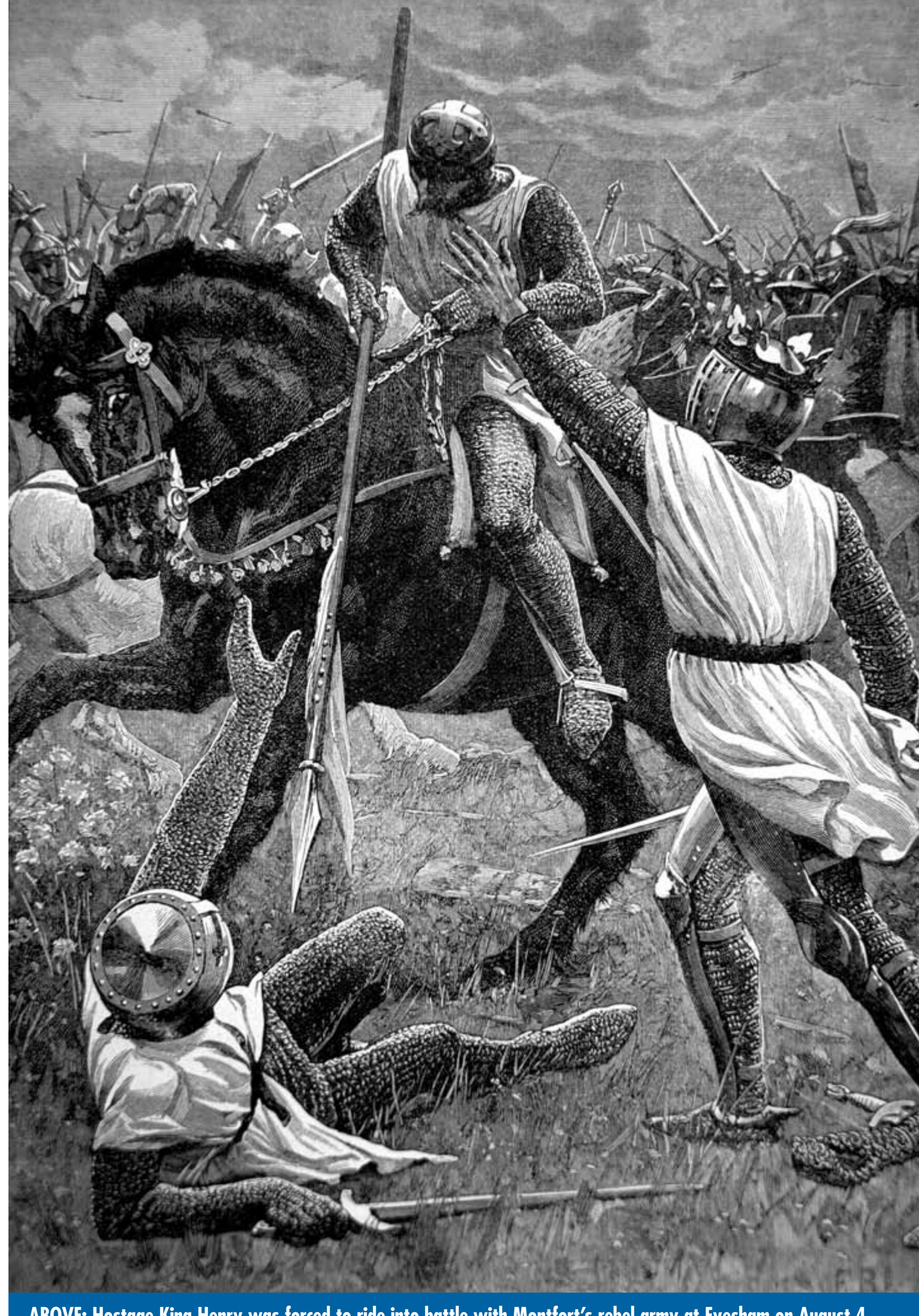
On the night of August 1, Edward marched out of Worcester with his entire force. To confuse any observers, he ordered his foot to continue north toward Shrewsbury while his cavalry turned east toward Kenilworth. Riding with Prince Edward on the raid were de Clare, de Valence, and Mortimer. When the raiders reached the outskirts of Kenilworth, they divided into small groups, each of which was tasked with capturing specific targets.

ABOVE: Prince Edward, nicknamed Longshanks, was a gifted soldier whose military acumen more than compensated for the leadership deficiencies of his father. OPPOSITE: King Henry III surrenders his sword to Simon on the battlefield of Lewes. Simon took Henry and Edward prisoner but made a grave mistake allowing the pro-Royalist Welsh marcher lords to go free.

The raid went off without a hitch. The royalists rode off with Robert de Vere, Richard de Grey, Hugh de Neville, and others. However, they failed to capture Simon the Younger, who made a successful dash to the castle before he could be apprehended. The raiders rendezvoused with their foot companies and returned to Worcester.

The following night Earl Simon forded the Severn River at Clevelode undetected by the royalists and bivouacked at Kempsey. He had King Henry with him. From a messenger, the earl learned of Edward's successful raid on Kenilworth. His understanding was that Simon the Younger would still be able to rendezvous with him the following day as planned. The following night, Earl Simon resumed his march. To reach Evesham, the Montfortians crossed the Avon where it turned south at Peshore and then crossed it again via the Evesham Bridge to enter the town.

While Evesham may have been a good rendezvous point, it did not offer good ground for maneuver during a battle. The town was located in a loop of the Avon and therefore was sur-



ABOVE: Hostage King Henry was forced to ride into battle with Montfort's rebel army at Evesham on August 4, 1265. Knocked off his horse, he would have been slain had not Prince Edward rushed to his rescue. OPPOSITE: The prospect of being captured was unthinkable to Earl Simon, so he chose to fight to the finish at Evesham. Despite his greed, Montfort's legacy as a lawgiver remains intact.

rounded on three sides by the river. An 8th-century Benedictine abbey and the town itself were situated at the southern end of the loop near the Evesham Bridge. Just north of the town was a large swath of cultivated land and north of the farm fields was a low ridge known as Green Hill. Three roads entered the town from the north. The Worcester road entered the town from the northwest, the Alcester Road cut through the ridge from the north, and the Stratford Road traversed the ridge from the northeast.

Prince Edward had his army moving south from Worcester toward Evesham before daylight. As part of a plan to prevent Earl Simon's army from escaping the village by retreating across the Evesham Bridge, Montfort's division turned off the Worcester road toward Peshore, crossed the Avon, and took up a blocking position in a forested tract near the Evesham Bridge. Prince Edward and de Clare's division continued on the north bank of the Avon past Evesham, crossed the Avon, and entered the village of Cleeve Prior as part of a reconnaissance meant to prevent Simon the Younger's army from reinforcing Earl Simon. Even though he must have been aware of the stakes, Simon the Younger did not get his army on the road early enough to join his father before it was too late. Seeing no sign of Simon the Younger's army, the royalists countermarched to Green Hill. De Clare's division deployed on the west side of the ridge, and Edward's filed into position on the east side. Without the addition of his son's army, Earl Simon was outnumbered nearly four to one in horse and three to one in foot. He had 350 cavalry and 3,500 foot compared to Edward's 1,300 cavalry and 10,000 foot.

Earl Simon's lookout atop the abbey tower informed him that the enemy had not only occupied Green Hill but also was present on the south bank of the Avon. Realizing he was trapped and would have to cut his way out, Simon urged his captains—his son Henry, Hugh Despenser, and Ralph Bassett—to try to escape either by riding across the Evesham Bridge before that route was sealed off or by fording the Avon. None of the knights accepted the offer. At that point, Earl Simon ordered his cavalry to deploy for an attack against the royalist center on Green Hill. The earl's cavalry formed itself into a column with the infantry behind it led by Humphrey V de Bohun. The earl and his retinue, including John FitzJohn, Giles d'Argentan, Fulk of Deane, Harry of Hastings, and Peter de Montfort, were at the center of the attacking force. As they began their advance at 7:30 AM, Earl Simon spotted de Clare's banner atop the ridge. "That red dog will devour us today," said the earl.

Leading the charge was Earl Simon's eldest son, Henry. When Earl Simon's horse column came to within several hundred meters of the enemy force, they increased their pace to a slow canter. Edward and de Clare had not placed their men on the crest of the ridge but rather on the actual crest. Therefore, Earl's Simon's horsemen rode onto the top of the ridge before they made contact with the enemy. The front of the Montfortian column bristled with couched lances. Near the front of the column was Earl Simon's unfurled banner featuring a red lion rampant against a white background. The Montfortian cavalry rode straight for the seam between the two royalist divisions atop Green Hill. If it could tear through the enemy along that seam, a portion of Earl Simon's army might escape and gain temporary sanctuary at Kenilworth.

A desperate fight ensued in the center of the royalist line as Earl Simon's men tried to punch

through it. Shouts from both sides meant to awe the enemy mingled with screams of agony as the unlucky on each side experienced horrible wounds or death. Some of the royalist cavalry rode south to cut off the Montfortian cavalry from its infantry, many of whom already believed they were doomed and had fled in all directions. Many of the foot soldiers in Earl Simon's army were slain by Mortimer's men, who had rushed over the Evesham Bridge to join the fight.

The royalist army was fiercely loyal to Prince Edward and fought with great determination to snuff out once and for all Earl Simon and his followers. As for de Clare's men, they wanted revenge against the earl for stirring up the Welsh, who had attacked their lord's lands. It soon became apparent that the Montfortians could not break through the hard-fighting royalists. In the opening stage of the fight, Henry de Montfort had been slain. After a short time most of the rebel horsemen, including the earl, had been unhorsed. A steady clatter was heard as the knights and men-at-arms fought on foot with swords, maces, and battle axes. When Earl Simon learned of his son's fate, he said to those near him, "Then it is time for us to die." The earl's loyal followers formed a tight circle around their liege lord in an effort to protect him as long as possible.

King Henry had been forced against his will to ride into battle along with the Montfortian cavalry. Because he would not fight against his son's troops, he was knocked off his horse early in the fight by a royalist horseman who had no way of knowing he had struck the king since Henry was wearing full harness. Lying on the ground, a royalist soldier fighting on foot prepared to finish him off when the king shouted, "Save me! Save me! I am Henry of Winchester!" Hearing the plea, Adam de Mohaut, one of Edward's men, advanced on the king and removed his helmet. Edward observed the event and rushed over to help safely extract his father from the melee.

In the interim, the royalist men-at-arms supported by royalist foot soldiers wielding spears and billhooks bludgeoned and hacked their way closer to Earl Simon. The earl had no intention of surrendering or being captured. He would go down fighting. He eventually was surrounded by a dozen men intent on killing him. He fought off one attacker after another with his sword, but one enemy soldier crept up on him from behind and thrust a dagger through his mail. The earl fell to his knees. Seeing that he was severely wounded, several men-at-arms hacked him to death with their swords. "Thank God!" the earl said before he expired.

With great hatred, the enemy stripped him of his harness and clothing. One of the men-at-arms, William Maltravers, one of Mortimer's men, beheaded the fallen earl and others assisted him in further mutilating the earl's body. This was a spontaneous act and was a direct result of the intense hatred the men of the Welsh marches held for the earl. Edward had not ordered it. Actually, the prince had hoped to capture Earl Simon. About 20 of Earl Simon's household knights and key allies had died fighting with him, including Peter de Montfort, Hugh Despenser, Ralph Basset, and Guy de Baliol. Another 16 knights were captured. Among the prisoners were Henry of Hastings, David of Uffington, and Humphrey V de Bohun.

Simon the Younger had begun his march from Kenilworth with his customary lack of urgency on the morning of August 4. He egregiously allowed his men to stop and eat a meal when he should have been conducting a forced march to ensure he linked up with his father before Prince Edward

was in the vicinity. In the early afternoon, Simon the Younger's vanguard encountered frantic survivors from Earl Simon's army that told of their defeat at the hands of Prince Edward and the marcher lords. Simon the Younger ordered an immediate countermarch to the temporary safety of Kenilworth.

The dead from the Montfortian army blanketed Green Hill and the streets of the town, as well as the fields along the Alcester and Stratford roads leading away from the battlefield to the north and northeast, respectively. In a gesture respectful of their tenacious foe, King Henry and Prince Edward granted permission to the monks of the Evesham Abbey to collect and inter the remains of Earl Simon and his knights. They were laid to rest the day after the battle under the choir in the abbey's church.

The leading bishops of the realm facilitated an agreement known as the Dictum of Kenilworth between the remaining supporters of Earl Simon and the royal government in October 1266. During the conflict, the rebellious barons had been disinherited, and the agreement allowed them to get their lands back provided they pledge their allegiance to the crown and paid substantial fines. The Statute of Marlborough, which was passed into law in 1267, contained a number of the legislative and administrative reforms embodied in the Provisions of Oxford. The Statute of Marlborough gave the sheriffs a small voice through parliament on political matters and taxation where they previously had no say at all.

As for Simon de Montfort, despite the wishes of the English monarchy, his greed in his final years was forgotten or purposely ignored by the commoners. They regarded him as a martyr. Many of his admirers made a point of making a pilgrimage to his burial site in Evesham to honor him. □

IN 491 BC, heralds sent by Persian Emperor Darius I traveled throughout Greece with a message for each of the city-states of the Greek peninsula. They demanded earth and water from each one as the traditional symbol of submission to Darius' vast empire. Most of the Greek city-states complied with the demand and surrendered without a fight. But the Athenians hurled the Persian envoys into the barathron, a deep pit reserved for the execution of heinous criminals. Much to the Athenians' relief, Sparta acted in a similar manner. The Spartans threw the envoys into a deep well so that they could get the earth and water for themselves.

