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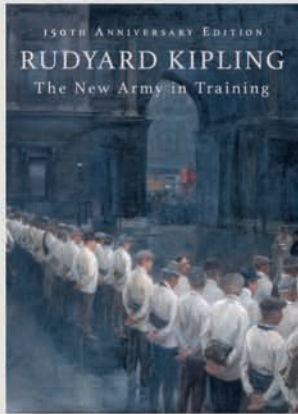
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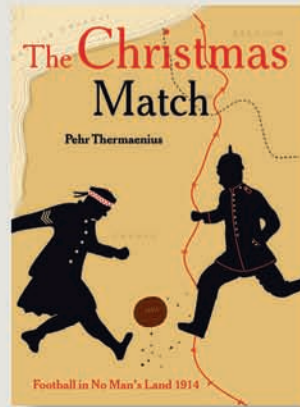


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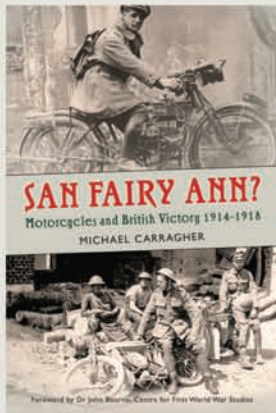
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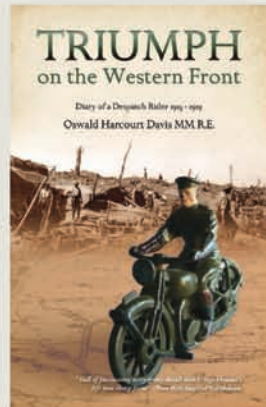
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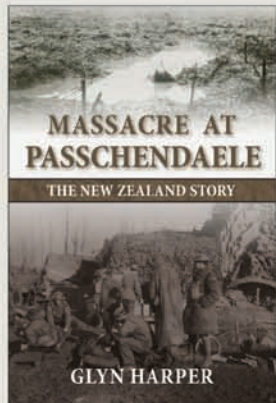
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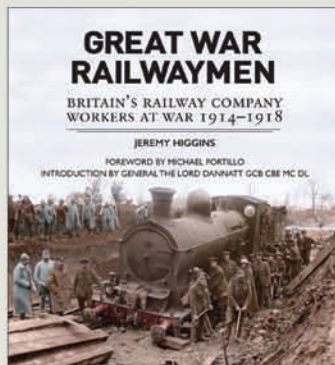
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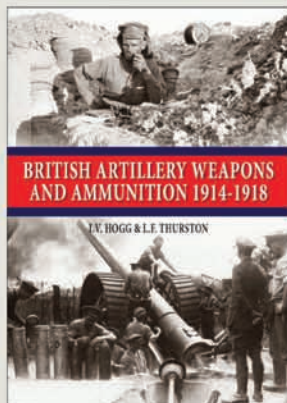
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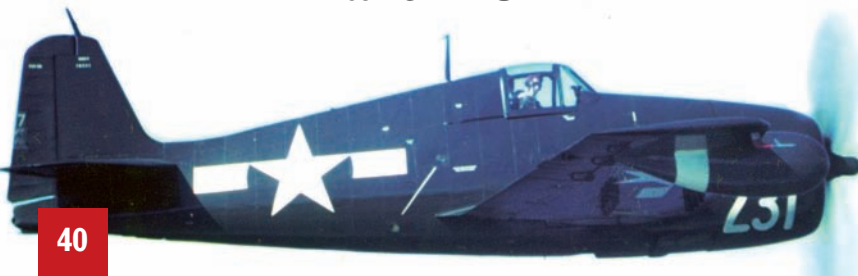
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Cover: The 14th Brooklyn, a volunteer New York militia regiment, fought with distinction through most of the Civil War, including at the battles of First Manassas, Antietam, Gettysburg, and Spotsylvania Court House. See story page 24. Painting by Keith Rocco, copyright 2015; www.KeithRocco.com

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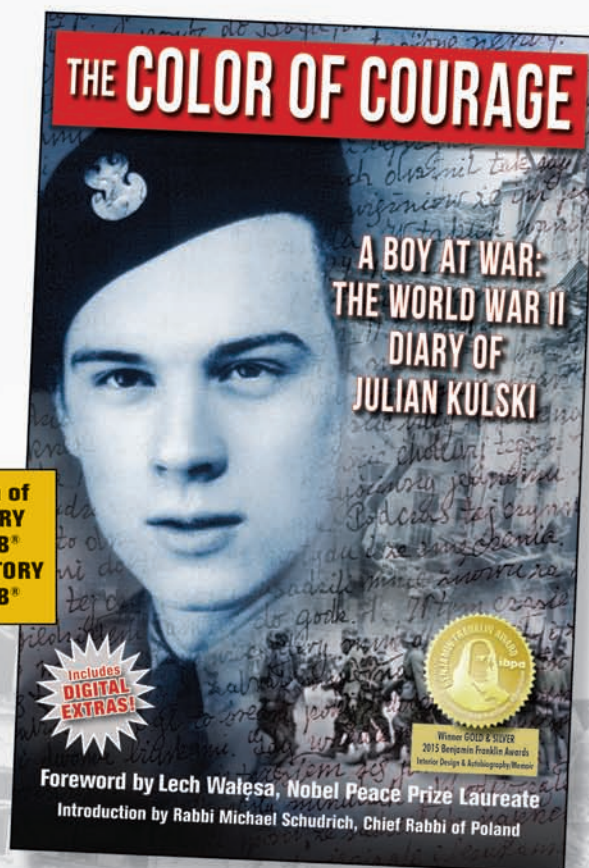
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editorial

Around-the-Clock Fortifying at Spotsylvania

THE RECOLLECTIONS OF VIRGINIA-BORN JOHN O. Casler of the famed Confederate Stonewall Brigade offer considerable insight into the nature of the fighting, as well as the thoughts and actions of the enlisted men, at Spotsylvania Court House in mid-May 1864.

Whereas in previous battles sections of the Union or Confederate line had been strengthened by entrenching, Spotsylvania might be the first example of entrenching along the entire line by both sides in the eastern theater. “Each army would fortify at night, and through the day, when not fighting, in order to hold the ground they had gained, and resist an attack,” wrote Casler.

When the fighting heated up, “everyone who had to be near the front had a hole to get into,” he wrote. The rifle pits and breastworks were particularly necessary to protect soldiers from the frequent artillery bombardments. Sometimes, as Casler notes, it was necessary to “throw dirt on each side of the ditch” for protection against artillery shells coming from multiple directions.

The tension and the fear at Spotsylvania Court House are palpable in Casler’s recollections. His prose captures the ominous situation on the night of May 11 before Grant’s grand attack the following morning.

On the Confederate side, one-third of the army slept while two-thirds stayed alert for a possible attack. A skirmish line was in front of the works, and a second line of pickets was posted on top of them, according to Casler.

But this early warning system was seriously compromised by the fog that lay like a thick quilt over the landscape in the early morning hours of May 12. It greatly aided the Union assault troops.

“But just at daylight ... it being so foggy that a man could not be seen ten feet away, and having massed their troops in front of [Ewell’s] corps, and in front of the crescent, or horse-shoe, the enemy made a charge and before the men knew it they were coming over the works in front of the second brigade of [Johnson’s] division in solid column,” wrote Casler. “They filed to the right and left, firing at us behind our breastworks.” Fortunately for Casler, he was behind the lines tasked with bringing-for-



Union troops rush over Confederate works at Spotsylvania Court House on May 12, 1864.

ward rations, and therefore he escaped capture.

What Grant had achieved was possession “of the key to our position,” wrote Casler. That night the Confederates engaged in a flurry of new construction work to patch the gap in their works. “Some were building breastworks, cutting down trees, which fell in every direction, carrying them and then piling them up, others with picks, shovels, bayonets, and tin-cups throwing up earth on top of the logs. The frenzied work continued despite the soldiers being “so sleepy we could hardly stand up,” he wrote.

The officers, even those at the highest level, including General Robert E. Lee, exhorted the men to make the works strong as “the fate of the army depended on having that line done by daylight,” wrote Casler.

It was a situation that would be repeated with great frequency over the next 11 months as the war entered its final phase. Fortunately for us, Casler survived the war and his remembrances are preserved in *Four Years in the Stonewall Brigade*. Such primary source material is invaluable for understanding the nation’s bloody, fratricidal Civil War.

—William E. Welsh

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soldiers

By Ludwig Heinrich Dyck

Briton warrior queen Boudicca led a vicious rebellion against Roman Britannia in AD 60.

THE LASH BIT INTO THE FLESH OF THE WOMAN'S BACK, BEATEN RAW by metal balls tied into the ends of leather thongs. Her arms bound to a post, she wallowed in a pool of her own blood. In the prime of her life, tall and athletic, her hair a tawny mass, she was the physical personification of a cultural ideal. She was Boudicca, queen of the Iceni, and her tormentors were servants and soldiers of the Roman

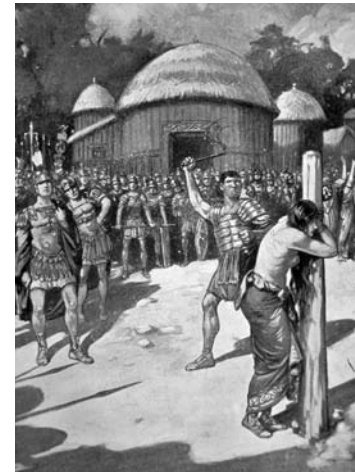
Pictured are a Druid and Queen Boudicca flanked by Iceni warriors. FAR RIGHT: Roman soldiers flog Boudicca. The queen of the Icenis vowed to drive the invaders out of the provincial capital of Camulodunum.

Emperor Nero. Helpless, she had been forced to watch as her teenage daughters were raped. Eventually blood loss would have sent her into shock, blackness, and unconsciousness.

The renowned King Prasutagus had hoped to protect his wife, Boudicca, his daughters, and at least part of his Iceni kingdom (East Anglia) from the Romans. Although he was Rome's ally and client king, Prasutagus feared complete Roman takeover after his death. Prasutagus had no male heirs, but he did have two daughters. When his long and

prosperous life came to an end early in AD 60, Prasutagus' daughters inherited his kingdom. To ensure Rome's protection, Prasutagus named Nero as their co-heir.

Boudicca's late husband's goodwill meant nothing to the Romans. Surrounded by Roman provincial territory, the Iceni seemed ripe for exploitation. The greedy provincial financial administrator, procurator Catus Decianus, demanded the return of large sums of coin given to the Briton nobles by the late emperor Claudius. Similarly, Lucius Annaeus Seneca, the emperor's chief secretary,



had imposed a 40 million sesterces loan on the Britons and now demanded its return with heavy interest. Probably these cash grants were originally intended to fund the construction of Roman-style public works. The Iceni's inability to pay served as justification for the Romans to annex the remaining portion of Prasutagus' kingdom, which were the lands bequeathed to his daughters and ruled by their queen regent Boudicca. Servants of the emperor ransacked the households of the ruling families. Roman soldiers plundered the land. Avarice overcame good sense, for the Romans needed the support of the upper classes to maintain the peace. It was a horrendous error of judgment.

Back in AD 43, when Boudicca had barely come of age, her tribe was among the first to accept Roman alliance. The powerful neighboring



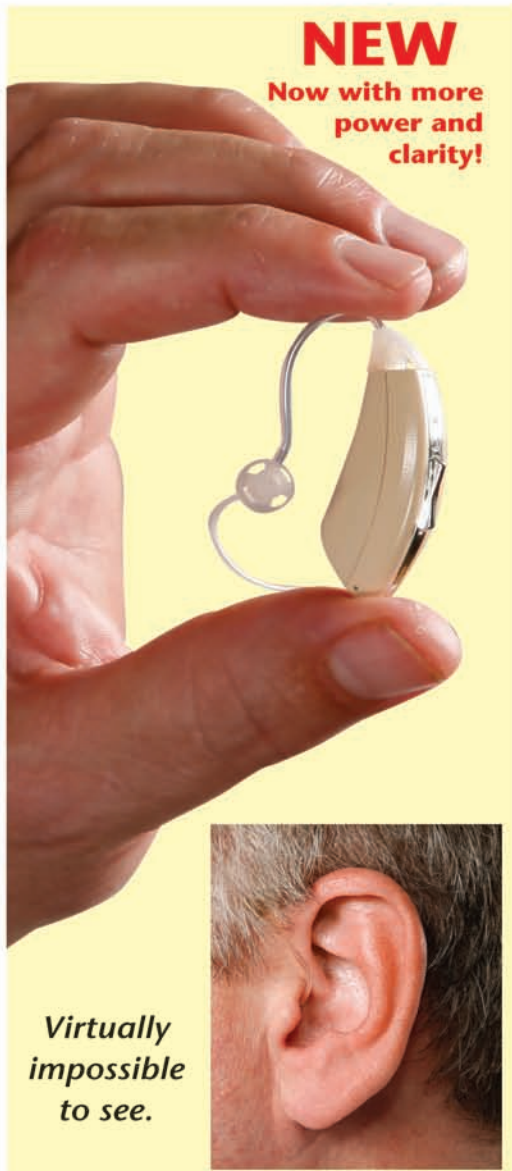


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Queen Boudicca summons her fellow Britons to rebel against the Romans. She told them that the Romans' helmets, breastplates, and greaves, as well as their walls and tents, only showed their fear and their weakness to the elements.

Catuvellauni kingdom, which lorded over many of the southern tribes, had been defeated by Claudius. Camulodunum (Colchester), the sacred stronghold of southern Britannia, had fallen to Rome. Roman campaigns over the next four years expanded the frontier to the west and north. By AD 47, the frontier stretched from the Bristol Channel on the Celtic Sea northeast to the North Sea estuary of the Humber River. That year hostile tribes raided into the province. The Romans not only ruthlessly dealt with invaders but even disarmed friendly tribes. The Iceni resisted, but their brave efforts met with defeat. It was probably at this point, in order to retain his people's freedom, that Prasutagus bound himself to Rome as a client king.

While Boudicca matured into a charismatic queen, a new generation of Britons came of age. "Nothing is any longer safe from [the Romans] greed and lust ... cowards seize our homes, kidnap our children, and conscript our men," such were their common sentiments, according to Roman historian Tacitus. Iceni nobles, warriors, and rural tribesmen all were ready to follow Boudicca into battle. Fields remained unplowed and unsown, but forges blazed with the smithing of axe, spear, and sword blades.

Boudicca planned to strike directly at the heart of Roman Britannia by driving the Romans out of Camulodunum, which was the Roman provincial capital with tens of thousands of citizen settlers and Romanized Britons. After quashing the Iceni tribal coalition in AD 47, the Romans moved the XX Legion west from Camulodunum to fight the Silures of Wales. Camulodunum in turn became the first Roman colonia in Britannia, *Victricensis* (city of victory), settled by veterans on land seized from the Trinovantes. The veterans treated the locals like slaves, encouraged by a small number of remaining legionaries who looked forward to the same privileges. The Britons believed that whoever held Camulodunum would invoke the blessing of the Celtic war god Camulos. To add insult to injury, their sacred stronghold became the provincial seat of the Imperial Cult. The Roman temple was a blatant manifestation of despised foreign rule. The Trinovantes and others were ready to revolt with Boudicca, who welcomed their aid.

The Romans thought the Britons so cowed that they let the walls of Camulodunum's legionary fort fall into neglect. Only a few hun-

dred legionaries remained in the XX Legion's former camp. In addition, a smaller camp held the 1st Thracian cavalry wing. Then there were several thousand veterans, many of whom could still be counted on to put up a fight. Wedged between two rivers to the east and a system of dykes to the west, Camulodunum, if properly fortified, would have had some hope of fending off Boudicca's army. But there were no strong fortifications, and without them the strength of the defenders would mean nothing to Boudicca's multitude.

Boudicca proudly ascended a raised platform of earth to face an ocean of humanity. More than 100,000 Briton men and women, veterans and youngsters, looked to her for inspiration. Her hair cascading down to her hips, her eyes fierce and wild, her hands grasping a spear, Boudicca was tall, beautiful, and terrifying. She was dressed in a tunic of many colors. A thick mantle with a golden brooch accentuated her shoulders. A golden necklace adorned her neck. Her harsh voice stirred the hearts of her followers: "Let us show them they are hares...trying to rule over wolves," wrote Roman historian Cassius Dio.

She protested of impoverishing Roman taxes and urged her warriors to fight for the freedom of their children. To Boudicca, the Roman helmets, breastplates and greaves, their walls and their tents only showed their fear and their weakness to the elements. The Britons fought on home ground and needed only their shields and their valor. In a form of divination, Boudicca released a hare from the fold of her dress. The Britons roared in approval when the hare hopped to what was considered the favorable side. According to Dio, Boudicca raised her hand toward the sky and prayed to the Celtic war goddess, "I thank thee Andraste and call upon you woman to woman ... I pray to thee for victory."

At Camulodunum many ominous signs were said to have occurred. The statue of victory fell down, landing with its back turned as if fleeing, and "delirious women chanted of destruction," wrote Tacitus. The native uprising could not have come at a worse time for the Romans. As Boudicca was well aware, Governor Gaius Suetonius Paulinus and the XIV Gemina Legion were away on a summer campaign against the last great druidic stronghold on the island of Mona (Anglesey). The only reinforcements that reached Camulodunum in time were from Londinium (London), likely the base of procurator Catus who sent barely 200 poorly armed troops.

Resident Britons at Camulodunum, secretly in cahoots with Boudicca, downplayed the seriousness of the impending danger. The temple

defenses at Camulodunum were deemed adequate for whatever was to occur. No rampart was built up and no trench dug and no plans made to evacuate the old people and the women. “Their precautions were appropriate to a time of unbroken peace,” noted Tacitus.

Boudicca’s mighty army swept upon Camulodunum. The Roman defenders fell back to the temple precinct where they were joined by terrified civilians. For Boudicca there was no mercy for the conquered. The Britons ran amok, looting and killing, through streets and blocks that once housed soldiers but whose barracks had been converted into civilian lodgings. Barricaded within the inner temple sanctuary, soldiers and civilians huddled around the life-sized bronze statue of Claudius. After two days the temple was burned to the ground with its occupants inside.

Too late did more help arrive. Closing in on Camulodunum were 2,000 legionaries of the IX Hispana with cavalry support. Cerealis Caesius Rufus had conducted a forced march from Longthorpe to the northwest. Boudicca’s Britons stormed out of the city, engulfing Cerealis’ soldiers. Leaving his doomed infantry to be slain to a man, Cerealis and the cavalry fled back to Longthorpe.

News of the disaster at Camulodunum spread throughout the province. Fearing for his life, procurator Catus boarded a ship and set sail for Gaul. Catus’ example was emulated by upper class citizens who could afford sea passage. Londinium’s usually crowded riverbank docks soon stood empty.

Governor Suetonius was busy demolishing the druid groves on Mona when news arrived of Boudicca’s rebellion. One of Rome’s leading commanders, Suetonius had previously crushed a Moor uprising in Africa. In the conquest of Mona, Suetonius had sought an equal to his rival Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo’s reconquest of Armenia. Suetonius’ men had faced black-robed women, their hair wild like that of the Furies, who brandished torches while druids, according to Tacitus, raised “their hands to the heavens and screamed dreadful curses.” Suetonius recalled the faces of his legionaries, paralyzed with superstitious fear at the sight of fanatical women, until, urged on by their centurions, the legionaries had charged forward to destroy the enemy “in the flames of their own torches.”

Again it was a woman, Boudicca, who was Suetonius’ most formidable foe and who gave the misogynist Romans, in Dio’s words, “the

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



A map of ancient Britain shows the location of the main Brythonic tribes.

greatest shame.” Leaving a garrison on Mona, Suetonius marched his army through northern Wales to the military road of Watling Street. Crossing south-central Britain, he reached Londinium. There he hesitated. Suetonius had brought his men through rebellious lands but so far encountered no noteworthy opposition. But Boudicca’s vastly greater army was approaching from the northeast.

The defeat of Cerealis’ IX Legion weighed heavily on Suetonius’ mind. Like Cerealis, Suetonius would be facing insurmountable odds if he engaged Boudicca at Londinium. Rejecting pleas to stay and defend, Suetonius decided to sacrifice, relates Tacitus, the “single city of Londinium to save the province as a whole.” Instead of continuing southward from Londinium over the River Tamesa (Thames) and into the rich southern lands with their Channel trade posts, Suetonius doubled back along the military road. An exodus of civilians accompanied the departing Roman army.

Boudicca’s horde poured into the defenseless city. Flames and destruction spread from the city’s center on Cornhill west to Lugate Hill. Tragically, the majority of Londinium’s remaining citizens were the women and the old. The Britons slaughtered all. The most horrible tortures were inflicted upon the noble and distinguished women, according to Dio. If not killed outright, female captives were taken to sacred groves of Andraste and other deities. In what may have been particularly brutal religious rites, or Roman exaggerations of events, their

breasts were chopped off and sewn into their mouths. The victims were impaled by stakes “lengthwise through the entire body,” according to Dio.

The terror continued for one week after another. Boudicca’s horde grew in power and ravaged undefended settlements, bypassed strongly held forts, and followed in Suetonius’ wake. Verulamium (St. Albans) was the next to fall. Boudicca took no prisoners to sell or exchange for those of her own. Blood sprayed from slit throats, bodies dangled from ropes, and flames engulfed everything living or dead. Roman citizens and provincials killed were estimated at 70,000 to 80,000. Dio wrote that the “island was lost to Rome.”

Suetonius was doing all he could to make sure Britannia stayed Roman. He had called to service veterans of the XX Legion as well as gathering the nearest available auxiliaries. The II Augusta

Legion at Isca Dumnoniorum (Exeter) too was ordered to come to Suetonius’ aid, but its commanding officer, camp prefect Poenius Postumus, refused.

Suetonius’ column had been swelled by more refugees from Verulamium. By the time he reached today’s Warwickshire, the food supply for his army was getting low. Ahead lay the frontier of Roman Britannia. Within a few days of marching Suetonius would be in Brigantes lands. Although their queen, Cartimandua, was a steadfast ally of Rome, her realm was ripe with Roman antipathy.

Since the day the Britons acknowledged her their war leader, Boudicca had doubled the size of her army. Her victories had won over more tribal factions. Boudicca’s army moved slowly, not only because of all the looting, but because families in lumbering wagons tagged along. Boudicca must have been wondering what Suetonius was going to do, either stand and fight or venture into hostile territory. She found him with his army holding up in a defile. The refugees had fled in other directions. Boudicca decided that the time had come for the decisive battle.

Boudicca looked upslope at the Roman army, upward of 10,000 strong, positioned with a wood behind them, holding higher ground. Steeper slopes on either side of the Romans prevented any outflanking by the Britons. However, the Roman position would also hinder any chance for the Romans to escape.

Perhaps some 2,000 XX Legion veterans and some 4,000 legionaries of the XIV Legion held the Roman center. More than 2,000 aux-

iliaries flanked the legionaries on either side. Among them were archers, light skirmishing troops, and cavalry on the far wings, including Batavi from the Rhineland. The Batavi had fought alongside the XIV Legion for decades. All the Roman divisions were deployed in deep ranks that could not easily be penetrated. Facing them, Boudicca drew up her army. The chiefs in their chariots and their warriors formed the front ranks to encourage the poorly armed farmer-soldiers that made up the majority of Boudicca's army. To the rear, their families remained with the wagons, hollering in encouragement.

The image of Boudicca standing proud and defiant in her chariot, her daughters at her side, became an icon of British nationalism. Driving along lines of fervent warriors, Tacitus relates that Boudicca cried, "We British are used to woman commanders in war ... though descended from mighty men, I am not fighting for kingdom and wealth but for my lost freedom for my bruised body and my outraged daughters ... the gods will give us the victory we deserve!" "The Roman legion that dared to face us is annihilated ... they will never face the din and roar of our thousands ... you will win this battle or die, that is what I, a woman, plan to do!"

Tacitus says Suetonius likewise addressed the stalwart lines of the legions: "Disregard the clamors and empty threats of the natives ... in their ranks there are more women than fighting men. Throw your javelins, and then carry on: use shield-bosses to fell them, swords to kill them. When you have won you will have everything."

With a great roar, Boudicca's mighty host strode forward. Dio gives 120,000 men for Boudicca's army at the beginning of the rebellion and 230,000 at the final battle. Although Dio likely embellished the size of Boudicca's army, she may well have commanded a fighting strength of up to 50,000 alongside tens of thousands of noncombatants.

Spontaneous battle songs broke out among the Britons, their voices reverberating up toward the Romans. The Roman troops stood their ground, with many a legionary in silent prayer to his ancestors and to Mars, god of war. The legionaries drew deep breaths to maintain their calm until the shouts of their centurions and the drone of Roman trumpets released them into action. With the Britons no more than 60 yards away, a storm of javelins erupted from the cohorts. The javelins thudded into the flat, hide-covered oak shields of the Britons and tore into their ranks.

In wedge formation, the cohorts charged into the Briton masses. Heavy iron bosses of legionary shields pummeled Britons to the ground. Blank gladii stabbed downward. On the flanks, the earth shook with the charge of the Roman auxiliary cavalry. Their spears lowered, the Batavi overwhelmed their foes. The Roman forces cut into the enemy ranks but by doing so exposed their own flanks. Routed or slain Britons were replaced by others coming up from behind them and threatening to envelop the Romans.

The battle broke into confused separate melees. At one point Briton chariots scattered Roman troops only to be repulsed by a hail of arrows from Roman auxiliaries. "Horseman would overthrow foot soldier and foot soldier strike down horsemen," wrote Dio. Though no record has been left of Boudicca's actions during the battle, it is tempting to picture her in her chariot, hurling javelins, like Andraste incarnate.

At last the Britons' valor collapsed into flight, but their way was blocked by their own wagon rampart. Bunched up with their families, yelling and screaming, the Britons desperately clambered over the wagons and each other and through panicked draught animals. The Romans butchered everyone, men and women

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alike. Even the baggage animals were “transfixed with weapons,” wrote Tacitus, adding “to the heaps of dead.” The battle merged into a slaughter, lasting until late in the day.

Tacitus described Boudicca’s defeat as “a glorious victory, comparable to bygone triumphs.” Roman reports estimated up to 80,000 Britons killed, not differentiating between warriors and noncombatants. “Our own casualties were about four hundred dead and a slightly larger number of wounded,” wrote Tacitus. When news of the battle reached Isca Dumnoniorum, II Legion commander Postumus was overcome with shame. For missing the chance of being part of such a victory, Postumus “stabbed himself to death.”

Boudicca escaped along with a sizable number of Britons. There are different accounts of her death. Tacitus wrote that she poisoned herself in despair. According to Dio, Boudicca grew ill and died. But sudden illness seems an unlikely demise for such a vigorous woman. Possibly she had sustained wounds during the battle, and these had become lethally infected. Her end near, she thus chose suicide. Boudicca was greatly mourned and given a worthy burial by her followers. Her valiant efforts continued to inspire the tribes. Despite the casualties suffered, many refused to surrender.



Boudicca leads her troops into battle. Boudicca’s rebel horde neither gave nor received mercy.

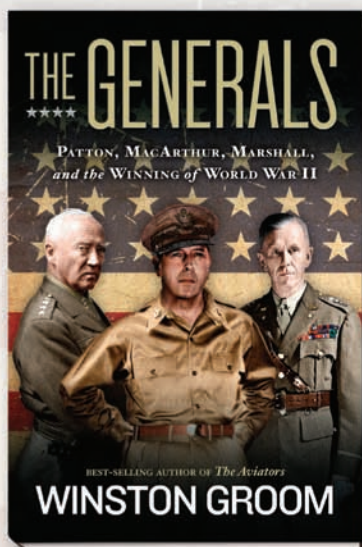
Suetonius united the whole army, including the II Legion and the remaining units of the IX Legion, and recruited eight new auxiliary infantry cohorts. A further 1,000 cavalry were summoned from Germania, alongside 2,000 legionaries to replenish the IX Legion. Any hos-

tile or wavering tribes were crushed. To compound their misery, the Britons’ decision to go to war instead of planting grain resulted in famine. The tribes nevertheless held on until, in AD 61, the vengeful Suetonius was replaced by the more lenient governor Publius Petronius Turpilianus. Turpilianus achieved an uneasy truce, ushering in a decade of peace.

In the aftermath of Boudicca’s failed rebellion, the influence of the Iceni nobility was reduced to a small tribal community based around Venta Icenorum (Caistor St. Edmunds, Norwich). The area remained under military occupation until the governorship of Gnaeus Julius Agricola. With civilian administration, the Iceni regained some form of their own government. The Roman garrisons were transferred north to Camelon to fight new wars.

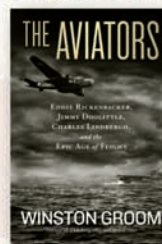
Boudicca’s popularity was undeniably due to her charisma, her energy, and her passion, traits that her generalship did not live up to but for which Boudicca would ultimately be remembered. A symbol of freedom, her heroic statue, complete with teenage daughters, chariot, and rearing horses, graces London’s Thames embankment even though she once brought about the city’s destruction. After Boudicca’s death, there would not be another uprising by the tribes of southern Britannia. □

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weapons

By Christopher Miskimon

The AC-47 gunship proved the concept of the aerial gunship as a close support weapon in the skies over Vietnam.

THE NIGHT OF OCTOBER 17, 1969, WAS A HARROWING ONE FOR THE South Vietnamese soldiers at Phung Hiep Army outpost. Viet Cong and North Vietnamese Army troops had attacked, showering the small base with mortar and machine-gun fire. Quickly the base was in danger of being overrun. But before the communists could attain their victory, help arrived for the beleaguered defenders.

The crew of a U.S. AC-47 plane fires 7.62mm miniguns. The reconfigured World War II transport aircraft performed ably as a gunship in large part because of the simplicity of its design.

South Vietnamese Captain Huynh Van Tong appeared in the skies over the battle at the controls of an AC-47 gunship. Flares dropped from the circling aircraft, illuminating the torn ground below. His targets identified, Tong and his crew opened fire with their three 7.62mm miniguns. Tracers leapt from the six-barreled weapons so fast it seemed as if hoses were dispensing luminous water over the battlefield. Sometimes the rounds ricocheted, flying into the air like sparks from a giant welder.

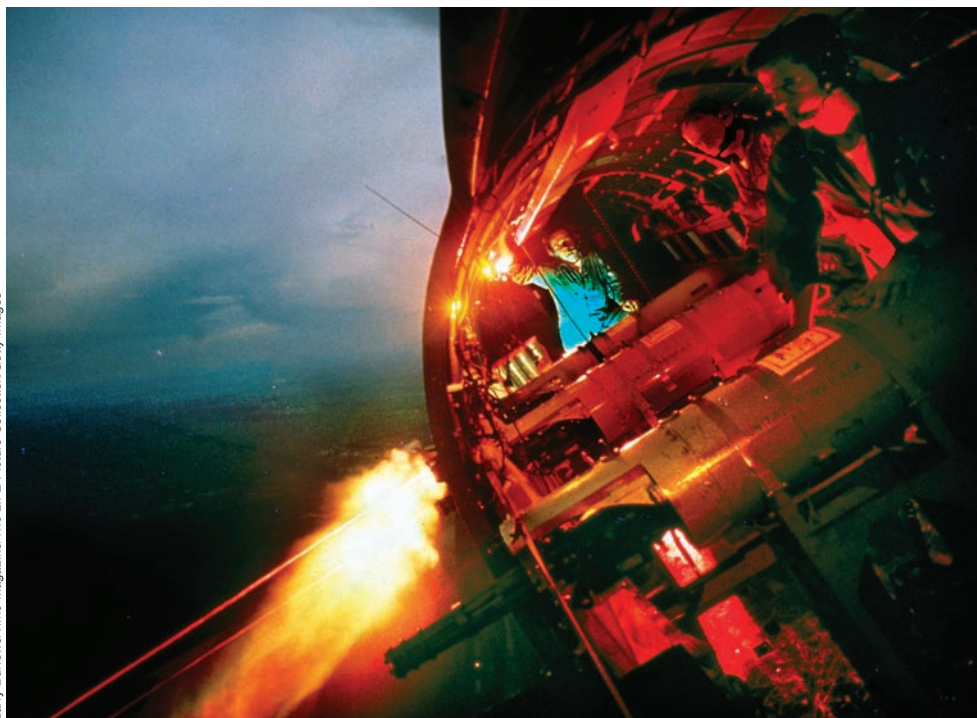
Soon ground attack aircraft appeared. Each one was ready to

drop a deadly payload. Tong acted as an air controller for the waves of arriving U.S. Air Force F-100s. He directed the aircraft on their bombing runs and coordinated their actions. Even as the pilot did so, he kept his own plane in the fight, paying out his ammunition load three times during the night for a total of 63,000 rounds expended. Twice after the ordnance load was expended he returned to base, rearmed, and went back into the air. The enemy attack was repelled, and Trong received an air medal for his skill and determination.

The AC-47, affectionately known by U.S. troops as “Spooky,” was the aircraft that proved the concept of the aerial fixed-wing gunship as a close air support weapon. Fixed wing refers to a standard airplane as opposed to a helicopter or rotary wing aircraft. The first gunships such as the AC-47 were converted cargo planes. These former transport planes were prized for their endurance, being designed to stay aloft for long periods. Their size allowed them to carry substantial weapon and ordnance loads. In this case, the aircraft’s slow speed was an advantage, lengthening loiter time over a target and increasing accuracy.

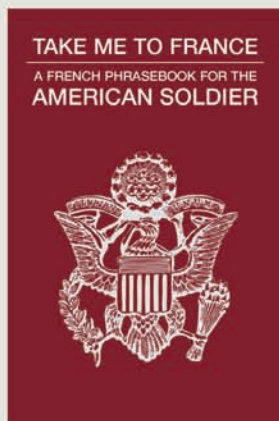
Before the U.S. Air Force began testing the gunship theory, these aircraft began their lives two decades earlier as simply Douglas C-47 Skytrain cargo planes, the ubiquitous Allied transport of World War II. They were produced in the thousands and used for everything from transporting cargo to ferrying paratroopers to their drop zones. The C-47 gave excellent service throughout the war, but rapidly advancing technology and design rendered the aircraft obsolete in the years afterward. Despite being eclipsed by newer planes, the C-47 soldiered on due to its ruggedness, simplicity, and ability to operate from even the most rudimentary of airstrips.

By the early 1960s, the U.S. Air Force began experimenting with



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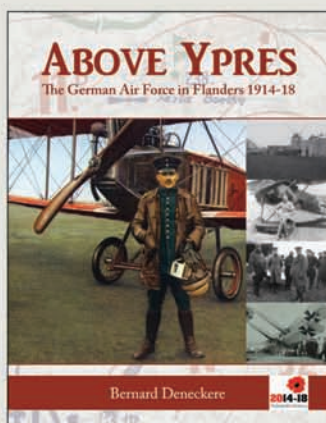


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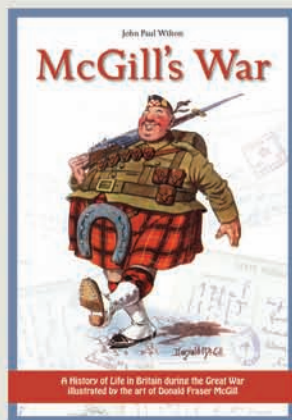


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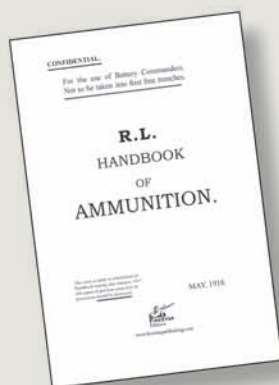
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side-firing gunships for potential use in the small conflicts that seemed to be brewing everywhere during that decade. The C-47D was chosen as an easy and inexpensive platform. Early prototypes were finished in 1964, designated the FC-47D for fighter cargo. The Air Force changed the designation to AC-47D for attack cargo, allegedly due to loud complaints being put forward by traditional fighter pilots who did not want competition from what they considered an ungainly aircraft.

The AC-47D shared the same characteristics of a standard C-47. The plane had a wingspan of 95 feet, a length of just under 64.5 feet, and sat almost 17 feet high. It was propelled by a pair of Pratt and Whitney radial engines, which produced 1,200 horsepower each. AC-47Ds had a maximum speed of 229 miles per hour but cruised at 150 miles per hour with a normal range of 1,500 miles. The AC-47 had a loiter time of seven hours, allowing it to remain over a target area for extended periods. The ideal operating altitude for the aircraft during combat missions was 3,000 feet

National Archives



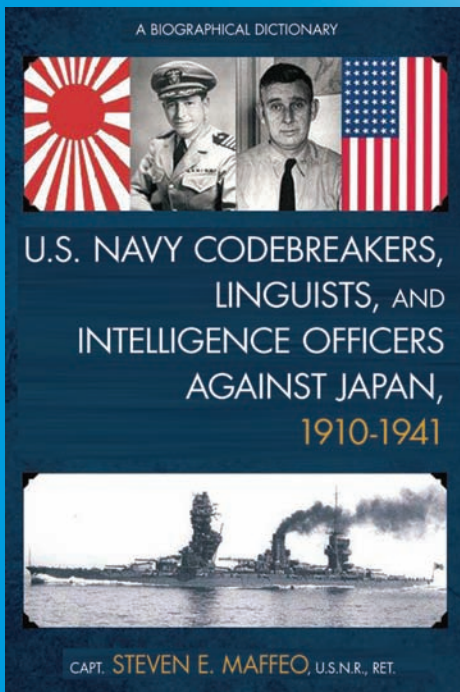
A time-lapse photograph shows the tracer rounds as an AC-47D furnishes close support during night action in Saigon. Unlike fast-moving jets, the "Spooky" gunship could patrol a position throughout the night, furnishing invaluable air support to vulnerable ground troops.

above ground level.

What set the AC-47 apart from its more mundane cousins was the armament it carried. The cargo version was unarmed. AC-47s sported a trio of M-134 7.62mm, multi-barreled miniguns. All three weapons were trained out the left side of the plane so that their firepower could be concentrated on a single target. The original design allowed a rate of fire of

6,000 rounds per minute, but in practice this was often set at 3,000 rounds per minute. The AC-47 carried a standard load of 21,000 rounds to feed these fast-firing arms. Early versions of the aircraft sported up to 10 .30-caliber machine guns as an interim measure until a proper armament could be installed. Flares were carried to illuminate targets at night, a vital necessity since many Viet Cong/North Vietnamese Army attacks usually occurred during darkness. Between 24 and 56 flares were carried depending on mission requirements. The MK-24 flare had two million candlepower and lasted three minutes.

Simplicity was the defining feature of the AC-47. It carried no complex electronics or sophisticated fire control systems. The aircraft's avionics and systems were essentially 1930s technology, proven and reliable. Even the flares were deployed by a crewman simply dropping them out the door when the pilot signaled by flashing the cargo compartment's light. The plane carried a crew of seven: pilot, co-pilot, navigator, flight engineer, load-



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master, and two gunners. It flew low enough that targets were acquired visually, and aiming the fixed machine guns was simply a function of properly maneuvering the plane, a procedure that came quickly with experience.

But getting to this point had actually taken decades. The concept of a plane carrying side-firing guns was not new, but it had never caught on with aviation leaders or designers. One of the first people to develop the idea was Lieutenant Gilmour McDonald, an Army officer in the Coast Artillery. He suggested an aircraft with side-firing guns for attacking German U-boats; rather than dive on the target, attack, and then circle for another pass, such a plane would simply fly around the target in a circle, a technique known as a pylon turn. The aircraft's armament would then always be pointed at the target, allowing continuous engagement. The idea found no purchase and languished until 1963, when a friend of McDonald's, an engineer at Bell, realized the concept had merit and took it to U.S. Air Force Captain John Simons, who touted it as a method for engaging guerrilla fighters. Another version of the story claims the concept was derived from missionaries in South America, who lowered supplies in baskets from tightly turning airplanes, which kept the baskets still relative to the ground.

National Archives



The crew of an AC-47 loads 7.62mm miniguns that can fire up to 18,000 rounds per minute. Beside them on the ground are boxes of ammunition and flares.

Simons' superiors were initially skeptical but eventually gave him a C-131 transport to test the theory, now named Project Tailchaser. Funding issues prevented the program from carrying out a significant amount of testing until the arrival of Captain Ron Terry, who had just completed a tour in Vietnam in which he studied in-country air operations. Terry knew

the Viet Cong often attacked at night when fast-moving fighters had difficulty tracking the elusive enemy. At the time C-47s were used to drop flares during night battles with great success. Terry looked through the project reports and stumbled upon Project Tailchaser. He went on a test flight and was convinced the idea had merit. He soon convinced a number of high-ranking officers of the method's utility, including General Curtis Lemay, who authorized Terry to take the nine minigun prototypes to Vietnam and test the concept.

Political opposition within the Air Force almost ended the experiment before it began. Some leaders feared arming cargo aircraft would encourage the Army to do the same with its cargo planes and helicopters, diminishing the U.S. Air Force's utility and competitiveness for budget dollars. For this reason, Terry and his people were nearly sent back home after their arrival in Vietnam. But cooler heads prevailed, and Terry was soon at work.

A pair of C-47s from the First Air Commando Squadron were armed and tested. On its first night mission, the FC-47 (as it was still known then) was called upon to defend a Special Forces base at Tranh Yend in the Mekong Delta on the night of December 23-24, 1964. After deploying several parachute flares, the

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plane cut loose with a three-second burst. “We opened fire and it scared me half to death,” recalled one of the crew. “I thought the guns had blown up. Flames not only came out of the muzzles but also blew back inside where they licked around the cans where the spent cartridges were going. It was really noisy too, with the din from all three guns going [simultaneously].” The plane fired a total of 4,500 rounds, and the shocked Viet Cong quickly retreated. The aircraft repeated this success 20 minutes later at another camp at nearby Trung Hung, driving the enemy off.

Other missions went equally well, and before the test period ended General Joseph Moore, U.S. Air Force commander of air operations in Vietnam, requested an entire squadron of the gunships. It was during this time the gunship acquired its two famous nicknames, “Spooky” from its radio call sign and “Puff the Magic Dragon” from the popular song of the time. By the following November, 20 C-47s had been pulled from the boneyard and refurbished as gunships, now called the AC-47.

These planes were assigned to the 4th Air Commando Squadron, which began flying regular missions in support of Special Forces camps and other vulnerable bases. Overall, the AC-47s gave much worse than they received. Heavy casualties were inflicted on the enemy with few aircraft lost. Although the aircraft had to fly in a predictable circle, the enemy often lacked the heavy weapons to return fire effectively.

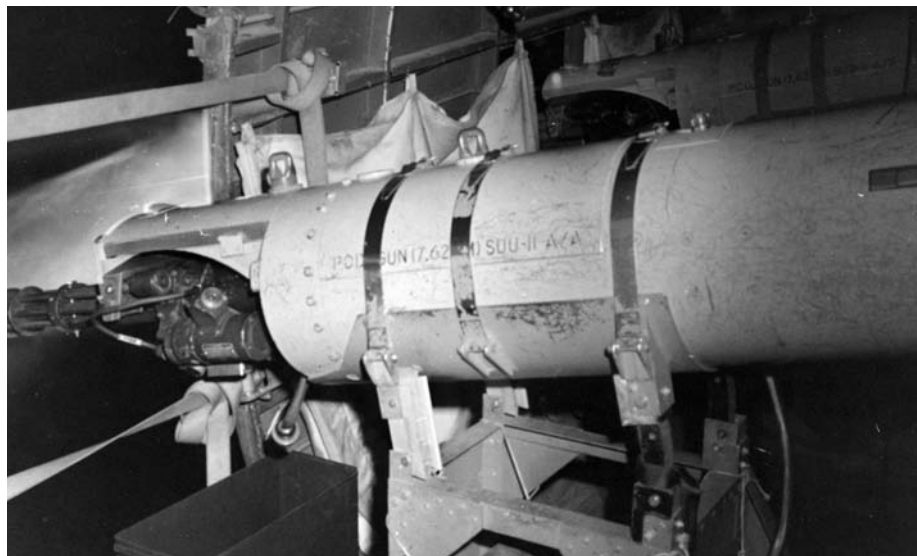
Sometimes AC-47 crews found themselves in dire circumstances. On March 9, 1966, an AC-47 was given the mission of defending the A Shau Special Forces camp from a North Vietnamese Army attack that threatened to overrun it. There was very low cloud cover over the camp, forcing the pilot to take the plane below 400 feet to engage the enemy. This time the North Vietnamese had some heavy weapons, including .50-caliber machine guns. The AC-47 made one pass, firing at the hostile combatants below. On its second pass, the plane took enemy fire, which blew off the right engine. Within seconds the other engine was also knocked out, and the plane crashed on the slope of a nearby mountain. One crew member was injured, both legs broken. The rest of the crew set up a perimeter and awaited rescue.

Within 15 minutes the enemy attacked, was defeated, and attacked again, killing the pilot and previously injured airman. The surviving crew beat back the second attack. Soon a helicopter arrived to rescue them, but it was taken under fire by an enemy machine gun. Co-pilot Lieutenant Delbert Peterson charged the machine gun with an M-16 and a .38 revolver,

Both: National Archives



ABOVE: An AC-47D at Nha Trang Air Base displays the three 7.62mm miniguns that make up its armament. The miniguns were positioned on the left side of the aircraft so that it could furnish continuous fire while circling. **BELOW:** An AC-47D crew test fires a 7.62 minigun in November 1966.



suppressing it long enough for the helicopter to rescue the three other surviving crewmen. Peterson was left behind; his body was not found by a Special Forces team sent to find him later. The young pilot would be classified as missing in action and later awarded the Air Force Cross. Long after the war ended, he was reclassified as killed in action.

Another AC-47 airman was awarded the Medal of Honor for his actions. On February 24, 1969, an AC-47 designated Spooky 71 was defending the Army base at Long Binh from a determined communist attack. Airman 1st Class John Levitow was the loadmaster aboard that aircraft. The gunship dropped flares on enemy positions and fired at them with its miniguns. As it circled, an enemy mortar round suddenly hit the right wing, exploding in a shower of shrapnel that sliced into the aircraft, wound-

ing five men including Levitow. The young flyer had more than 40 wounds on his body, and one of his legs was partially numbed.

Despite his injuries Levitow dragged an unconscious comrade away from the plane's open door. As he did so he saw a 24-pound MK-24 magnesium flare, armed and lying nearby. Smoke poured from it; it was about to ignite. If it did the entire plane would go down in flames. Levitow grabbed the flare and crawled toward the door, dragging it with him. He managed to push it out the door just before it went off, saving the aircraft and the seven men aboard.

The AC-47 had 3,500 holes in it, including a large one in the wing from the mortar impact, but the pilot made a successful emergency landing. Levitow recovered from his wounds and flew another 20 combat missions.

The success of the AC-47 led to more of them being built and sent to Vietnam. Two more squadrons, the 3rd and the 5th, were formed, and all three units came under the control of the 14th Air Commando Wing. A total of 53 C-47Ds were converted to gunships with 15 of them lost between 1965 and 1969. The planes were so effective Terry, now promoted to major, began to develop better ones using newer aircraft, such as the AC-119 and AC-130. These airframes could carry more effective weaponry and were more survivable than the relatively small, slow AC-47.

The last American-flown AC-47 mission over Vietnam took place in December 1969, although the South Vietnamese and Royal Laotian Air Forces continued using them. By then they had defended more than 4,000 outposts and bases, and the crews bragged no post defended by one of their planes had ever fallen. A few of the planes were sent to Laos, but the more mountainous terrain and better anti-aircraft defenses raised losses significantly.

The AC-47's story was not yet over. The aircraft were transferred to the South Vietnamese Air Force, where they continued in service until that nation fell in 1975. The 817th Combat Squadron was equipped with 16 AC-47s at the end of August 1969. It provided the Vietnamese their only gunships until the latter half of 1971.

On November 7, 1969, a South Vietnamese Air Force AC-47 designated Fire Dragon 03 flew in support of a Vietnamese Army battalion being overrun in a village near Ton Son Nhut Airbase. The pilot, Major Nguyen Son, laid his fire in a circle around the village and then strafed a creek bed the North Vietnamese Army was using to move troops. Running low on ammunition, Son called for help, and a U.S. Air Force AC-47 arrived. The U.S. plane lacked a translator, so Son, who spoke English, directed it onto the target.

The South Vietnamese Air Force also had success with the simple, rugged AC-47. Many of its pilots had flown C-47s for years; the average South Vietnamese AC-47 pilot had 2,000 hours flying time in the aircraft before he even arrived at the 817th. Their greater familiarity with the terrain allowed them to acquire targets more quickly, particularly at night. A number of South Vietnamese AC-47 crews also flew missions over Laos, helping to interdict the enemy supply lines along the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

Between November 1969 and May 1970, the AC-47s of the 817th Squadron flew 507 sorties, fired more than eight million rounds of ammunition, and dropped almost 7,000 flares. Sortie rates dropped during the rainy season as weather grounded the aircraft. Often troops on

the ground would defend their outpost more steadily if they knew an AC-47 was present.

The other major user of the AC-47 in Southeast Asia was the Royal Laotian Air Force. A number of the planes were transferred to it under the Military Assistance Program in June 1970. The Royal Laotian Air Force had less operational experience than the South Vietnamese Air Force, so there were difficulties with the pilots lacking skills in map reading and night flying. They seemed particularly afraid of flying in the mountains at night. The aircraft were also getting rather worn by this point, and maintenance problems were increasing. Even with these problems the crews were motivated to fix the planes and take them into action. Even the U.S. ambassador got involved, writing a report stating extensive training was required before the Royal Laotian Air Force would have enough qualified pilots to take part in combat operations.

Other problems seemed almost comical. The crews would regularly sell all the brass from expended ammunition and split the proceeds among themselves. Soon the crews would always expend their ammunition loads at the highest firing rate, even when they had no target. Aside from the cost of ammunition replacement, this became expensive in terms of replacing barrels and batteries in the guns. American advisers had to work to overcome all these issues.

Eventually, though, the Royal Laotian Air Force's AC-47s began to perform. One adviser admitted he never thought they would fly even 200 sorties per month, but in February 1971 they attained 211 sorties. Afterward they were flying eight sorties per night. Despite their problems even the Royal Laotian Air Force could boast it never lost a position defended by an AC-47.

The U.S. Air Force has continued using the AC-130 to this day, with the latest versions serving effectively in the Middle East. The lineage of that aircraft can be traced directly back to the AC-47, which proved the concept of fixed-wing gunships. The idea was not considered credible initially, as evidenced by the fact the U.S. Air Force risked only a handful of obsolete transports and a few prototype M134 machine guns, minimizing its loss if Project Tailchaser failed.

In this case, simplicity saved the day. The AC-47 was so uncomplicated there was little that could go wrong with it. Lacking complex targeting systems or electronics, the officer developing the Spooky went with simple techniques that proved effective. The AC-47 was so effective and well known that even today, American troops refer to U.S. Air Force gunships as "Puffs." □

D-DAY

Through A Soldier's Eyes...

LIMITED EDITION PRINT



THE STORM WAS VIOLENT, the waves were huge and the noise was deafening for the soldiers in the landing craft on D-Day, June 6, 1944. As they neared the beach, the door dropped open... and this photo lets you see exactly what they saw, and feel what they felt: treacherous breakers, withering machine gun fire, a long beach, huge cliffs, and near-certain death.

None hesitated. These brave unselfish men jumped into the cold Atlantic waters. Two thirds of them died soon after, so that we could live in freedom.

This historic photograph shows American soldiers from Company E, 16th Infantry, 1st Infantry Division exiting their LCP landing craft under heavy German machine gun fire on Omaha Beach. The photo was taken by Coast Guard Chief Photographer's Mate Robert F. Sergeant.

Company E landed on Easy Red Beach at 0645 in the face of murderous fire. Those few who survived kept wading right into everything the enemy had and took their objective, which provided the only exit from the beach that the entire Fifth Corps had for two days. Company "E," perhaps by strength of will and courage alone, helped keep the entire landing force from being thrown back into the sea. For a month afterwards, those who survived remained almost in a daze.

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intelligence

By Robert Heege

In April 1944 Exercise Tiger proved to be a grisly rehearsal for D-Day less than two months later.

IT WAS SPRING 1944, AND THE MORNING SUN WAS GLINTING OFF THE face of the water as the Landing Ship, Tank (LST) transports chugged their way through the choppy surf and headed in close toward shore, their destination a gravel-strewn stretch of beach on the English Channel code named “U” for Utah. Moments later, as shells began raining down all around the LSTs, America’s pride, the brave boys of the U.S.

Army, grabbed their rifles and sprang into action. In a matter of seconds, as what sounded like a million machine-gun nests ripped the air asunder, sending deadly, clattering volleys of lead whizzing above their heads, the resolute young infantrymen were slogging through the waves, tearing through the tide pools, and storming the beach.

Some of them, a handful of hardy survivors, had already come through the landings in North Africa in 1942 and the invasion of Sicily in 1943. For a great many others, new to the service and still so very young, it was

their first real experience of combat conditions. It would also be their last. Within seconds, all of them, the veteran campaigners and the green recruits alike, were being decimated. They were cut down by the bushel and blown to bits by devastating shellfire. The dead and the dying were everywhere. The desolate, deserted stretch of beach ran red with their blood. Transformed in an instant, it had become a slaughterhouse.

This was not D-Day, June 6, 1944, the Allied landings on the Northern coast of France, the opening shots of the long-awaited second front in

Europe, that great clash of arms in the titanic struggle against Hitler and his Nazi tyranny for the liberation of an enslaved Europe. This was not the invasion of Normandy; for that matter, it was not even Normandy. It was the east coast of England in late April 1944, a little more than a month before the real landings across the English Channel in German-occupied France.

As training exercises go, Exercise Tiger was one of the largest and most ambitious ever conducted. It was also an unmitigated disaster. As a full-scale rehearsal for D-Day, it was planned and carried out under conditions of utmost secrecy. The appalling carnage that ensued, even the fact that it had occurred at all, was a high-level state and military secret. Army surgeons were threatened with court martial for even speaking with the wounded. Even the casualty lists were kept strictly under wraps. To this day, it remains perhaps the most underreported story of World War II.

On December 11, 1941, a scant four days after Japan’s sneak attack on the American Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor, German leader Adolf Hitler, in an ecstasy of megalomania, decided that Nazi Germany also should declare war on the United States. The immediate result was that the full weight of America’s industrial and military might were now firmly and finally in the fight against the Third Reich.

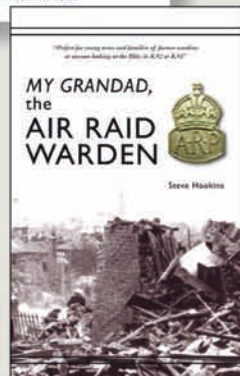
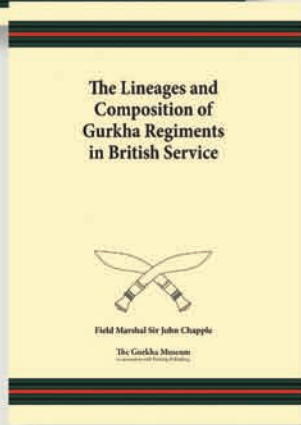
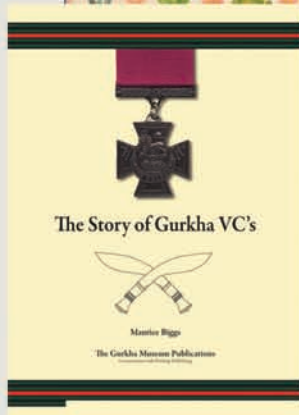
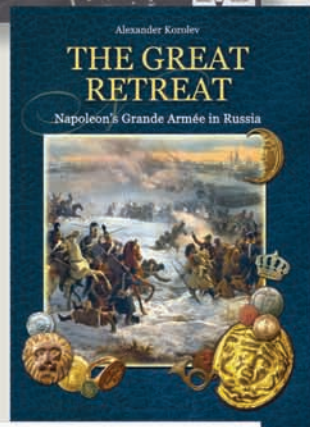
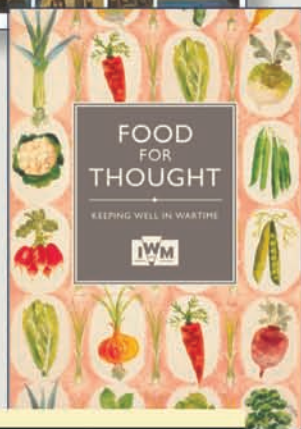
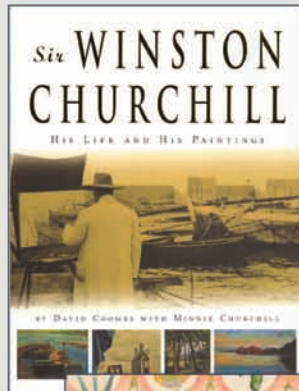
Men and materiel flooded across

Slapton Sands was well suited for Allied amphibious practice because its pebble beach closely mirrored the stretch of territory along the coast of northern France upon which the D-Day landings would take place.



U.S. Navy

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U.S. soldiers lie low in front of beach obstructions during a live-fire exercise at Slapton Sands. The April 1944 exercise was the third and largest one of its kind along the English coast in preparation for D-Day. BOTTOM: GI's, some of whom are wearing gas masks, play dead during Exercise Tiger.



the Atlantic in an enormous, seemingly never ending supply chain of Liberty ships, troops, tanks, and planes. There were so many U.S. servicemen in the British Isles by 1944 that England had begun to resemble one gigantic American troopship. After four long years under the Nazi boot, the stage was set, at last, for the first phase in the struggle to retake western Europe, a combined British-American landing on the coast of France.

Accordingly, toward the end of 1943, America's British allies in concert with the U.S. government and its military leaders began the herculean logistical task of preparing for Operation Overlord, the top-secret plan of attack designed to tackle that objective. As part of that mission, the British, in the best cloak-

and-dagger tradition of a James Bond novel, created an ultra-secret training ground in Devon on the east coast of England.

The spot designated, known then as Slapton Sands, was remarkably well suited to the task as its topography closely mirrored that of a stretch of territory along the coast of northern France upon which the genuine landings would soon take place. With its gravel beach fronting a spit of land and a small lake just beyond in the interior, Slapton Sands was a near dead ringer for what would become known to history as Utah Beach, one of the two landing zones in Normandy assigned to the American forces.

No less than three of these secret war games were conducted along the English coast starting in December 1943. Exercise Tiger, the last and

the most comprehensive of the three, was designed to hammer out every possible detail related to the vast undertaking that lay ahead, the long-awaited assault on Hitler's Atlantic Wall.

Trying to keep the lid on something as conspicuous as a mock seaborne invasion during wartime was a nightmare for the British Security Service, especially in Great Britain in 1944, an island nation groaning under the weight of millions of civilians, war industry workers, and Allied servicemen cramming in from every corner of the world. It proved to be no easy feat.

To begin with, the more than 3,000 people who called this quiet corner of England home were stunned to find themselves being issued evacuation orders and summarily relocated. In this manner, entire communities were transformed into eerie ghost towns almost overnight as the now deserted area was virtually sealed off from the outside world by a scrupulously enforced military cordon. The stage was now set.

The first phase of the exercise was scheduled for April 22 and 25. It consisted of a series of drills that involved loading large numbers of soldiers on the LSTs at various embarkation points along the English Channel and ferrying them to their assigned landing zones in a timely manner. Mastering this challenge was vital to the future success of Operation Overlord, and it needed to be accomplished without being detected by the enemy.

To that end, two British Royal Navy destroyers, three torpedo boats, and two motor gunboats bristling with .303 Vickers machine guns, depth charges, and 6-pounder cannons put to sea to keep the waterways leading in and out of nearby Lyme Bay away from the prying eyes of the enemy. Specifically, the focus of their mission was to keep a sharp lookout for any sign of their German opposite numbers, the dreaded Nazi E-boats that regularly operated from their base near the French port of Cherbourg on the other side of the English Channel from Britain, a distance of barely 21 miles at its narrowest point.

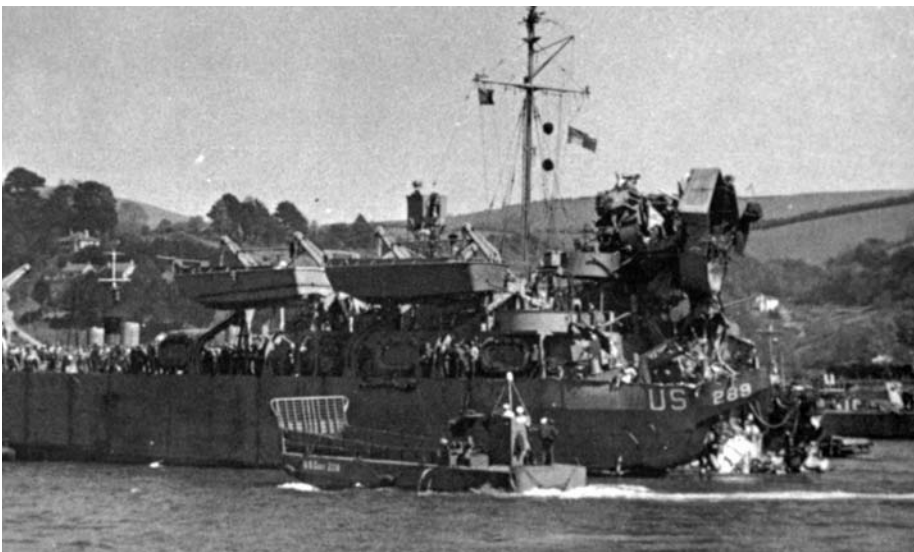
During Exercise Tiger, sleepy, moribund Lyme Bay had its own unique role to play standing in for the English Channel. On the night of April 26, the first contingent of troops formed up in its assigned embarkation depots and marched dutifully up the gangplanks and onto the LSTs that would ferry them to Lyme Bay. To get the men used to the rigors of a genuine Channel crossing, the LSTs proceeded to chug their way around the bay in a wide arc to simulate the journey to the Normandy coast, then made for the waters just off Slapton Sands. They were to arrive there just before dawn on the morning of April 27.

H-hour, the commencement of the mock

U.S. Army Art Collection



ABOVE: A German E-boat races through the English Channel in a painting by a German war artist. Poor Allied communications, inferior naval support, and an aggressive enemy contributed to the disaster that occurred when nine E-boats attacked eight LSTs moving in a straight line toward Slapton Sands on April 28, 1944. **BELOW:** LST-289 lies in Dartmouth Harbor after being struck by E-boat torpedoes during the ill-fated exercise.



landings, was scheduled for 7:30 AM. The vital importance of communication and coordination and the challenge of keeping everyone committed to their respective timetables were about to become readily apparent. Just before the first wave of the “assault,” a live-firing exercise was to be conducted to give the men a small taste of the sensory experiences that they could expect to encounter when they hit the Normandy beaches during Operation Overlord. Not only would genuine bullets be fired directly over their heads as the men came ashore, but Britain’s Royal Navy was directed to shell the beach for a half hour beforehand as the LSTs made their approach.