By the beginning of the 5th century BC, the conquests of the great Achaemenid Persian Empire had made it the undisputed superpower of the eastern Mediterranean. After establishing control over an enormous swath of territory throughout Asia, the imperial army forced the submission of Egypt, Phoenicia, Lydia, Ionia, Thrace, and Macedonia. The treatment the Persian envoys received at the hands of the Athenians was not the first time that they had insulted Darius, and the Persian emperor vowed that they would be severely punished for their indiscretions.

The relationship between Athens and the Persian Empire was first established in 506 BC. While Darius was unaware of the existence of the small city-state at that time, Athens considered Persia the most powerful empire in the known world, especially because of how easily the Persians had dominated Athens' Ionian Greek brethren across the Aegean Sea on the western coast of Asia Minor. Therefore, when Athens came into conflict with the militaristic Spartans, the city knew without a doubt that the Persian Empire could save them from their hostile neighbor.

When the Persians landed at Marathon in 490 BC, it fell to the Athenians to check their advance. After a lengthy standoff, the Athenians chose to attack.

BY ERICH B. ANDERSON

ATHENIAN GLORY AT MARATHON

Tensions arose between Athens and Sparta at the end of the 6th century because of radical changes made in the Athenian government. Throughout the second half of the century, the tyrants of the Peisistratid dynasty ruled Athens to the displeasure of most of the citizens. To completely eradicate tyranny from their city, the Athenians turned to King Kleomenes of Sparta. In 510 BC, Kleomenes came to Athens with his army and forced the Athenian tyrant Hippias to leave the city. Initially, the Peisistratids had come to power as part of a popular uprising against the aristocrats that had previously ruled Athens. Therefore, with the tyrants gone and the Athenians still opposed to oligarchy, revolutionary reforms were implemented within the government, leading to the birth of the first democracy.

Kleomenes and the highly conservative Spartans immediately regretted their role in establishing of such an unnatural form of government. Thus, when Isagoras, an Athenian aristocrat, again requested aid from Sparta to abolish the radical reforms, Kleomenes returned to Athens with an enormous army that included contingents from other allied Greek city-states. As the Spartan king led an assault from the west, he persuaded the Chalkidians and Thebans to invade northern Attica. It was in the face of this immense threat that the Athenians decided to

Greek hoplites armed with large shields and iron-tipped spears charge the Persians at Marathon.

send a delegation to Artaphernes, the governor of the westernmost province of the Persian Empire, at his capital city of Sardis in Asia Minor. The Persian satrap demanded earth and water. Desperate for military relief, the Athenian envoys promised to submit.

Dissension broke out at the Spartan camp among the other Greek forces. Once the contingents from the other city-states learned that their ultimate goal was to destroy the fledgling democratic government of Athens, many refused to follow through with the campaign. Chief among the dissidents were the wealthy Corinthians, who greatly relied upon their alliance with the Athenians to keep the rival city-states of Megara and Aigina from interfering with their lucrative trade industry. After Corinth abandoned the cause, most of the Greeks followed suit, even a faction of the Spartan forces. In failure, Kleomenes returned to Sparta. Since Chalkis and Thebes had already invaded Attica, the Athenian army then focused all of its attention on them and completely crushed both armies. The victory against Chalkis was so decisive that the Athenians confiscated large tracts of land from the city's aristocrats and settled 4,000 of their citizens in a new colony established there.

When the Athenian ambassadors returned from Sardis they not only found their city safe, but

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Both: Wikimedia

Athenian General Miltiades (left) and Spartan King Kleomenes.

also realized that they had made a huge mistake in submitting to Persia. Their fellow countrymen stressed that they were only to request an alliance with the empire, not to surrender the city's sovereignty. Therefore, Athens sent another message to Artaphernes stating that the envoys acted on their own accord and did not have permission to accept Persian domination. Understandably, the satrap was not pleased. Since Hippias had come to Sardis to request Artaphernes' assistance in reclaiming his city, the satrap told the new embassy that all would be well between them if they allowed the tyrant to return. The Athenians rejected the offer. With that, the relationship between Athens and Persia completely deteriorated.

The Persians would have made Athens their primary focus if it were not for the outbreak of the Ionian Revolt in 499 BC. No longer willing to be subjects of the empire, the Ionian Greeks expelled the Persian-backed tyrants of their cities and began to mobilize their armies and navies to secure their independence. The Ionians knew how fierce the struggle with the Persian Empire would soon become, so they sent their leader, Aristagoras, to the free Greeks of the mainland to plead for help. Kleomenes nearly pledged his support until he was made aware that it was a three-month march inland to reach the Persian capital of Susa. No Spartan was willing to travel that far away and risk a rebellion of the helot serfs who farmed their land. Kleomenes therefore declined to assist the rebels.

Athens and Eretria pledged their support with 20 warships supplied by the former and another five by the latter, along with more than 1,000 soldiers. Given the hostility Artaphernes expressed toward Athens, it was no surprise that the city agreed to help, while Eretria joined because it was a firm ally of the Athenians. Since the city-state was located on the large northern island of Euboia right next to Chalkis, the bond between Eretria and Athens was strengthened to oppose their mutual enemies.

In the spring of 498 BC, the allied Greek army gathered at the Ionian city of Miletos. From there, the Greeks quickly carried out an assault on Sardis before the Persians were able to assemble their forces. Caught completely off guard, the people of Sardis put up little resistance and only managed to reach the safety of their fortified acropolis before the city was taken by the rebels. As the Greeks were unable to break through the city's last defenses to capture Artaphernes, a disgruntled rebel soldier decided to set one of the homes on fire. The blaze rapidly spread and nearly engulfed the entire city.

In a panic, the Persians fled the acropolis and rushed to the sanctuary of a large, open marketplace to escape the flames. Night had fallen at this point, so the arrival of an unknown mass of people frightened the Greeks into thinking they were the Persian army come to defend the city. The rebels then fled Sardis just before the imperial forces actually arrived. In the darkness, the rebels scrambled to reach the safety of the city of Ephesus, but they were too late. The Persian army at Sardis relentlessly pursued the Greeks and confronted them outside the city gates. The Greek army was able to form ranks to meet the Persians, but it was to no avail. The Persians crushed the rebel army and slaughtered its soldiers.

The Ionian Revolt continued for several years, but the Athenians no longer took part in it. They may have decided that it was a lost cause, yet more likely Athens was too preoccupied with threats closer to home to participate any further. Not only were the citizens wary of facing attacks from Sparta, Thebes, and Chalkis, but also the people themselves were divided over where their loyalties should lie. Many Athenians still supported a pro-Persian policy and after the disastrous fate of the Ionian expedition against Sardis, this faction vastly increased its influence within the city. Furthermore, another external threat posed by the island nation of Aegina directly to the south of Attica made the Athenians feel surrounded on all fronts. This fueled the desire of many Athenians to make peace with Persia. The rest of the Athenians knew that they would have to deal with Aegina if they were to have any hope of keeping their independence and avoid the Persian yoke.

When the Thebans invaded Athens before the Ionian Revolt, they had requested the assistance of Aegina. The island city-state had been a longtime rival of Athens and was a formidable enemy for it commanded the most powerful fleet in the region. Therefore, the Aeginetans answered the Thebans' pleas and sent their navy to assault Athens. With great success, the Aeginetan fleet ravaged Athens' coastline and destroyed the city port at Phaleron. The island city-state did not follow this up with any further major attacks on Athens, but both cities continued to be at war with each other throughout the Ionian Revolt.

In 494 BC, the Ionian Revolt ended with the victory of the Persian navy over the Ionian fleet at the Battle of Lade and the subsequent destruction of the leading Ionian city of Miletos. The next year, the Persian navy further consolidated its hold over the region by capturing the islands of Lesbos, Chios, and Tenedos. In 492 BC, the Persian general Mardonios led a combined naval and land expedition throughout the northern Aegean Sea region. Even though half of the fleet was destroyed in a massive storm, Mardonios still managed to force the submission of Thrace and Macedonia. With the Ionian Revolt over and all of the surrounding territories under Persian control, the city-states of mainland Greece, especially Athens, knew that they were next. Darius may not have been aware of the backwater state at first, but the Ionian Revolt had completely changed that.

After the Ionian Revolt, Athens had made peace with Thebes and Chalkis but was still at war with Aegina. Then in 491 BC, the threat that the city-state posed greatly increased when the islanders gave the Persians earth and water. After the conquests of Mardonios' campaign the year before, the Athenians could not risk having a Persian ally so close to them in the south as well. Therefore, despite Sparta's hostility toward Athens in the recent past, the Athenians hoped the Spartans would set aside their differences to confront the greater threat

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

Persian commander Datis had orders to subdue the prominent island states of the Cyclades and then punish Eretria and Athens for their participation in the Ionian Revolt.

of Persia. Since Aegina was a part of the Peloponnesian League headed by Sparta, Athens sent an embassy to Kleomenes to make sure he was aware of Aegina's new pledge of loyalty to Persia. The Spartan king was well aware of the danger and told the Athenian envoys that he would personally deal with the matter.

Accompanied only by the royal guard, Kleomenes forced his way into Aegina and took 10 prominent citizens hostage to keep the city in line. Instead of bringing the captives back to Sparta, Kleomenes brought them to his new ally against Persia, the city of Athens. The Athenians graciously accepted the hostages in the hope that it would put an end to the threat Aegina posed not only to their city, but also to all of free Greece. Yet the issue was not over, for shortly after Kleomenes returned to Sparta, the king died. With his death, Athens instantly lost its main support at Sparta against Aegina. Likewise, with the threat of reprisal from Kleomenes gone, the confidence of the Aeginetans increased dramatically, which led the islanders to demand that the Athenians release their citizens. When the Athenians refused, the Aeginetans retaliated by seizing an Athenian ship filled with important religious leaders returning from a festival. Outraged, the top military commander of Athens, polemarch Kallimachos, gathered the army and led an assault on the island. The fury felt by the Athenians over the treatment of their priests must have been overwhelming because the soldiers swiftly broke through Aegina's naval defenses and confronted the islanders' army. The Aeginetans were no match for the Athenians, who brutally swept their army aside. With Thebes, Chalkis, and Aegina subdued and Sparta allied with them, the Athenians were no longer concerned with local enemies and could devote their attention to the inevitable Persian invasion.

While Athens was carrying out the final stages of its war with Aegina, the controversial Athenian citizen Miltiades returned to his city. During the tyranny of the Peisistratids, Hippias had sent Miltiades to become tyrant of the Athenian colony on the Thracian peninsula in 516 BC. When Emperor Darius led one of his first campaigns north of Greece against the Thracians and Scythians in 514 BC, Miltiades took part in the expedition. Miltiades may have been the leader among several Greek tyrants who planned on betraying the Persians; however, it is likely that the tyrant and his supporters later fabricated the story to redeem his name for having served Darius.

Whether or not his allegiance to Darius was sincere, Miltiades did show signs of loyalty to Athens when he captured the islands of Imbros and Lemnos for the city even though they were controlled by the Persian Empire at the time. Miltiades knew the Persians were not pleased with his seizure of the islands, so before Mardonios carried out his expedition, the tyrant gave up his title and planned his escape back to Athens. Once he was back in his homeland, Miltiades received a mixed reception. The ex-tyrant was still respected by the aristocrats of the city and had the favor of the merchants for his diligent support of Athenian trade. But Miltiades also had several powerful opponents. As part of the aristocratic Philaidae clan that included the deposed Isagoras as one of its members, Miltiades was at odds with the fervently anti-aristocratic faction of Athens, particularly the powerful Alcmaeonidae clan that was primarily responsible for the creation of the democratic government. Therefore, Miltiades was put on trial for the crime of ruling as a tyrant.

The moment Miltiades was in contact with his countrymen, he expressed his desire for Athens to resist the Persian Empire. Since he had witnessed the military might of Persia firsthand, the ex-tyrant was an incredibly valuable asset to the anti-Persian faction. For that reason, influential members of the group, such as Themistocles, constantly stressed the need for a commander with his knowledge for the coming clash with Persia. In the end, the Athenians were convinced, and Mil-

tiades was acquitted for his crime.

In 490 BC, Darius appointed Datis to lead another expedition west. His orders were to subdue the prominent island states of the Cyclades between Ionia and the Greek mainland, and then punish Eretria and Athens for their participation in the Ionian Revolt. The Persian general brought with him the former Athenian tyrant Hippias, who was to be reinstated to his former position once the city was taken. Datis may have had as many as 600 ships at his disposal, which according to the ancient sources was the standard number for the Persian navy, leaving plenty of room for his 25,000 soldiers to embark. Horse transports also were supplied to ferry a small contingent of cavalry that would not have been more than a few thousand strong.

The first target of the Persian expedition was the island of Rhodes south of Ionia. For several days, the Persian forces besieged the largest city of the island, Lindos, forcing the Rhodians to rapidly deplete their dwindling resources. It did not take long before the Rhodians decided that resistance was futile against such odds and surrendered. After the Rhodians gave him earth and water, Datis was incredibly lenient on them and demanded nothing further than their submission. In an act of goodwill, Datis even dedicated his clothing, jewelry, sword, and luxurious carriage to their temple of Athena.

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Elite Persian archers are shown on a frieze. In contrast to Greek dependence on heavy infantry, the Persians relied on foot archers who fought behind walls of shields.