The bullets and the bombardment were

mostly the brainchild of the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force and originated with none other than Supreme Allied Commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower. Having successfully overseen the American landings in French North Africa during Operation Torch in 1942 and the Anglo-American invasion of Sicily the following year, Eisenhower, while not a battlefield general in the traditional sense, was nevertheless no martinet.

Far from it, he was a man who cared deeply about the GIs he was sending into harm’s way and had become increasingly concerned by the youthful inexperience and relative naivete of the ever increasing flood of conscripts, who were arriving in England as fast as the U.S. draft

boards could get them there. They were all there to do their duty, many all too eager to get into the fight, but the overwhelming majority had never seen action before. Revved up back on the home front by a steady diet of Errol Flynn and early John Wayne movies, some of them were jovially sounding off in their barracks and pup tents as if they expected the liberation of Europe to be an easy victory.

Eisenhower knew this because he took the time to regularly visit the encampments and the training grounds to talk to these young Americans face to face, and he came away convinced that it was of vital importance to shake the complacency out of these teenage boys, which is what they were in large part, and toughen them up for the ordeal that he knew all too well lay before them.

Accordingly, a British Royal Navy heavy cruiser, HMS *Hawkins*, sat offshore ready to begin subjecting the beach to a genuine naval bombardment set to begin at precisely 6:30 AM and end promptly a half hour later. This would give the beach wardens at Slapton Sands 30 minutes to inspect the beach for unexploded ordnance and certify that the area was safe for the troops to make landfall as scheduled, at 7:30 AM on the morning of the April 27.

Tragically, it was at this point that things started to go terribly wrong. The trouble began when some of the ships participating in the exercise fell badly behind schedule that morning, a delay that was soon rippling through the exercise’s entire timetable. As a result, American Rear Admiral Don Pardee Moon, the officer in command of the exercise, made the snap decision to postpone the live-fire portion of the exercise by a full hour and the subsequent landing of the troops on U-Beach to 8:30 AM.

Moon, an Indiana native with a service record stretching back 28 years in the U.S. Navy, was no 90-day wonder. He was a conscientious, experienced professional, a veteran of World War I. Two years earlier, he had participated in Operation Torch, ably discharging his duties during the successful North African landings, and as a result was tapped to command Exercise Tiger.

Moon’s message, ordering a one-hour delay to allow the latecomers to play catch up, was promptly relayed and duly received by the *Hawkins*. But crucial radio frequency errors between British and American radiomen resulted in needless suffering. Several of the LSTs that had managed to keep to their schedule that morning were already approaching their assigned objectives, and they failed to receive this vital communiqué. On that fateful

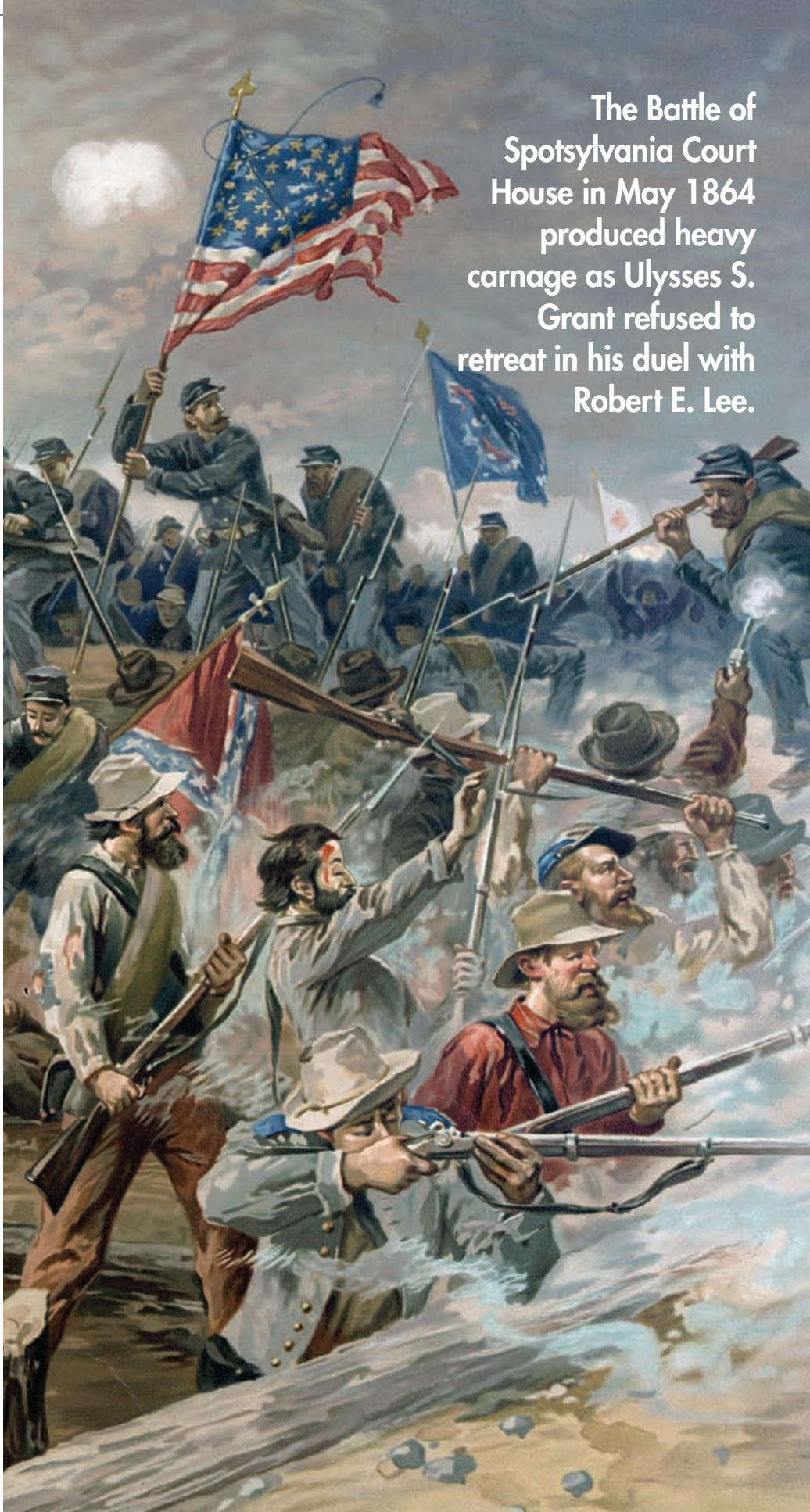
Continued on page 69

BLOOD ON THE FALLOW FIELDS

BY WILLIAM F. FLOYD, JR.



Soldiers of Maj. Gen. Winfield Hancock's II Corps storm the Mule Shoe Salient at Spotsylvania Courthouse on the morning of May 12 in a painting by Thure de Thulstrup. The strong Union attack captured a large number of Confederate prisoners and compelled Lee to rework his battle line.



The Battle of
Spotsylvania Court
House in May 1864
produced heavy
carnage as Ulysses S.
Grant refused to
retreat in his duel with
Robert E. Lee.

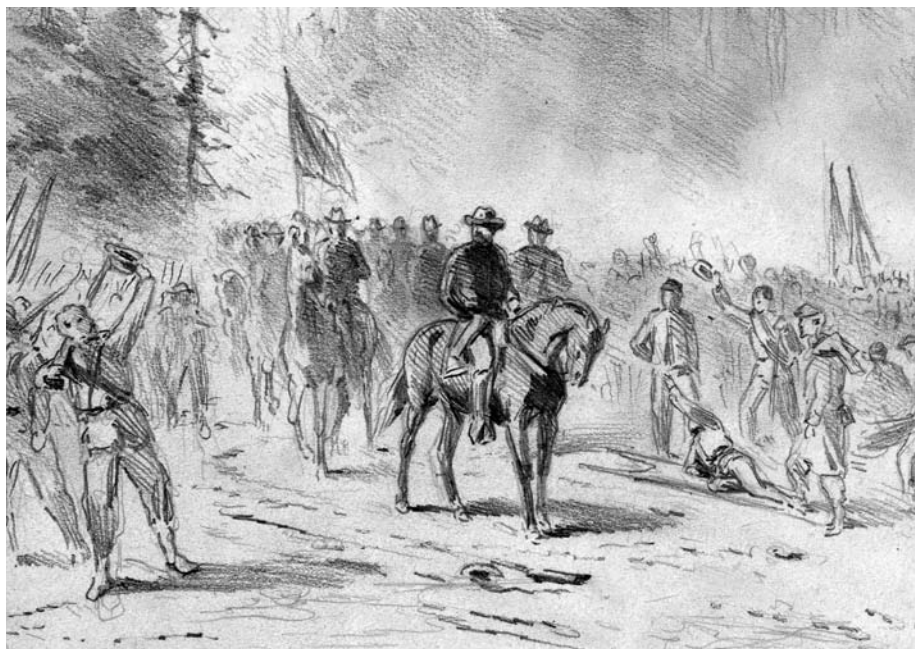
EVERYONE in Washington, D.C., knew the reason Maj. Gen. Ulysses Grant was in town. He had a hard time moving around without people applauding him everywhere he went. Elihu Washburne, a U.S. representative from Illinois, had proposed a bill reviving the rank of lieutenant general, and all of Washington knew who was in line for this promotion.

President Abraham Lincoln signed the bill into law on February 26, 1864. Lincoln immediately sent the nomination to the Senate, where it was confirmed the next day. The formal promotion took place on March 9 at a meeting of the cabinet at the White House. Grant later told his wife, Julia, that his only regret at accepting the promotion was that it bound him to Washington. Grant left Washington to retrieve his family, which was still in Nashville, Tennessee, arriving back in Washington on March 23. Grant did not want to have his headquarters in Washington, so after getting Julia established in a house in Georgetown, he set up his command 50 miles away in Culpeper, Virginia, at the headquarters of Maj. Gen. George Meade and the Army of the Potomac.

This placed Meade in a position such as Grant had with Maj. Gen. Henry Halleck while in the West, which was that of being second in command. Meade knew the reason Grant was now with the Army of the Potomac but chose not to make it a point of contention while maintaining nominal command of his army. Meade even offered to give up his command to Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman if that was Grant's wish, but Grant chose to keep Sherman in the western theater.

At that point, Grant prepared his plans for destroying Lee's army. The presidential election of 1864 made the success of the spring campaign politically important to Lincoln. If the Confederates could deny the Union a decisive victory before the election, there was a possibility a democrat might defeat Lincoln. Lincoln had so much confidence in Grant that he did not interfere with his plans and did not even ask to know them. After more than three years, Lincoln had finally found the right man. His strategy was simply to kill more Southern soldiers than Northerners being killed. To make this plan work, Grant had to keep all his armies moving and to keep the fighting going in all theaters of the war.

Grant's strategy in the eastern theater was based on a three-pronged attack. Meade's Army of the Potomac, along with Maj. Gen. Ambrose Burnside's independent IX Corps, was to sweep around Lee's fortified line and engage him in battle. A second force under Maj. Gen.



ABOVE: Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant watches as his troops march into the Wilderness south of the Rapidan River. The commander of all Union forces accompanied the Army of the Potomac on its 1864 spring campaign. **OPPOSITE:** Confederate General Robert E. Lee's troops built a long line of earthworks at Spotsylvania to defend their position against repeated Union assaults. Battlefield artist Edwin Forbes sketched this view of the battlefield from the Union center.

Benjamin Butler was to advance up the James River and strike Richmond in an attempt to sever Lee's supply lines and threaten the Confederate capital. A third force under Maj. Gen. Franz Sigel was to march up the Shenandoah Valley, disrupting Lee's strategic left flank with the goal of further hindering his supplies and communications.

In addition to operations in Virginia, there were two other Union armies operating farther south. Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Banks would attempt to capture Mobile, Alabama, the last remaining Gulf Coast port in Southern hands. In the meantime, Sherman in northern Georgia would move toward Atlanta to break up General Joseph E. Johnston's Army of Tennessee and nullify the Peach State as a source of supplies and industry for the Confederacy. Grant also tapped Maj. Gen. Philip Sheridan to lead the Cavalry Corps of the Army of the Potomac. Over the past five months, there had been nothing but skirmishes in Virginia, but now with winter over that was all about to change. "Wherever Lee goes, there, you will go also," Grant told Meade.

After the Confederate defeat at Gettysburg in July 1863, Lee faced a daunting challenge rebuilding the Army of Northern Virginia. At the three-day battle, the Army of Northern Virginia lost 15 of its 45 brigade and division commanders. Many of the remaining officers were simply not up to the task of command. Because of Lee's decentralized style of command, he had to be careful in choosing new officers who would be capable of operating on their own if necessary. Many of the mid-level and senior officers were volunteers who had risen through the ranks as a result of their political connections or the simple fact that they had survived. Lee had to balance these men with formally trained officers.

After completing the reorganization, Lee met at Clark's Mountain in Culpeper County, Virginia, with his corps and division commanders to plan the upcoming campaign. From this 600-foot summit, the Confederates had a view of the entire Army of the Potomac. Lee was aided in no small degree by the inactivity of the Federal army, though this lack of activity could not be expected to last forever. Earlier in the year Lee had submitted various options for the 1864 spring campaign to Confederate President Jefferson Davis. The plans centered on the role of the Army of Northern Virginia's I Corps commander, Lt. Gen. James Longstreet, who had left Virginia on September 9, 1863, with 12,000 men to travel by rail to Georgia and reinforce General Braxton Bragg's Army of Tennessee. After the Battle of Chickamauga, Longstreet's force moved into East Tennessee to offset Union advances in that region.

One option called for Longstreet to march to Kentucky, cut Grant's communications, and assist Johnston. To carry out this mission, Longstreet would need horses and mules to move his infantry.

Davis rejected this idea. Another option was for Longstreet to return to the Army of Northern Virginia. This might give Lee enough troops to drive Meade's army back to Washington. Davis favored the latter plan. Thus, in early April Longstreet moved to rejoin Lee. This gave the Army of Northern Virginia the same basic three-corps structure it had at Gettysburg in which Longstreet commanded the I Corps, Lt. Gen. Richard Ewell commanded the II Corps, and Lt. Gen. Ambrose P. Hill commanded the III Corps. Lee's cavalry chief, Maj. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart, remained in charge of Lee's cavalry.

On May 4, Lee sent a telegram to Richmond that stated, "Enemy has struck his tents. Infantry, artillery, and cavalry are moving toward the Germanna and Ely's Fords." The crossing points Lee was referring to were on the Rapidan River. In the upcoming campaign, Lee's 64,000 Confederates in the Army of Northern Virginia would face 120,000 men in the Army of the Potomac. The campaign, which became known as the Overland Campaign, would produce some of the heaviest fighting of the war.

When Grant met with Lincoln in February, he laid out his plan for defeating the Confederacy. It would be different from anything previously attempted. For three years, the Union Army had been unable to mount concerted offensives against the Confederacy. When these offensives failed, it became standard operating procedure for Union generals to fall back and wait for the next campaigning season. These pauses essentially enabled the Confederates to shift their forces without interference. By striking all of the Confederate armies in the field at once, Grant hoped to grind the Confederacy to a nub.

On the Confederate side, in the spring of 1864 would prove to be one in which Lee adopted a new form of strategy to go up against Grant. He changed from his aggressive style to one of a defensive nature in the hope of forcing Grant into a war of attrition, similar to what Grant had in mind. Confederate Brig. Gen. Evander Law expressed awe for the accomplishments of his commander: "General Lee held so completely the admiration and confidence of his men that his conduct of a campaign was rarely criticized." Weakened by illness, the loss or injury of some of his principal lieutenants, and facing a much larger enemy, Lee would adapt brilliantly. He felt that he understood how Grant operated, which he related to Maj. Gen. John B. Gordon. "He discussed the dominant characteristics of his great antagonist," related Gordon, noting "his indomitable will and untiring persistency; his direct method of waging war

by delivering constant and heavy blows upon the enemy's front rather than by seeking advantage through strategic maneuver."

As Grant began his first move, he was aware that Longstreet's I Corps was some distance beyond the II and III Corps of Ewell and Hill, respectively, and he hoped to bring on a battle before Longstreet arrived. Lee already had decided not to contest the enemy's crossing of the Rapidan River. He wanted to wait and catch the Army of the Potomac when it entered the Wilderness, where numbers would count for very little. Grant would have to march through the Wilderness in order to travel south from the fords used to cross the Rapidan.

Lee ordered Ewell and Hill to enter the Wilderness and strike the Federals as they marched. On May 5, the two Confederate corps marching from the west ran into three Union corps headed south from the Rapidan. On this first day of fighting in the Wilderness, the Federals managed to get more than 70,000 men into the fight, while the Rebels had fewer than 40,000 men. But the preponderance of Union troops was not an advantage in these dense, smoke-filled woods where soldiers rarely saw the enemy clearly. When the underbrush caught fire, it threatened wounded soldiers with being burned to death. By the end of the day, the Federals had gained a position to attack Lee's right.

Grant ordered his generals to counterattack at dawn on May 6. Lee also had plans for an

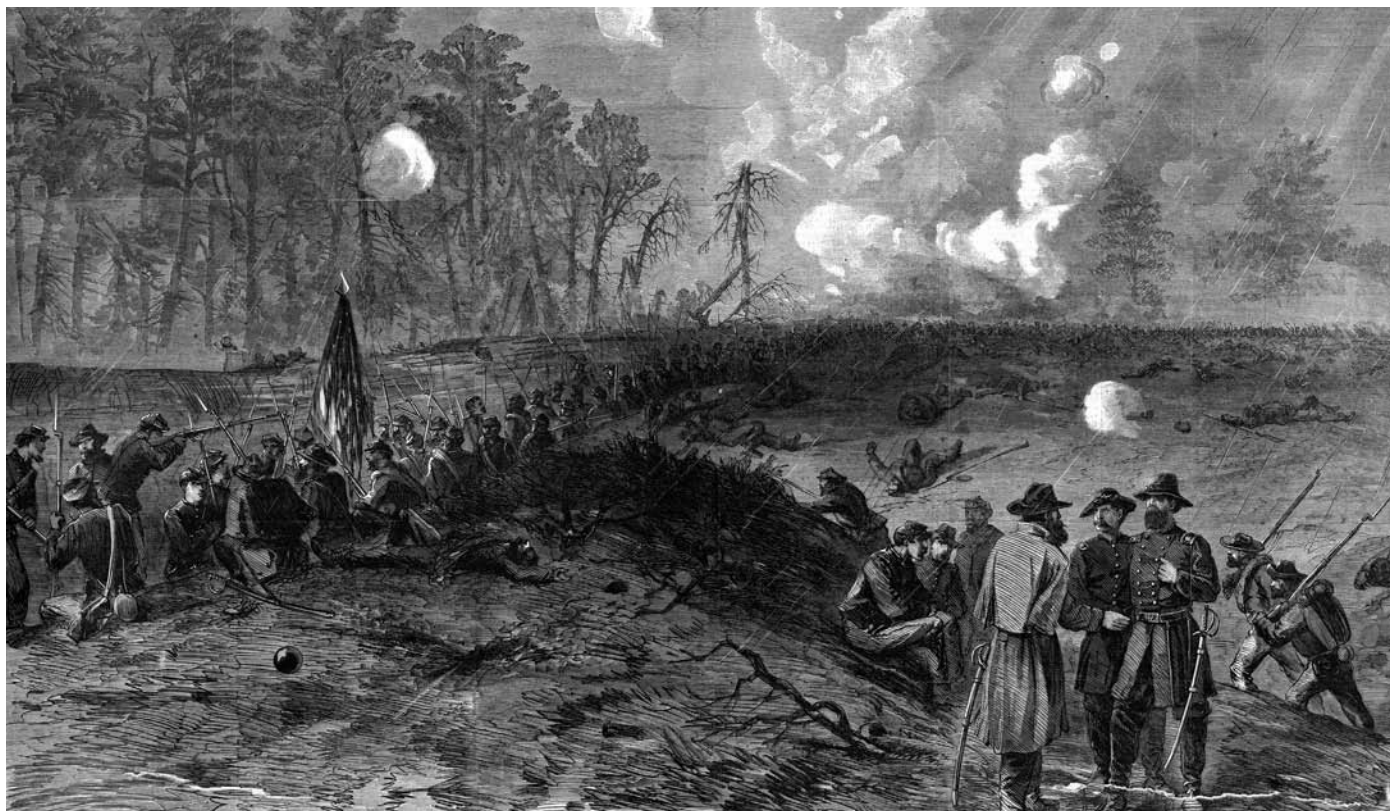
early morning attack in this same area. The Yankees attacked first and drove the Rebels back almost a mile through the woods to a location where Lee had his field headquarters. Lee tried to lead a counterattack, but his troops forced him back as Longstreet's men arrived and stopped the Union advance. Using their knowledge of the area, the Confederates attacked again shortly before noon, driving back the surprised Northern regiments. But the Confederates suffered a major loss to their high command with the wounding of Longstreet, who would be out of action for five months. At the end of the two-day battle, the Federals had suffered 17,500 casualties and the Confederates had suffered 10,500. Under similar conditions, previous Union commanders would have withdrawn behind the nearest river, but not Grant. He ordered Meade to move south. During the night of May 7-8, the Federals marched toward the nondescript village of Spotsylvania in an attempt to get between Lee and Richmond.

Unfortunately for Grant, Lee anticipated the move and won the race to the Spotsylvania crossroads. The Confederates' race to the crossroads was helped out by roads through the woods, which Lee had ordered to be improved earlier. Lee selected Maj. Gen. Richard H. Anderson, who was temporarily replacing Longstreet as head of I Corps, to lead the march to Spotsylvania. Anderson put his troops on the road but found no good place to stop because of the burning woods and narrow byways. His command traveled all night without stopping. The Federal advance on the Brock Road was slowed in the face of scattered but determined resistance from Confederate cavalry. The day after the Battle of the Wilderness, Rhode Islander Elisha Hunt Rhodes no longer had any qualms about Grant: "If we were under any other general except Grant, I should expect a retreat, but Grant is not that kind of a soldier, and we feel we can trust him."

The action around Spotsylvania rapidly accelerated on the morning of May 8. Sheridan's troopers began advancing toward Spotsylvania before dawn, forcing Stuart's two divisions to retreat along the Brock and Fredericksburg Roads. Appeals from Stuart for help went to Anderson. Anderson quickly sent two infantry brigades and an artillery brigade to stabilize the Brock Road. Anderson also occupied the town and turned his attention to Maj. Gen. Gouverneur Warren's advancing V Corps. The Confederates dug in atop Laurel Hill and waited for Ewell's II Corps.

Warren knew he had to knock the Rebels off the hill to take the crossroads. The Federals advanced toward the hill in the mistaken belief they faced only cavalry. A heavy ripple of musket fire showed that there was much more than cavalry on Laurel Hill. The Federal troops had advanced to a point approximately 50 yards from the Confederate works when Brig. Gen. John Robinson and Colonel Andrew Denison of the Union V Corps were shot from their horses. Seeing the officers shot, many of the enlisted men began to waver. Warren tried to rally the retreat-





ing Federals by grabbing a regimental flag and using it as a rallying point. Despite his best efforts, this was the end of the advance.

On May 9, all three of Lee's corps arrived in the Spotsylvania area and started to construct extensive field works. At Union headquarters, Meade and Sheridan got into a heated argument with Meade accusing Sheridan of incompetence. Sheridan claimed that he could whip Stuart. Meade went to Grant with this claim and Grant told him to go ahead and make good on it.

Neither army rested during the night of May 8-9. Rebel infantry dug trenches with bayonets, plates, and cups and stacked timber and fence rails, packing dirt between them. Grant also had his troops working to reinforce their own lines. The opposing forces in some places were just a few hundred yards apart. Soldiers on both sides braced themselves for the hard fighting that lay ahead.

Meade's chief of staff, Maj. Gen. Andrew Humphreys, had a grim assessment of the Confederate fortifications. Reconnaissance was difficult, and Humphreys determined that the Confederate field works were stitched so tightly together there was "scarcely any measure by which to gauge the increased strength thereby gained."

On the morning of May 9, Maj. Gen. Jubal Early, who commanded a division in Ewell's II Corps, deployed his troops in a line that stretched from the Fredericksburg Road to the east of Spotsylvania Court House. Union VI Corps commander Maj. Gen. John Sedgwick was supervising the placement of artillery batteries when he was killed by a Confederate sniper. Grant bemoaned the loss to the Army of the Potomac. It was, in his words, "greater than the loss of a whole division of troops." Maj. Gen. Horatio Wright, who commanded the First Division of VI Corps, replaced Sedgwick as VI Corps commander.

The two opposing armies slowly consolidated their positions. The length of the lines was now approaching seven miles. At first Grant was unwilling to send troops against the strong Confederate defenses. But when he began receiving reports indicating Lee was increasing his troop strength on his right, Grant ordered Union II Corps commander Maj. Gen. Winfield Hancock to flank the Confederate left. Hancock's men moved out at 3 PM on May 9, but they almost immediately ran into trouble. The major problem was the difficult terrain, which was uneven and dense. Hancock aborted the operation at 8 PM. The movement, however, was not a complete waste as it caused Lee to shift several units to Block House Road to shore up its defenses. This left only one division to watch Burnside, bringing to an end to the troop movements of May 9.

The plan for May 10 was complex and required coordination beyond anything that the Fed-

erals had achieved thus far in the campaign. Hancock was to resume his previous day's turning maneuver across the Po River at the Block House Bridge and attack the western end of Anderson's fortified line. As Anderson's line fell apart, Warren's V Corps and Wright's VI Corps were to charge Laurel Hill. In the meantime, Burnside was to renew his movement down the Fredericksburg Road into Spotsylvania.

Lee's plan also involved Hancock. Brig. Gen. William Mahone had succeeded to command of Anderson's division of the Confederate III Corps following Anderson's transfer to lead the Confederate I Corps. Mahone had ordered his men to build strong defensive positions on the Po's eastern bank. With Mahone pinning Hancock in place, Maj. Gen. Henry Heth was to lead his division across the Po River a few miles to the south and fall on Hancock's lower flank.

The night of May 9-10 was tense for Hancock. His engineers toiled to build a bridge across the Po. At daybreak, Rebel guns began firing from across the river. The Confederate artillery fire was a little too close for comfort for Hancock's soldiers positioned on the finger formed by the Po. After surveying the situation, Hancock decided that it would not be a good idea to storm the bridge.

The most significant attack of May 10 came about in the late afternoon as Warren reported that he thought a direct frontal attack could be successful. Grant agreed, and by 4 PM Warren's

divisions were moving toward Anderson's line with Wright on his left and Hancock on his right. As the Union attackers came forward, Southern batteries raked the Union lines. Wright was shocked by the initial attack. He formed a special force to attack the so-called Mule Shoe salient. Colonel Emory Upton was given the responsibility for leading 12 regiments in an assault on the Confederate position.

The New York native's attack began with a bombardment by heavy Union guns. Upton's men got within the Confederate entrenchments and were able to capture approximately 1,000 Rebel prisoners. But supporting attacks by Hancock and Brig. Gen. Gershom Mott were unsuccessful. For this reason, Upton withdrew his troops.

On Wednesday, May 11, Grant had breakfast with Washburne, who had accompanied the army since crossing the Rapidan. Washburne was returning to Washington that day, and he asked Grant if he could give him a statement for Lincoln and Secretary of War Edwin Stanton. Rather than send a message to the president, Grant said he would send a letter to Army Chief of Staff Halleck. "I generally communicate through him, giving the general situation, and you can take it with you," said Grant.

"We have now ended the sixth day of very heavy fighting," Grant wrote to Halleck. "The result to this time is much to our favor. But our losses have been heavy, as well as those of the enemy." He ended the message with a phrase that would become famous. "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." Grant's message was soon seen in newspapers across the North.

Grant spent the rest of his time on May 11 inspecting his lines and planning the next day's attack. Grant concluded that the Brown House, north of the Mule Shoe salient, would make an excellent point from which to assemble a massive attack on the salient, which still protruded from the Confederate front around the McCoull and Harrison Houses.

Union staff officers rode in a heavy rain to reconnoiter the ground over which the attack would be launched. Not only did the rain continue throughout the night, but a dense fog formed. Still, Grant was determined to make an attack the next morning. The salient, packed with enemy soldiers, seemed like the spot to hit and snare a lot of Rebels. Defensive lines were improved, supplies were topped off, and the men rested.

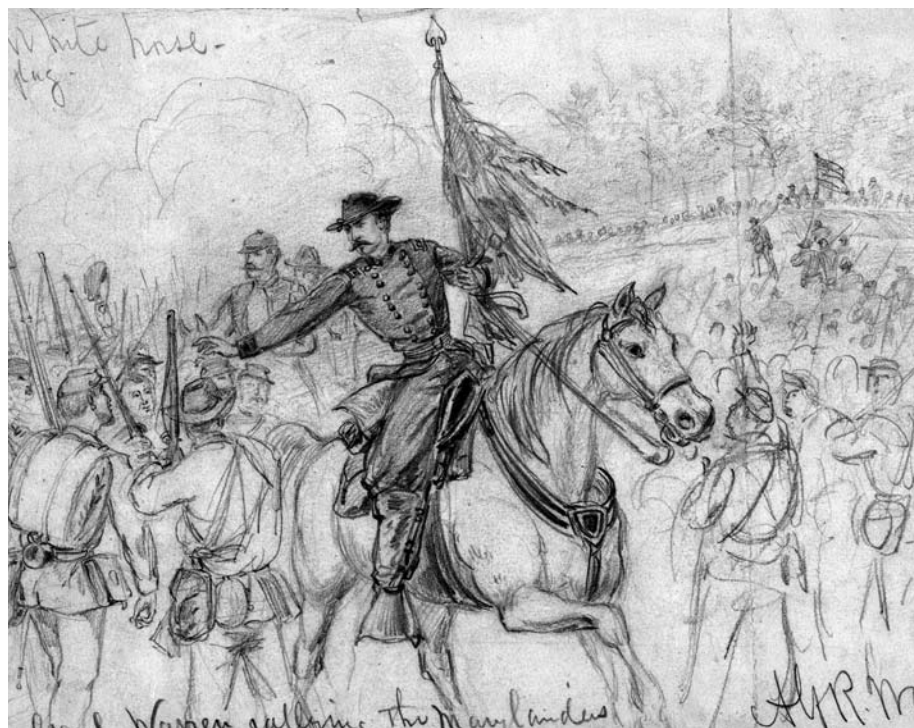
Grant issued orders for his offensive plan at 3 PM that day. He decided that Hancock's II Corps would deliver the main blow at the apex

of the salient. This would mean a night march to just north of the salient to the left of Warren's position. Wright and Warren were to keep close contact with the Confederates, and Hancock would begin a two-division attack in conjunction with Burnside's IX Corps. Staff officers from Grant's headquarters were to be sent to assist both Burnside and Hancock and to prod Burnside if necessary.

Lee spent May 11 adjusting his lines, resting his men, and trying to discern Grant's next move. Meanwhile, cavalry from both sides clashed at Yellow Tavern on the Brock Road just a few miles north of Richmond. Heavily outnumbered, Stuart formed his two brigades to confront Sheridan's powerful cavalry. Intent on destroying Stuart, Sheridan attacked with four brigades. The Confederates stubbornly resisted in hand-to-hand fighting at crucial points. At 4 PM, Brig. Gen. George Custer's brigade joined the fight.

At that point, Stuart rode forward to encourage his men. In the mounted melee, Stuart received a severe chest wound, and he died the following day. The death of Stuart was a huge loss for the Confederacy and a personal tragedy for Lee. The fighting continued for another hour before Sheridan withdrew.