From Rhodes, the Persian fleet sailed northwest along the coast of Ionia to the island of Samos, possibly in an attempt to confuse the inhabitants of their next target, Naxos, into believing that the destination of the navy lay elsewhere. Naxos was the most prominent state of the Cyclades Islands and had even withstood a minor Persian siege that lasted for four months before the onset of the Ionian Revolt in 500 BC. This time, the Persian ruse worked, so by the time the Naxians realized the fleet was headed straight for them, the islanders were caught completely off guard and did not have the time to prepare for the invasion. Instead of hiding behind the city walls, the Naxians fled to the countryside to hide in the mountains, hoping that the Persians would not take the time to find them. While some of the islanders managed to evade the imperial forces, others were captured and enslaved. The city of Naxos was then burned to the ground before the expedition continued.

Assuming they were next in line for the Persian forces, the Delians deserted their island for the safety of nearby Tinos. The people of Delos knew they had no chance to resist a Persian siege, nor was there any place on the island that they could hide. However, Datis had different plans for the religious center. Ordering most of the fleet to anchor at Rhenaia, the imperial commander landed on the island with only a small entourage, dismayed to find it empty. Datis then sent heralds to the Delians, assuring them that they could return to their homes and would not have to endure any harassment from his army. Both he and his emperor only wished to show their great respect for the altar dedicated to the gods Apollo and Artemis and to prove this, Datis made offerings like he had on Rhodes.

Datis not only donated his gold necklace, but also offered an enormous amount of frankincense. Datis remained on Delos for a week as he oversaw a substantial amount of the offering burned on the altar, sending a thick column of smoke up toward the sky. The smoke from the burning of Naxos and his offering sent a clear and terrifying message to the Greeks of the mainland that the Persians would arrive soon.

As for the remaining islands of the Cyclades, Datis' presence alone was enough to confirm Persian hegemony over them. The population of the remaining islands offered little to no resistance. Some of the Greek islanders, such as the Parians, displayed their allegiance by joining the Persian forces; however, when the Persian expedition reached the large island of Euboia, fighting erupted once more. The city of Karystos on the southeastern tip of the island resisted the invaders behind the safety of their walls, but the fortifications were not enough. The Persians quickly devastated the countryside and assaulted the defenders to such an extent that the Karystians were forced to surrender. Because of the damage he had already caused and for the short amount of time it took for Karystos to submit, Datis ordered that no further harm be done to the city or its citizens.

Datis was then able to attack the next major Greek state that had defied his emperor, Eretria. Once the Eretrians learned that the Persians were approaching their city, they immediately appealed to Athens for aid. Unwilling to send a substantial force and leave their own city vulnerable, the Athenians ordered the colonists inhabiting the lands taken from Chalkis in 506 BC to support Eretria. Along with the 3,000 Eretrian hoplites already in the city, the colonists would have increased the allied forces to as many as 7,000 soldiers if it were not for the chaotic situation in Eretria. Since they faced such overwhelming odds, many Eretrians did not want to resist at all. They preferred either to surrender outright before any fighting occurred or to flee into the surrounding hills for protection. Realizing the dire situation within his city, Aeschines, a prominent Eretrian citizen, alerted the Athenians that the defense of Eretria was most likely futile. The Athenian colonists therefore returned to Athens and left Eretria to its fate.

Once the imperial forces arrived, they quickly took control of the coastal regions of Aigilia, Tamynai, and Choireai before Datis ordered his men to besiege the city. The Eretrians ultimately decided to hold out against the invaders, but the onslaught they faced was fierce. For six days, numerous Eretrians and Persians were slain until two citizens could no longer take the slaughter. These men secretly opened one of the city gates for the Persians and thus received rewards of land from Datis. When they entered Eretria, the Persians sacked the city, burned the temples, and enslaved the populous. After setting sail with the fleet, Datis ordered that the Eretrian slaves be placed on the island of Aigilia before the navy reached its ultimate goal, the city of Athens.

As part of the expedition, Hippias knew the perfect place for the Persians to land and disembark such a formidable force. Instead of landing directly south of Athens near the port at Phaleron, the former tyrant recommended that the Persians initiate the invasion of Attica from the plains of Marathon. Hippias was especially familiar with the area and knew precisely how advantageous it was as a starting place for an assault on Athens. He knew this because it

was where his father, Peisistratus, had begun his successful campaign to retake the city after he was ousted from power in 546 BC. First, the bay was protected by Cape Kynosoura, which jutted out from the mainland and offered protection for the fleet from the elements, essentially creating a natural harbor. Second, the expansive plain was ideal for the deployment of cavalry, the key component to the Persian army. Third, the distance between Marathon and Athens meant that the Persians had time to disembark their numerous forces without worrying about attacks from the Athenians since it was only a day's march to reach the city. Datis wholeheartedly agreed with Hippias' recommendation, so the navy headed straight for the bay of Marathon.

On August 1, the Persian fleet landed at the northern part of the bay of Marathon known as Schoinias Beach, right beside the shelter of the Kynosoura Peninsula. Over the following days, the Persians worked diligently to disembark the army, horses, and supplies and build a fortified camp. The imperial forces also spread throughout the surrounding countryside to scavenge for further food and resources, destroying homes, killing stray villagers, and burning anything else that they did not deem useful. Well aware of the approaching Persian navy, the Athenians had sent scouts throughout Attica, and most likely through the use of smoke signals, these men alerted the city once the fleet was seen off the coast.

As part of the democratic reforms instituted in the Athenian government, the citizenry was divided into 10 tribes, each with its own annually elected strategos, or general. These generals, who were all prominent citizens, such as Themistokles and Miltiades, immediately gathered with polemarch Kallimachos, the overall commander of the army, to debate their options in the gymnasium of Apollo Lykeios located in the eastern part of Athens. Some of the generals argued that the best course of action was to remain behind the safety of the city walls. Miltiades discounted that strategy and urged the other commanders to march out with the army and confront the Persians on the battlefield. Ultimately, he managed to make a convincing case, arguing that the act would not only rally their own hoplites but their audacity might also intimidate the imperial forces. With the decision made to fight, the war council's next action was to send a herald to Sparta and the other Greek city-states urging them unite with them.

With his incredible speed and stamina, Philippides was chosen to run the incredible distance of around 150 miles from Athens to Sparta. The rough, mountainous Greek terrain was unsuitable for horseback riding, which meant that runners were the preferred method of exchanging messages. More importantly, Philippides was prepared for the amazing feat he was expected to accomplish. The exhausted messenger must have been partly disheartened when he reached the Peloponnesian city where he received mixed news from the Spartans. The council of elders, who held authority even over Sparta's kings, agreed to help their new allies against the Persian menace, however, the Athenians would have to wait. The elders adamantly refused to allow hoplites to leave on campaign during the Karneian religious festival, which ended on August 9. The Spartans were an extremely religious people and would not be budged from this decision. Therefore, when Philippides returned to Athens on August 4, he had to deliver the bad news that they would have to wait over a week before the Spartan army would reach them.

Giannis Kadoglou

A reenactor portrays a Greek hoplite as he might have appeared about 500 BC. The tall crest on the Corinthian helmet may have been more common for officers during this period and after. The cuirass is made of leather, and the red chiton worn under the cuirass is made of linen or wool. He is armed with a doru (spear) and xiphos (short sword).

Regardless of the danger of facing Persia alone, the Athenian commanders assembled the army at night. Then, the 9,000 Athenian hoplites, along with supporting light infantry, armor bearers, and various other servants, marched the roughly 26-mile route through Pallene and around the southern edge of Mount Pentelikos to reach the plain of Marathon from the southeast. By the morning of August 5, the Athenian army reached the sanctuary of Herakleion and rapidly con-

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ABOVE: The Greek hoplites at Marathon went into battle chanting a hymn dedicated to Apollo. RIGHT: The Persians repulsed the Greek center at Marathon, but the Greeks were victorious on both flanks.

structed a fortified camp to block any overland routes to Athens, using the surrounding forest as further protection from Persian cavalry attacks. Kallimachos and the other generals also observed the Persian forces, and there is no doubt that they would have felt intimidated at the sight of three times as many men as they had. However, the Athenian commanders were delighted to find that Datis had assembled his forces at the end of a bottleneck with his camp on a narrow strip of land between the sea and the Great Marsh. If the Athenian infantry somehow managed to break through the Persian lines and rout the enemy, the Persians would have nowhere to run and those who could not reach their ships would most likely drown in the sea or the marsh. The spirits of the generals soared even higher that evening when other soldiers approached the camp. The Athenians would not have to fight alone because 1,000 hoplites from Athens' longtime ally, Plataea, joined the army to increase the heavy infantry to 10,000 men.

Despite the arrival of the Plataeans, not all of the Athenian commanders were confident of victory in the face of such formidable odds. The resolve of these men was tested the next day when Datis offered the Athenians one last chance to submit. The generals were evenly divided, with half rejecting the appeal outright and the others wishing to surrender. Of course, Miltiades was chief among those who still desired to fight and made one last persuasive speech, mostly directed at Kallimachos, whose vote would end the deadlock. Confident in his countrymen's martial skills, the polemarch agreed to make a stand.

For the next five days, the two armies maintained their positions and closely watched each other. As the Greeks waited for the appearance of the Spartans, Datis did not want to assault their camp because he would be forced to do so without the support of his most valuable asset, the cavalry. Therefore, it was up to the Persian general to break the stalemate before the Spartans arrived. The day after the 5,000 Peloponnesian hoplites were expected to leave Sparta, Datis divided his forces and began to embark a substantial portion back on his ships. The Persian general's plan was to keep half of his army at Marathon to preoccupy the Athenians while the rest of his forces attacked the defenseless city. Under the cover of darkness, the Persians began by loading the horses onto the transports since it would take the most time to get the frightened beasts on board. Once the Ionians in the Persian army were told Datis' scheme, they sent messengers to the Athenians to alert them. Exceedingly grateful for the warning, Kallimachos and the other generals decided the next day was the perfect time to strike. Because of his experience with the Persian army, Miltiades was sure he knew how to defeat them, and his tactics for dealing with the numerous Persian archers were spread throughout the Greek forces in the night.

At dawn on August 11, the Athenians and Plataeans marched out of their camp to face the Persian army already assembled across the plain. Most of the Persians had not yet boarded their ships so their forces still outnumbered the Greeks considerably, yet they did not have access to their cavalry. Datis led from the center, the position of honor to the Persians, behind the elite core of the army of 1,000 Persians and 2,000 Sakai infantry. These soldiers would have been arstibara who wielded spears to confront the heavily armored hoplites. The rest of the Persian army comprised thousands of sparabara, archers who were protected by walls of large shields placed in front of them. With the cavalry embarked on the ships, Datis greatly relied on these warriors to rain arrows upon the Greek infantry, thinning their ranks before his greater number of troops could overwhelm them.

To extend the line of his men to equal to that of the Persians so that they would not be overwhelmed on the flanks, Kallimachos ordered that the phalanx of the two tribal regiments in the center to be decreased to four men deep. The remaining eight tribes on the wings, including the Plataeans on the far left, drew up in the traditional eight ranks deep. If the center managed to survive long enough, the polemarch hoped that the wings could drive off the Persians opposite them and then attack the flanks of the center. After final sacrifices were made to the gods resulting in favorable omens, Kallimachos took command from the right wing and ordered his trumpeter to give the signal for the battle to begin.

Wikimedia

As the Greeks slowly advanced they began to chant the paian, a hymn dedicated to Apollo, in the hope that the god would grant them victory. Initially, the two armies were separated by a mile but as the Greeks closed the distance, the trumpeters gave another signal and the hoplites began to pick up their pace. As they began to jog, the hoplites ceased chanting the paian and instead started yelling war cries of "Eleleu! Eleleu!" The Persians may have been frightened at the sight of the mass of screaming heavy infantry rapidly approaching them, yet they held their ground and began to rain arrows down upon the Greeks. Yet just before the Greeks reached the effective range of the arrows a few hundred yards from the Persian front lines, the trumpeters gave another signal and the hoplites charged the enemy. Regardless of the heavy weight from their bronze helmets, body armor, shields, and eight-foot, iron-tipped spears, the Greeks ran with incredible speed. Before the Persians could fully comprehend what was happening, the hoplites crashed into their front ranks.

Datis had never witnessed or even heard of Greek hoplites running in full armor and was caught completely off guard. The archers in which he had put so much faith inflicted hardly any damage to the Greeks because of the speed of their charge. Even though the collision resulted in numerous deaths among the Persian forces, their superior numbers helped them to maintain their morale and counterattack. The shallow ranks of the Greek center that faced the elite Persian and Sakai spearmen began to buckle under these attacks but still managed to stand their ground.

The hoplites on the wings had a much easier time of slicing through the light armor of the Persian auxiliaries standing against them, their large, pavise-like shields completely unable to halt the press of the Greek warriors. Before long, the Greeks reached the archers and began to slaughter them indiscriminately. The desperate missile fighters attempted to defend themselves with daggers and short swords, but their arms and armor were no match for the Greek heavy infantry. Unable to withstand the thicker hoplite phalanxes, the Persian wings collapsed and the auxiliary soldiers frantically attempted to flee back to the ships. Many did not make it, however, for the Great Marsh behind them covered too much ground and became a massive deathtrap for hundreds of retreating Persian warriors.

The Persian wings were routed just in time, for the beleaguered hoplites of the Greek center were on the brink of collapse. Therefore, instead of pursuing the fleeing Persians, the Plataeans and Athenians on the wings turned toward the Persian center, reformed their lines, and attacked the flanks of the elite Persian and Sakai infantry. Assaulted on three sides, the warriors of the Persian center broke and followed the rest of their army back to the ships. But the fight was not yet over, for the Greeks would not let the Persians get away so easily. The Greek army pursued the Persians to the coast, where the battle continued ferociously. It was at this stage of the battle that Kallimachos was slain, his limp body pierced with so many spears that it remained upright after his death. The Greeks pressing the assault called to the men behind them for fire to burn the Persian ships, but it was to no avail. The defeated Persian warriors held off the Greeks long enough that only seven ships were captured before the rest of the fleet put to sea.

Eon Images

The carnage was heavy among the Persians when they panicked and fled for the relative safety of their ships.

The victory at Marathon was extraordinary for the Athenians and Plataeans. While only 192 Athenians and 11 Plataeans were killed, they had slain 6,400 Persian warriors. But there was no time for celebration because the Persian navy was on its way to undefended Athens. So even though they were exhausted, the Athenians had to gather their belongings and march back to the city to confront the invaders once again. Thus, after leaving the battered tribal regiments of the Greek center behind to gather and bury the dead, the Athenians marched home. According to legend, the commanders sent another runner, possibly Philippides, ahead to announce the victory and alert the city of the approaching Persian fleet. Upon reaching Athens, the exhausted runner shouted the news and then dropped dead.

Alarm may have spread throughout Athens, but it was short lived for the Athenian soldiers returned to the city hours later. When the Persian fleet eventually reached the city, it saw the same terrifying bronze helmets of the men who had mauled them earlier waiting on the coast. Utterly defeated, the Persian ships turned around and sailed back to their lands. When the Spartans finally arrived the next day, they were overjoyed to hear of the victory and asked to see the battlefield. Once shown, the Spartans expressed deep respect for the martial prowess of their Greek brethren. The Athenians did not crush the Persian Empire at Marathon, nor did they stop all future invasions of Greece from imperial forces. Regardless, both the Athenians and Spartans knew that the Greeks had won a major victory, one that proved that the largest empire of the known world was far from invincible. □

Captain Odd Isaachsen Willoch knew what had to be done. The 55-year-old career Norwegian officer, commander of an aging coastal defense ship, was looking down the five-inch gun barrels and 21-inch torpedo tubes of the *Wilhelm Heidkamp,* a state-of-the-art German destroyer. Despite the mismatch against his outgunned "old bathtub," Willoch said, "Man the guns. We are going to fight boys."

In a determined effort to protect the crucial northern iron ore port of Narvik on April 9, 1940, the 40-year-old outdated and outclassed *Eidsvold* slowly gathered speed as it moved toward the German flagship that carried both Commodore Friedrich Bonte and Maj. Gen. Eduard Dietl, commanding officer of the invasion troops.

The Germans had proclaimed they came as friends to protect Norway from Britain. Consequently, they initially hesitated to fire on the oncoming vessel, but when the *Eidsvold* closed to within 1,000 feet, the destroyer unleashed six torpedoes. Three struck the Norwegian vessel, igniting its ammunition magazines. The enormous explosion lit the sky as the ship split in two and quickly sank. Nearly all 181 crew members on board were lost, including Willoch, with only six sailors surviving the ordeal.

The *Norge,* the *Eidsvold*'s sister ship, was on patrol closer to the harbor entrance when her crew spotted two other German destroyers through a heavy snow squall. The Norwegians fired five 8.3-inch rounds and five salvos from the starboard 6-inch battery. The German ships of the 1st Destroyer Flotilla were in the process of disembarking the three battalions of the reinforced 139th Mountain Regiment of the 3rd Mountain Division onto the steamship pier at Narvik. Lt. Cmdr. Kurt Rechel ordered the *Bernd von Arnim*'s 5-inch guns and machine guns into action, and the Germans fired seven

The arrival of the Royal Navy at Narvik on April 10, 1940, threatened Germany's hold on the key town. The Allies eventually withdrew, but not before they had inflicted heavy losses on the Kriegsmarine. **BY PHIL ZIMMER**

Hell in a NORWEGIAN FJORD

torpedoes for good measure against the *Norge*.

Two torpedoes struck home, one aft and one amidships, causing the Norwegian vessel to capsize to the starboard and sink within minutes. Of the 191 sailors on board, 101 went down with the ship. The combined action at Narvik against the two largest ships in the Norwegian navy was over in a span of some 23 minutes with the loss of 276 sailors' lives. The Germans sustained no losses in the engagements. Dietl continued offloading his seasick troops from the two destroyers and sought out Colonel Konrad Sundlo, who commanded more than 1,000 Norwegian troops in the Narvik region.

Dietl was more than a match for the 59-year-old Norwegian commander. Like Willoch, Sundlo was a graduate of the Norwegian Military Academy; however, Sundlo was cut of different cloth. He was an associate of pro-Nazi politician Vidkun Quisling and had privately expressed pro-German leanings.

Dietl met the German consul at the pier, and the two set off to find Sundlo. They were accompanied by seven soldiers who followed in a taxi. Sundlo reportedly told the Germans to leave within 30 minutes or they would be fired upon. Dietl, never at a loss for words, reiterated that they were peacefully occupying Norway to protect it from the British. He pointedly mentioned the naval guns trained on the Norwegian positions and noted that a bloodbath would be avoided if the Norwegians put their guns down.

The Germans continued to offload men from three destroyers now in port and set up machine-gun positions on the high ground as the discussions continued. A total of 600 German soldiers were poised to take the town, and they secured key bridges, railway and telegraph stations, and city hall. Reports continued to come in on the German movements as Sundlo surrendered the

The damaged HMS *Hotspur* collides with the HMS *Hunter* on April 10, 1940, during the destroyer battle in the Narvik Fjord. Both the British and German naval commanders died in the heavy fighting at sea that day.

Imperial War Museum

northern port to Dietl.

Narvik was crucial to the campaign that saw both Norway and Denmark fall under the heels of the first combined land, sea, and air attack in world history. For the most part, the initial German campaign that began on April 9 was exceptionally well executed. Citizens of both countries were stunned by the suddenness of the attack and speed of the German forces. Close-in Denmark fell rather quickly to the Nazi forces, while combined German strikes against six key Norwegian locations required a bit more time, energy, and manpower.

Narvik, a community of about 10,000 people located above the Arctic Circle in northern Norway, was a key target for the iron ore-dependent Germans. German leader Adolf Hitler's regime needed a steady and reliable supply of high-quality Swedish ore for its wartime industries. The wintertime supply came overland by rail to Narvik where it was transported by ship to Germany's ever-hungry blast furnaces. The conquest of Norway denied its military facilities to the British and provided airfields for the Luftwaffe and endless miles of protected fjords for the Kriegsmarine and its U-boat fleet. This enabled the Third Reich to range farther into the North Atlantic in the effort to cut off supplies headed to both Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

The events in Norway were to lead to the fall of British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's government on May 10, 1940, and the installation of Prime Minister Winston Churchill, who would steady and lead the British through the remainder of the long, bloody war.

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

ABOVE: Britain's 2nd Destroyer Flotilla, composed of five H-class destroyers, advances into Narvik Fjord on April 10. The British destroyers fired multiple torpedoes at the German destroyers while they were refueling. OPPOSITE: Damaged German ships belch smoke skyward after the dawn attack by British destroyers on April 10. The surprised German sailors at first believed they were under aerial attack, but soon got their bearings and returned British destroyer gunfire.

The defeat of Norway was effectively achieved on April 9, 1940. By that point, the Germans had control of every major coastal city and the majority of the key military bases. The modern airfields at Oslo and Stavanger also were taken in the combined air, land, and sea assault. It was a coup de main on a national level.

Interestingly, the Allies had plans to land in Norway before the Germans arrived as a preventative war action. Plan R4 called for landings at Narvik, Bergen, and Stavanger with upward of 100,000 British and 50,000 French and other troops to fill out the operation over several weeks. The poorly planned and loosely coordinated Allied landing force was rather idly standing by to act if the Germans violated Norwegian neutrality, or if changing conditions warranted.

The battle for Narvik, in many ways, summed up the misdirected, back-stepping ways of the Allies at the beginning of the war. Sundlo surrendered his 1,000-man force without firing a shot. But Dietl commanded a relatively weak force that had lost much of its war-making matériel in the storm-tossed voyage, and his men were far from home with the powerful British Royal Navy prowling close at hand.

Eventually there were 10 German destroyers at Narvik under Bonte, all awaiting refueling from the long voyage. Meanwhile, Captain Bernard Warburton-Lee, commander of the British 2nd Destroyer Flotilla, which comprised five destroyers, received orders to steam toward the northern port. Four of his vessels were 1934-era destroyers reportedly capable of speeds up to 36 knots and armed with four 4.7-inch guns and eight 21-inch torpedoes. Warburton-Lee decided to attack "at dawn high water" on April 10; dawn for surprise and high water for some protection against mines.

The British vessels inched slowly forward in a snowstorm so fierce that they missed one Norwegian ship, running with full lights, as it passed through the British formation. *Hardy, Hunter,* and *Havock* crept slowly into the harbor while *Hotspur* remained behind to block any German warships arriving from the northwest and *Hostile* remained nearby in reserve. Five German destroyers were in the harbor, two on either side of the *Jan Wellem,* being fueled. At 4:30 AM the British spotted both the *Anton Schmitt* and the *Wilhelm Heidkamp* with the sleeping Bonte on board.

"Get on with it," said Warburton-Lee, and *Hardy* launched three torpedoes. The first one hit the bow of the German fuel ship, and the second torpedo struck the aft section of the flagship. The second torpedo ignited the back magazine and set off an explosion that killed Bonte and more than 70 sailors. The third torpedo missed and four other torpedoes from *Hardy* also missed their target but damaged the ore wharfs before the vessel laid smoke and headed out. *Hunter* then shot off a round of torpedoes and fired its guns.

One torpedo struck the *Anton Schmitt. Havock,* the third British ship in line, fired three torpedoes with two striking separate merchant ships, per orders, and striking the *Schmitt,* which sank in about a minute with the loss of 63 sailors.

The surprised and confused Germans at first believed they were under aerial attack, but gunfire from *Hunter* in the dark, snow-filled early morning soon brought a returning round of German gunfire. *Hostile* returned to the main harbor and fired a salvo at the *Roeder,* striking it twice. The German ship managed to launch eight torpedoes, with several running under the British destroyers. Two other German ships joined the shooting fray but failed to record a hit in this part of the battle.

Warburton-Lee drew off and considered the situation. His vessels were untouched and *Hostile* still had a complete complement of torpedoes. He briefly considered the prospect of

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putting a landing party ashore to recapture the city but elected to make another naval run at the German destroyers hemmed in the port. At 6:44 AM the six British destroyers formed a line with *Hardy* in the lead and *Hostile* at the tail and steamed at 20 knots toward the harbor. The *Kunne* and *Lüdemann* took the British ships under fire as they neared the inner harbor entrance. *Hostile* took a shell that caused little damage. Warburton-Lee ordered his vessels to make for the open sea. They were chased by three German destroyers. At that point, *Hardy* took several hits, with its bridge destroyed and Warburton-Lee mortally wounded.

Paymaster Lieutenant Geoffrey Stanning, the only man left moving on the bridge, took control of the ship and managed to get it near shore. The crew jumped overboard and began swimming in the icy waters, dragging the wounded captain, who yelled, "Swim, lads, swim!"

The courageous captain soon died, but others were taken in and warmed by local residents. A number of sailors were transported to a local hospital and most of the crew was later evacuated by the destroyer *Ivanhoe*. Warburton-Lee later received the first Victoria Cross in the war.

The sea battle continued, with *Hunter* catching fire and losing speed and *Hostile* encountering steering difficulties. *Thiele* and *Arnim* continued to pound away at the British destroyers. As they closed on *Hunter,* the lead British destroyer, even the German 37mm and 20mm antiaircraft guns opened up. *Hunter* was pounded with repeated shell hits, its engines stopped, and flames shot skyward. *Havock* was steaming at 30 knots behind and it sliced into the rear of the hapless *Hunter,* which eventually sank with the loss of more than 100 sailors.

The two British destroyers at the rear steamed past the two tangled ships and then slowly turned to protect *Havock* as it worked its way free from *Hunter*. On the way toward the open sea, the British came upon the *Rauenfels,* a German ammunition ship heading toward Narvik. The damaged but spunky *Havock* fired on the German vessel, which ran aground and exploded, sending a column of smoke 3,000-feet into the crisp Norwegian air.

By the end of the engagement, the British had sunk two German destroyers, damaged five others, and sunk eight merchant ships. The damaged port was a strange sight. "German destroyer afire from stem to stern," recalled a Narvik resident. "Its engines were still operating but it circled aimlessly." Approximately 130 Germans lost their lives, and only three Nazi ships were undamaged, although they had expended about half their ammunition. The British lost *Hunter* and 108 men and *Hardy* with 19 men. *Hotspur* suffered 20 dead; the other two destroyers did not sustain any losses.

Significantly, the remaining German destroyers stayed trapped in Narvik's harbor while additional British naval forces steamed to the scene. A British force led by Vice Admiral William Whitworth aboard the battleship *Warspite* arrived at noon on April 13 to finish up matters started three days earlier by Warburton-Lee. *Warspite,* which had 15-inch guns, had seen action at the Battle of Jutland in World War I. Supporting *Warspite* were nine British destroyers. The battles on April 10 and April 13 are known as the First Naval Battle of Narvik and the Second Naval Battle of Narvik, respectively.

This was perhaps the first time the British had wedged such a large vessel into such a relatively narrow fjord, and the daring gamble paid off. They isolated the destroyer *Erich Koellner* that had been damaged two days earlier. The covering British destroyers overwhelmed the German vessel with torpedo and gunfire, as *Warspite* opened its large guns and finished it off. The remaining four German destroyers moved to block the British advance into the port, with the Germans firing over the escort vessels in an attempt to strike the huge battleship. The roar of gunfire echoed from the mountains and gorges surrounding the harbor.