Grant had instructed Meade to begin the attack at 4:35 AM on May 12 when the early daylight would make the advance possible. Grant had decided to use a large force to attack what appeared



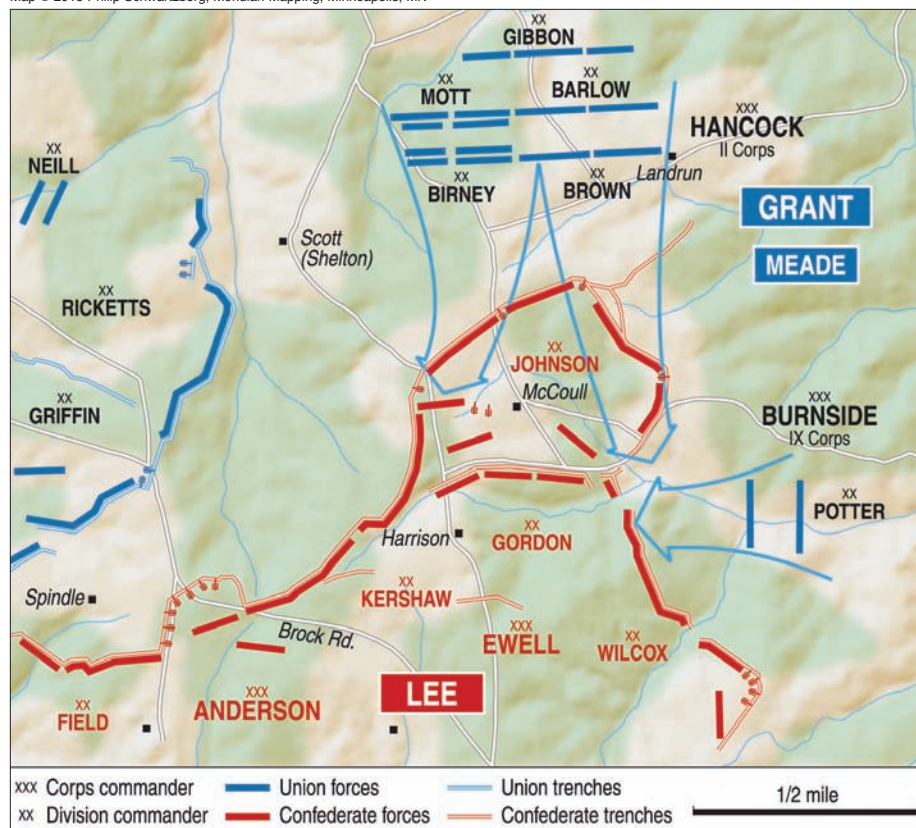
ABOVE: Major General Gouverneur Warren grabs a regimental flag in an attempt to rally his V Corps soldiers during their May 8 attack on Laurel Hill in a sketch by Alfred Waud. Despite his best efforts, his men could not carry the position. **OPPOSITE:** The Overland Campaign of 1864 was marked by the regular use of earthworks by the Confederates as they defended positions against greater numbers. The grim fighting at the Mule Shoe Salient resulted in 17,000 casualties.

to be a vulnerable section of the Confederate line on the northern portion of the salient where Maj. Gen. Edward Johnson's division of Ewell's II Corps was located. Lee had withdrawn his artillery based on information that Grant was planning to withdraw toward Fredericksburg.

Confederate soldiers in the Mule Shoe heard a heavy rumble coming from the direction of the Union lines. The heavy rumble meant either that the Federals were moving around Lee's flank once again to fight somewhere else or that they were positioning forces for a major assault. Brig. Gen. George "Maryland" Stuart believed the Federals were massing for another assault similar to the one at dusk on May 10. He sent a request to Johnson asking for the return of his artillery support, which had been withdrawn from the front lines for fear it would be captured. The request went up the chain of command. Ewell agreed to the request, and Confederate artillerymen began bringing 22 guns back to the Mule Shoe just before dawn.

The Union advance encountered Confederate pickets but soon ran them off. Hancock and Wright launched the massive frontal assault right into the salient. Once the parapets were in sight,

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



ABOVE: The map shows the path of the 20,000 Union troops of Maj. Gen. Winfield Hancock in their May 12 attack on the Mule Shoe Salient. Although Hancock shattered a Confederate division, he failed to cut Lee's line in half. **OPPOSITE:** The Battle of Spotsylvania Court House saw some of the most brutal and desperate fighting of the war. The harvest of death was terrible, as shown by this photograph of a lifeless Confederate soldier behind a breastwork at the Widow Alsop Farm.

the advance turned into a disorderly rush forward in hopes of catching the defenders unaware. Obstructions 100 yards from the main line were hastily thrown aside, but by now the enemy was growing aware and began firing. The Rebel artillery was manhandled into position. The cannoneers opened up on the attacking Yankees. The Confederate artillerymen were able to fire only a single volley before being surrounded by Yankees.

The fighting became so intense that the area became known as the Bloody Angle. The scene was one of absolute chaos with soldiers fighting hand to hand with bayonets and clubbed muskets. Nearly all of the Confederates in the salient were captured, including Stuart and Johnson. In the course of the melee, Lee offered to lead a counterattack, but he was prevented from doing so by his men, who shouted, "Lee to the rear!"

The Confederate counterattack fell to Gordon. Aided by Early, Gordon succeeded in driving back Hancock's forces. By 6:30 AM, though, Union Brig. Gen. Thomas H. Neill's division of Wright's VI Corps advanced on the Confederate left. Even though Gordon's attack had been successful, the Yankees had not been driven out of the rim of the original Mule Shoe. The fighting at the Bloody Angle continued throughout the day and into the night with casualties piling up on both sides. Union Generals Wright and Warren both advanced into the Confederate line but had to fall back with heavy losses. Both sides reinforced their positions.

The Rebels had surrendered in droves during the attack. Two brigades in Johnson's Division, those of Colonel William Witcher and Stuart, were gone in minutes. Both Stuart and Johnson were taken prisoner. More than a dozen cannons were taken, and a half mile of the Mule Shoe was cleared. Half a dozen Confederate brigades were driven back. Hancock was ecstatic when he sent word to Meade.

Union guards marched the approximately 2,000 Rebel prisoners to the rear. They took Johnson directly to Meade and Grant. Meade knew Johnson from West Point, and Grant remembered him from the Mexican War. After a pleasant conversation, Johnson was led away to be exchanged for a Union prisoner. Stuart's experience was different. He was first mistaken for Jeb Stuart, and

then he was forced to walk to the rear after refusing to shake hands with Hancock.

Lee tightened his line. Realizing at last that the Mule Shoe was too exposed, he ordered a new line dug across the base of the salient. Lee's doubts about his ability to maintain the salient were not shared by his men, who felt increasingly confident as the day wore on. Ironically, it was Grant's corps commanders who became overly cautious. They feared a Rebel counter-attack. Grant reluctantly felt that there was no point in trying to mount another assault or to make plans for a renewed attack the next day. Although the day had begun with great promise, it ended with a whimper when Grant's commanders were unwilling or unable to attempt another assault.

The sun rose on May 13 to an eerie silence. Colonel Rufus Dawes of the 6th Wisconsin quietly approached the Bloody Angle and observed the carnage. Bodies were crammed together, some stacked on one another. One Rebel lay sprawled against an embankment, his head gone and the flesh burned from his neck and shoulders by a mortar shell. Adjutant Charles Brewster of the 10th Massachusetts said he saw one man "completely trodden in the mud so as to look like part of it and yet he was breathing and gasping." A section of Union artillery faced the Bloody Angle no more than 100 yards away. Its horses were still hitched, dead in the mud, and the drivers in their saddles were also dead. The gunners, also dead, were propped up on ammunition boxes. They looked so natural that an officer touched them to persuade himself that they were not alive.

At 5:30 AM on May 13, Wright informed Grant that he had occupied the Bloody Angle, but no Confederates were found, at least any that were capable of fighting. Grant had to determine where Lee had gone. If Lee was falling back on Richmond, Grant would want to pursue without delay. Hancock's skirmishers had advanced past the McCoull House before they encountered Lee's first pickets. Grant concluded by 6 AM that Anderson was still in possession of Laurel Hill and that Early's corps still stretched across the Fredericksburg Road. The change was that Ewell had pulled back from the salient and apparently deployed in a new line a short distance away.

By 10:30 AM, Hancock was satisfied that Ewell had assumed a relatively straight line from Anderson's right to Early's left and was in an exceptionally strong position. The casualties of May 12 rivaled those of either day in the Wilderness. The total killed, wounded, or captured on that day for both armies was approximately 17,000. Grant had little to show for his

efforts. At the end of eight days of extremely brutal combat, the two armies stood in much the same relative positions as when they had started.

Grant's performance in commanding his army from May 7 to May 12 brought mixed reviews. He repeatedly tried to establish a relationship with an army whose style of fighting was nowhere near as aggressive as his own. To add to Grant's problems, he confronted for the first time an adversary whose aggressiveness matched or perhaps exceeded his own. To Grant's credit throughout this difficult period, he stayed true to his objective of destroying Lee's army.

While his men worked in burial parties or slept, Grant began plotting his next move. Instead of a general attack, Grant decided to load up on the left of his line with all four corps in an attempt to overwhelm Lee's right flank. Wright and Warren were set in motion to move below Burnside and attack across the Ni River at 4 AM on May 14. The troops were to begin their movement at 8 PM on May 13. Almost immediately, everything started to go wrong. Warren's corps did not get started until around 10 PM. Almost immediately it ran into rivers of mud and began to bog down. The line became strung out, and the attack was aborted. The only significant action was a confused battle for Myers Hill. Meade was at the hill when the Rebel force attacked, driving the angry general and his troops from their position. There were numerous troop movements on both sides during this period.

The next clash occurred on May 18 when Wright and Hancock attacked Ewell but were stopped by the abatis at the Confederate trench line. On May 19, Ewell's II Corps attacked the Union left at Harris Farm. Ewell eventually retreated. Over the next few days, there was movement south by both armies, bringing the fighting around Spotsylvania to a close. The second battle of the 1864 campaign took much longer than the fighting in the Wilderness, partly due to the bad weather, but was at times it was equally brutal.

Lieutenant Colonel Horace Porter, one of Grant's aides, never saw anything to equal the fighting on May 12. "Rank after rank was riddled by shot and shell and bayonet thrusts, and finally sank, a mass of torn and mutilated corpses; then fresh troops rushed madly forward to replace the dead and so the murderous work went on," wrote Porter. "Guns were run up close to the parapet, and double charges of canister played their part in the bloody work. The fence rails and logs in the breastworks were shattered into splinters, and trees over a foot

and a half in diameter were cut completely in two by the incessant musketry fire. We had not only shot down an army, but also a forest."

As Grant moved south and east, he was thwarted by the Confederate army at the North Anna River, Totopotomoy Creek, and Bethesda Church. By the end of May, Grant had reached a crossroads northeast of Richmond called Cold Harbor. It was here that 59,000 entrenched Rebels faced 108,000 Federals along a front that stretched for seven miles. Once again Lee had anticipated Grant's moves, and the Confederates had established an extremely strong position.

"The rebels are making a desperate fight and I presume will continue to do so as long as they can get a respectable number to stand," Grant wrote to his wife after the fighting on June 1. On June 3, the Army of the Potomac launched a massive assault that failed miserably. Grant lost approximately 7,000 men in 10 minutes.

Although the battles of the Overland Campaign were considered inconclusive, Cold Harbor was a victory for Lee. The Federals suffered 7,000 casualties while the Confederates had less than 1,500. Grant later admitted that he should never have ordered the attack. The fighting on June 3 nearly destroyed three Union corps and brought to an end a month of incessant campaigning. Over the course of the Overland Campaign the Army of the Potomac had suffered 50,000 casualties, which was equivalent to 41 percent of its total force, and the Army of Northern Virginia had suffered 32,000 casualties, totaling 50 percent of its entire force.



The losses for the South were much more consequential because their casualties could not be as easily replaced as those of the North. The losses for the Union, however, did have an effect in that they diminished the morale needed to finish the war. Grant flanked Lee one more time as he began his move toward the railroad hub of Petersburg, where a 10-month Union siege of the city began. During the siege the Army of Northern Virginia was bled to exhaustion. In the end, Grant's resources, manpower, and inexorable strategy overcame Lee's brilliant defense.

The Battle of Spotsylvania Court House saw some of the most brutal and desperate fighting of the war. Grant's strategy for the campaign was to hold Lee if he could not defeat him. This would allow Sherman to subdue Georgia and march north through the Carolinas to link up with the Army of the Potomac.

Grant had failed in the seven-week Overland Campaign to either destroy the Army of Northern Virginia or capture the Confederate capital at Richmond. Grant's casualties averaged 2,000 men a day over the course of the campaign from May 4, 1864, to June 24, 1864. But Grant differed from previous Federal commanders in one important aspect. He would not back off.

Beginning with the Overland Campaign, the Army of the Potomac would never retreat again. This policy would set the stage for the final phase of the war. When Grant crossed the Rapidan River on May 4, the war would change for both Grant and Lee. Each was up against an opponent who was equally determined to win the war. In the end, Grant won by bringing to bear the North's overwhelming advantage in manpower and economic strength. □

THE BAREFOOT CRUSADERS TRAMPED SLOWLY UNDERNEATH A blazing sun behind bishops and priests chanting and holding aloft relics on July 8, 1099. Their skin was burned and blistered by the unmerciful furnace in the sky, and their lips were parched and tongues swollen from constant thirst. The barren and dusty landscape, which was the color of a tanned animal hide, offered them no protection from arrows fired by the Egyptian garrison. As they marched through the Quidron Valley under the south wall of Jerusalem, they passed the Pool of Siloam. The approaches to the spring were littered with the carcasses of dead pack animals, which seeking to alleviate their thirst, had either died before reaching the spring or died upon finding it dry.

The idea for the liturgical procession came from Frankish priest Peter Desiderius, who after the crusaders had been encamped outside Jerusalem for a month, claimed that the spirit of the deceased Bishop Adhemar de le Puy, the leader of the First Crusade who had died 11 months earlier at Antioch, appeared to him in a vision on July 6, 1099. In the vision, Adhemar stated that the Frankish princes should stop bickering among themselves. In addition, all 15,000 of the crusaders should walk barefoot in the manner of the apostles in a procession that would sanctify them from their impurities. If these things were done, Adhemar told Desiderius, in the next nine days the crusaders would capture Jerusalem.

The Christian princes, knights, and commoners all embraced the idea. After passing through the Valley of Josephat below the east wall of the town, the barefoot



BATTLE FOR JERUSALEM

crusaders continued east to the Mount of Olives where Jesus had ascended to heaven after the resurrection. As they toiled in the following days to build the siege engines that would be necessary to gain entry into Jerusalem, they were spurred to superhuman efforts by their desire to revenge themselves upon the Muslim soldiers who had mocked them.

“While we marched around the city, the Saracens and Turks made the circuit on the walls ridiculing us in many ways,” wrote crusader historian Raymond of Aguilers. “They placed many crosses on the walls in yokes and mocked them with blows and insulting deeds. We, in turn, hoping to obtain the aid of God in storming the city by means of these signs, pressed the work of the siege day and night.”

Although the Latin Christians were slowly pushing back the Muslims in Western Europe in the 11th century, the Byzantine Empire in the East was in grave peril. Following the decisive defeat of Emperor Romanos IV’s army by Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan’s forces at Manzikert in eastern Anatolia on August 27, 1071, the empire lost nearly all of its Asian lands to the Seljuk dynasty.

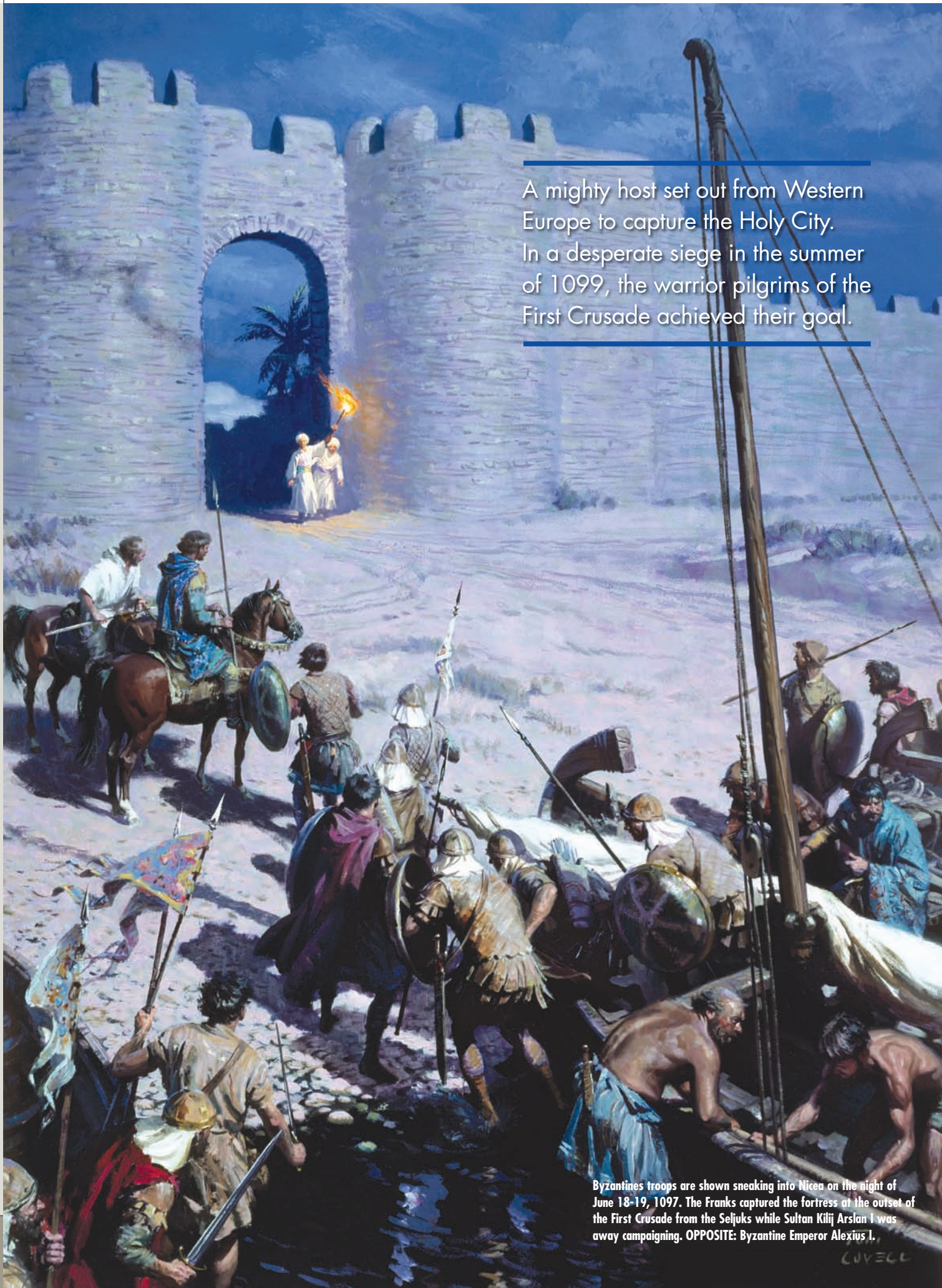
The victory at Manzikert was a continuation of the ascendancy of the Muslim Seljuks begun by their founder Tughril, who had conquered Khorezm, Persia, and Iraq earlier in the century. In 1055, Tughril was proclaimed sultan in Baghdad. Arslan, who succeeded Tughril, continued the Seljuk tide of conquest by conquering Georgia, Armenia, and Syria and grabbing nearly all of the Byzantine territories in Anatolia.

Fearing for the survival of Byzantium and the safety of Christians living behind

a Muslim curtain, Byzantine Emperor Michael VII, who succeeded Romanos IV, appealed to Pope Gregory VII for military assistance to fight the Turks. But Gregory, and a later pontiff, Urban II, had something far more grandiose in mind.

Urban II wanted the Latin monarchs and princes to stop fighting among themselves and focus instead on spreading Roman Christianity to new lands. The most obvious target of such ambition was Palestine and the city of Jerusalem, which housed the Holy Sepulcher. The Muslims had controlled Jerusalem since 638 when Abu Ubaidah’s Rashidun army captured it from the Byzantines. In addition to assisting the Byzantines against the Seljuks, Urban II also wanted to protect the large numbers of Latin pilgrims who visited Jerusalem.

In late November 1095, Urban II summoned Western European princes and soldiers to participate in a large-scale military expedition to liberate Palestine, and Jerusalem in particular, from



A mighty host set out from Western Europe to capture the Holy City. In a desperate siege in the summer of 1099, the warrior pilgrims of the First Crusade achieved their goal.

Byzantines troops are shown sneaking into Nicea on the night of June 18-19, 1097. The Franks captured the fortress at the outset of the First Crusade from the Seljuks while Sultan Kilij Arslan I was away campaigning. OPPOSITE: Byzantine Emperor Alexius I.



the Muslim grip. "All Christendom is disgraced by the triumphs and supremacy of the Muslims in the east," Urban II said at the Council of Clarendon. In return for their service freeing Jerusalem from the infidels, the pope offered a blanket penance for all confessed sins.

Urban set out in December 1095 on a nine-month tour of France in which he preached the crusade. The response was overwhelming. Hundreds of thousands of people wanted to participate in the pilgrimage. The logistics were mind boggling. The journey would take them 2,000 miles from their homes and towns to unknown and hostile lands. A force equal to or greater than the lure of religious salvation was the belief held by many that they would find riches and fame in the East.

Upward of 90,000 Europeans responded to the pope's call. To Urban's disappointment, however, none of the kings of Western Europe responded. Nevertheless, a great many prominent princes with ample military experience took the cross. The most prestigious among the princes were Godfrey of Boulogne, Duke of Lower Lorraine; Duke Bohemond of Taranto; Count Raymond of Saint-Gilles; Count Stephen of Blois; Duke Robert of Normandy; and Count Robert of

The British Library



Preacher Peter the Hermit led an army of poorly armed peasants into Asia Minor where they were easily slaughtered by the Seljuk Turks.

Flanders. Bohemond's nephew, Tancred of Hauteville, also took the cross, as did Godfrey's brothers Eustace and Baldwin and his cousin Baldwin of le Bourcq.

Urban set the Day of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, August 15, 1096, as the official start of the pilgrimage. He appointed Bishop Adhemar of le Puy as the leader of the crusading army. Each of the lords brought along his household knights and his own contingent of foot soldiers.

Although Urban likely had in mind that the crusading army would be composed of professional soldiers, it came to pass that a mass of peasants also intended to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. A number of wandering priests, the most famous of whom was Peter the Hermit, created a crusading fervor among the common people. Two large groups of poorly armed people numbering about 20,000 constituted the first wave of crusaders to reach Constantinople. This crusading army, known as the People's Crusade, arrived in Constantinople in July 1096.

Byzantine Emperor Alexius I was extremely disappointed when the peasants in the People's Crusade arrived at Constantinople. He wasted no time in ordering them ferried across the Bosphorus, an event that occurred on August 6, 1096. Once they were on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, the peasant crusaders marched toward Nicaea. The Seljuk army ambushed the peasant

army in October. When the fighting was over, those peasants who survived the ordeal were given the chance to convert to Islam or be slain. Their futile crusade had no influence on the state of affairs in Anatolia.

The second wave of crusaders, the professional soldiers, would arrive in Constantinople throughout the winter of 1096-1097. Duke Godfrey's 30,000-strong force of northern Franks departed on August 15, marching along a similar overland route. This army arrived outside Constantinople on December 23.

Alexius and the leaders of the second wave of crusaders, which was the one that Pope Urban had envisioned when he preached the crusade, had divergent goals. For his part, Alexius had no interest in capturing the Holy Lands. He simply wanted mercenaries to help him win back the pre-Manzikert Byzantine territories. For their part, the crusading army wanted to get as quickly as possible to the Holy Land, where it would liberate Jerusalem and plunder Muslim-held lands. The leaders of both sides had large egos, and tempers flared when some of the Franks plundered Byzantine territory in Europe on their way to the rendezvous at Constantinople.

Knowing that it was in his best interests to find middle ground that satisfied each party's interests, Alexius proposed that the Frankish leaders swear an oath as vassals to the Byzantine emperor and promise to hand over to the emperor any lands that they conquered in Anatolia on their eastward march. Some of the Western princes balked at having to pledge an oath to the emperor as their liege, but nearly all did in one form or another. In return Alexius pledged to supply the crusaders and also to share valuable military intelligence with them.

After the agreements had been made, the Byzantines began ferrying the 60,000 Franks to the Asian side of the Bosphorus. The vanguard of the crusading army departed Nicomedia inside the Byzantine border on April 29, 1097. The Franks tramped through the defile near Civetot, where the sun had bleached the bones of many of the unlucky participants in the People's Crusade who had been slaughtered by the Seljuk Turks. They reached Nicaea on May 6 and camped outside the city's thick walls. At the time, the stronghold was the capital of the Sunni Muslim Sultanate of Rum, one of the sultanates within the Seljuk Turks' confederated structure. When the Franks arrived, Sultan Kilij Arslan I was campaigning in eastern Anatolia. It was not until June 3 that all of the various divisions that made up the crusading army were assembled before Nicaea. On June 19, the garrison, realizing it was heavily outnumbered,

surrendered to the Franks, who turned over the city to Alexius and resumed their march.

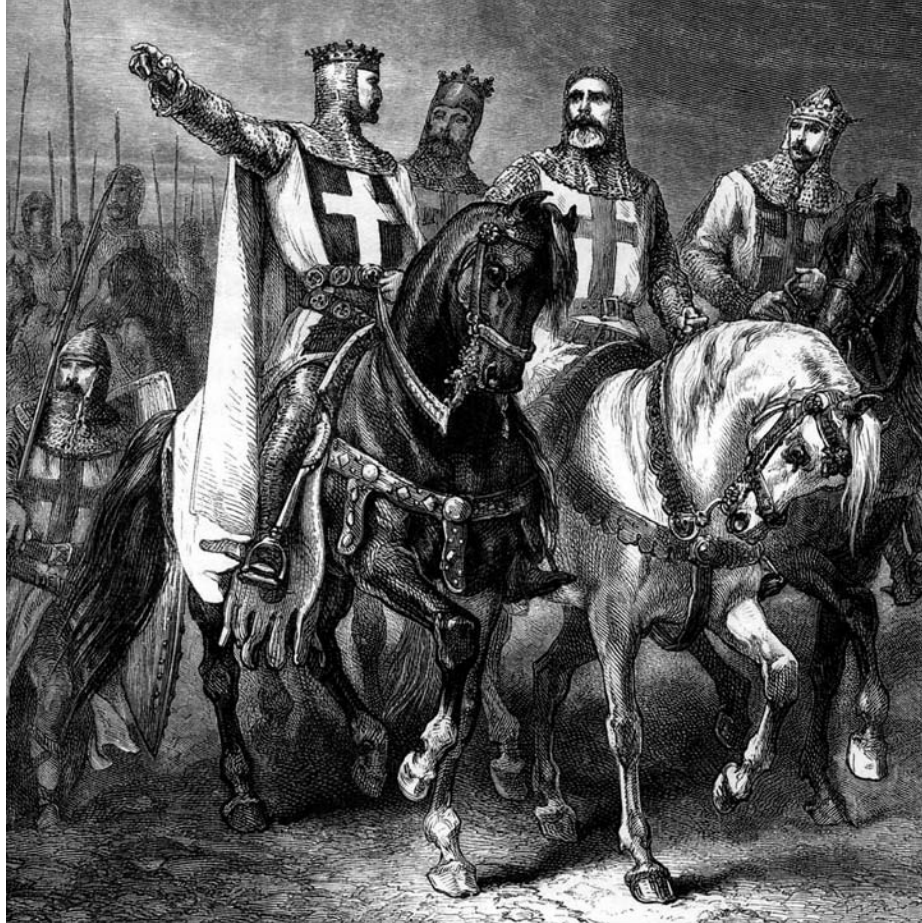
On June 26, the crusading army departed Nicea on the old Byzantine road. The princes held a council of war at the village of Leuce in the Sangarius Valley in which it was decided to divide the army into two smaller armies for logistical reasons. Bohemond would lead the first army, which comprised the Northern Franks and the Normans of Italy. Raymond commanded the second army composed of the southern Franks and the Lorrainers. From Leuce the road turned south. Bohemond was unaware that Kilij Arslan, with a powerful host, was waiting near Dorylaeum to ambush the Franks. In a desperate battle fought July 1 on a plain west of Dorylaeum, the Franks prevailed over the Seljuk Turks. Initially, Kilij Arslan drove the Franks back on their camp, but they fled when Raymond's troops reinforced Bohemond's beleaguered forces.

After he was defeated at Dorylaeum, Arslan decided to allow the crusading army to continue its march uncontested by his forces. At Heraclea in mid-September, a small part of the army broke off to march through the fertile region of Cilicia while the main army turned northeast toward Caesarea. The main army decided to take the longer route to Syria because it feared a possible ambush while passing through the narrow pass in the Taurus Mountains known as the Cilician Gates. Instead, the main crusading army opted to reach Syria by way of a wider pass in the Anti-Taurus Mountains.

Despite the danger of ambush in the Cilician Gates, Tancred and Baldwin of Boulogne led two separate bands of soldiers into Cilicia in search of loot. Tancred later rejoined the main crusading army when it reached northern Syria, but Baldwin continued east to the middle Euphrates valley. Baldwin assisted the aging ruler of Edessa, Lord Thoros, against the Muslims. When Thoros was subsequently killed during an uprising in the city in March 1099, Baldwin conveniently succeeded him. Baldwin shared the spoils of his conquest with his older brother, Godfrey, who in turn was able to pay his troops.

The main crusading army reached the Iron Bridge, a fortified crossing of the Orontes River, near the Muslim-held fortress of Antioch, on October 20. Although the Franks substantially outnumbered the 5,000 Turkish soldiers inside Antioch, the walls were so extensive that it was impossible for the crusaders to surround the city. The crusaders defeated Muslim relief forces from Damascus and Aleppo in December 1097 and February 1098, respectively. The hard-fought

Eon Images



The most aggressive commanders of the First Crusade were (l to r) Duke Godfrey of Boulogne, Count Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Duke Bohemond of Taranto, and Tancred of Hauteville.

battles inflicted substantial casualties on the crusaders that could not be replaced. The city was finally taken, not by assault but by a traitor in the garrison who allowed a small group of crusaders to enter the city on the night of June 2. They, in turn, allowed other crusaders inside the city. The subsequent massacre after the eight-month siege spared neither the garrison nor some Eastern Christians.

On June 4, a third relief army arrived. The tables were turned, and the crusaders became the besieged army. Although the Franks were unsure they could defeat yet another Turkish army, Frankish crusader and mystic Peter Bartholomew supposedly found the Holy Lance, the spear that pierced Jesus Christ, in Antioch's Basilica of St. Peter. Although the lance was a phony relic, the rank and file of the crusading army saw it as a divine sign. In a setpiece battle fought June 28, the crusaders defeated a third Turkish army.

In keeping with their oaths to Alexius I, the leaders of the crusades should have turned Antioch over to the Byzantines. However, Bohemond claimed the city for himself and his followers. This produced a rift between Bohemond and Raymond of Saint-Gilles, who together with Godfrey were the principal leaders of the crusade. Godfrey remained neutral. Unfortunately for the entire crusading army, Bishop Adhemar, who had been able to mediate disputes in similar situations, died on August 1 as a result of a sickness that swept through the ranks.

Through a mixture of military prowess, cunning, and sheer perseverance, the crusaders had triumphed at Antioch. They had made a remarkable comeback from the brink of disaster at the hands of the tenacious Seljuks, who had the advantage of fighting on their own terrain. Of the 40,000 crusaders who had managed to reach Antioch, only 20,000 were left by the end of the summer of 1098. The Franks had suffered heavy casualties in the protracted fighting at Antioch, and their ranks had been further thinned by disease.

More major challenges lay before the crusaders. They would have to march south through Muslim-held southern Syria, Lebanon, and Galilee before they reached Jerusalem. But they would find, as they moved south, that many of the local Arab dynasties feared them and were willing to pay them tribute if the crusaders refrained from pillaging their lands.



ABOVE: Peter the Hermit lost control of his peasant rabble and on October 21, 1096, they were ambushed by the Turks south of Civetot on the road to Nicea. Those who survived were given the chance to convert to Islam or be slain. **OPPOSITE:** Frankish forces fire severed heads from trebuchets at the Seljuk garrison during the siege of Nicea in an image from William of Tyre's chronicle. Sultan Kilij Arslan I tried to lift the siege but failed.

The bickering among the leading princes, specifically Bohemond and Raymond, threatened to unravel the armed pilgrimage to retake Jerusalem from the Muslims, which both the knights and commoners had pledged themselves to achieve. The situation was, in the words of Raymond of Aguilers, "a princely fiasco." Anger and discontent in the ranks percolated up to the leadership and it became clear by late summer that it did not matter so much who led the march to Jerusalem as long as the march got underway. Raymond led his forces south in late September to pillage towns in northern Syria as a preliminary step in the march to Jerusalem.

After some initial successes, the southward advance bogged down on November 27 when Raymond besieged the walled city of Maarat in the Summaq Plateau. Bohemond, like a sulking child, followed with his forces because he was desirous of whatever spoils Raymond might obtain. With the added weight of Bohemond's troops, the Franks fought their way into the town on December 11. The town was mercilessly sacked, and the two princes bickered over the spoils. The southward trek bogged down for another month before Raymond led his forces south on January 13.

The ranks of the crusading army swelled three days later when Duke Robert of Normandy and Tancred arrived with additional forces. When the Franks reached Shaizar on the upper Orontes, Raymond called a council of war. The main discussion centered on whether the crusaders should march along the coast or the interior to Jerusalem. Raymond argued that the coastal route would enable them to take advantage of supplies from Christian ships that they might make contact with on their march. Tancred argued that the coastal route would entail frequent fighting against the Arabs, and he suggested they march east of the coastal mountain ranges, even if that meant enduring scarce supplies. A compromise was struck whereby the crusaders would continue marching in the interior through southern Syria until they reached Lebanon. At that point, they would march along the coast; however, the princes agreed to refrain from unnecessary sieges.

Despite his agreeing to refrain from sieges, Raymond once again allowed a siege to slow the progress south when he tried to capture the town of Arqa in February in an effort to intimidate local Muslim emirs as the crusaders marched toward the coast of northern Lebanon. By that time, Duke Godfrey of Lower Lorraine and Count Robert of Flanders had joined the crusader army. However, Bohemond returned to Antioch to focus on establishing himself as its ruler.

By a show of force, Raymond hoped to compel the emir of Tripoli into paying tribute to the

Franks. When Raymond learned that Tripoli's emir refused his demands, he left a force behind to contain Arqa and marched against Tripoli. The Muslim garrison at Tripoli emerged to give battle and was repulsed with heavy losses by the Franks. After the defeat, the emir paid Raymond 15,000 gold pieces to spare his city and the surrounding environs. Raymond was loath to quit the siege of Arqa because it would make him seem weak in the eyes of the Arabs.

Raymond's reputation suffered serious damage as a result of his continued association with Peter Bartholomew during that period of the crusade. The mystic's ravings became intolerable; for example, he proposed that a number of crusaders who had sinned should be executed. On Good Friday, April 8, 1099, Peter agreed to a trial by fire to judge the legitimacy of his claims regarding the Holy Lance. He was compelled to walk through a stack of burning olive branches under the watchful gaze of both doubters and believers. He died shortly afterward as a result of complications from his wounds. In the aftermath, the majority of crusaders favored Duke Godfrey to lead them on the final leg of the march.

The crusaders broke off the siege of Arqa on May 19 and marched west, where they picked up the coastal road at Tripoli. Four days later they arrived in Sidon after a forced march of 75 miles. After resting several days, the crusaders resumed their forced march, reaching Acre on May 25. Most of the Muslim garrisons on the coast allowed the crusaders to pass unmolested, provided they did not take crops and livestock belonging to the locals. The Franks reached Arsuf on May 30 and rested for three days. This put them within a two-day march of Jerusalem, which was situated 50 miles southwest of Arsuf. They marched upward into the Judean Hills to Ramla, a town roughly halfway between the Mediterranean Coast and the Holy City. The Franks encountered no resistance when they marched into Ramla on June 3 because the inhabitants of the town had fled in fear of the invaders. The army rested again for several days. Tancred, probably at his own insistence, rode south to Bethlehem with 100 knights, arriving at dawn on June 7. He was welcomed with open arms by the Christian population.

Egyptian Emir Al-Afdal Shahanshah had retaken Jerusalem from the Seljuks in 1098 after a 40-day siege. The siege was carried out while the bulk of the forces under the command of the Seljuk governor of Mosul, Kerbogha, were tied up fighting the Franks at Antioch. Opposing the Franks were 2,500 Arab cavalry and Sudanese archers under Fatimid governor

Iftikhar al-Dawla. Inside the walled city lived 30,000 civilians, most of whom were Christians. Al-Afdal had sent emissaries to the Latin army with an offer of an alliance against the Seljuks provided that the Franks allowed them to retain Jerusalem. The offer was flatly refused. Unfortunately for Al-Afdal, he completely misread the intentions of the Franks, and therefore he did not reinforce the Fatimid garrisons in Palestine that might have slowed the Frankish advance and eroded the Franks' dwindling manpower.

Jerusalem was a walled city at the time it was conquered by King David of Israel in the 11th century BC. The Romans, Byzantines, Umayyads, and Fatimids all improved the walls during their rule over the city. At the time of the First Crusade, the city had six main gates. Three were on the north side, and one was on each of the other three sides. The Jaffa Gate next to the Tower of David where two walls came together at an angle on the west side was particularly strong. The tower was constructed of "solid masonry," wrote crusader historian Fulcher of Chartres, and its large stones were "sealed with molten lead." Because of the tower's strength, the crusaders moved their encampments to other locations.

The Egyptian garrison benefitted from elevated strongpoints inside the castle. One of these was the Tower of David. Another was the Quadrangular Tower on the northwest corner of the city. Yet another was the expansive temple area on the east wall. The west, east, and south sides of the city all had ravines. Siege towers typically were built beyond the range of arrow fire and then rolled up to the walls. The steep slopes of the ravines surrounding most of Jerusalem made it nearly impossible to roll siege towers up to the walls on any side except the north.

The garrison had plenty of food and water, the latter of which was collected in large underground cisterns used to store winter rainwater, to endure a lengthy siege. But the Christians lacked sufficient water. Indeed, the residents of Judea had warned the Franks that the summer was the worst time to attack the city for this reason. The dry ground surrounding Jerusalem lacked streams and underground springs. The only water in the immediate area came from the Pool of Siloam, which flowed intermittently and was polluted.

The Franks had food but not nearly enough water, wrote Fulcher of Chartres. "Because that place was dry, unirrigated, and without rivers, both the men and the beasts of burden were very much in need of water to drink," he wrote. "This necessity forced them to seek water at a distance, and daily they laboriously carried it in

skins from four or five miles to the siege." This resulted throughout the course of the siege in soldiers venturing over great distances to obtain water and then selling it at exorbitant prices to other soldiers.

The main body of the Frankish army, which by then numbered about 13,500 men, reached the outskirts of Jerusalem on June 7. A few days after its arrival, a Frankish falconer sent his bird of prey aloft to intercept a carrier pigeon. The falcon retrieved the pigeon, which carried a dispatch from Al-Afdal to al-Dawla in which the former stated that a relief army would arrive before the end of June. Mounted couriers also were intercepted bearing the same message. For this reason, the Western princes decided to attempt to take the city by storm as soon as possible.

In the week after their arrival, the Franks took up key positions on opposite ends of the city to stretch its defenses. The northern Franks encamped opposite the north wall. Robert of Normandy's forces deployed opposite Herod's Gate in the east end of the north wall, Robert of Flanders' men took up a position opposite St. Stephen's Gate in the middle of the north wall, and Godfrey of Boulogne's troops pitched their tents opposite the New Gate on the west end of the north



wall. The southern Franks, under Raymond of Saint-Gilles, bivouacked on Mount Zion opposite the gate of the same name. This was the only position south of the city where a siege tower might be rolled up to the wall.

On June 13, the Franks launched a desperate attack against the city that failed because they lacked sufficient siege equipment, such as ladders, mangonels, and siege towers. "In morning's light ... they rushed upon the city from all sides in an astonishing attack," wrote Fulcher of Chartres. "But when they ... were unable to enter by means of the scaling ladders because there were few of them, they sadly abandoned the assault." The Franks suffered substantial casualties from arrows, as well as from rocks that were hurled at them from the defenders on the ramparts. Nevertheless, they managed to capture the outer works along the northern wall so that the effort was not completely without gain.

A great piece of good fortune came the Franks' way on June 17 when six ships from the West arrived at Jaffa. All but one, it seems, were stuck at Jaffa as a result of the arrival of a hostile Egyptian fleet that blockaded the port. The ships had extra stores of construction supplies, including ropes, hammers, and nails that the crusaders could use to build ladders, mangonels,

battering rams, and siege towers.

Upon learning that the squadron of ships had arrived, Raymond of Saint-Gilles had ordered Count Galdemar Carpenel to lead a band of 20 knights and 50 foot soldiers to Jaffa and retrieve the supplies. While the band of southern Franks was passing through Ramla, it was ambushed by a force of 600 Fatimid horse archers reconnoitering from Egyptian-held Ascalon. “Galdemar, because of the small number of his men, arranged his knights and bowmen in the front ranks and, trusting in the Lord, advanced upon the enemy without hesitation,” wrote Raymond of Aguilers.

As seemingly fast as the desert wind, the Arab horsemen encircled Galdemar’s band, softening them up with arrows. Just when it seemed as if they might be annihilated, another crusader band of 50 knights led by Raymond Piletus came to their rescue. Piletus’ heavy cavalry charged the lighter Arab cavalry, inflicting heavy losses and driving them off. Galdemar lost four knights and nearly all of his foot soldiers, and the Egyptians lost about 200 of their cavalry. The crusaders continued to Jaffa. They helped the sailors dismantle their ships and haul the wood back to Jerusalem to use in the construction of siege equipment. Meanwhile, Robert of Flanders and Tancred led a separate expedition to Samaria, where their foraging party harvested additional wood to use in the construction of the siege apparatus.

Over the next several weeks the crusaders worked tirelessly to construct multiple siege ladders and mangonels. Because they required so much wood, the Franks built only two siege towers. The northern Franks built one, and the southern Franks built the other. The wheeled siege towers included a mangonel for close support and were covered in hides to protect the men inside from arrows, stones, and Greek fire. The engineers built the towers higher than the city’s battlements so that archers and crossbowmen could shoot down on the defenders. “When the Saracens saw our men engaged in this work, they greatly strengthened the fortifications of the city and increased

the heights of the turrets at night,” wrote the anonymous historian of the *Geste Francorum*.

On July 6, the princes leading the crusade decided to conduct the penitential procession and scheduled it for July 8. After it was concluded, they made final preparations for an all-out assault on the city before the Egyptian relief army arrived. Godfrey’s men had constructed their tower “from small pieces of wood, because large pieces could not be secured” in Palestine, wrote Fulcher of Chartres. The tower was carried in pieces and assembled first near the New Gate on the northwest corner of the city near the Quadrangular Tower. But when they realized that Herod’s Gate on the opposite end of the north wall was less strongly defended, they moved it to that sector during the night of July 9-10. Before they could roll it against the wall, though, they had to fill in a large ditch in front of the main wall with dirt and rubble. The northern Franks used rubble from the outer wall previously destroyed to fill in the ditch while taking fire from the Sudanese





archers on the battlements. Raymond of Saint-Gilles' men were involved in a similar task, filling in a ditch near the Zion Gate on the opposite side of the city. Raymond's men apparently were less motivated, and he paid them for the rocks that they carried. On July 14, the Franks made good progress toward gaining access to the city with a battering ram. Final preparations were made for a full-scale attack the following day.

Godfrey and his captains assembled their men at dawn on July 15. Loud trumpets blaring in the pink dawn announced a general attack. The men rolled the breaching tower into the same place where the battering ram was close to forcing a breach in the wall. Having grown impatient with the battering ram, the duke ordered it burned. Godfrey also ordered his men to set fire to the bales of cotton and hay that the defenders had hung over the walls to prevent siege artillery from causing catastrophic damage. A wind from the northeast favored the crusaders and carried the smoke from the combustibles into the eyes of the defenders, temporarily blinding them.

The duke then ordered his engineers to "diligently draw up two pieces of timber that had fallen down from the wall," wrote crusader historian William of Tyre. "Then he commanded that the side of the [tower] that could be lowered should be let down upon the two pieces of timber." The Egyptians had placed the timber along the top of the wall to repair damage made by the crusaders' mangonels, but the beams had fallen to the ground. The platform resting on the timbers formed a stable bridge for the Franks to run onto the battlements.

With archers on the top of the tower firing down onto the battlements, Godfrey and his brother Eustace, as well as two other brothers from Tournai, Ludolf and Gilbert, led their men onto the walls. While the main attack was directed against the top of the wall, other Franks were able to break into the city through a small breach made by the battering ram. As soon as Godfrey's men had captured a section of the wall, the duke's banner was planted on it for all to see. Some of the men that Godfrey and his captains had led onto the wall ran west to secure St. Stephen's Gate, which they opened to allow large numbers of northern Franks into the city.

The defenders fled to the strongpoints, such as the Tower of David and the temple area. "Our men followed and pursued them, killing and hacking, as far as the temple of Solomon, and there was such a slaughter that our men were up to their ankles in the enemy's blood," wrote the author of the *Geste Francorum*.

Eon Images



ABOVE: Crusaders from Godfrey of Boulogne's siege tower battle their way onto the wall of Jerusalem, as their comrades climb scaling ladders. Although the Franks captured Jerusalem, they could not rest until they had defeated the Fatimid Egyptian relief army assembling at Ascalon on August 12. **OPPOSITE:** A Crusader siege tower is shown against the walls of Jerusalem in a modern painting. The Franks stretched the defenses of the Fatimid Egyptian garrison by attacking the north and south walls simultaneously.

Additionally, some of the northern Franks rushed to the southwest corner and attacked from behind the Muslims defending the wall in the southwest corner of the city against the southern Franks. The southern Franks were having great difficulty reducing opposition because the Egyptians had deployed the majority of their mangonels to support the Zion Gate. When they learned that Godfrey's troops had fought their way into the city, the southern Franks rushed the walls near the Zion Gate with ladders and climbing ropes. When the Egyptians defending the Zion Gate were attacked from behind, they retreated to the Tower of David. The attack was over by late morning, and Raymond negotiated a surrender of the city with the Egyptians in the Tower of David. Under the terms, the surviving Egyptians and Sudanese were allowed to march out of the city. What occurred afterward was a brutal sack of the city in which all but Christians were slain.

With drawn swords, relates Fulcher of Chartres, the Franks rampaged through the city. They gathered up gold and silver, livestock, and all manner of precious items belonging to the Muslims. On the morning of the second day, according to the author of the *Geste Francorum*, "our men cautiously went up to the roof of the Temple and attacked Saracen men and women, beheading them with naked swords." Some of the Saracens, however, leaped from the Temple roof.

In the days that followed, the crusaders offered to crown Godfrey as king of the crusader state

Continued on page 69





CARRIER CLASH IN

THE PHILIPPINE SEA encompasses two million square miles of the western part of the Pacific Ocean. It is bounded by the Philippine Islands on the west, the Mariana Islands on the east, the Caroline Islands to the south, and the Japanese Islands to the north. In the summer of 1944 it was the battleground of two great carrier strike forces. One of these belonged to Japanese Vice Admiral Jisaburo Ozawa. The other belonged to U.S. Admiral Raymond A. Spruance, and its carriers were under the tactical command of Marc Mitscher. Ozawa had explicit orders to halt the steady advance of the U.S. 5th Fleet, to which Mitscher's carriers belonged, across the vast Pacific Ocean toward Japan.

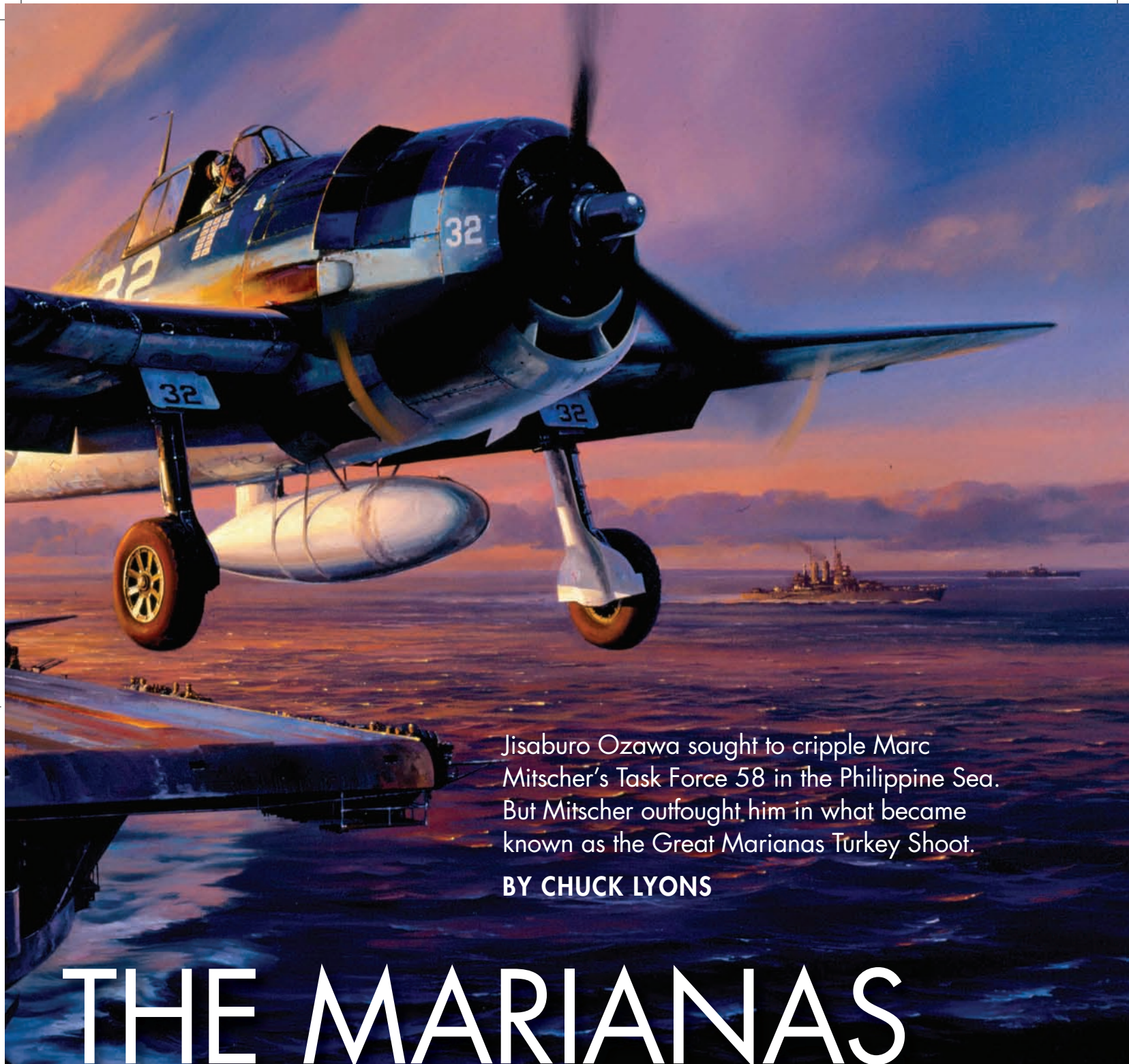
Ozawa had the majority of the Imperial Japanese Navy's fighting fleet under his command at the time, but his force of approximately 90 ships and submarines was still considerably smaller than the U.S. Navy's 129 ships and submarines. He also commanded 450 carrier-based aircraft

that would coordinate with 300 ground-based aircraft in the Marianas.

Ozawa's strike force steamed east in two groups. The vanguard, comprising three small carriers, four battleships, and other vessels, plowed through the Philippine Sea 100 miles ahead of the main group, which was composed of six large carriers, a battleship, and a wide array of supporting vessels.

Ozawa's strategy was simple. His vanguard would serve as a decoy to lure the U.S. carrier





Jisaburo Ozawa sought to cripple Marc Mitscher's Task Force 58 in the Philippine Sea. But Mitscher outfought him in what became known as the Great Marianas Turkey Shoot.

BY CHUCK LYONS

THE MARIANAS

aircraft while the aircraft from the main group, reinforced with land-based aircraft in the Marianas, inflicted heavy damage in multiple attacks.

Ozawa had no intention of letting Mitscher land the first blow. Japanese carrier aircraft had greater range than U.S. carrier aircraft, and Ozawa planned to make the most of his advantage. In addition, Ozawa would be able to launch his aircraft into the wind. The U.S. carriers would have to turn around and sail

U.S. Navy Lieutenant Alex Vraciu, who shot down six Japanese aircraft in the Battle of the Philippine Sea, takes off in his F6F Hellcat from the deck of the USS Lexington in a painting by Nicolas Trudgian. By 1944 the Japanese carrier fleet had only half the number of aircraft of the United States, making it highly unlikely they would reverse the tide of the War in the Pacific.

away from the Japanese fleet to launch their aircraft into the wind.

What Ozawa did not know was that even before he launched his aircraft on June 19, Mitscher had derailed his plan by knocking out the Japanese ground-based aircraft in the Marianas more than a week earlier. Beginning on June 11, Mitscher had sent his aircraft against Japanese air bases on the islands of Guam, Saipan, and Tinian in the Marianas. Sweeps in the days afterward pummeled the targets repeatedly to ensure aircraft were destroyed and airstrips too damaged to



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TOP: The U.S. Navy F6F Hellcat showed superior performance to the Japanese Zero in air speed and when climbing and diving. **ABOVE:** The Japanese A6M Zero's fuselage and wings were constructed in one piece that made the aircraft sturdy and highly maneuverable. **RIGHT:** U.S. Admiral Raymond Spruance (left) and Japanese Vice Adm. Jisaburo Ozawa.

use. When the battle did start, Mitscher would enjoy a two to one advantage in aircraft. Rather than Mitscher sailing into a trap, it was Ozawa who was sailing into one.

Following the American defeat at Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the U.S. Navy had moved decisively toward establishing the world's first carrier-centered navy, a force that would play a deciding part in the Allied victory at Midway in June 1942.

In revenge for the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, U.S. carrier aircraft struck back in the Battles of the Coral Sea and Midway. The Japanese failure to win a decisive victory in the Coral Sea, coupled with their loss at Midway, only strengthened the Japanese dependence on the strategy of a defensive decisive victory.

Meanwhile at Midway, Spruance, who had no earlier experience with carrier-launched aircraft battles, commanded Task Force 16, including the carriers *Enterprise* and Mitscher's *Hornet*. Despite his inexperience, he was able to oversee an American victory, which included the sinking of four Japanese carriers.

The Americans leapfrogged their way steadily north through the Pacific, and the Japanese worked to build up their navy, waiting and watching for an opportunity for *kantai kessen*, the battle they believed would lead to the destruction of American naval power and decide the rest of the war. That opportunity, they would finally decide, had come in June 1944 in the Philippine Sea.

By 1944, however, the Japanese high command feared its ability to fight and win such a *kantai kessen battle* was slipping away. Imperial Navy aircrews had suffered serious losses, especially of skilled pilots at Coral Sea, Midway, and during the Solomon Islands campaigns. These were losses they could not easily replace, while the United States could easily replace its losses.

By the summer of 1944, the Americans had worked their way north sufficiently that they were

preparing to invade the Mariana Islands. The Marianas, situated 700 miles south of the Japanese home islands, controlled the sea lanes to Japan. The capture of the islands would give the United States control of these sea lanes and would also put the U.S. Boeing B-29 Superfortress heavy bombers within striking distance of the Japanese home islands. Japan had to prevent the loss of the Marianas and stop the American advance north.

Still looking for the decisive victory that might end the war in the Pacific, the Japanese began eyeing Mitscher's Task Force 58. The task force comprised five attack groups, each composed of three or four carriers and supporting ships. The ships of each attack group sailed in a circle formation with the carriers in the center and the supporting ships sailing close to the carriers so they could add their anti-aircraft fire to that of the carriers and help ward off any attacking aircraft. When under attack by torpedo aircraft, the task group would turn toward the oncoming aircraft to limit attack angles. In addition, the carriers would not take evasive action when under attack, which allowed more stable platforms for the anti-air-

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craft fire of all the ships in the task group. Mitscher had introduced many of these tactics.

In June 1944, Task Force 58 was part of Spruance's 5th Fleet. The ships at sea were designated Task Force 58 under Spruance and Task Force 38 under Admiral William Halsey. The six-month name changes and apparent shifting of personnel in this two-platoon system had some benefit in confusing the Japanese, who at times were unsure as to the actual size of the American force.

Admiral Mineichi Koga, commander of the Combined Japanese Fleet, had been killed in March 1944 when his plane crashed in a typhoon. He was replaced with Admiral Soemu Toyoda, a torpedo and naval artillery expert who had been opposed to war with the United States, a war he had considered unwinnable. Despite this belief, Toyoda continued to develop the attack plans that Koga had been working on, plans aimed at a decisive victory.

On June 11, Mitscher's carriers launched

their first air strikes on the Marianas, and Toyoda became aware that the showdown in the Central Pacific was at hand. Japan had to save Saipan, and the only possible defense, he believed, was to sink the U.S. 5th Fleet that was covering the landing.

The Japanese fleet Ozawa commanded consisted of three large carriers (*Taiho*, *Shokaku*, and *Zuikaku*), two converted carriers (*Junyo* and *Hiyo*), and four light carriers (*Ryuho*, *Chitose*, *Chiyoda*, and *Zuiho*). Ozawa's fleet also included five battleships (*Yamato*, *Musashi*, *Kongo*, *Haruna*, and *Nagato*), 13 heavy cruisers, six light cruisers, 27 destroyers, six oilers, and 24 submarines. Ozawa commanded from aboard the *Taiho*, which was the first Japanese carrier to have been built with an armor-plated flight deck, which was designed to withstand bomb hits.

The commanders in the U.S. 5th Fleet had 956 carrier-based planes available to them. In addition, Ozawa's pilots only had about 25 percent of the training and experience the American pilots had, and he was working with inferior equipment. His ships had anti-aircraft guns, for example, but lacked the new proximity fuses, which provided a more sophisticated triggering mechanism than the common contact fuses or timed fuses did, as well as good radar.

The Japanese fleet rendezvoused June 16 in the western part of the Philippine Sea. Japanese aircraft did have a superior range at that time, though, which allowed them to engage the American carriers beyond the range of American aircraft. They could attack at 300 miles and could search a radius of 560 miles, while the American Hellcat fighters were limited to an attack range of 200 miles and a search range of 325 miles. Additionally, with their island bases in the area, the Japanese believed their aircraft could attack the U.S. fleet and then land on the island airfields. They could thus shuttle between the islands and the attack, and the U.S. fleet would be receiving punishment with only a limited ability to respond.

The American air raids on the Marianas continued through June 15, and U.S. ships began an additional bombardment of the islands. On June 15, three divisions of American troops, two Marine divisions and one Army division, went ashore on Saipan, and Toyoda committed nearly the entire Japanese Navy to a counterattack. Toyoda wired Ozawa that he was to attack the Americans and annihilate their fleet. "The rise and fall of Imperial Japan depends on this one battle," Toyoda wrote.

The U.S. submarines *Flying Fish* and *Sea-horse* sighted the Japanese fleet near the Philip-

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A Hellcat lands on the deck of the USS *Lexington*. The U.S. Navy knocked out Japanese land-based aircraft on the Marianas Island before the battle, which put the Japanese at an even more severe disadvantage when the ship-to-ship fighting began.

ines on June 15. The Japanese ships did not finish refueling until two days later. Based on those sightings, Spruance quickly decided a major battle was at hand. He ordered Mitscher's Task Force 58, which had sent two of its carrier task groups north to intercept aircraft reinforcements from Japan, to reform and move west of Saipan into the Philippine Sea. Mitscher was aboard his flagship, the carrier *Lexington*, which Tokyo Rose would erroneously report on at least two occasions to have been sunk. Spruance was aboard the heavy cruiser *Indianapolis*.

Task Force 58 comprised five attack groups. Deployed in front of the carriers to act as an anti-aircraft screen was the battle group of Vice Admiral Willis Lee (Task Group 58.7), which contained seven battleships (Lee's flagship the *Washington*, as well as the *North Carolina*, *Indiana*, *Iowa*, *New Jersey*, *South Dakota*, and *Alabama*), and eight heavy cruisers (*Baltimore*, *Boston*, *Canberra*, *Wichita*, *Minneapolis*, *New Orleans*, *San Francisco*, and Spruance's *Indianapolis*). Just north of them was the weakest of the carrier groups, Rear Admiral William K. Harrill's Task Group 58.4. This group was composed of only one fleet carrier (*Essex*) and two light carriers (*Langley* and *Cowpens*).

To the east, in a line running north to south, were three additional attack groups, each containing two fleet carriers and two light carriers. This was Rear Admiral Joseph Clark's Task Group 58.1, which consisted of the *Hornet*, *Yorktown*, *Belleau Wood*, and *Bataan*, Rear Admiral Alfred Montgomery's Task Group 58.2 (*Bunker Hill*, *Wasp*, *Cabot*, and *Monterey*), and Rear Admiral John W. Reeves's Task Group 58.3 (*Enterprise*, *Lexington*, *San Jacinto*, and *Princeton*). These ships were supported by 13 light cruisers, 58 destroyers, and 28 submarines. The attack groups were deployed 12 to 15 miles apart.

Eight older battleships along with smaller escort carriers under the command of Admiral Jesse B. Oldendorf remained near Saipan to protect the invasion fleet and provide air support for the landings.

On the afternoon of June 18, search planes sent out from the Japanese fleet located the American task force, and Rear Admiral Suetoshi Obayashi, commander of three of the Japanese carriers, immediately launched fighters. He quickly received a message from Ozawa, however, recalling the

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ABOVE: Navy gunners on board the USS *Bunker Hill* and USS *Cabot* shoot down a Japanese plane with antiaircraft fire. **INSET MAP:** Japanese naval forces waited for the U.S. Navy to move into the Philippine Sea following the Marine landing on Saipan. With his nine carriers and the long reach of his carrier aircraft, Vice Adm. Jisaburo Ozawa hoped to inflict a decisive defeat on the American Navy.

fighters. "Let's do it properly tomorrow," Ozawa wrote.

Later that night, the Americans also detected the Japanese ships moving toward them. Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, commander of the Pacific Fleet, alerted Spruance that a Japanese vessel had broken radio silence and a message apparently sent by Ozawa to his land-based air forces on Guam had been intercepted. A fix obtained on that message placed the Japanese some 355 miles west-southwest of Task Force 58. Mitscher requested permission from Spruance to move Task Force 58 west during the night, which would by dawn put it in position to attack the approaching Japanese fleet. "We knew we were going to have hell slugged out of us in the morning [and] we knew we couldn't reach them," Captain Arleigh Burke, a member of Mitscher's staff, said later when discussing that request.

But after considerable consideration, Spruance denied Mitscher permission to make the move. "If we were doing something so important that we were attracting the enemy to us, we could afford to let him come and take care of him when he arrived," Spruance said.