As German ammunition ran low around 2 PM, the German destroyers retired to the narrow side fjords only to be hunted down by the advancing British warships. *Kunne* beached itself and was struck by a British torpedo. *Giese* and *Roeder,* both damaged earlier, were then dispatched.

"It is a sight, burning and sinking enemy ships all around us, and our own destroyers search into every little corner that might hide something," wrote Gunners Mate Daniel Reardon of the *Warspite*. The *Zenker, Arnim, Thiele,* and *Lüdemann* were holed up in the narrow-necked Rombaks Fjord, protected there from the large battleship. The British destroyers moved in as *Thiele* ran onto the rocks and the crews from the three other damaged German destroyers escaped to shore.

The Second Battle of Narvik was clearly a one-sided victory for the British, although they still had to deal with what they estimated were 2,000 entrenched German troops in Narvik. Ten modern German destroyers, half of that country's powerful destroyer arm, lay heavily damaged or sunk in the fjords near Narvik. Ironically, though, the loss of the destroyers added to the strength of the German forces there because the estimated 2,500 rescued sailors were used to supplement Dietl's ground troops.

A view from the Narvik wharf gives an idea of what German soldiers and sailors would have seen of their damaged fleet on the morning of April 10.

As Whitworth headed out of Narvik on April 13 aboard the *Warspite* with its escorting destroyers, he reported to London that German naval strength around Narvik had been crushed and predicted the city could be easily captured without serious German naval opposition. Whitworth might have sent a landing party ashore from his own vessels, but he hesitated because of the relatively small number of troops available and the presence of the highly trained German troops in the Narvik area. Unknown to him, the Germans had believed the naval bombardment from *Warspite* had signaled the start of an Allied landing and had pulled back to the hills surrounding the town. Once it was clear that there would be no landing at that time, the Germans reoccupied Narvik.

Officials in London were so delighted by the victory that little thought was given to the lost opportunity to put men ashore. Hitler, for his part, flew into a rage and demanded that Dietl quickly depart Narvik and travel southward over extremely harsh cold mountainous terrain to join up with German forces in Trondheim. It was an unrealistic order considering the large Norwegian port lay more than 550 snow-covered miles to the south. Experienced, level-headed German officers intervened and convinced the German leader to keep the forces at Narvik in place for the moment.

Hitler, though, was right about one thing: the German position at Narvik was not strong. Although Dietl had some 4,600 men under him, only 2,000 were combat-ready soldiers, with the remainder being sailors pressed into ground action. In addition, Dietl's men were desperately short of ammunition and heavy weapons. The presence of the British naval forces and the extreme distances involved meant that there was little realistic expectation of receiving additional war matériel. And to add to the German dilemma, on April 14 two companies of Scots Guards landed at Harstad, just north of Narvik, where they joined up with Norwegian forces there that had not surrendered.

The Germans were faced with other problems as well. For one, they had planned to use their U-boats to provide a protective screen for their surface ships and provide secure communications for the extended operation that ran from Oslo to Narvik. As the British ships funneled into the fjords, the Germans expected rather easy pickings compared to targets in the open sea. But the submarine captains encountered the unexpected; torpedoes either failed to explode or detonated prematurely.

Gunter Prien, the acclaimed captain who had sunk the massive 620-foot battleship *Royal Oak* with his brazen October 1939 attack at heavily guarded Scapa Flow, reported that his *U-47* fired four torpedoes at nearly point-blank range at two transports on April 15. No explosions were recorded so he reloaded and delivered a second attack on the surface at midnight, again without success. One of those torpedoes did run off course and exploded against a cliff, alerting the British to his presence. Prien and his crew narrowly escaped running aground while being pursued with depth charges.

It was well after the Norwegian campaign that the Germans learned the full extent of the problems that bedeviled the torpedoes. Several factors were in play, including a defective action of a striker within the torpedoes, other problems that caused many to run below their targets, and the strong magnetic fields around northern Norway that affected the torpedoes. As it was, the U-boat failures left a considerable gap in German efforts to protect their beleaguered and comparatively isolated troops in Narvik.

By April 16, Hitler was again fretting about the situation, arguing that Dietl's force either scoot into nearby Sweden or be evacuated by air. Gen. Col. Alfred Jodl stepped into the breech and argued against withdrawal into Sweden, and also noted that evacuation by air was not practical because of the lack of sufficient numbers of long-range aircraft. The very next day, though, Hitler authorized Dietl to move his troops into neutral Sweden to avoid capture. Again the high command worked around Hitler, delaying that message for a period and sending Dietl a congratulatory dispatch along with his promotion to lieutenant-general . The accompanying message expressed the high command's confidence that Dietl would manage "to defend Narvik even against a superior enemy." Eventually Hitler agreed with Jodl, and a new order was sent advising Dietl to defend Narvik as long as possible.

But Hitler was rattled, nearly to the core, according to some reports. Those who opposed his fervent desire to withdraw Dietl's troops even had to drag in a Norwegian expert to explain

the incredible unreasonableness of expecting Dietl's forces to traverse the cold, snow-filled mountainous terrain laying between Narvik and Fauske some 120 miles to the south.

The matter settled for the moment, 10 Junkers Ju-52s were sent to reinforce Narvik by air. The planes landed on a nearby lake and unloaded a battery of mountain artillery. Germany pressured Sweden to allow it to reinforce Narvik via the Swedish railway that ran to the port, and the neutral nation eventually agreed to the demand. Food, medical supplies, and more than 200 technicians made their way to Narvik over the Swedish line, and in May more than 800 injured German merchant sailors and wounded servicemen quietly made their way back toward Germany over the same rail lines.

The Germans had been reading the secret British messages and, to compound matters further, British Admiral William Boyle and Maj. Gen. Piers Mackesy differed on how best to take Narvik. Mackesy feared a direct assault against the well-trained German mountain troops and favored an envelopment that itself would not be easy. Two battalions of the German mountain troops were deployed 15 miles north of Narvik, with the third battalion stationed in the town itself. The 2,600 German sailors, armed with Norwegian weapons captured at Elvegaardsmoen, were positioned along Herjangs Fjord to the north of Narvik, along the rail line to Sweden, and in support of the mountain troops in town.

Following considerable discussion, Mackesy agreed to a naval bombardment of Narvik on April 24, with the battleship *Warspite* leading the attack along with the cruiser *Effingham*. A fierce, three-hour bombardment apparently did little to shake the defenders, although the attackers could not be overly sure because of high winds and heavy snowfall. Envelopment, rather than a frontal assault, now appeared to be the best way for the Allies to take the besieged town. On the night of April 28-29 French and British troops landed to the north and south of the town as part of the plan.

The Luftwaffe was called upon to continue the supply and reinforcement of the northern town, hinder the advance of the Allied forces that now included Polish and Norwegian troops, attack Allied ships in the area, and support a German overland advance on Narvik. The port was at the far end of a long supply trail from the Fatherland. The British, for a time, had limited air support from carriers in the area and had use of an airfield at Bardufloss, which was located some 27 miles northeast of Narvik. This gave the Allies some air parity with Germany over northern Norway. Approximately 600 local Norwegians helped remove nine feet of snow from the field, and 14 Gladiators arrived on May 14 and a squadron of Hurricanes five days later.

Despite its best efforts, the Luftwaffe could only slow but not stop the British, French, Polish, and Norwegian forces now advancing overland toward the port. By late April, the Allied forces had grown to 27,000 soldiers, who easily outgunned the exhausted and hard-pressed German defenders. The Allies also had 24 artillery guns and five antiaircraft batteries as they moved forward under Lt. Gen. Claude Auchinleck, who had replaced Mackesey.

Despite the presence of British artillery and fighter planes, the Germans managed to drop 650 paratroopers near Narvik between May 23 and May 30. The air drop of May 23 showed how stretched the German forces were with the onset of the campaign in France. The 66 men dropped that day had received a much curtailed, 10-day course in parachuting, although no losses were reported.

The Allied naval forces pulled into the besieged harbor on May 27 and May 28 and let loose a heavy bombardment that started a number of fires. Dietl called for assistance and all available aircraft, including Stukas from an intermediary field at Mosjoen, arrived to attack the force of 10 ships.

Dense fog cloaked the British air base at Bardufloss, giving the Stukas, Ju-88s, and He-111 bombers free rein over the ships and Allied ground positions. The planes "having a clear run, were whirling like angry eagles low over the ground, almost touching tree tops, and sweeping the gray thicket with murderous machine gun fire," wrote a Polish soldier. "The fall of bombs was short and heavy, like that of ripe apples from a tree."

Once the fog lifted at Bardufloss, the British fighters were sent aloft and downed two German bombers and destroyed two flying boats on the water. In addition, two Gladiators from the carrier *Glorious* shot down a floatplane, and two additional bombers were destroyed by British antiaircraft fire.

In the midst of the fierce air attack, the Allied forces took Ankenes just south of Narvik, the French mountain troops thrust southward toward Narvik, and the British navy landed forces on the town's waterfront. Dietl had seen enough of the determined Allied attack. He skillfully avoided encirclement, pulled his troops back along the rail line toward Sweden, and abandoned most of

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A British force led by Vice Admiral William Whitworth aboard the battleship HMS *Warspite* steams into the Narvik Fjord on April 13 to take up the fight where deceased British commander Captain Bernard Warburton-Lee left off.

Imperial War Museum

In late April, Allied vessels put British and French forces ashore north and south of the town as part of a plan to envelop German land forces at Narvik.

his heavy equipment in the process.

The next day the Germans added increasing numbers of Bf-110s to the mix, but these were fitted with the "dachshund's belly," a long-range fuel tank that made them cumbersome in battle against the faster and more nimble Hurricanes. The Luftwaffe was torn between the need to directly aid the men on the ground versus the need to focus on the British air base at Bardufloss, which was providing deadly fighter coverage over Narvik. It was, in reality, a chicken-and-egg argument that could only have been resolved with more resources than the Germans could muster at that point.

The Germans maintained the view that the Allies would make a final thrust to drive Dietl out of the northern region, thus separating the Third Reich from the valuable, high-quality iron ore that was shipped through Narvik. On May 30, Hitler sent a message that Dietl's isolated forces were to be supported by all available means. The German commander was to hold on for five or six days so that a relief operation could be mounted. The Luftwaffe, in the meantime, was to protect and support the ground forces. Several desperate ideas were floated, including the use of gliders to transport additional mountain troops to Narvik, and in early June the planners seriously considered parachuting another 1,800 men into the area. But events and already stretched resources prevented the full implementation of such plans, although a few troops were dropped to supplement Dietl's forces.

Another rather fanciful plan called for 6,000 men and a dozen tanks to be landed nearly 90 miles north of Narvik. They would then move southward to strike behind the Allies' positions, while the Luftwaffe would strike and take the British airfield at Bardufloss and initiate support operations from there. This was set for the third week of June, but it never came about because the Allies had pulled the plug on their own efforts well before then. That was just as well because the Hurricanes at the well-defended Bardufloss airfield would have presented significant difficulties to the already extended Luftwaffe. Plans were also undertaken with a handpicked force of 2,500 troops to bring in relief from the south along the coast.

When the weather cooperated, the Germans did bring the Allied positions in and around Narvik under intense pressure, causing fires that gutted the center of the town and knocking out communications. But continued poor weather hampered Luftwaffe operations, and the depleted supplies of food and war matériel weighed heavily on Dietl and his men. The besieged Germans were convinced that a final Allied push was on the way.

A surprise source of relief came for the Germans. The Allies, after winning Narvik and pressing Dietl's men near to the point of surrender, decided to evacuate Narvik as they became concerned by the May 10 German invasion of France and the need for men to defend Great Britain.

It was Churchill who pressed for the return of the troops as the Allies were in the final evacuations of the "Miracle at Dunkirk." The first 15,000 Allied troops around Narvik were loaded aboard ships between June 4 and June 6, with the rear guard departing on the morning of June 8 aboard the cruiser *Southhampton.* The troops were covered by escort vessels and the carrier *Ark Royal* as the bulk of their stores and equipment were also loaded without incident during inclement weather that helped hide the movement from the Germans.

As the skies eventually cleared on June 8, it became evident that the Allies had departed. The Luftwaffe went gunning for the carrier, especially, but only managed to damage a steamer. A German naval force under Admiral Wilhelm Marschall managed to destroy a tanker, an escort trawler, and the unescorted troopship *Orama,* which was carrying a crew and 100 German prisoners. The Germans picked up 275 survivors and let the hospital ship *Atlantis,* with more than 600 wounded Allied soldiers onboard, pass unmolested in accordance to the rules of war as they were observed early in World War II.

British land-based fighter planes had covered the evacuation area, and initial plans called for them to be destroyed at the end of the operation. In a daring, last-minute move, the British decided to attempt to land them on the *Glorious,* which was in the area along with *Ark Royal.* In the early morning hours of June 8, the pilots managed to get 10 Gladiators and eight Hurricanes safely on deck, despite personally never having attempted carrier landings before and in planes not built for such an operation.

The carrier *Glorious,* accompanied by two destroyers, was spotted at 4:45 PM and taken under fire by the German battlecruisers *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*. Although close to the Norwegian coast, *Glorious* Captain Guy D'Oyly-Hughes failed to have any patrol craft aloft. The two British destroyers laid smoke and launched torpedoes in a vain effort to ward off the battlecruisers. The carrier's 4.7-inch guns were no match for its opponents, and at about 6 PM an 11-inch shell from the *Scharn-*

horst hit the carrier's bridge, killing the captain and destroying the steering mechanism.

The destroyer *Ardent* turned on the attackers and launched her torpedoes at *Gneisenau,* which skillfully evaded them. Both German battleships fired on and stuck the plucky *Ardent,* which capsized and sank within four minutes.