This decision was far different from decisions Spruance had made at Midway. There he had advocated immediately attacking the enemy even before his own strike force was fully assembled with the intent of neutralizing the Japanese carriers before they could launch their planes, an action that he then considered the key to the survival of his carriers. He would also take considerable criticism for missing what some were to consider a chance to destroy the Japanese fleet.

Spruance's decision to deny Mitscher's request was influenced by orders from Nimitz, who had made it clear that the protection of the Marianas invasion was the primary mission of Task Force 58.

Spruance was concerned that the Japanese move could be an attempt to draw his ships away from the Marianas so a Japanese attack force could then slip behind it, overwhelm Oldendorf's force, and destroy the landing fleet. Locating and destroying the Japanese fleet was not his primary objective, and he was unwilling to allow the main strike force of the Pacific Fleet to be drawn westward, away from the amphibious forces.

Spruance also may have been influenced by Japanese documents that had been captured in March and described just such a proposed plan: drawing American ships that were supporting an invasion away from an island and then sweeping in behind the fleet to destroy the invading force.

Spruance and Mitscher were different commanders. Though now commanding carriers, Spru-

ance was still at heart a battleship man and, like most of the Imperial Japanese Navy establishment, he dreamed of a ship-to-ship confrontation. As the Battle of the Philippine Sea loomed, Spruance early on considered sending his fast battleships out to confront Ozawa in a night action and had only dropped the idea when his battleship commander, Admiral Lee, deferred. Lee had seen enough of night actions at Guadalcanal and the Solomons.

As for Mitscher, he was a carrier man. He sat on the bridge of his flagship watching the flight deck as planes were launched and could be seen using body language to help them off. He had graduated from the Naval Academy in 1910 and had taken an early interest in aviation, requesting a transfer to aeronautics in his last year as a midshipman. The request was denied,

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



and he served on the destroyers *Whipple* and *Stewart* before being stationed on the armored cruiser *North Carolina*, which was being used as an experimental launching platform for aircraft. Mitscher trained as a pilot and became one of the first U.S. naval aviators on June 2, 1916.

As information about the Japanese buildup came in and the upcoming battle loomed, Mitscher said that what was coming "might be a hell of a battle for a while," but added that he believed the task force could win it.

At dawn on June 18, Task Force 58 launched search aircraft, combat air patrols, and anti-submarine patrols and then turned the fleet west to gain maneuvering room away from the islands. The Japanese also launched search patrols early in the day. Those planes pinpointed the American position, and one of the Japanese planes, after locating the task force,

attacked one of its destroyers. The attacking Japanese plane was shot down.

At dawn on June 19, Ozawa again launched search planes and located the American ships southwest of Saipan. He then launched 71 aircraft from his carriers, which were followed a short time later by another 128 planes.

Among the U.S. fighters that would be sent up to confront them were a large number of F6F Hellcats, a Grumman aircraft that had been put into service in early 1942, eventually replacing the F4F Wildcat. The Hellcat had been engineered specifically to confront Japanese fighters when the Americans recovered an intact Zero during the fighting in the Aleutian Islands in 1942 and were able to engineer a fighter to succeed against it in combat. The Hellcat could outclimb and outrun the Japanese Zero and was heavily armed. In addition, its pilot was protected by heavy armor plating, self-sealing fuel tanks, and a bulletproof windshield, which made it popular with the Navy pilots.

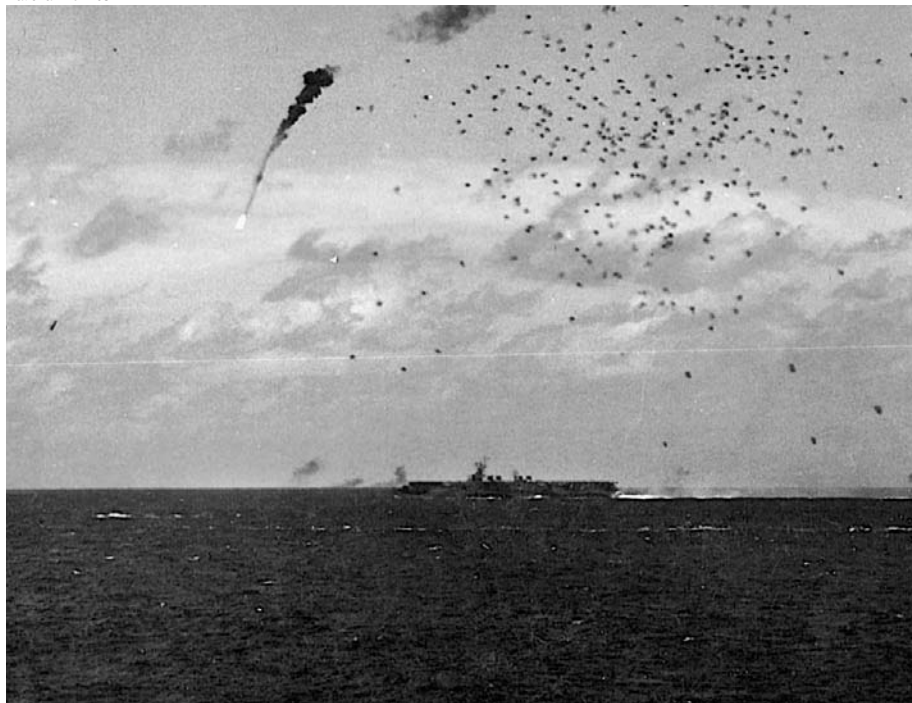
The American pilots who would meet the Japanese also had at least two years of training and 300 hours of flying experience as opposed to the Japanese pilots, who had at most six months of training and a few flying hours. They were faint copies of the pilots who had flown against the American base at Pearl Harbor and the American fleet at Midway.

At 10 AM, radar aboard the American ships picked up the first wave of Japanese attackers. American fighters that had been sent to raid Guam were called back to the fleet, and at 10:23 AM Mitscher ordered Task Force 58 to turn into the wind. All available fighters were sent up to await the Japanese. He then put his bomber aircraft aloft to orbit open waters to the east to avoid the danger of a Japanese bomb strike into a hangar deck full of aircraft.

The approaching Japanese planes were first spotted by a group of 12 Hellcats from the *Belleau Wood* about 72 miles out from the American fleet where they had paused to regroup. The *Belleau Wood* planes tore into the Japanese planes there and were soon joined by other American fighter groups. Twenty-five of the Japanese planes were quickly knocked out of the sky, and then 16 more.

As the Japanese and American fighters dove at each other, machine guns blazing, 70 miles west of the American fleet, a few of the Japanese planes were able to break away and work their way through to the American ships. They attacked the picket destroyers *Yarnall* and *Stockham*, causing only a small amount of damage. But one Japanese bomber was able to get through the American defenses and scored

National Archives



ABOVE: A Japanese aircraft plunges toward the sea after being struck by antiaircraft fire from a U.S. escort carrier. RIGHT: A Hellcat rakes a Japanese Zero with fire from its six .50-caliber air-cooled machine guns.

a direct hit on the main deck of the battleship *South Dakota*. More than 50 of her crew were killed or injured, but the ship remained operational.

Only one Hellcat was lost in the fighting. At 11:07 AM, radar detected a second wave of 107 Japanese aircraft approaching. American fighters met this attacking group while it was still 60 miles out, and 70 of the attackers were shot down before they reached the task force. Of those that did get through, six attacked the American fleet, nearly hitting two of the carriers and causing some casualties before four of that six were brought down. A small group of torpedo planes also attacked the carrier *Enterprise* and the light carrier *Princeton*, but all were shot down. Altogether, 97 of those 107 attacking Japanese aircraft were destroyed.

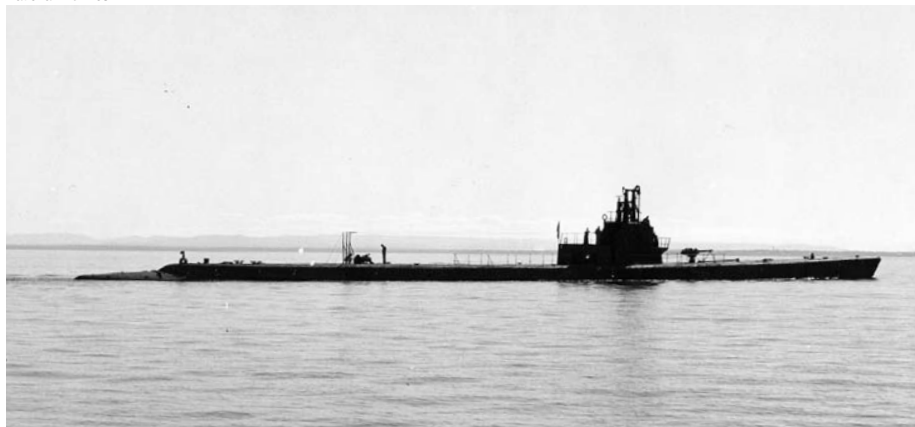
A third attack consisting of 47 Japanese aircraft came at the American ships at about 1 PM. Forty U.S. fighters intercepted the attack group 50 miles out and shot down seven of the Japanese planes. A few again broke through defenses to attack the American ships but caused little or no damage. The 40 remaining Japanese aircraft fled the scene.

The Japanese fleet had also launched an additional attack, but somehow those planes had been given incorrect coordinates for the location of the American fleet and were originally unable to find the ships. Eighteen of those aircraft did finally stumble on some of the American ships as they were heading back to Guam and attacked. U.S. fighters shot down half of them while the remaining planes were able to attack the *Wasp* and *Bunker Hill* but failed to score any hits. Eight of these Japanese planes were also shot down. Meanwhile, the remains of this aborted attack force were intercepted by 27 American Hellcats as they were landing on Guam and 30 more were shot down. Nineteen others were damaged beyond repair.

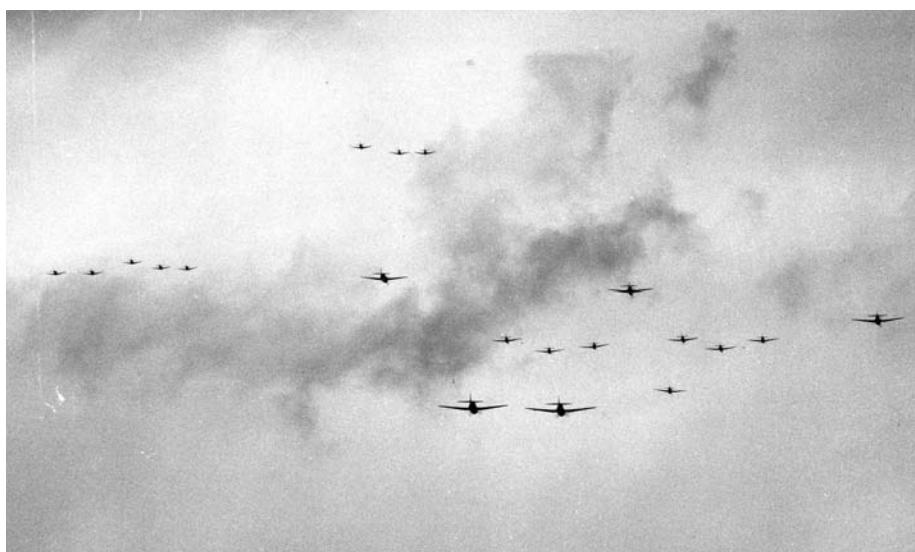
"Hell, this is like an old-time turkey shoot," said *Lexington* Commander Paul Buie, creating the nickname, "Great Marianas Turkey Shoot," which would later be pinned on the bat-



National Archives



ABOVE: The USS *Albacore* fired torpedoes at the Japanese aircraft carrier *Taiho*, striking the flagship and causing enough damage to sink her. **BOTTOM:** Navy planes from Task Force 58 hunt for Japanese aircraft. In the two-day pitched battle, the Japanese lost three carriers and two oilers sunk and had almost all of their aircraft destroyed.



tle by the men who were fighting it.

The Japanese had lost 346 aircraft during the day's fighting, while the Americans had lost 15 and, aside from the casualties on the *South Dakota*, had suffered only minor damage to their ships.

The pilot with the highest score of the day was Captain David McCampbell of the *Essex*, who would go on to become the U.S. Navy's all-time leading ace with 34 confirmed kills during the war and would win the Medal of Honor for his actions in the Battle of the Philippine Sea. On June 19, he had downed five Japanese D4Y "Judy" carrier-based dive bombers. He would also notch two Zero fighters later in the day during an afternoon strike on Guam.

Lieutenant Alex Vraciu of the *Lexington*, the top-ranked Navy ace at the time with 12 victories, downed six Judys of the second wave in about eight minutes, and Ensign Wilbur "Spider" Webb, a recent transfer to fighters from bombers, attacked a flight of Aichi dive bombers over Guam, also downing six. Webb returned safely to the carrier *Hornet*, but the gunners aboard the Japanese bombers had shot his plane so full of holes that it was judged a total loss.

The destruction wrought in the air was not the only damage done to the Japanese that day. While the air battle was taking place, another battle was being fought above and below the surface of the sea.

At 8 AM that day the submarine *Albacore* sighted a Japanese carrier group and began maneuvering to attack. The submarine's commander, Lt. Cmdr. James W. Blanchard, selected the closest carrier to his position as his target. That carrier happened to be Admiral Ozawa's flagship, the *Taiho*, the newest carrier in the Japanese fleet. As Blanchard gained position and prepared to fire, however, the *Albacore*'s fire-control computer failed, and he was forced to fire manually. Blanchard fired all six torpedoes in a single spread. Four veered off target. One of the remaining two was spotted heading for the *Taiho* by Japanese Warrant Officer Akio Komatsu, who had just

taken off from the carrier. Without hesitation, Komatsu jammed his stick and intentionally dove his plane in front of the torpedo, detonating it and saving the carrier. But the remaining torpedo of the six struck the *Taiho* on its starboard side, rupturing two aviation fuel tanks. The *Albacore* was able to escape the ensuing depth charge attack with only minor damage.

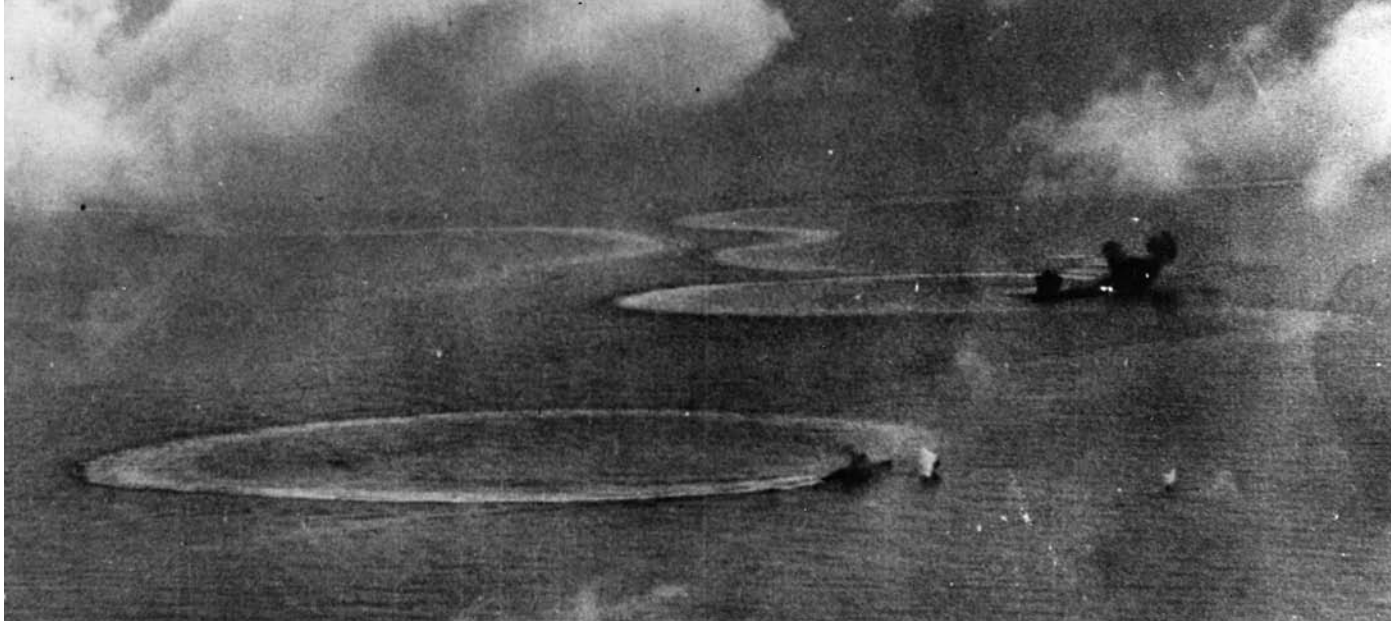
Initially, the *Taiho* seemed to have suffered only slight damage, but gasoline vapors from the damaged fuel tanks soon began to leak into the hangar decks, creating a serious situation on the ship.

Meanwhile, a second American submarine, the *Cavalla*, attacked the carrier *Shokaku*, which was a veteran of the fighting at Pearl Harbor and the Coral Sea. At about noon, the *Cavalla* fired on the Japanese ship, hitting her with three torpedoes and badly damaging her. One torpedo had hit the forward aviation fuel tanks, and aircraft that had just landed and were being refueled exploded into flames. Ammunition, exploding bombs, and burning fuel added to the chaos. The order to abandon *Shokaku* had just been given when an explosion on her hangar deck initiated a series of secondary explosions that blew the ship apart. She rolled on her side and sank taking 887 officers and sailors and 376 members of the 601st Naval Air Group to the bottom with her. There were 570 survivors, including the carrier's commanding officer, Captain Hiroshi Matsubara.

The destroyer *Urakaze* made several attempts to destroy the submarine, but the *Cavalla* escaped with relatively minor damage. However, she did get a scare. *Cavalla*'s main induction line, which brought air into the engines when she was on the surface, had become flooded during the initial depth charge attack, which made the submarine very heavy. When diving to avoid the attack of the *Urakaze*, the additional weight took *Cavalla* nearly 100 feet below her maximum test depth. "We hoped the safety factor would keep the hull from imploding," said a crewmember. It did.

Three destroyers continued to hunt the *Cavalla*, dropping 106 depth charges, but she was able to slip away. Meanwhile, aboard the *Taiho* an inexperienced damage control officer ordered that the ship's ventilation system be operated at full blast to clear the growing fumes. Instead of clearing the air, however, the action allowed the gasoline vapors to spread throughout the ship. At about 2:30 AM, those fumes were ignited by an electric generator on the hangar deck, and a series of large explosions followed. *Taiho* had become a floating

National Archives



Japanese ships take evasive action as U.S. Navy aircraft attack on June 20. A heavy cruiser circles in the foreground as a Kongo-class battleship and a carrier are struck by two bombs in the distance. The Battle of the Philippine Sea was significant for putting B-29s within striking distance of the Japanese home islands, thus shortening the war.

bomb. Ozawa and his staff quickly transferred to the nearby *Zuikaku*, and shortly afterward the *Taiho* sank, taking down 1,650 of her 2,150 officers and sailors.

As darkness fell, Ozawa retired to the northwest to refuel, intending to attack again in the morning. He had received several erroneous reports of heavy damage done to the American ships and was also under the impression that many of his missing aircraft had landed in the Marianas. During the night Task Force 58 began to move west in order to be closer to the Japanese when dawn came.

As the sun finally edged over the horizon, American search planes were sent out but were unable to locate the enemy. A later search also failed to make contact. But, finally, at 3:40 PM an American search plane located the Japanese fleet 275 miles away from the task force, near the limit of the American fighters' range. That range was advertised at 250 miles, one aviation commander said, "But with planning and luck we could get to 300." In addition, because of the time of day that the Japanese ships had been finally spotted, any planes that took off from the American carriers would have to strike in the fading light of dusk and find their way back to the American carriers and land in the dark, something that was new to most of the American pilots. Mitscher, prodded by Nimitz in Hawaii, nonetheless opted to launch an all-out attack.

When he became aware of the American attack, Ozawa began pulling his ships back, hoping to get them out of the American planes' range before they could close the gap. Aboard the American ships, a another message, perhaps a result of Ozawa's retreat, arrived indicating the

Japanese fleet was actually 60 miles farther out than previously believed. That put the Japanese at 335 miles, beyond even the Americans' lucky range of 300 miles. Based on that information, further launches were cancelled, but the planes already launched were allowed to continue. Of these 240 planes, 14 returned to their carriers for various reasons. Of the remaining 226 planes, 95 were Hellcat fighters, 54 were Avenger torpedo bombers (only a few carrying torpedoes, the rest four 500-pound bombs), and 76 were Curtiss Helldivers and Douglas Dauntless dive bombers.

As the American planes approached the Japanese fleet, Ozawa was able to put up only 75 planes to protect his ships, and the American planes quickly overwhelmed these fighters. They swept through the Japanese defenses and attacked the fleet, quickly causing serious damage to several oilers and then hitting the carrier *Hiyo*, which was soon ablaze after leaking aviation fuel exploded. An abandon ship order was sounded, and she went down. Two hundred-fifty of the *Hiyo* crew were killed; Japanese destroyers in the area rescued the remaining 1,000 survivors.

Some of the American planes also bombed the large carrier *Zuikaku* and the light carrier *Chiyoda*, both of which were set ablaze, and heavily damaged the battleship *Haruna* and the heavy cruiser *Maya*. The converted carrier *Junyo* was also hit. Sixty-five Japanese planes were downed in the fighting as were 20 of the American aircraft. But for the Americans the worst was yet to come.

After the strike, which ended at about 6:45 PM, many of the American planes were already running low on fuel, and some had suffered enough battle damage that they were forced to ditch on their way back to their carriers. Darkness was falling. Despite the danger of submarine attacks on his ships, Mitscher fully illuminated his carriers and had his destroyers' fire star shells to aid the pilots in landing.

"The effect on the pilots left behind was magnetic," said Lt. Cmdr. Robert Winston. "They stood open-mouthed at the sheer audacity of asking the Japs to come and get us. Our pilots were not expendable."

Sixty of the returning aircraft were still lost, many of them crashing into the sea as they ran out of fuel, but the majority of the flyers, 38 of the downed men, were eventually rescued.

Meanwhile, Admiral Ozawa received orders from Toyoda to cease fighting and withdraw from the area. U.S. forces briefly gave chase, but by June 21 the Japanese planes were out of range. The Great Marianas Turkey Shoot was over.

The Battle of the Philippine Sea had been a resounding American victory. The Japanese lost three carriers and two oilers sunk and had almost all of their aircraft destroyed. Six other ships had been damaged and an estimated 2,987 Japanese combatants killed. The Americans had one battleship

Continued on page 67

ADMIRAL GENERAL GEORGE MONCK, first Duke of Albemarle, walked into the great cabin of his flagship *Royal Charles* with a calm and determined air, tersely greeting his assembled captains before they all sat down at a large table. England was in the second year of what historians would label the Second Anglo-Dutch War, and Albemarle was the co-commander of the English fleet. The Dutch fleet had been spotted about 35 miles east by north of North Foreland, a chalk headland on the Kentish coast of southwestern England. Albemarle called this conference to discuss the next English moves.

The admiral had already made his decision but preferred face-to-face meetings so that there would be no misunderstandings. Signal flags, after all, had their limitations, and Albemarle was a soldier and land general who was used to being promptly obeyed. The main issue was this: the English fleet was outnumbered, having detached 20 ships under Prince Rupert of the Rhine to search for the French, who were reluctant allies of the Dutch. Albemarle dispatched messenger ships to Rupert but his exact location was unknown, and he would not be able to render immediate assistance.

Monck was fat, so heavy it seemed the chair could barely hold his weight, and at 58 he was often plagued with attacks of gout. Shoulder-length hair fell along his neckline, no courtly wig for him, and his round cheeks were sometimes further distended by a plug of tobacco. Gruff and crude, he had sound instincts and a good sense of naval tactics and strategy. Yet he had only 58 ships against at least 80 Dutch vessels, and the Dutch were led by Admiral Michiel Adriaan de Ruyter, one of the greatest sea commanders of the age.

The wind was blowing southwest, which meant that if the English attacked they would have the weather gage; that is, they would be windward, or upwind, of the Dutch. To be upwind was to be on the side from which the wind comes. In the age of sail, this often meant the difference between success and failure. But Albemarle's captains knew that having the weather gage paradoxically might put the English at a disadvantage, at least on this particular morning.

The sea was choppy, its churning surface flecked with white foam, and the winds were blowing strongly. The English ships were heavier than those of the Dutch and carried bigger ordnance. The wind was so strong the English ships were going to heel over on their leeward side, that is, the side that faced the Dutch. Generally, the bigger English ships had little freeboard, with their lower gun decks very close to

ADMIRAL MICHIEL DE RUYTER'S DUTCH FLEET OVERPOWERED ADMIRAL GENERAL GEORGE MONCK'S ENGLISH FLEET IN A PROTRACTED NAVAL CLASH IN JUNE 1666.

BY ERIC NIDEROST

THE FOUR DAYS' BATTLE:

the water. If they heeled sufficiently, which was very possible, sea water might well flood into the lower decks through the gun ports.

The only solution would be to close the lower gun ports, which would deprive the English fleet of more than half its firepower. It was a curious dilemma, but the captains were afraid to voice their objections lest they be branded cowards by their imperious chief. Albemarle decreed that the English would attack without delay. He may have looked like a thick-headed country squire, but appearances were deceiving.

The admiral was going to proceed cautiously, but he felt honor-bound to go forward and not cut and run. Perhaps the fates would be kind, and an opportunity would present itself. In the meantime, his fighting instincts rebelled against the idea of turning tail and heading back to the mouth of the Thames River and safety.

The date was June 11, 1666, but to the Eng-

Wikimedia Commons



LEFT TO RIGHT: Top British commander Admiral George Monck; Admiral Prince Rupert; Dutch Admiral Michiel de Ruyter; Dutch Admiral Cornelis Tromp.

lish, who still used the increasingly antiquated Julian calendar, it was June 1. For the next four days the English and Dutch were going to fight one of the longest, and certainly one of the most dramatic, sea fights of the age of sail.

The Second Anglo-Dutch War, like the First Anglo-Dutch War from 1652 to 1654, was basically a contest between two rivals who wanted the lion's share of the world's sea trade. Both the English and the Dutch were maritime nations bent on establishing commercial empires on a global scale.

Though Britannia did not rule the waves quite yet, King Charles II of England encouraged the growth of overseas colonies and English trading networks. Today the so-called Merry Monarch



Captured English vessels *Swiftsure*, *Seven Oaks*, and *Loyal George*, all flying Dutch flags, lie in the Goeree Gat following the Four Days' Battle in June 1666 in a painting by Willem van de Velde the Younger. The battle occurred during the Second Anglo-Dutch War, a contest between two rivals, each of whom wanted the lion's share of the world's sea trade.

A DUTCH TRIUMPH

National Maritime Museum, London



is best known for his fun-loving ways and many mistresses, but he was a good administrator who took a genuine interest in the Royal Navy.

When the war broke out in 1665, the Dutch found an unlikely ally in King Louis XIV of France. Nicknamed the Sun King, Louis XIV was more interested in expanding France's borders on the Continent but did not want the Dutch to be defeated or the English to become too strong. Though the French played no direct role in the Four Days' Battle, the threat of Gallic intervention was going to have an influence as time went on.

Earlier in the year, Charles directed his brother James (later James II), Lord High Admiral of England, to appoint two joint commanders for the coming campaign. One was Monck. He was instrumental in restoring the monarchy in 1660 after the Puritan Commonwealth faltered. The other commander was Prince Rupert, the king's cousin and near legendary Royalist cavalry leader during the English Civil War.

When the English fleet set sail in late May, Prince Rupert was detached with 20 ships to search for and ultimately intercept the French, who were said to be operating around Dunkirk. Dividing the English fleet was not taken lightly, but it was considered a necessary risk.

As Albemarle's fleet approached the Dutch they formed themselves in line ahead formation, then a relatively new naval tactic. By the mid-17th century there was less emphasis on boarding and more on artillery duels. Since cannons often decided battles, it seemed common sense to line ships up in such a way that they would present a wall of artillery fire to the enemy, pouring broadside after broadside into the foe.

As the two fleets closed, Albemarle saw to his astonishment that the Dutch were not moving; indeed, they were at anchor as if it was peacetime. They were scattered in a wide arc in a somewhat haphazard fashion. There were three divisions: a left wing under Admiral Cornelius Tromp, the center under Commander-in-Chief de Ruyter, and a right wing under Admiral Cornelius Evertsen. This was an opportunity too good to miss, even if the English were still technically outnumbered.

As events unfolded, Albemarle decided to fall upon Tromp's division, which was the nearest. If all went well, the English could capture or destroy much of Tromp's command before de Ruyter or Evertsen could come to his aid. Incredibly, it took the de Ruyter a long time to wake up to the danger.

The great warships of the age were slow, cumbersome vessels, and de Ruyter could clearly see the enemy approach for an hour and more. He was not worried until almost the last minute because he knew the seas were rough and would prevent the English from using their lethal lower deck heavy guns. The idea that a much smaller fleet, deprived of its heavy artillery, would brazenly attack a superior force seemed sheer madness.

It was Tromp, Albemarle's intended victim, who woke to the danger first. His first reaction was to look toward de Ruyter's flagship, the mighty *De Zeven Provinciën*, for guidance. There was no sign of any signal instructions, so Tromp decided he was not going to wait around. He ordered his ship, the *Liefde*, to get underway at once by cutting its cables.

Other Dutch ships followed suit, cutting their cables and following Tromp as best they could. Both English and Dutch ships prepared for the coming clash, which was bound to be bloody. Guns were run out, and gun crews stood eagerly at their battle stations. The captain of each ship dressed in his finest, and among the English such high officers, many of them aristocrats, wore curled wigs. Many of the officers wore slippers instead of boots because it was easier for a surgeon to treat leg wounds that way.

Seventeenth-century ships were rarely silent as a battle approached. Men would lustily cheer or hurl curses at the enemy, perhaps even shaking a fist or two through the gun ports. Drums beat a lusty tattoo, and trumpets blared brassy notes.

The action formally began about 1 PM, Friday, June 11. Tromp and his ships moved to the southeast with the English White Squadron keeping pace in a running fight. Because of Tromp's quick-thinking maneuver, he left most of the English Red and Blue Squadrons in his wake. In other words, Albemarle's plan of concentrated fire against him had failed.

The two sides traded broadsides for the next three hours, but little initial damage was done. The Dutch wanted to employ their fireships but were frustrated because they could not get them into action against the wind. The heavy swells and violent winds also affected the course of the battle. The English were trained to fire on the down roll of their ships, with enemy hulls the prime target. Unfortunately, the choppy water often meant English cannonballs fell short, plowing the sea before disappearing under the waves.

In similar fashion, the Dutch were not having much luck, either. They tended to fire on the unroll, their target a ship's ropes and rigging. The idea was to cripple an enemy vessel's maneuverability and leave it helpless for possible boarding and ultimate capture. But once again, an impartial nature worked against human desires. The rough seas caused many Dutch cannonballs to go over, missing their targets completely.

Albemarle's planned assault on Tromp unraveled as more and more Dutch ships came up to join the fight. Before long the numerical advantage passed to de Ruyter, but then Admiral Evertsen and his ships gained the wind by passing through a gap in the English Blue Squadron line. The Blue Squadron was caught between a Dutch crossfire with Evertsen on one side and de Ruyter on the other.

When Albemarle saw what was going on, he took decisive action by tacking; that is, turning around, to render Blue Squadron some assis-

tance. The admiral was in the center with the Red Squadron, but it was obviously impractical to turn in battle order, white, then red. The White Squadron in the van was miles ahead, and it would take too long to turn ship by ship in succession. As his flagship *Royal Charles* turned about, other members of the Red Squadron did the same, following in its wake like ducklings dutifully following their mother.

It was around this time, about 5 PM, that the Dutch encountered some problems. The 58-gun *Hof Van Zeeland* caught fire, though there were no English fire ships in the vicinity. The crew courageously fought the blaze, but strong winds fanned the flames and created a raging inferno. The fire spread so rapidly that the vessel was consumed from stem to stern within a short time.

The seas were still very rough, but when all hope was gone the crew abandoned ship and plunged headlong into the water. Nearly all of the 248-man crew perished from drowning. And that was not the end of the calamity because another Dutch vessel, the 46-gun *Duivenvoorde*, also caught fire.

The *Duivenvoorde* had a delegation of French observers aboard, including three blue-blooded members of the French aristocracy: Louis, Prince of Monaco, his brother-in-law Armand de Grammont, and the Sieur de Nointel. The searing heat from the flames drove the helmsman from the whipstaff, yet the sails were still largely untouched and continued to billow.

That meant that the ship was essentially out of control, a menace to friend and foe alike. The worst Dutch fears were realized when the blazing *Duivenvoorde* collided with the *Klein Hollandia*. The *Klein Hollandia* was locked in the *Duivenvoorde*'s fiery embrace, and the fire started to spread. *Klein Hollandia*'s crewmen frantically took axes to chop away burning debris to free their ship, but after a few minutes it looked like it would be consumed.

While the *Klein Hollandia* crew worked, crew and passengers on the *Duivenvoorde* crowded the beakhead (the protruding front section of a sailing ship), taking their turns climbing over the bowsprit, then jumping down to the *Klein Hollandia*'s relatively safe decks. About 30 of the crew made it, including the three French aristocrats. The Prince of Monaco, who had earlier been wounded in both arms and fallen into the water, was said to have been rescued when someone pulled him aboard by his hair.

But not all of the *Duivenvoorde*'s crew made it. When the flames hit the magazine, the ship exploded with a mighty roar that sent flames, smoke, and debris high into the air. About 170 crew perished, including Captain Otto van

National Maritime Museum, London



ABOVE: The HMS *Royal Prince* (right), the stern of Admiral Michiel de Ruyter's 80-gun *De Zeven Provinciën* (left, middle distance) flying the Dutch flag from the main mast, and the HMS *Swiftsure* with a broken foremast (foreground left) are all depicted in Abraham Storck's period painting. Storck combined numerous events from the sea battle to stress the ferocity with which both sides fought. **OPPOSITE:** A council of war takes place on June 10 on board the *De Zeven Provinciën*, the flagship of Dutch Admiral Michiel de Ruyter. On the first day of battle, June 11, quick thinking by Dutch left wing commander Admiral Cornelius Tromp foiled Monck's plan of concentrated fire against him.

Treslong. The casualties included eight members of the French delegation. But how did the Dutch ships catch fire?

Strong circumstantial evidence points to English incendiary shells, which are hollow brass balls filled with flammable material. The Prince of Monaco said that the enemy "threw some rose-colored balls and these, remaining on board, expanded and started an inextinguishable fire." Dutch Captain Hendrick Hondius mentioned "a fiery bullet from the enemies." Records show the English did have "120 Fire-shott" that eight ships shared.

In the meantime, Albemarle's *Royal Charles* did succeed in taking some of the pressure off the Blue Squadron, though at heavy cost. It traded broadsides with *Zeven Provinciën* and other Dutch vessels, but by the time it ended its rescue run it was badly cut up. It was recorded that the "Dukes sailes were torne to the yards in peeces." The *Defiance* was also badly damaged.

In the 17th century it was common practice to anchor and repair a damaged ship as best as one could on the spot. Once repairs were affected, a ship would be ready to resume fighting. The *Royal Charles* got out of harm's way, at least for the moment, then anchored. The torn and shredded sails were replaced with new canvas and other repairs were put in place.

Other ships followed suit, and even some of the Dutch ships refitted as best they could. But this lull, which lasted about an hour, was not universal. A terrible commotion could be heard toward the southeast. The White Squadron under Vice Admiral Sir William Berkeley was in serious trouble.

It all began when Admiral Tromp's ship, *Liefe*, accidentally collided with *Groot Hollandia*. Seeing the two Dutch ships in difficulty, Berkeley sailed *Swiftsure* up to the two fouled vessels and unleashed a heavy broadside. But then the 72-gun *Reiger* came to Tromp's rescue. As the *Reiger* came alongside, Tromp waved his hat to Captain Hendrick Adriaanzoon and shouted, "Keep that man [Berkeley] away from me!"

Before *Reiger* could fully comply with the order a second Dutch ship, the *Calantsoog*, came up and gave *Swiftsure* a broadside that brought down its main yard and carried away the topsail sheets. *Swiftsure*, essentially crippled, could not now escape to the main English fleet. Both *Reiger* and *Calantsoog* poured broadside after broadside into the hapless *Swiftsure* for an hour or more.

The gallant Sir William was still defiant and refused to surrender to the Dutch. The Dutch were known for their skill at boarding, so Berkeley challenged them to try their luck. Waving his hat, Berkeley yelled, "You dogs, you rogues, have ye the heart, so press on board!" Eventually the Dutch did just that, holding the *Swiftsure* in a deadly embrace by means of grapples. Dutch



Rijksmuseum Amsterdam

On the third day of the battle, the English flagship the HMS *Royal Prince* ran aground on a sandbank off the English coast and was captured by Admiral Cornelius Tromp, who transferred its crew to his vessel, the *Gouda*. The Four Days' Battle left England and British shipping vulnerable for the near term, but Monck rallied and in the Saint James' Day Battle fought July 25, 1666, he inflicted a stinging defeat on his nemesis de Ruyter.

marines swarmed aboard the English ship, but the defenders repulsed them with heavy fire.

The *Swiftsure* crew fought hard, but the outcome was a foregone conclusion. When the last defenses were breached the surviving crew asked, and was granted, quarter. Sir William had died earlier when his neck was pierced by a musket ball. He had been carried into his great cabin a short time before the surrender. The Dutch found him there, sprawled across a table and covered with blood.

An English lieutenant was found dead in *Swiftsure*'s powder magazine, his hand clutching a knife. From the horrible neck wounds and copious amounts of blood it was plain he had committed suicide by cutting his own throat. According to surviving English prisoners, that man had assured Berkeley that, if the admiral was killed in battle, he would destroy the ship himself. But English crewmen who wished to surrender had no wish to blow themselves up. They threw water on the powder, and when the lieutenant tried to ignite it he found he could not. Cheated of his heroic role, the lieutenant killed himself rather than become a prisoner.

Two other English vessels also got into trouble and were captured. The 54-gun *Seven Oaks* and 42-gun *Loyal George* apparently tried to come to *Swiftsure*'s rescue only to be trapped by multiple opponents. After some brief but intense fire both struck their colors. Ironically, *Seven Oaks* was originally a Dutch ship named *Zevenwolden* and had been taken by the English only the year before.

The sun was already starting to set when the last gunfire was exchanged. Soon darkness brought a reluctant halt to the fight after some seven hours of almost constant strife. The opponents anchored for the night, using this time to pump the bilges, wash the blood from the decks, and begin repairs. The crews on both sides were exhausted, but ships had to be ready for a renewed fight the next day.

At 10 PM, English crews could hear the sounds of cannon fire thunder across the inky void. Looking to the southeast, the night sky flickered and pulsed with an almost ethereal glow. It was the sound of an English ship fighting for its life. John Harman, Rear Admiral of the White Squadron, aboard his 80-gun flagship *Henry*, found himself opposed by at least nine Dutch vessels.

It was plainly an unequal contest, but the cover of darkness added to the confusion and gave *Henry* a fighting chance. At one point, Admiral Evertsen's 72-gun *Walcheren* came alongside, and the admiral himself called over to Harman, asking if he wanted quarter. According to one version, Harman replied, "I'm not up to it yet!" His remark presaged John Paul Jones' later, "I have not yet begun to fight."

And Hartman was right. The *Henry*'s stout timbers had absorbed a lot of punishment but could stand much more. The ship's sails were holed and in tatters but could still draw wind, and most of its guns were still in action. But a Dutch fireship drew near and set *Henry* blazing at the stern. Fire was the thing that seamen most feared, and a score or more of *Henry*'s sailors panicked and jumped overboard. A few even commandeered the ship's boat. But Hartman drew his sword, swearing to run through any who ran for the railing.

Order was restored, and the Dutch fireship was pushed away with oars and iron levers, but one of its yards fell down and landed on Hartman, breaking his ankle. *Henry* escaped, and one of its parting shots swept across *Walcheren*'s quarterdeck and cut Evertsen in two.

The second day of fighting assumed a more classic line ahead pattern. English maneuvers were particularly fine, so skillful even the Dutch could not help but express their admiration. The English ships came forward line abreast, with each vessel having a neighbor to its port and starboard, but at a given signal they wheeled about and formed line ahead. It was a dazzling display of seamanship and probably the first time this maneuver was made in a major action.

For the rest of the day the two sides blasted away at each other in a pattern of head-on passes. After one pass the two fleets would tack, in essence turn around, to start another pass. This bloody duel lasted for 10 hours, and the sheer exhaustion many felt caused events to blur in their memories. Some said the fleets passed

each other five times, others as many as seven.

The winds had been strong the previous day, but now they were so light the dirty gray cannon smoke refused to dissipate, literally creating the fog of war. Excessive heat added to the ordeal. Lieutenant Jeremy Roch of the *Antelope* recalled, "This day was hot in more ways than one, for between ye flames of burning ships, ye fiery flashes from ye guns, with ye beams of ye sun, we seemed to be in the fiery region."

Things seemed to be going well for the Dutch when suddenly de Ruyter heard "a most horrid noise of both great guns and muskets" somewhere to his rear. It was Tromp, who was cut off from the rest of the fleet with only seven or eight vessels. The English closed in, pouring broadside after broadside into the Dutch ships. Cannonballs ripped through bulkheads, tearing rigging and splintering masts and spars. The flying metal killed and wounded with horrifying ease; Tromp himself was hit in the leg by a splinter.

The English now sent in fireships to finish the job. The *Spiegel* was the first target of this flaming assault, and the Dutch ship was set ablaze, but heroic efforts by the crew managed to save her. The *Liefde* was not so lucky and became so entangled with a fireship it became impossible to save her. Soon orange gouts of flame spouted from each gunport, turning the ship's interior into a raging inferno.

In the meantime, the *Antelope* and two other English ships closed in on the *Speigel*, a large vessel of 68 guns. *Speigel's* crew did its best in the unequal contest, but within minutes the ship was reduced to a floating wreck. The ship's mainmast was over the side, her hull holed with so many cannonballs it seemed a miracle she could still float. Dead and wounded sprawled over the splintered decks, and Vice Admiral Abraham van der Hulst was dead with a musket ball in the chest.

The *Antelope* did not have time to savor its apparent victory over the hapless *Speigel*. The English were suddenly confronted with new opponents, a formidable group that included de Ruyter's flagship. *Antelope* got a taste of her own medicine with the newcomers unleashing a storm of metal that seemed without end. Roch recalled, "Our ship was cruelly shattered, our commander's arm shot off, 55 of our men killed and neer so many wounded, our masts, sayles and rigging all in totters, and our decks dyed with blood like a slaughter house!"

This storm was part of de Ruyter's attempt to rescue Tromp, and it succeeded. As soon as he realized that Tromp was cut off and in trouble de Ruyter turned the massive *Zeven Provinciën* about and led the charge with all the ships he

could muster. Tromp and his somewhat battered vessels reached the relative safety of the main body.

The fighting continued, but at about 3 PM a Dutch flotilla of 12 ships was spotted on the horizon. Albemarle, seeing this, did a quick survey of his fleet. Only 29 English ships were in any condition to go on with the battle. The English admiral reluctantly ordered his fleet to withdraw. Night fell, and one of the English ships, the *St. Paul*, was captured that evening.

Battered and outnumbered, the English had little choice but to retreat. Rupert had not shown up yet, and discretion seemed the better part of valor. On Sunday, June 16, officially the third day of battle, the withdrawal continued toward the west. The Dutch pursued, but many of their ships were too slow or too damaged to catch up. Nevertheless, the English had gotten the worst of the two-day encounter, and it looked increasingly like a Dutch victory.

The Dutch also found that the English ships were like wounded animals; they might be damaged, but they were still dangerous. Larger first-rate ships, such as the *Royal Prince* and the *Royal Charles*, had stern ports that featured powerful guns, and enemies followed them at their peril. But then, about 3 PM, Dutch seamen heard cheering from the English vessels. Prince Rupert had finally arrived, and his appearance seemed to bring fresh heart into the English ranks.

The two English fleets approached each other, happy to join forces and face the enemy in a united front. But then something went terribly wrong. The Thames estuary is a dangerous expanse of tides, shifting channels, and underwater sand dunes called sands. The three days of fighting, terror, blood, and exhaustion had apparently disoriented many of the English pilots.

The two English fleets were separated by the Galloper Sand, an underwater sand bank that stretched in a snaking, ribbon-like dune some three miles long and 300 yards wide. All seemed well because the first ships to cross the sand were smaller, relatively shallow-draught vessels that passed over the Galloper Sand without even knowing they were doing so.

The 84-gun *Royal Katherine* and 80-gun *Royal Charles* collided with the sand, momentarily stuck fast, but then tore loose and went their way. *Royal Katherine* struck twice but escaped none the worse for wear. *Prince Royal*, a 92-gun behemoth, was not so lucky. The ship plowed into the sand and remained there, completely immobile.

Those English ships that did spot the *Prince Royal's* predicament could do little to help. The tide was at flood, but it still would have taken too many hours to get the ship off, and the Dutch were fast approaching. Seeing the *Prince Royal* in distress, eight Dutch warships swarmed in for the kill. Two Dutch fireships were in the group, preparing to put their vessels to the torch and ram into the helpless English giant.

Sir George Ayscue, Admiral of the White, looked on with mounting frustration as the fireships approached his stricken vessel. *Prince Royal's* crew began to panic, crowding around Ayscue begging him to strike his flag and surrender. Ignoring their pleas, Ayscue ordered them back to their stations and declared he would rather burn the ship himself than surrender.

Soon the crew took matters into their own hands. A seaman identified as a "waterman living at Lambeth, a yellow haired man" hurriedly climbed up the topgallant shrouds to pull down the admiral's standard. At the same time other seamen hauled down the ensign, a sure sign of surrender. The Dutch were astonished that such a prize would capitulate, but already the crew confirmed the action by shouting for quarter.

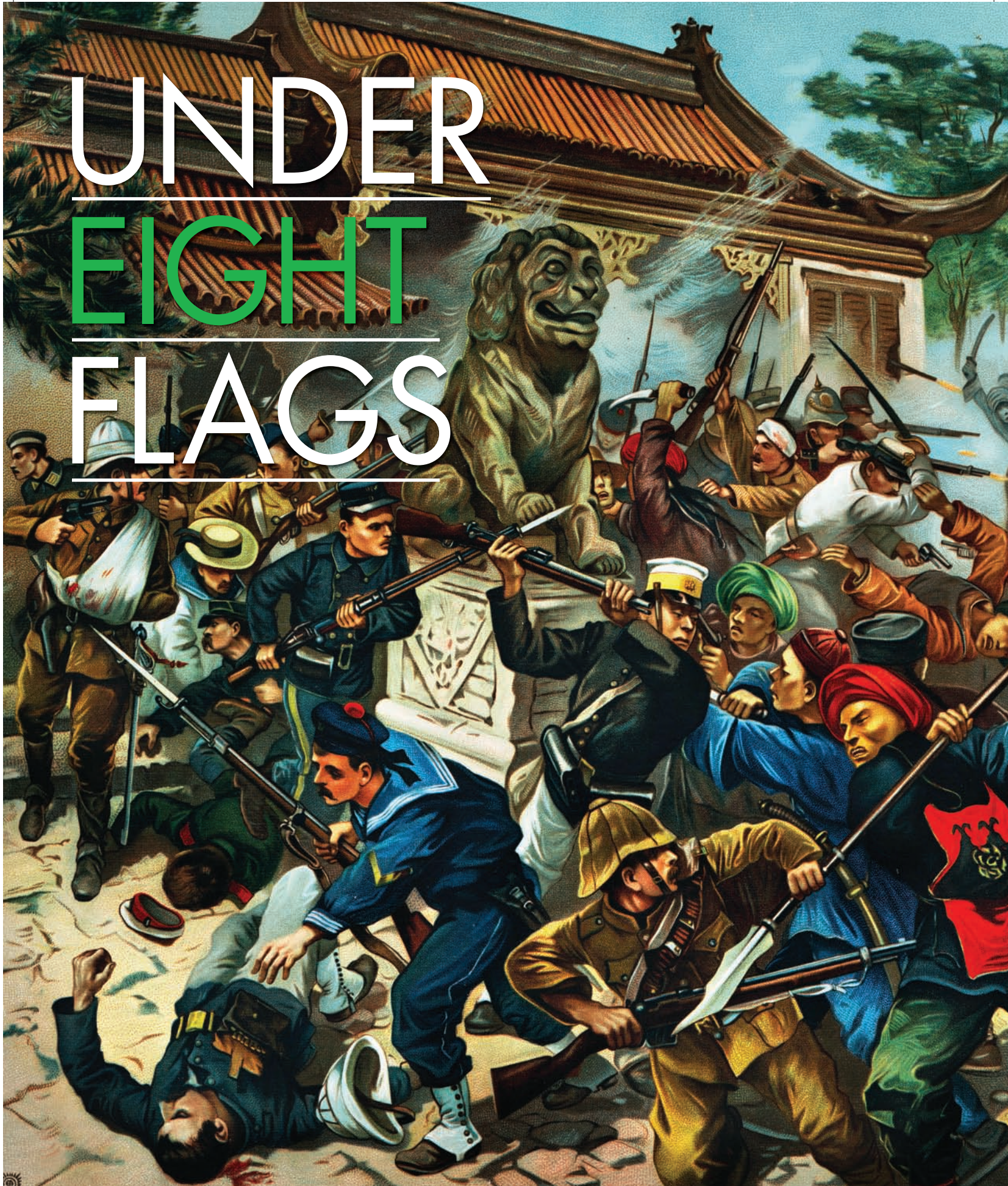
About 80 crewmen took to the boats and abandoned ship to avoid ignominious capture. Ayscue stayed behind to share the fate of his ship and his men. Jacob Phillips, flag captain of the *Gouda*, came aboard *Prince Royal* to accept Ayscue's formal surrender. Poor Ayscue became the highest ranking sea officer ever to become a prisoner of war. His embarrassment must have been profound, but Tromp and others extended him every courtesy.

In the end, the Dutch burned *Prince Royal*, turning the magnificent ship into a blazing hulk. It was disappointing, but *Prince Royal* was just too big and had too deep a draught to be used in Netherlands home waters. Tromp was denied the chance to bring the prize home in triumph, but the loss of one of their finest ships was a bitter blow to English pride. The fact that the crew had panicked, surrendering without a fight, made the incident doubly galling.

Once again night fell, but the English were not ready to accept defeat. The battle would be renewed the next day. The Dutch were equally eager to continue the fight. De Ruyter was convinced that the fourth day would bring a decisive victory. Early the next morning five more ships joined Albemarle's fleet, but six of the most damaged ships were forced to return to England. That gave the English approximately 65 ships against 68 Dutch vessels.

The fourth and final day began with an English attack. The assault was led by Sir Christopher Myngs, a charismatic leader who was adored by his sailors. Short in stature but large in reputation,

Continued on page 70



UNDER EIGHT FLAGS





AN UNLIKELY
ALLIANCE SAVED
THE BESIEGED
FOREIGN
LEGATIONS AT
PEKING IN
1900 DURING
THE BRUTAL BOXER
REBELLION.

BY DAVID A. NORRIS

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

CAPTAIN JOHN T. MYERS' detachment of U.S. Marines was far from home on July 3, 1900. Had it been daylight, their blue flannel shirts and wide-brimmed felt hats would have made them look a bit like American Civil War soldiers. A long way from Shiloh or Chickamauga, they stood atop what looked like a vision out of the tales of King Arthur, a mighty stone wall topped with battlements. Next to them were small detachments of British and Russian marines, waiting to charge a position held by Chinese troops. Myers' men were part of one of the most surreal assortments of military forces ever seen. Never before had the flags of Japan, Germany, Russia, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Austria-Hungary flown with the Stars and Stripes over the same army. French colonial troops from Algeria and Indochina and the British Empire's Sikhs, Ghurkas, and Bengal Lancers added even more variety. Such was the impromptu alliance of the marines, soldiers, and sailors of eight great powers that found themselves in China during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900.

Social upheaval, technical change, and international meddling were tearing apart the millennia-old Chinese Empire in 1900. Western powers expanding their empires in Asia turned their sights on China. Tottering under an inefficient government and militarily outclassed by European weaponry and steam warships, China lost several ports and pieces of territory through forced leases or outright conquest to Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia during the 1800s. Even one Eastern power joined the fray. Japan, once more inward looking than China, embraced many Western ideas to build a formidable military. In 1894-1895, Japan won the Sino-Japanese War and gained control of Korea.

Bribery and threats induced the Chinese government to grant mining, railroad, and other business concessions to foreign companies. The arrangements led to vast increases in unemployment. Chinese miners lost their livelihoods when their mines were given to European interests. A railroad from Peking to the coast threw thousands of river men and teamsters out of work. A severe drought in 1899 ruined crops and drove many peasants from their farms.

The Westerners who enforced their unwelcome presence in China enjoyed the privilege of extraterritoriality; that is, they were immune from Chinese laws and possible prosecution under the Chinese legal system. Foreign troops and police controlled railroad tracks, occupying port cities and other places on Chinese soil. Foreign missionaries were allowed to spread the Christian religion, bringing hope to many of China's poor but alarming and offending traditionalists.

In the 1890s, the reformist-minded Emperor Kwang Hsu tried to strengthen his country through modernization similar to the path taken by Japan. The emperor's accession to the throne was engineered by his aunt, the Dowager Empress Tsu Hsi. Starting as an imperial concubine, Tsu Hsi had used her formidable intelligence and political acumen to become the most powerful person in China. Unfortunately for the country, her considerable skills were employed in propping up the corrupt, inefficient, and conservative elite of the Manchu Dynasty. Opposing Kwang Hsu's reforms, she had her nephew deposed and placed under house arrest.

Far from the imperial court and the foreign enclaves, resentment simmered across the countryside and villages of northern China against foreign influence and the hardships cre-

U.S. Marines



ABOVE: U.S. Marine commander Captain John T. Myers. LEFT: Soldiers from an impromptu alliance of eight Western nations fight off Chinese Boxers near the British Legation in Peking. Hundreds of foreign civilians and military personnel from the eight nations as well as several thousand Chinese Christians were trapped inside the legation compounds for 55 days from June 20, 1900, until rescued on August 14, 1900.

ated by unemployment and famine. Angry and desperate Chinese flocked to a nationalist movement called I Ho Ch'uan, the Righteous and Harmonious Fists. Lashing out at change, their adherents attacked and killed missionaries and other Westerners and destroyed foreign businesses and property. Europeans scoffed at the movement, calling its followers the Boxers.

The Boxers mixed modernity with superstition. They mounted an effective publicity campaign with thousands of flyers and posters. They also claimed to their would-be followers that their special forms of martial arts and their ritual spells would deflect the lead bullets from foreigners' guns. Demonstrations of invulnerability, arranged with rifles loaded with blank charges, convinced thousands to join them. The Boxers did not have uniforms but identified themselves by red sashes and armbands. Many of them spurned guns for swords, spears, and other traditional weapons.

The empress and the court watched the growing disorder with concern. There was no single leader of the Boxers who could be killed to stop the movement, which spread uncontrolled across northern China. Murders of missionaries and their families caused diplomatic pressure from the West that could easily turn into war. Even more worrying was the possibility that the violent new movement might blame the imperial family for China's troubles and turn against it. Early in 1900, as attacks on foreigners increased, the empress revoked an earlier condemnation of the Boxers.

Peking (now Beijing) was then, as now, the capital of China. One million people lived in the city in 1900. Walls 30 feet thick and 20 feet high hemmed in the newer, southern section of Peking, which was called the Chinese City. To the north, the Tartar Wall, 40 feet high and 50 feet wide

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A company of Chinese Boxers marches through Tientsin where heavy fighting occurred July 13-14, 1900. The Boxer Rebellion was a response to the arrogant intervention of foreigners in China's domestic affairs.

across the top, surrounded the older part of the capital, known as the Tartar City. This was the habitation of the nobility. Inside the Tartar City, within another set of walls, was the elite Imperial City. Inside the Imperial City was the inner domain of the imperial family, the Forbidden City. There, not even the highest aristocrats could enter unless invited.

Huddled between the Imperial City and Tartar Wall was the Legation Quarter, where foreign diplomats, merchants, and bankers lived. Most of the foreign establishments were arrayed along Legation Street, which ran east and west north of the Tartar Wall. The disused and shallow Imperial Canal, running north and south, bisected the area.

The British had the biggest legation, followed by the Russian and French compounds. The United States, Japan, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Spain, Belgium, and the Netherlands had smaller legations in the district. Each national legation was a combination embassy, residence, office, and social club for their ambassador (usually called a minister), staff, and visitors. Legations were not necessarily single structures. The British Legation was a walled complex covering

three acres. The complex included the minister's house, several office buildings, quarters for servants and employee, and a chapel, theater, bowling alley, surgery, and cemetery. Near the legations were several foreign-owned stores, businesses, and banks.

The diplomats and merchants in the Legation Quarter lived safely inside this bubble, but news about the slaughter of missionaries and the threats to their safety preyed on their minds. On May 27, on behalf of the Western community, British Minister Sir Claude Maxwell MacDonald asked for foreign troops. Although the army units of the great powers were too far away for timely help, marines serving aboard the Western naval vessels off the China coast could be deployed quickly. An emergency force was assembled from the warships of eight different nations off Taku at the mouth of the Pei Ho River 100 miles southeast of Peking.

Between May 31 and June 4, the scratch force of marines and sailors reached Peking. Among them was a detachment of U.S. Marines with a few American sailors from the battleship USS *Oregon* and the protected cruiser USS *Newark*, commanded by Captain John T. Myers.

Myers was born in Germany while his parents were traveling in Europe. His father, Colonel Abraham C. Myers, was a West Point graduate who also served as the Quartermaster General of the Confederate States.

Augmenting the international forces were some modern guns of varying degrees of effectiveness. The U.S. Marines brought an 1895 model Colt machine gun. Its firing system used a lever action device not unlike that of the Winchester and similar rifles but mechanized to fire 450 rounds per minute. The Marines' Colt machine gun was mounted on wheels as if it was a miniature cannon. If these guns were not raised or mounted in some way, their gas-powered firing mechanisms gouged holes in the ground, spraying the gunners with dirt. This trait gave the gun its nickname of the Potato Digger. Another machine gun, a Maxim, came with the Austrian troops.

With the British was a Nordenfelt four-barreled, rapid-firing, 1-pounder gun. The Swedish-designed piece was originally made for naval use and was capable of piercing the boilers of attacking torpedo boats. As the Nordenfelt was prone to jam after every four shots, it was fortunate that the Italians brought another 1-pounder gun. The Russian contingent brought a shipment of 9-pounder shells, but their 9-pounder gun was accidentally left behind.

On June 5, insurgents cut the railroad to Peking. Boxers soon appeared in public in the

city, inciting violence against the Westerners and provoking a mob to destroy a symbol of foreign influence, the Peking Racecourse. MacDonald got a message out to the Royal Navy's Vice Admiral Edward Seymour, asking him to bring more reinforcements immediately. On June 11, Japanese minister Sugiyama Akira, on his way to a meeting with government representatives, was slain by Imperial Chinese troops.

Akira's death was only the beginning. When hot-headed German minister Clemens von Ketteler shot a boy he believed was a Boxer, anger surged through the neighborhoods surrounding the Legation Quarter. On June 16, mobs attacked and burned churches, foreign businesses, and the homes of Chinese Christians.

On June 19, the Imperial government's foreign office demanded that all the foreigners leave Peking. They were promised safe conduct, but the Westerners who crowded into the Legation Quarter placed little faith in the pledge. Stalling for time, they held out and waited to hear from Seymour.

Events spun out of control on June 20. An Imperial Army officer killed Ketteler when the German minister met with Chinese authorities. Boxer mobs opened fire on the foreign enclaves in the city, and they were joined openly by imperial troops. The Siege of the Peking Legations had begun. Trapped inside the Legation compounds were 473 foreign civilians, 407 military personnel from the eight nations, and approximately 3,000 Chinese Christians. One day later, the Dowager Empress announced a declaration of war against the foreign powers.

Chinese refugees who fled to the Legation compound were put to work building barricades of bricks and sandbags. The women trapped in the Legation sewed countless sandbags for the barricades. All sorts of materials went into them. Luxurious silk and satin tapestries, robes, and curtains were seized from Chinese mansions and palaces and the foreign stores surrounding the legations. They gave the sandbag barricades an incongruously bright and cheerful appearance.

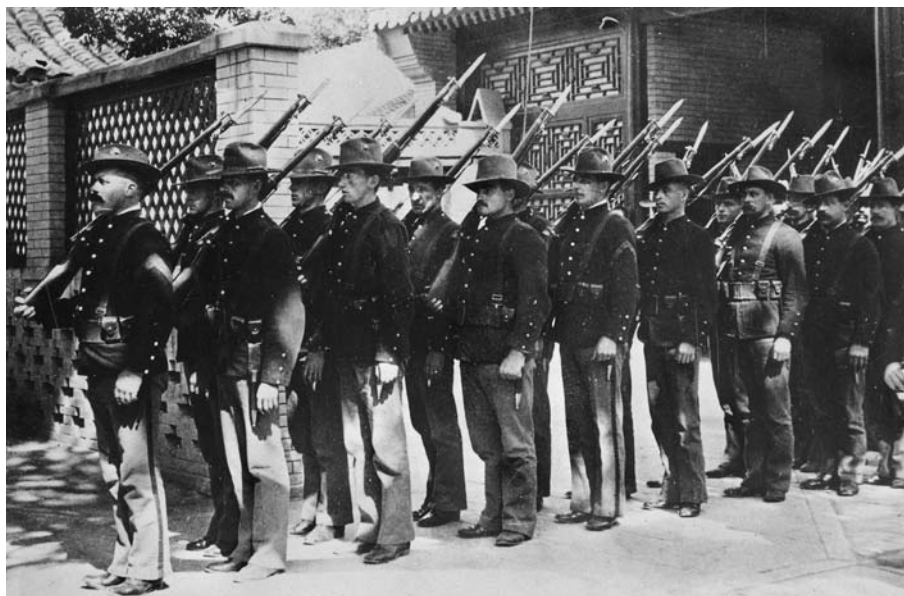
To create a defensible perimeter, the outlying premises belonging to Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, and Austria had to be left out. Absorbed into the fortified areas were also parts of adjoining Chinese neighborhoods. A key section of the defenses was the segment of the Tartar Wall that ran from a ramp near the American Legation, east past the Imperial Canal, to a point near the German Legation. If enemy troops or Boxers possessed the high wall, they could rain their fire down upon the trapped Westerners.

The British Legation was selected as a fall-

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TOP: A view from a barricade of the U.S. Legation in Peking with the Forbidden City in the background. BOTTOM: A scratch force of U.S. Marines (pictured) and sailors reached Peking between May 31, 1900, and June 4, 1900, to assist in the defense of the legations. Marines from Western naval vessels off the China coast could be deployed quickly to Peking.



back position for a last stand if the outer fortifications were breached. Their compound was surrounded by a 10-foot-high wall, and inside were several wells that provided pure water. Reflecting the early confidence of some of the British, brothers Nigel and David Oliphant, both of whom were civilian volunteers, went to work laying out a putting course on their legation's grounds.