The German vessels then scored additional devastating hits on *Glorious,* and its deck was penetrated with the ammunition and fuel erupting in fire. She slowly "turned on her side pouring out flames and smoke," according to a German report, before sliding below the surface at 7:08 PM on June 8.

The remaining British destroyer, the *Acasta,* then appeared to be heading away from the larger ships, laying smoke and picking up steam. Lt. Cmdr. Charles Glasfurd sent a message to his crew that they "were going to make a show."

"Good luck to you all," he said, before swinging *Acasta* 180 degrees around into its own smoke. As it closed on the *Scharnhorst, Acasta* fired its port torpedoes with one striking the starboard side of the battleship, killing two officers and 46 men. The British ship reentered the smoke before reemerging for another run at the enemy. *Gneisenau* fired and scored a solid hit to the aft section of the Acasta, which kept firing and hitting *Scharnhorst,* but causing little damage.

Two thirds of the *Acasta* was aflame as *Gneisenau* turned away to keep an eye on its sister ship. *Acasta* slipped beneath the waves shortly after 7:16 PM. *Acasta*'s lone survivor, Leading Seaman C. Carter, recalls seeing Surgeon Lieutenant H.J. Stammers attend the wounded and saw Glasfurd casually light cigarette and lean over the bridge to waive and mouth, "Good-bye and good luck," to him aboard a raft.

Marschall called off the action and brought the damaged *Scharnhorst* into port at Trondheim, which is 560 miles south of Narvik. Fortunately for the Allies, Marschall's decision to dock the *Scharnhorst* at Trondheim caused the two German vessels to miss a British troop convoy less than 160 miles away as it made its way back to Britain. When *Scharnhorst* put to sea again on June 20, *Gneisenau* was struck by a torpedo fired by a British submarine. Both made it to Germany for repairs, but neither vessel returned to duty until December 1940.

A great deal hinged on the self-sacrifice of the two British destroyers and Glasfurd's determined torpedo run on *Scharnhorst.* Otherwise, Marschall very likely would have encountered the second convoy carrying approximately 20,000 troops, passengers, and crew. The loss of those troops and the additional ships would have truly shocked the British to the core just as the nation was recovering from the bloody and costly evacuation from Dunkirk.

As it was, the loss of one of four British carriers did have a significant impact on the Allies. Only 38 men survived the sinking of *Glorious*, and none of the battle-tested pilots who had seen action in Norway survived the sinking. The carrier, its crew, and the pilots would have played key roles in the coming Battle of Britain. As it was, more than 1,500 men were lost to the Allies in that naval action.

The Allies suffered approximately 12,000 casualties in the Norwegian campaign, with about 70 percent of those killed. As for the Germans, they experienced 5,296 killed, wounded, and missing.

The Kriegsmarine was prepared to lose half its fleet in the effort to take Norway and Denmark, and that expectation proved near the mark. The figures are staggering. Both of the German battleships took substantial damage, one heavy cruiser was sunk and another badly damaged, two light cruisers were sunk, and 10 destroyers and six submarines were lost.

Although written with the advantage of hindsight, Churchill noted in his memoirs that after Narvik the "German navy was no factor in the supreme issue of the invasion of Britain."

Besides the carrier *Glorious,* the British lost two cruisers, seven destroyers, four submarines, and a number of armed trawlers in the campaign. Six British cruisers and eight destroyers were damaged but repairable. The French and Poles lost one destroyer and one submarine each.

The Germans claimed victory at Narvik, but that victory was largely a result of the Allies' decision to reposition their troops in the face of the German victory in the Battle of France. Dietl was lauded in German reports for his "exemplary tenacity under great privations" against a "greatly superior enemy" that capitulated.

Bundesarchiv Bild 101II-MW-5634-34A; Photo: Hundhausen

German sailors in winter camouflage man a position on the hills overlooking Narvik. The Germans claimed victory at Narvik, but the Allies withdrew their forces primarily to cope with the German victory in the Battle of France.

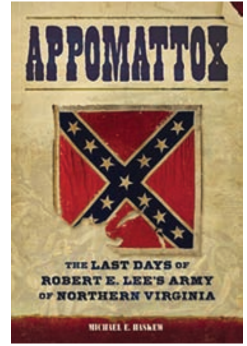
Despite the flowery rhetoric, it was clear that the Germans had won most of their objectives. The flow of the crucial Swedish iron ore was assured, and the Norwegian seaports and air bases would provide important launch points to choke off crucial supplies bound for Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Germany's loss of so many ships and submarines would impede that effort to an extent, as would the Allied occupation of Iceland to form a defensive ring running from the Shetland Islands through Iceland to Greenland. The lack of large numbers of long-range Luftwaffe bombers also hampered the effort, both in Norway and later against Britain itself.

And, interestingly enough, the Germans had approximately 370,000 men and tons of war matériel deployed in Norway by the spring of 1945. This all was effectively unavailable to the Germans for the Battle of Berlin. Germany may have won the Battle for Narvik and Norway, but winning the war proved beyond its grasp. □

By Christopher Miskimon

At Appomattox Court House, all General Ulysses S. Grant asked was for the Army of Northern Virginia to lay down its arms and go home.

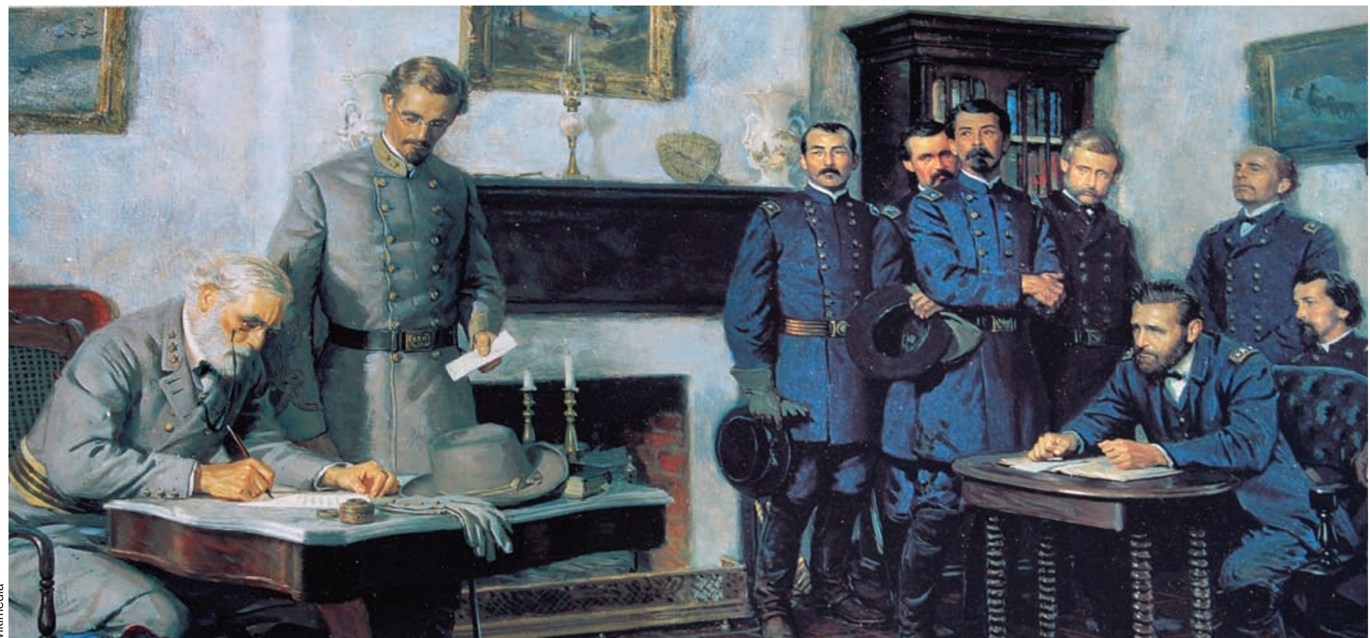
THE BATTLE OF SAILOR'S CREEK WAS A DEBACLE FOR THE CONFEDeracy and the death knell of the Army of Northern Virginia. On April 6, 1865, the Confederate forces under General Robert E. Lee were maneuvering to escape the much larger Union forces arrayed against them. Petersburg and Richmond had fallen, and the only real hope for the South to continue the war was for Lee's army to escape the Union army on its heels and join forces with General Joseph E. Johnston's Army of the South in North Carolina.



General of the Armies Ulysses S. Grant's pursuing armies were not to be denied, though. Fast-moving cavalry under Maj. Gen. Phil Sheridan was able to cut off three corps of Lee's army near Marshall's Crossroads east of Farmville, Virginia. Chasing the Rebels were the Union II and VI Corps. Between the enemy infantry and cavalry, the Rebel troops were caught and engaged in three separate battles. The fighting was desperate, but by the end the Confederates were decisively defeated. Nine thousand of Lee's soldiers were lost that day, which was nearly a quarter of the Army of Northern Virginia's strength. Among the captured were nine Confederate generals, including Robert E. Lee's son, Custis Lee. Sailor's Creek was not the last fighting of the war, but it was clear evidence that the scales were now permanently tipped in favor of the Union.

The end of the American Civil War was full of desperation, extreme exertions, joy, and sadness. The Confederates knew the end was near, but they struggled in the forlorn hope of achieving victory or at least survival. The leaders and soldiers of the Union could sense the impending triumph of their cause, but they knew a last supreme effort would be required. The experiences of those who lived through this important time in American history are well told in Michael E. Haskew's new book ***Appomattox: The Last Days of Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia*** (Zenith Press, Minneapolis, MN, 2015, 256 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $30.00, hardcover)

The surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia meant the war



Lee surrender's to Grant in the home of Wilmer McLean at Appomattox Court House in this detail of the painting by Tom Lovell.

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You deserve a factual look at . . .

Mr. President, Stop the Iran Deal Now!

Iran is the world's leading exporter of Islamic terror and our greatest enemy. Your deal fails to keep Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons. It's time for a reset.

Iran's constitution commands it to conquer the world through Islamic jihad, and Iran increases its bloody Middle East conquests daily. Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khamenei regularly leads chants of "Death to America" and "Death to Israel." Can we afford an agreement that actually paves the way for a nuclear-armed Iran?

What are the facts?

Iran's terrorist aggression makes it the greatest threat to world peace—*and* America's greatest enemy. The Islamic Republic has sown seeds of global jihad for decades, killing thousands of Americans, Europeans, South Americans, Arabs and Israelis worldwide since 1982, including the deaths of 241 U.S. Marines and 58 French peacekeepers in the 1983 Beirut barracks bombings. Today, Iran sponsors terrorist proxies, such as Hezbollah, which controls Lebanon and militarily backs Iran's control of the Syrian government. Iran has also achieved dominance in Iraq by helping the Iraqis battle the Islamic State, and most recently it has seized control of Yemen through its Houthi agents. Suddenly Iran has graduated from being the largest state sponsor of Islamic terrorism to the major Islamist colonial power in the Middle East. Most distressingly, Iran proudly trumpets its intention to "annihilate" Israel, a goal it asserts is "non-negotiable."

Despite Iran's record of terror attacks against the U.S and our allies worldwide, and its open hostility to American values and objectives, the White House now proposes a nuclear arms agreement with Iran that falls shockingly short of Mr. Obama's 2012 promise to "prevent them from acquiring a nuclear weapon."

Not only does the proposed "Iran Deal" *fail* to stop Iran from acquiring nuclear armaments, it permits Iran to *continue* developing nuclear weapons technology over the next ten years. Even more frightening, Iran denies agreeing to many key provisions that Secretary of State John Kerry claims are essential to it.

What's wrong with the "Iran Deal"? Iran has a long history of lying about its nuclear activities and cheating on agreements. Iran ratified the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1970, yet has been developing nuclear weapons—and lying about it—for decades. Iran also has ignored a U.N. Security Council demand that it suspend nuclear enrichment activities. In short, Iran is a bad actor on the world stage and can't be trusted. President Obama promised in 2012 that "The deal we'll accept is that they end their nuclear program," which is the deal most Americans want. Here's what that deal must look like:

> "The deal we'll accept is that they end their nuclear program."
>
> President Barack Obama, October 22, 2012

1. End Iran's nuclear program. This means shutting down Iran's Fordow and Arak nuclear facilities and ceasing all centrifuge-enabled nuclear R&D. Iran refuses. Why?

2. Export Iran's nuclear stockpiles. Iran has no peaceful need of its extensive nuclear stockpiles and should ship them away. It refuses this. Why?

3. Abandon development of Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles. ICBMs have only one purpose—to deliver nuclear bombs long distances, as far as to the U.S. Yet Iran refuses even to admit development of such missiles. Why?

4. Permit "anytime, anywhere" inspections. Iran must agree that nuclear inspectors can visit any suspicious site without warning. Iran refuses to allow this. Why?

5. Slow easing of sanctions. Any softening of economic sanctions must be spread over years, only as benchmarks are met. Iran insists on instant sanctions relief.

6. Abandon terrorism and colonialism. Iran must cease its global terror campaigns and its sponsorship of violent colonial aggression.

7. Severe punishment for any violation. Any agreement must facilitate true instant "snapback" of economic sanctions in case Iran violates this agreement.

What's our alternative? President Obama and Secretary Kerry seem desperate to make the Iran Deal—a weak negotiating posture that has led to weak terms. If we are to make a good deal, we must insist on the conditions above and be ready to walk away. No deal is better than the current proposed deal, which does not fulfill Mr. Obama's promise to the American people. This deal, in allowing Iran to keep its nuclear infrastructure and continue nuclear weapons research, is sure to start a nuclear arms race in the Middle East, starting with Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Turkey. What's more, when Iran begins to cheat on this agreement—which is likely—it may force Israel to take unilateral military action, since a nuclear-weaponized Iran is an existential threat to the Jewish state. Those who criticize the proposed "Iran Deal" are often accused of wanting war with Iran. In fact, it is Iran's current nuclear weapons development that is provocative and bellicose.

If we want to avoid military action against Iran—which most Americans do—we must negotiate an agreement that truly prevents war. It's time to set aside the current deal—which Iran has not even agreed to—and start again. We must continue a harsh sanctions regime until Iran realizes we are serious about preventing their acquisition of nuclear weapons.

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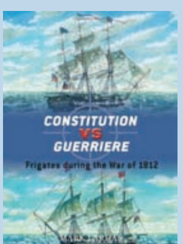
was effectively over. Even though this army was only one of the Confederacy's field forces, it was the premier force and had carried the bulk of the war's burden. As long as this particular army could take the field, the rebellion had a chance because it had an army in being. That army had succeeded against overwhelming odds throughout the war, but the Union, despite setbacks, kept pushing. This took an inexorable toll.

In the last few months of the war, this aggressiveness propelled Lee's army to the breaking point. The fall of Petersburg and Richmond cut off the Army of Northern Virginia from its sources of supply, forcing it to march. It had to escape Grant's forces, but Union cavalry harassed it and infantry pursued it relentlessly. Every engagement drained the supply-starved rebels of men and resources, even when it won. When it became clear they would not escape to join Johnston to the south, Lee had to accept the unacceptable and surrender his beloved army, knowing it doomed his infant nation as well.

In the midst of this tragedy were officers on both sides who knew each other and knew each day the war went on meant unnecessary, pointless suffering and death. The Union leaders could have been harsh in their demands, but instead they used the most lenient terms possible while still achieving an end to the bloodshed. Essentially, all Grant asked was for the Army of Northern Virginia to lay down its arms and go home. Lee assented, and it was over.

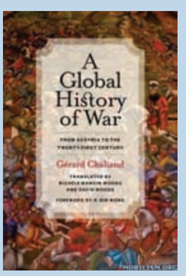
The author does excellent work describing how the participants got through this terrible time and brought the war to a conclusion. Using a wide range of sources, the book weaves together all these distinct accounts into a coherent narrative that gives the reader a detailed view of the desperation, tension, and chivalry

SHORT BURSTS

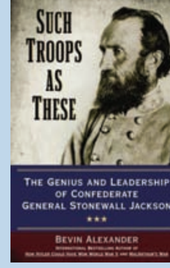


Constitution vs. Guerriere: Frigates During the War of 1812 (Mark Lardas, Osprey Publishing, 2015, $17.95, softcover) The duel between these two frigates was one of the most famous of the war. This book goes into extensive detail about each ship and the engagement they fought.

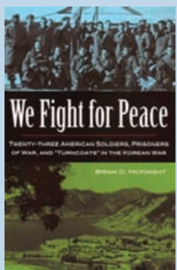
The Most Dangerous Man in America: The Making of Douglas MacArthur (Mark Perry, Basic Books, 2014, $29.99, hardcover) A new biography on a controversial general. The author argues that MacArthur fought a brilliant campaign in the Pacific, leading to new doctrine on combined arms warfare.



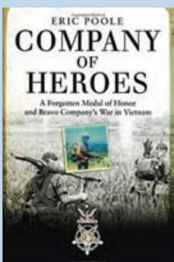
A Global History of War: From Assyria to the Twenty-First Century (Gerard Chaliand, University of California Press, 2014, $29.95, softcover) The author looks at war's evolution during the course of human civilization. The focus is on the effect of humanity's development on how wars are fought.



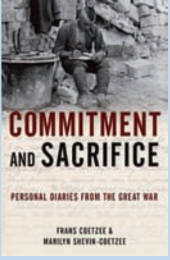
Such Troops as These: The Genius and Leadership of Confederate General Stonewall Jackson (Bevin Alexander, Berkeley Caliber, 2014, $26.95, hardcover) A new look at the famous leader. The author demonstrates how Lt. Gen. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson always sought to strike at the Union's weaknesses, not its strengths.



We Fight for Peace: Twenty-Three Americans Soldiers, Prisoners of War and "Turncoats" in the Korean War (Brian D. McKnight, Kent State University Press, 2014, $39.95, softcover) A study of the controversial American troops who refused to be repatriated at the end of the war. Over time, many came back to hostility and rebuke.



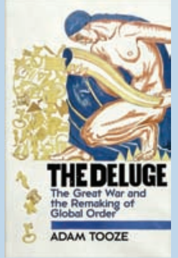
Company of Heroes: A Forgotten Medal of Honor and Bravo Company's War in Vietnam (Eric Poole, Osprey Publishing, 2015, $24.95, hardcover) Sergeant Leslie H. Sabo Jr. shielded a comrade from an enemy grenade before silencing an enemy bunker. This is the story of the fight to gain him the Medal of Honor for his actions.



Commitment and Sacrifice: Personal Diaries from the Great War (Frans Coetzee and Marilyn Shevin-Coetzee, Oxford University Press, 2015, $34.95, hardcover) This book examines the diaries of six participants of World War I. It covers their view of the war from both sides of the trenches.

Bac Si: A Green Beret Medic's War in Vietnam (Jerry Krizan and Robert Dumont, Casemate Publishers, 2014, $32.95, hardcover) The author, who was a Special Forces medic in Vietnam, recounts his experiences fighting near the Cambodian border.

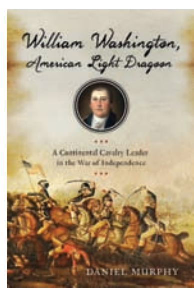
Bloody Spring: Forty Days that Sealed the Confederacy's Fate (Joseph Wheelan, Da Capo Press, 2014, $27.50, hardcover) A history of Grant's Overland Campaign, which destroyed the offensive capability of the Army of Northern Virginia.



The Deluge: The Great War, America and the Remaking of the Global Order 1916-1931 (Adam Tooze, Viking Press, 2014, $40.00, hardcover) This work examines the effect of World War I on the United States and the world. The effect of the war was so devastating that it changed commonly held beliefs and ideas.

that were the hallmarks of April 1865. Attention is also paid to the political level of the war, showing how Lincoln directed Grant to prosecute the Civil War's final chapter.

The last few days of the war are particularly well covered, with the letters Lee and Grant produced while negotiating the capitulation reproduced verbatim. The subordinates who surrounded these two men wrote many accounts of the events, and these are likewise included, giving a balanced view from both victors and vanquished. Among a number of new titles commemorating the 150th Anniversary of the Civil War's end, this book stands out for its clarity, detail, and storytelling.

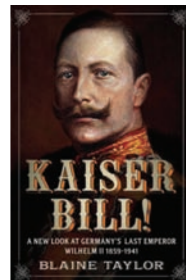


William Washington, American Light Dragoon: A Continental Cavalry Leader in the War of Independence (Daniel Murphy, Westholme Publishing, Yardley, PA, 2014, 225 pp., maps, illustrations, notes bibliography, index, $26.00, hardcover)

The American Revolution produced a number of soldiers now famous for their audacity, courage, and skill. William Washington ranks among those deserving of such praise. A cousin of George Washington, William also grew up in Virginia in an environment of relative privilege. With the start of the revolution, he joined the Virginia militia and was made a captain, serving in the battles at Harlem Heights and Trenton. Soon afterward Washington became a cavalryman and after more service in New Jersey he went south with his regiment to serve in the Carolinas. At the head of his men, he fought in a number of skirmishes and battles, including several against the famed British Legion and its infamous commander Colonel Banastre Tarleton.

In December 1780, Washington and a small force were sent to capture Rugeley's Mill, a backwoods outpost manned by Tories. Upon arriving he saw the outpost was actually more of a fort, so he devised an ingenious plan. Washington sent some of his men to cut down a pine tree and alter it to resemble a 6-pounder cannon. The false gun was mounted on a wagon axle and set up within sight of the fort. The fear of this artillery led the Tory commander to surrender. Washington fought several more actions, including the Battle of Cowpens, before being captured at the Battle of Eutaw Springs in September 1781. He spent the rest of the war in Charleston.

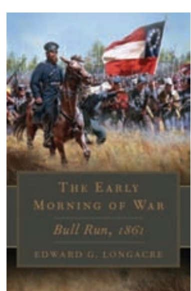
The author has extensive knowledge of the period of the American Revolution and it shows in this book. His understanding of how armies trained, moved, and fought is blended seamlessly with first-person accounts and letters written at the time. Washington is a lesser-known figure of the war compared to many other American soldiers, and this works to the volume's advantage. It provides a fresh look at the conflict through the lens of an officer who is often mentioned in histories of the war but rarely covered in detail; this new work changes that for the better.



Kaiser Bill! A New Look at Germany's Last Emperor: Wilhelm II 1859-1941 (Blaine Taylor, Casemate Publishers, Havertown, PA, 2014, 224 pp., photographs, bibliography, $32.95, hardcover)

Wilhelm II, the last monarch of Germany, is a controversial figure, often maligned as either a sinister warmonger or a dimwitted fool. He came into power in 1888, when Germany was a young nation, an up-and-comer on the world stage. For the next two decades he oversaw the further development of his country into a world power. Germany built a navy and acquired overseas territories. At the time, these were two of the hallmarks of a world power. Since it was already considered Europe's preeminent land power, this made Germany an emerging threat to England, France, and Russia. Eventually this development brought Wilhelm's nation into a conflict which in time ruined it.

Kaiser Wilhelm was at the center of Germany's entry into the 20th century. As such he is often blamed for the path it took into World War I and beyond. In this new look at his life, the author reveals Wilhelm's life as he lived it, stripping away the propaganda that surrounds him. Various significant events in his life are covered in detail, including his relationships with other world leaders. This book gives the reader a better understanding of the last kaiser and the country he led down the road to war.



The Early Morning of War: Bull Run, 1861 (Edward G. Longacre, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2014, 662 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $29.95, hardcover)

The American Civil War, like many others,

was expected to be over in one short, sharp engagement that would settle the matter. The First Battle of Bull Run, also known as First Manassas, proved that belief false. The Union Army marched onto the field that morning in full expectation of a definitive victory. At first it seemed they might succeed. The Union troops launched an attack against the Confederate left flank and gained initial success. The Rebel forces were pushed onto the defensive and for a time it seemed it might yield. The fighting was fierce with heavy casualties on both sides.

The day was saved for the Confederacy when reinforcements arrived and the Rebels counterattacked. The pressure against the Union troops proved too much after the day's fighting, and they began to withdraw. That retreat quickly turned into a rout. The panicked Yankee soldiers fled toward Washington D.C., accompanied by large numbers of civilians who turned out to watch the battle and now found themselves a part of it. Four years of bloodshed ensued.

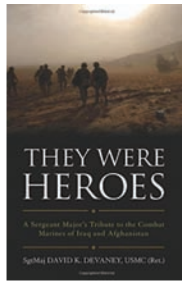
This volume is part the University of Oklahoma's Campaigns and Commanders Series and provides a complete retelling of the Civil War's first critical campaign. The accounts of over 400 participants were used to build the narrative of this history; the level of detail in this work is impressive. Many new Civil War books have appeared over the last few years as we commemorate the 150th anniversary of the war. This one is among the foremost on the conflict's beginning.

Ministers at War: Winston Churchill and His War Cabinet (Johnathan Schneer, Basic Books, New York, 2015, 323 pp., notes, bibliography, index, $29.99, hardcover)

In 1940 Great Britain stood alone against the might of Nazi Germany. Winston Churchill was elevated to prime minister in the hopes he could reverse England's bleak situation. That he was able to do so is a testament not only to him but to the men who formed his cabinet. Politically savvy, Churchill selected people from all over the nation's political environment, ensuring broad support for his government. He also knew each cabinet member's personal goals and ambitions, allowing him to balance them against each other toward the ultimate goal of victory.

Together these men steered their beleaguered country through the tumult of World War II, promoting British interests to England's allies. At times they fought with each other even as they cooperated publicly. While they were ultimately successful in their prosecution of the war, once it was over and the pressure of the conflict no longer bound them together, the cabinet quickly fell apart and Churchill was soon voted out of office, his task complete.

Using a broad variety of resources, the author weaves the story of the war cabinet into a political drama of a nation at war. The book combines smooth prose with clever insight, making it enjoyable to read. The author has delivered an original work shedding light on the political side of the epic conflict.



They Were Heroes: A Sergeant Major's Tribute to the Combat Marines of Iraq and Afghanistan (Sgt. Maj. David K. Devaney, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2015, 269 pp., $34.95, hardcover)

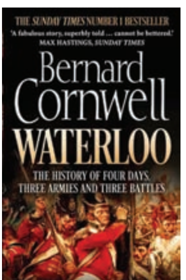
The War on Terror has been fought in thousands of tiny actions in which acts of heroism often go unrecorded. This is nothing new for the U.S. Marine Corps, which has fought this way throughout its history. This book seeks to shed light on the heroism shown by various Marines throughout a decade of war. An example is Sgt. Maj. James Booker, who went on a one-man rampage through the streets of Ramadi, Iraq, before leading other Marines against their enemy. In Afghanistan, Corporal Michael Ouellette lost a leg to an improvised explosive device but continued to direct his Marines in a spirited defense, keeping them alive at the eventual cost of his own life.

The author argues that the process for awarding medals is often arbitrary and sometimes simply unfair and lacking. There was nothing lacking about the courage and sacrifice of the Marines who fill the pages of this book. Each chapter covers a different Marine's actions in clear prose. It is interesting reading for anyone who wants to understand what has been done on their behalf by warriors far from home.

Gunboats of World War I (Angus Konstam, Osprey Publishing, Oxford, UK, 2015, 48 pp., photographs, index, $17.95, softcover)

Gunboats seem almost a footnote in military history, but their actions are widespread. An Austro-Hungarian gunboat, the *Bodrog*, fired the first shots of World War I when she shelled Serbian positions near Belgrade on July 28, 1914. Before the war, gunboats helped police empires, maintaining order and occasionally putting down revolts. Once the war began these tiny warships took part in every campaign from Western Europe to the Middle East. Often they served in isolated areas where their captains were virtually on their own to prosecute the war as they saw fit. Even the American gunboat USS *Dolphin* became famous when she was involved in the 1914 Tampico Affair, where American sailors were arrested by Mexican authorities. This led directly to the occupation of Vera Cruz by the U.S. military.

This short but informative book is part of Osprey's New Vanguard series, which focuses on significant weapons and ships. It is well illustrated with photographs and original art and contains extensive technical information. The strength of this series is in its ability to give the reader a good basic overview in a brief, easy to read work and it does not disappoint, mixing a general history of the gunboat with fascinating vignettes of the type in action.



Waterloo: The History of Four Days, Three Armies and Three Battles (Bernard Cornwell, HarperCollins, New York, 2015, 352 pp., maps, illustrations, bibliography, index, $35.00, hardcover)

When the Anglo-Allied Army arrived at the tiny village of Waterloo in June 1815, the situation looked bleak. Napoleon's forces had defeated or fought to a draw all that opposed them thus far. Yet, the chance to defeat the French still existed and so the Allies made their stand and won a victory that influenced the development of Europe for two centuries afterward.

The 200th Anniversary of Waterloo has spurred a number of new books on the battle. This one, by renowned novelist Bernard Cornwell, is a departure from his normal works of historical fiction. He is the creator of the Sharpe series, detailing the adventures of a British soldier during the Napoleonic Wars. These books are known for historical accuracy and detail and this nonfiction work on Waterloo delivers the same qualities. The book reads easily and smoothly, as one would expect from a writer of Cornwell's skill and experience.

Clausewitz: His Life and Work (Donald Stoker, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, 376 pp.,

maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $27.95, hardcover)

Carl von Clausewitz is considered one of the greatest military minds of the Western World; his book *On War* is considered a seminal work on military theory. While his words are well known, few know much about the man who wrote them. He was more than just a Prussian staff officer sitting at a desk. Clausewitz fought in numerous battles during the Napoleonic Era. He was present at many of its most famous engagements, such as Jena-Auerstedt, where he was captured and spent a year as a prisoner of the French. Unwilling to serve in the Prussian Army when it was beholden to France, Clausewitz saw action at the Battle of Borodino in the service of the Russian Army. Later he took part in the final battle against Napoleon at Waterloo.

The author succeeds in showing how Clausewitz became the man he was when he wrote *On War*. He had a long history as a soldier from which to draw experience and the book lays this out in detail. Clausewitz was a prolific writer of letters to his wife and friends; the author uses these letters liberally, adding his subject's own words to the rich mix of sources used in this book.

A Great and Terrible King: Edward I and the Forging of Britain (Marc Morris, Pegasus Books, New York, 2015, 480 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $29.95, hardcover)

Edward I is a controversial figure in many ways, but is simultaneously an important figure in the military history of the Middle Ages. He is perhaps best known for his war against Scotland and the famous William Wallace, but he had a long and active rule before that conflict. He was largely responsible for defeating Simon De Montfort during the Second Baron's War, participated in the Ninth Crusade to the Holy Land, and conquered Wales.

The depth of research in this book is impressive; the author is able to give extensive detail despite the passing of seven centuries since his subject last drew breath. Perhaps the greatest strength of the work is its readability; many books on this time period can be a chore to get through. This one reads easily, bringing clarity to a complex topic. □

Malakoff

Continued from page 31

discovered four wires buried near the entrance to the tower and suspected that they were connected to mines, which the Russians would have detonated, blowing up the Malakoff and all inside. These were quickly cut. For the rest of the day until nightfall, the Russians counterattacked the Malakoff. Column after column was driven off by the fire of the French minie rifles.

The British attack on the Great Redan had failed. Having reached the abatis, they could go no farther and were once again forced to retreat. The French had failed to take their other objectives, but they now held the Malakoff, which all considered the key to Sevastopol. The British had sustained more than 2,000 casualties, the French more than 7,000, and the Russians had lost more than 12,000 men.

As darkness fell, the Russians fired Sevastopol. Explosions went off all night. By morning there were no Russian soldiers left in the southern part of the city. The ships in the Man of War Harbor had been scuttled; the bridge to the north side was blown up at dawn. The defense of Sevastopol had lasted 349 days. Allied troops entered the town on September 9 and began to loot whatever was left undamaged. "A stalwart Irish grenadier, when being rebuked for pilfering, answered: 'Sure an,' your 'onor, them nice gentlemen they call Zouaves have been after emptying the place clane out,' recalled Sergeant Timothy Gowing, Royal Fusiliers. 'Troth, if the Divil would kindly go to sleep for only one minute them Zouaves would stale one of his horns, if it was only useful to keep his coffee in.' They proved themselves all, during the fighting, troublesome customers to the enemy; and now that the fight was over they distinguished themselves by pilfering everything they could lay hands upon."

The Allies now held the southern half of Sevastopol and the Russians the northern suburbs. Apart from a few cannon balls fired across the harbor, the fighting was over, and both sides settled down for the winter. With Prussia pressuring the czar to accept the Allies' peace terms, the Treaty of Paris was finally signed on March 30, 1856. Approximately 750,000 men had died, many as a result of disease. The Russian fleet never sailed the Mediterranean, and the Ottoman Empire gained a much needed respite from Russian expansion. As for the French Zouaves, their exploits, including their savage assaults against the Malakoff, inspired both sides in the American Civil War to raise regiments of similarly attired colorful troops. □

battle of cowpens

Continued from page 39

during the war. It was also one of the quickest, as it unfolded in 20 minutes or less in scenario models. All cavalry actions are quick by nature, and the fluid series of countercharges directed by Washington negated Tarleton's superiority in cavalry, stabilized the American infantry, and rescued Morgan's battle plan.

Washington repeatedly acted on his own instincts, covered both sides of the American line, and still managed to deliver a crushing blow at the end that rolled up the right flank of the British infantry. It was the best battlefield performance of any cavalry leader during the war. Aside from Tarleton's fleeing dragoons, the entire British flying army was captured or killed and Washington was justly awarded a Congressional medal for his role in the fight. The Battle of Cowpens was a milestone victory of American arms, and the loss of Cornwallis' flying army hampered British efforts for months to come.

After Cowpens, Washington's light dragoons continued to wreak havoc against the British throughout 1781, fighting at Weitzel's Mill, Guilford Courthouse, Hobkirk's Hill, and Eutaw Springs. Washington's command became the hardest hitting force of light horsemen in Continental service. But Washington's aggressive instincts and casual nature, traits that served him so well alongside Morgan, did not always sit well with the more formal officers in Continental service. Issues soon arose with supply officers in the quartermaster corps and fellow dragoon officer Lt. Col. Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee.

The campaign for the Carolinas climaxed at the Battle of Eutaw Springs on September 8, 1781. Washington was captured there while leading a charge against British infantry. While prisoner he was granted permission to marry Jane Riley Elliot, a fetching young rice heiress from South Carolina. After the war, Washington stayed in South Carolina, where he served in the state legislature, became a leading figure in Charleston society, and built a thriving stable of thoroughbred racehorses. He died on his plantation at the age of 58.

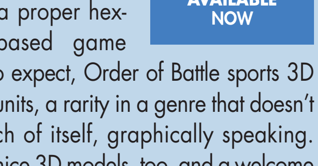
The finest compliments often come from one's enemies, and long after the war Washington's chief adversary, Cornwallis, penned the following words regarding his former nemesis: "There could be no more formidable antagonist in a charge, at the head of cavalry, than Colonel William Washington." For those who had fought alongside Washington, and for those of that generation and future ones who were told of his feats, it was a just and fitting tribute. □

 By Joseph Luster

ORDER OF BATTLE: PACIFIC DELIVERS ANOTHER KILLER STRATEGY GAME IN THE STYLE OF *PANZER GENERAL*, AND ITS PROS FAR OUTWEIGH ITS CONS.

Fans of classic-style strategy games will be delighted to know that Slitherine Ltd. has another gem on their hands; if they're not waist-deep into playing it already, that is. Order of Battle: Pacific takes hex-based strategy gaming and mixes it up just enough to create a mostly exciting campaign that will keep players strategizing both against the computer and with friends and others online for the foreseeable future.

There are three campaigns in Order of Battle, allowing players to jump in as the Japanese or Allied army for both historical battles and a handful of interesting "what if" scenarios (like the Japanese invasion of Australia, for instance). Something regular strategy gamers will notice and appreciate right out the gate are the visuals. Beyond the detailed map and all the indicators of a proper hex-based, turn-based game we've come to expect, Order of Battle sports 3D models for its units, a rarity in a genre that doesn't often ask much of itself, graphically speaking. They're pretty nice 3D models, too, and a welcome change from traditionally static units.



Speaking of units, there are more than 500 in Order of Battle, including infantry, tanks, ships, aircraft, and more. They've all got their own unique animations to go along with the models, so you'll see your little infantrymen succumb to the horrors of war, your planes will crash into the ground, and so on. Hopefully, you won't be seeing that happen to your army too often, but war is brutal, and Order of Battle conveys this well both aesthetically and in its demanding level of challenge.

One of the additions to the formula that can be equal parts ingenious and infuriating is the crucial aspect of Supply. The concept goes well beyond simple numbers and gauges in Order of Battle, which instead opts for appointing supply points that can be located in cities, bases, and numerous other areas. These hotspots are often key to the success of your army. The map indicates them clearly along with the units that are dependent on what they provide. The strategic catch here comes when the enemy manages to cut off said supply points, rendering pretty much every connected unit useless.

This is fantastic for those who learn to use it to their advantage, but it can also bite you in the ass pretty brutally. A few times I found myself doing just fine, only to have a single critically crippled enemy cut off my army's supply and completely ruin everything. Sure, that's the kind of thing that might happen in war, but when you have missions as long as some of the ones in Order of Battle, it can be more than a little disheartening to lose them over something that shouldn't have happened.

One of the best new features comes in the form of Commander units, which can be added to other units to apply extra offensive and defensive bonuses. This opens up strategic options even wider, with the Commander units able to influence surrounding enemies and allies, potentially turning the tide of war in your favor. Toss in the fact that units carry over across campaigns and you might quickly find yourself getting attached to the little customized army you've generated from scratch.

While Order of Battle is mostly a resounding success, there are a few sticking points that can make the overall experience a drag. The pacing of the campaigns can be a little stop and go, with some delivering more of a consistently engaging and thrilling series of battles than others. Also, due to the nature of the environment, naval battles aren't nearly as engaging as those that take place on land. Land battles offer all types of terrain, perfect for developing your own clever strategies in taking down enemies and finding better vantage points and areas to launch attacks. Naval battles, on the other hand, have you trading turns in a drab, repetitive environment, and the quality of engagement doesn't make up for the boredom in these sections.

If multiplayer is your particular poison, there's a decent amount to do here, with four players able to engage in team play, cooperative battles against AI scenarios, and last-man-standing warfare. You can dive in over PBEM++ and Hotseat, and even though I didn't have much luck against experienced players, it always served as a nice occasional break from the campaign.

Order of Battle: Pacific is most definitely for the experienced strategy gamer. While it does share a lot in common with games like Panzer Corps, its missions are larger and longer, and you can't undo turns once you've committed. This can make things a bit more stressful during the tougher missions, but it ultimately results in greater reward when you emerge victorious. If you're looking for something new in the realm of PC war strategy, Order of Battle is a nice little package that, for most folks at least, likely came out of nowhere. □

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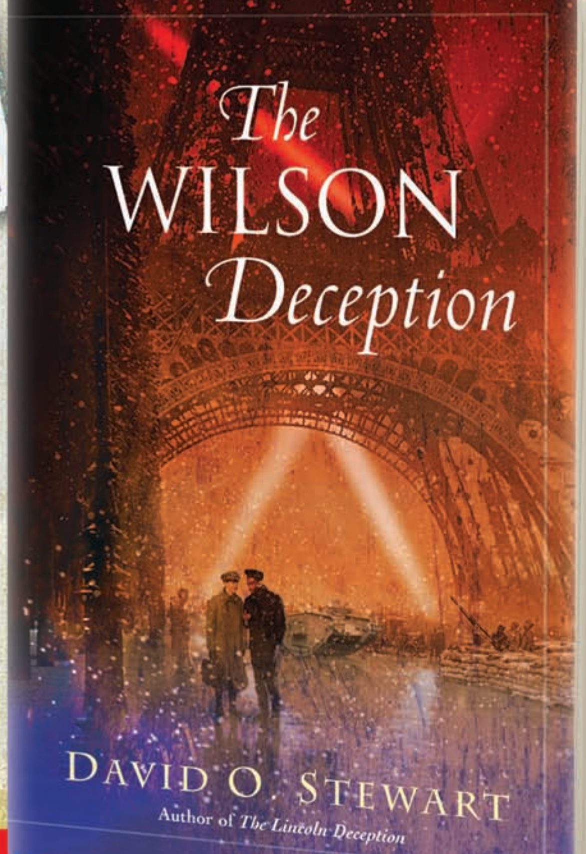

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