To strengthen the garrison, two bands of civilian volunteers formed. About 75 men, many of whom had previous military experience, were armed with spare rifles. Thirty-one of them were Japanese civilians. They stood watch and fought with the marines and sailors when needed. Another group of 50 men formed an irregular unit to guard the British compound and armed themselves with a motley variety of hunting weapons including an elephant gun. They affixed butcher knives to their weapons and so became the Carving Knife Brigade.

The senior military officer present, Captain Eduard von Thomann of the Austrian cruiser *Zenta*,

U.S. Marines



ABOVE: U.S. Marines man an improvised cannon assembled from a Chinese tube, British trail, and Austrian carriage wheels. The gun fired Russian and Chinese shells. **RIGHT:** Although a large number of American troops were tied up fighting the Philippine Insurrection, 1,300 men of the 9th Infantry began arriving in Tientsin on July 11, 1900. A detachment is shown manning a Gatling gun.

took command of the Legation forces on June 21. Von Thomann made a potentially fatal blunder on June 22. Hearing a rumor that the American Legation was abandoned, he ordered all the international forces to retreat into the British Legation for their final stand. Amid the confusion, it was some time before it became clear that the captain had panicked and that the American Legation was still safe. Fortunately, the enemy did not realize the fatal advantage it had in its grasp. The defenders returned to their lines, losing only a little ground.

After this near disaster, all confidence in von Thomann was lost. As the senior minister in Peking, Great Britain's Sir Claude MacDonald assumed military command with the consent of the Western ministers and officers. MacDonald was a capable leader with considerable military experience with the British Army in Egypt and West Africa. Herbert G. Squiers, secretary of the American Legation, served as MacDonald's chief of staff. Squiers was a former officer of the 7th U.S. Cavalry with service against the Sioux in their 1890 uprising.

There was little time for MacDonald to settle into his new responsibilities. Some of the neighboring Hanlin Academy buildings were demolished to prevent the enemy from using them as firing positions. On June 23 and 24, the Boxers set several fires in the remaining buildings of the Hanlin Academy, the Mongol Market, and other locations adjoining the defenses. They hoped that the flames would spread into the international compound. Several of the legations had their own small fire engines, and with the help of bucket brigades fires inside the defenses were brought under control.

Outside the Legation Quarter, only one lone island held out against the Boxers. About two miles away, Bishop Auguste Favier led a small band of priests and nuns at the Peitang Cathedral, inside the walls of the Imperial City. About 3,000 people, mostly refugee Chinese converts, were packed into the cathedral precincts. For defense, there were 30 French and 11 Italian enlisted marines with one officer from each country.

Private John W. Tutcher of the U.S. Marines was shot in the right knee on June 24. Back on duty at the Tartar Wall, he was killed on the night of June 30. Tutcher and the other Americans who fell during the siege were buried on the grounds of the Russian Legation. None of Tutcher's comrades could be spared from their posts to attend his brief funeral. His body was wrapped in a flag, but there was no coffin. An American, Mrs. W.S. Woodward, wrote that "a large Russian" [evidently a marine] interrupted the burial, saying in broken English, "He no comfortable." The Russian stepped into the grave, patted and raised the earth under Tutcher's head, and rearranged his arms and hands. "We brothers. We fought in the war together," he said.

Cut off from the outside world as they were, it was just as well that the besieged foreigners at Peking did not know that their would-be rescuers were in little better shape than they were. Seymour set out on June 10 with a multinational relief force of about 2,200 men. To cover the roughly

100 miles from the sea to Peking, Seymour embarked his men aboard four trains at Tongku, the railroad's coastal terminus. Armored flatcars carrying troops and machine guns or cannons were placed in front of each locomotive.

It was a gamble going by train through territory under Boxer control. Seymour mistakenly thought the train trip would be quick and that the imperial troops would side with them against the insurgents. Instead, the troops openly sided with the Boxers. Progress was slowed by constant repairs to tracks torn up by the rebels. When they reached Lang Fang about 40 miles from Peking, the trains could get no farther. Unable to proceed, Seymour tried to retrace his steps. The trains made slow progress until June 19, when they reached a bridge too badly damaged for them to cross. Seymour

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abandoned the trains and started following the Pei Ho River toward Tientsin, a major city at the intersection of the Pei Ho and the Grand Canal about 30 miles from the coast.

As Seymour headed toward Tientsin, the Boxers captured the Chinese districts of the city. Then, as in Peking, insurgents and imperial troops laid siege to the city's Western community.

A future president of the United States, Herbert Hoover, was among the Westerners trapped in Tientsin. About 2,300 troops, marines, and sailors, mostly Russian, faced Boxers and imperial soldiers more than 10 times their number. Hoover, as a civil engineer, was in charge of designing fortifications. Emptying the city's warehouses, he directed the construction of a two-mile-long barricade made of bales of wool or camel hair and bags filled with peanuts, sugar, and rice.

Hoover's wife Lou volunteered to nurse the wounded and tended some dairy cattle. Carrying a .38 pistol, she bicycled throughout the

U.S. Army



U.S. Army musician Calvin Titus unfurls the American flag atop the Peking wall while the rest of his unit goes into action during the relief of the Legation Quarter on August 14, 1900.

defenses each day on her errands. She had at least one close call when one of her bicycle tires was punctured by a Chinese bullet.

Aboard the foreign warships, the Allied commanders waited, not wanting to land troops and provoke more violent reactions. But worries over Seymour's force and the fate of the foreigners in Peking and Tientsin led them to make plans to secure the route to Tientsin and Peking. To hold Tientsin it was necessary to take several Chinese forts that protected the Pei Ho River near Taku, close to the sea.

After a flotilla of Western gunboats reduced the Taku forts, their relief force reached the International Settlement at Tientsin on June 23. Herbert Hoover later remembered his joy at seeing the U.S. Marines march into the foreign section as their buglers played "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight."

With Tientsin's foreign quarter safely in hand, the next step for the Western forces was saving Seymour. By June 22, Seymour's column had fought its way as far as Hsiku, only about six miles from Tientsin. There, the troops seized one of the country's largest arsenals. The Hsiku Arsenal was a good defensive position and was packed with everything from modern Krupp guns to millions of rounds of rifle ammunition. Fending off counterattacks, though, left them burdened with wounded. Seymour elected to

wait for relief. On June 26, a relief force of Russian, British, and other nationalities reached them, and they returned together to Tientsin. Among the British on the relief expedition was Commodore David Beatty of the HMS *Barfleur*. Beatty is better known as the vice admiral who commanded a fleet of British battlecruisers at the 1916 Battle of Jutland during World War I.

Up until mid-June, the United States had considered that dispatching marines from its warships off the Chinese coast was a sufficient response to the emergency in China. With the widening violence, Washington deemed it necessary to send troops as well. The Spanish-American War had given the Americans a launching point in the Far East with the acquisition of the Philippines from Spain. Large forces were tied up fighting the Philippine Insurrection, but the 1,300 men of the 9th Infantry were ordered to China. They began arriving in Tientsin on July 11.

With the arrival of the Americans and more foreign troops, the Allied commanders made a concerted attack on Tientsin to root out the Boxers. After two days of intense fighting on July 13 and 14, the city fell. Casualties were heavy as the imperial troops and Boxers put up heavy resistance. Among the dead was the commander of the 9th Infantry, Colonel Emerson H. Liscom. A Vermont native, Liscom was breveted a captain during the American Civil War after the 1864 Battle of Bethesda Church.

Even with Tientsin under control and Seymour's expedition safely returned, the relief of the Peking legations seemed impossible without waiting several weeks to assemble a much larger force.

The allies in the Legation Quarter continued to hold off the attacks and wait for help. Their spirits held up well, and they eased their anxiety about the arrival of the rescue force with jokes about Admiral Seen-no-More.

Disaster threatened on July 1. The U.S. Marines were holding their position at a bastion on the Tartar Wall near the American Legation. Their line was poorly chosen, as it ran behind a barricade along the east side of the bastion, leaving the rest of the bastion's surface undefended. Chinese forces seized the west end of the bastion and settled in behind improvised fortifications. Thus, each side held one of the two ramps giving access to the walls at that point. Unlike those firing at some areas of the defenses, the snipers peppering the marines on the wall were persistent

U.S. Marines



An international group of guards from the eight Western nations that fought in the Boxer Rebellion are pictured in front of the Austrian Legation after the fighting ended. Several Americans are in the right front row.

and highly accurate. One advantage was that the rear of the American line was protected by German forces inside another barricade across the wall.

During the night of June 30-July 1, the Chinese brought up three field guns to their own barricade facing the Germans. The German detachment, a dozen men commanded by a corporal, withdrew from the wall. The German retreat exposed the marine barricade to enemy fire from the rear. Captain Myers ordered his marines to withdraw to their legation. After a quick consultation with Squiers and U.S. minister Edwin H. Conger, Myers saw that the wall must be held at all hazards. After about 15 minutes, Myers retook his old position on the wall with the aid of some Royal Marines.

Although the German position was lost, the Americans intended to hold their line on the wall. That night labor parties made up of refugee Chinese Christians built new barricades to shield the Americans from enemy fire.

By dusk on July 2, the Chinese had built a new wall beginning at the right flank of their barricade across the open surface of the bastion. At the far end, the new wall nearly touched the American fortification. With the protection of darkness and the new barricade, the Chinese worked on a new tower from which riflemen could pour an enfilade fire into the Marines' line. The tower was "so close that one could touch it with a stick from the south end of the American barricade," wrote Nigel Oliphant.

Myers planned a night attack to destroy the tower. Between 2 and 3 AM on July 3, the tower was almost finished and the enemy were "amusing themselves throwing stones into our barricade." With Myers were 14 U.S. Marines, 15 Russians, and 26 British marines and volunteers, including Oliphant. A civilian bank employee, Oliphant was a veteran of the British Army who had served in India.

Myers sent the Russians from his right across the bastion to the Chinese-controlled ramp on the opposite side. The Americans and the British would attack from their left, keeping on the south side of the new covering wall. Oliphant recalled the combined force "standing two deep on the ledge at the bottom of the barricade, which just enabled us to get out heads and arms over the top."

Dropping down from the 10-foot-high barricade, Myers and his men rushed past the tower and hit the Chinese barricade on the far end of the bastion. They drove the enemy away from the barricade and the tents they had pitched behind it on the wall. Myers secured a much more tenable position by pushing the Chinese back more than 100 yards to their next barricade on the wall.

Myers was wounded in the attack, and "two of the best men" in his detachment were killed. At first, Myers' wound, which was caused by an iron spear, seemed minor. But septicemia set in

and he was hospitalized at the Russian Legation and relinquished command of the Marines to Captain N.H. Hall.

The Boxers and imperial troops tightened the siege. Snipers and artillery gunners found new firing positions atop sections of the wall or high buildings overlooking the legations. With the wide mix of ancient and modern weapons used by the Imperial Army and the rebels, the defenders were liable to have anything from arrows to Krupp shells slamming into their works. Some Boxers threw bricks and stones over the Legation barricades. Others set off firecrackers for the psychological effect of ratcheting up the noise and tension during attacks.

Among the Chinese weaponry were picturesque oversized muskets called jingals. Sometimes made as oversized copies of Western long arms, jingals could be more than six feet long with a .75-caliber barrel. The weapons were so heavy that they had to be balanced on a stand or swivel and fired by a two-man crew.

Nigel Oliphant wrote that in making his rounds on July 2 he was "much annoyed by a man who kept firing a jingal loaded with copper cash [small coins, with square holes in the center] and odd bits of metal onto the roof of the hospital." Oliphant noted that although "the explosion and the flash both seemed to be close to us" the man firing the jingal was "really on the opposite side of the Mongol Market, and thus 300 yards away."

On July 5, David Oliphant was mortally wounded by an enemy sniper while helping cut down some trees between the British Legation and the Hanlin College. Three days later, a shell

killed Captain von Thomann. By an odd twist of fate, the Austrian captain had not originally been on a military assignment. He had come to Peking for a holiday and had been caught in the fighting when the rebellion broke out.

Their lack of heavy artillery constantly worried the defenders. When the Italian one-pounder piece ran low on shells, Gunner's Mate Joseph Mitchell of the USS *Newark* manufactured new ammunition. Pails full of spent enemy bullets were gathered up and handed to Mitchell. Using discarded shell casings, he melted the bullets to make new projectiles. The little gun was kept busy, but as Nigel Oliphant wrote, "Such a little toy can't do much. Oh! For a single 12-pounder."

On July 7, Chinese workers digging a trench dug up an old muzzle-loading bronze cannon barrel left by the Anglo-French forces during the 1860 fighting in Peking during the Second Opium War. Gunner's Mate Mitchell and Herbert Squiers cleaned up the old relic and restored it to firing condition, mounting it on a spare Italian carriage.

Gunners found that the cannon could fire improvised grapeshot. They got a lucky break when they discovered that the useless Russian 9-pounder shells were a perfect fit for the new gun. To fire the modern ammunition in the antiquated cannon, the shells were taken apart and the charge and projectile rammed separately down the barrel. When fired from the Student Library in the British Legation, the gun's vibrations shattered most of the windows.

Mitchell's makeshift piece had many names, with some calling it Old Betsy and others, the Dowager Empress. Most of all, as it had a British barrel, an Italian carriage, and was fired by American gunners using Russian shells, it became known as the International Gun.

While the foreigners kept close watch from their barricades, underneath their feet grew a new menace. Chinese prisoners revealed that coal miners had been brought in to dig underneath the Legation Quarter. The Chinese converts, who had been pressed into service as laborers on the fortifications, dug deep ditches as countermeasures.

Despite the countermeasures, on July 13 two mines exploded under the French Legation. Two French sailors were killed in the blasts, which destroyed two buildings and some of the barricades. A large number of Boxers and imperial troops who were too close to the site of the explosion were also killed.

Arthur von Rosthorn, the Austrian chargé d'affaires, was trapped up to his waist in rubble from a collapsed roof and walls after the first blast. The second blast freed him by

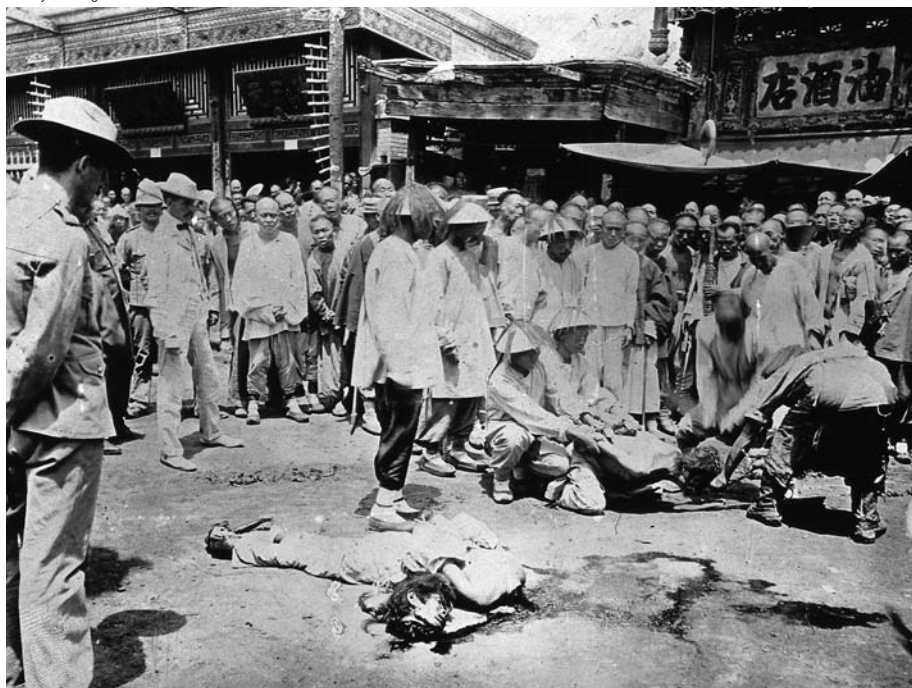
throwing him clear of the wreckage. Much of the property was abandoned, and the defensive line was pulled back to a trench the French had prepared as a fallback. German forces repulsed a simultaneous attack, killing a number of attackers in a bayonet charge across their legation's tennis courts.

Until rains came in July, water was rationed in the Legation. To the stench of unburied casualties and horses was added that of the besieged themselves. There was not enough water to wash clothes, or to bathe. When rain came at last, wrote Oliphant, it "never seems to cool the air, but, instead, creates a nasty damp, muggy atmosphere." A plague of flies drawn by the dead human and animal bodies made everyone miserable. "At night the ceiling and the tops of the mosquito-nets are black with the vile insects, and when a big gun goes off they all rise with a buzz loud enough to wake any but a heavy sleeper," wrote Oliphant.

Far from Peking, false reports reached the outside that the Boxers had captured the Legation Quarter and slaughtered everyone inside. Newspapers printed alarming estimates that half a million foreign troops and two to three years would be needed to quell the fighting.

As the phony news stories spread, the allied powers assembled a larger force to march on Peking. Command went to Brig. Gen. Sir Alfred Gaselee of Britain. Of the 20,000 troops, 2,500 men made the U.S. contingent the third largest next to the Japanese and Russians. Additional French, British, German, Italian, and Austro-Hungarian troops joined the force. Maj. Gen. Adna R. Chaffee, a veteran of the American Civil War and the Apache Wars, commanded the American units: the 9th and 14th Infantry, the 6th Cavalry, and Battery F of the 5th Field Artillery.

Library of Congress



The Western allies and their Chinese supporters exacted brutal retribution from the defeated Boxers as shown in these public beheadings. Moreover, through the Boxer Protocol, China accepted blame for the Boxer Rebellion and agreed to pay massive damages.

The Legation Quarter swayed back and forth between violent attacks that drained shrinking stockpiles of ammunition and peaceful interludes during intermittent cease-fires. The Imperial Court declared a cease-fire on July 17, which held for over a week. In a surprising act of consideration, the Imperial Court sent shipments of sweet melons, flour, and ice, a welcome addition to the siege diet of horsemeat, rice, and condensed milk.

Firing again stopped on July 27, giving the legations a bit of a break until August 4. The mysterious maneuverings of the court reflected division among reactionaries who wanted the foreigners killed and reformers and realistic officials who feared devastating retaliation from the West if the foreigners were massacred.

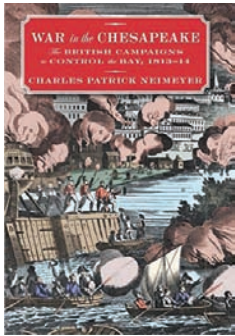
The doubt and division at the highest levels made for a halfhearted effort. Even though imperial troops fought openly with the Boxers, they never committed the full weight of the

Continued on page 70

books

By Christopher Miskimon

The British campaign in the Chesapeake Bay wrought widespread havoc during the War of 1812.



The 5th Regiment of the Maryland Militia repulses the British attack at North Point on September 12, 1814. However, defense of the Chesapeake Bay generally fell to weaker militia units.

AS THE MORNING SUN DAWNED OVER THE VILLAGE OF HAVRE-De-Grace on May 3, 1813, a few sleepy militiamen stood watch over the Susquehanna River, watching for marauding British ships. This was the most likely approach to the small hamlet of some 50 buildings, located about 25 miles northeast of Baltimore. Only a few sentries remained; after an earlier false alarm

most of the militia had been sent home. The British had been raiding towns throughout the Chesapeake Bay area for the past several weeks, but it seemed Havre-de-Grace had been bypassed.

The situation proved too good to be true. As the pickets watched, 20 barges carrying Royal Marines appeared from the south, supported by a boat laden with Congreve rockets. The few men on duty acted quickly, opening fire on the approach-

ing flotilla with their few cannons. The sound roused the slumbering village and also sealed its fate. Towns that surrendered without resistance were generally treated better by the English, while towns that offered even a mild defense could expect to be put to the torch.

Unprepared for the attack, the town panicked. Militia officers tried to reassemble their men but many chose not to report. Civilians fled with whatever they could carry or

cart off. The British opened fire on the American guns and scattered the militiamen. Only Lieutenant John O'Neill, a native Irishman, remained with two men. They fought back relentlessly until overwhelmed and captured.

Royal Marines set the town afire, aided by the incendiary effects of the Congreve rockets. One American militiaman was actually hit in the head by a rocket, a freak occurrence. Citizens watched from nearby hills as more than 150 enemy marines looted the town and set more buildings on fire. Stories circulated that the town was burned after refusing to pay a \$20,000 ransom demand. More likely it was in punishment for their earlier resistance.

The wounded O'Neill was carried off to have his nationality checked. If his English captors decided he was indeed Irish-born, British law would consider him an English citizen and a traitor, subject to execution. A few days later he was released after American threats of reprisals if they executed him. It was a sad episode, proof that the War of 1812 had come to Havre-de-Grace.

The Chesapeake Bay region was a major theater of action during the War of 1812. Many readers know of its culminating events, the attack on the city of Washington and the bombardment of Fort MCHenry as part of a greater operation against Baltimore. The region was also subject to



Painting: Don Troiani, National Guard Heritage Series

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BDS, Academic Freedom and Anti-Semitism

Academic boycotts of Israel advocated by BDS supporters not only strangle free expression, they also deny Jewish self-determination.

Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions-sponsored boycotts of Israeli academic institutions tarnish the integrity of any school that stands for academic freedom—the open-minded, tolerant exchange of ideas. Worse, BDS couches its arguments against Israel in half-truths and lies meant to delegitimize the Jewish state.

What are the facts?

Academic freedom is a noble-spirited ideal at the heart of American higher education. Academic freedom thrives on the respectful exchange of ideas in search of truth—even among people who passionately disagree. As such, it depends on unfettered communications that span national, linguistic and ideological borders. Conversely, anyone who attempts to limit the access of the academic community to ideas, research or scholars, no matter their origin or beliefs, is guilty of trampling this precious privilege.

Indeed, the strategies and tactics of the BDS movement have just such a subversive effect on academic freedom. BDS supporters attempt to disrupt speakers with whom they disagree, support their arguments with outright falsehoods, and seek to blacklist innocent Israeli academics because of their nationality. Finally, most egregiously, BDS uses a double standard to single out Israel among all the nations for recrimination.

Does academic freedom support censoring opinions we don't like? BDS advocates have shouted down speeches by the Prime Minister of Israel Ehud Olmert, Israeli Ambassador to the U.S. Michael Oren, Harvard Professor Alan Dershowitz and others, and they routinely disrupt fellow students at Holocaust Memorial and pro-Israel events on campus. Yet preventing speakers from delivering their messages not only violates the tolerant, respectful spirit of academic freedom, it also violates our core First Amendment guarantees of free speech.

Does academic freedom support telling lies or half-truths to argue our point? Under the guise of human rights rhetoric calling for “liberation” of the Palestinian people and an end to Israeli “occupation,” BDS proponents recite a litany of alleged Israeli crimes. Perhaps most outrageously, they accuse the Jewish state of apartheid—a bald lie that bears no relationship to the full democratic rights enjoyed by Israel's Arab citizens or even to Palestinians living in the West Bank or Gaza. Likewise, to accuse Israel of “occupation” without mentioning that Israel has been the Jewish homeland for some 3,000 years—or the Palestinian suicide bombers and nearly daily rocket attacks meant to destroy the Jewish state—is

intellectually dishonest. While free speech allows anyone to lie, such outright mendacity discredits the worthy tradition of academic freedom.

Does academic freedom support severing our schools from international research and scholarly thought? BDS advocates an academic boycott of Israeli universities and, effectively, of scholars who teach and conduct groundbreaking work there, especially in medicine, the arts and information technology. By boycotting Israeli students and teachers, we deprive our own institutions of the kind of open collaboration that is key to academic freedom. What's more, to punish Israeli academics with pariah status simply because of their nationality, regardless of their political views, is unconscionable.

“When people criticize Zionists, they mean Jews. You're talking anti-Semitism.”

Martin Luther King, Jr.

BDS's use of double-standards, demonization and delegitimization against Israel is anti-Semitic. BDS advocates are quick to assert that “I'm not anti-Semitic, I'm just anti-Zionist.” While academic freedom allows everyone to criticize Israel, one also is free to criticize Iran, North Korea, Saudi Arabia or the United States. But BDS does not simply criticize Israel—it criticizes *only* Israel, and moreover it demonizes the Jewish state, calling it a Nazi regime and a slaughterer of children. It attempts to delegitimize Israel, claiming it is occupying Arab territory, thus denying the right of the Jewish people to self-determination. As Martin Luther King, Jr. has noted, “When people criticize Zionists, they mean Jews. You're talking anti-Semitism.” Indeed to single out Israel among all nations for a boycott is a double-standard . . . and that is, according to the U.S. State Department, anti-Semitism.

What do the BDS leaders really want? While the U.S., Western European nations, Israel and the U.N. Security Council have embraced a “two-state solution” as the basis for peace between Israel and the Palestinians, BDS leaders, like Ali Abuminah, argue for a one-state solution in which Arabs outnumber Jews. When BDS talks about occupation, it refers not to disputed West Bank territories, but to all of Israel. BDS has consistently opposed Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, calling them “collaborationist.” No wonder BDS founder Omar Barghouti admits, “If the occupation ends . . . would that end support for BDS? No, it wouldn't—no.”

If you support a robust atmosphere of academic freedom, in which all sides are heard and positions are vigorously debated, you must oppose BDS's call for an academic and cultural boycott of Israel. In fact, BDS actions flatly contradict academic freedom, and its insistence on denying the self-determination of the Jewish people in Israel is overtly anti-Semitic.

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numerous British raids that had great effect on the local populace. The bulk of the U.S. Army was elsewhere, leaving the defenses largely to the militia and whatever local civilian leaders could cobble together.

Like much of this war, the conduct of this campaign was a slapdash affair full of political intrigue and obtaining mixed results. The details of this struggle are well told in *War in the Chesapeake: The British Campaigns to Control the Bay, 1813-14* (Charles Neimeyer, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2015, 288 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, \$44.95, hardcover).

The Canadian theater was the major concern for Great Britain. In an attempt to draw American forces away from there, the British conceived a plan to raid the Chesapeake region. It was hoped the threat this posed to major cities such as Baltimore, Washington, and Norfolk would force a redeployment of U.S. regulars away from the Canadian border. Ultimately this tactic failed; American leaders left the bay mostly to its own

devices, relying on state militias and local Navy and Marine Corps forces. The militia suffered from shortcomings in discipline, training, and arms. The regular land and sea forces often had the same problems but enjoyed better leadership. All suffered at the hands of the well-drilled English sailors and marines, but when the Americans were well led and motivated they could strike blows of their own.

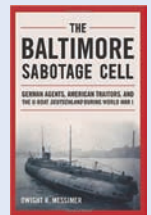
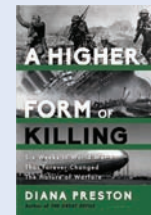
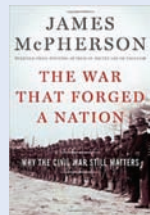
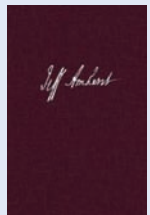
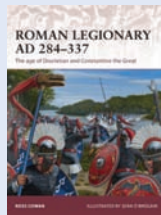
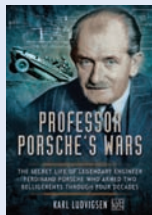
The book is written in clear prose that allows the reader to easily follow the story despite the numerous figures and locations. The level of detail is impressive, and both combatants' points of view are well represented. The narrative flows through the period of the study, from the causes of the war and the Chesapeake's part in it to the first British appearance in the bay. The numerous raids and attacks are shown with a focus on the actual participants and the entire book culminates with the disastrous Battle of Bladensburg, the burning of Washington, and the failed attack against Baltimore. The author brings well-deserved attention to a theater of war often given

short coverage compared to the fighting in Canada and New Orleans. It is a fascinating and clear look at a complex time and a difficult war for the young United States of America.



Hermann Goering in the First World War: The Personal Photograph Albums of Hermann Goering (Blaine Taylor, Casemate Publishing, Haverstown, PA, 2015, 320 pp., photographs, appendices, \$40.00, hardcover)

Hermann Goering has gone down in history as one of the highest ranking members of the villainous and genocidal Nazi Party, a man given to excess who committed suicide rather than face the gallows for his crimes. He was often drug addled and unable to carry out the promises he made for his precious Luftwaffe. Today he is seen as an almost buffoonish scoundrel. Long before he made the choice to descend into infamy, Goering was just a fighter



SHORT BURSTS

Professor Porsche's Wars (Karl Ludvigsen, Pen and Sword Publishing, 2015, \$50, hardcover) A behind-the-scenes look at the famous German engineer who designed weapons for four decades. This includes everything from tanks to amphibious cars.

Roman Legionary AD 284-337: The Age of Diocletian and Constantine the Great (Ross Cowan, Osprey Publishing, 2015, \$18.95, softcover) These two figures were the greatest of the Late Roman Emperors. Their legions were the height of their military system.

The Journals of Jeffery Amherst, 1757-1763, Volume I (Robert J. Andrews, Michigan State University Press, 2014, \$124.95, hardcover) Amherst was the commander of British Forces in North America during the Seven Years War. This volume

contains his daily and personal journals, giving insight into the events of the conflict.

The Journals of Jeffery Amherst, 1757-1763, Volume II (Robert J. Andrews, Michigan State University Press, 2014, \$99.95, hardcover) The second volume is a dictionary of all the people, places, and ships mentioned in his journals. This allows the reader to round out his entries, providing more in-depth understanding.

Scapegoats: Thirteen Victims of Military Injustice (Michael Scott, Skyhorse Publishing, 2015, \$24.99, hardcover) Failure in war usually results in blame being attached to the leaders involved. Here are case studies of 13 men who the author argues were unfairly castigated for military setbacks.

Soldiering for Freedom: How the Union Army Recruited, Trained and Deployed the U.S. Colored Troops

(Bob Luke and John David Smith, John Hopkins University Press, 2015, \$19.95, softcover) The use of African American former slaves in the Union Army was a controversial decision but ultimately the moral, correct one. This book shows how these men went from the recruiting station to the battlefield.

The War That Forged a Nation: Why the Civil War Still Matters (James McPherson, Oxford University Press, 2015, \$27.95, hardcover) The Civil War is a pivotal event in American history. The author explains how its significance is still relevant today and why we are still realizing its implications.

Enduring Freedom, Enduring Voices: US Operations in Afghanistan (Michael G. Walling, Osprey Publishing, 2014, \$25.95, hardcover) This book combines accounts from commanders, Special Forces troops, and other soldiers to reveal how the

war in Afghanistan was experienced by those who fought it.

A Higher Form of Killing: Six Weeks in World War I That Forever Changed the Nature of Warfare (Diana Preston, Bloomsbury Press, 2015, \$28.00, hardcover) In six weeks between April and May 1915, the first use of chemical weapons occurred, zeppelins appeared, and the RMS *Lusitania* was torpedoed. These events changed warfare forever.

The Baltimore Sabotage Cell: German Agents, American Traitors, and the U-boat Deutschland during World War I (Dwight R. Messimer, Naval Institute Press, 2015, \$35.95, hardcover) Germany tried to break the British blockade with cargo submarines and sabotage U.S. factories making arms and equipment for the United Kingdom. This is the story of the spy ring that carried out the German scheme.

pilot, one of many fighting in the skies over Europe during World War I.

That Goering was a pilot is fairly well known, but he began the war as an infantry officer. During a period in the hospital a friend suggested he become an aerial observer-photographer. This started Goering down the aviator's path; along the way he took many photographs, not only of battle scenes and aircraft but of the daily lives of his fellow pilots and aircrew.

The author does a good job showing a relatively unknown side of Goering without trying to glorify the man. The photographs are accompanied by text that explains Goering's journey through the war. The book is thought-provoking; it makes the reader consider that men like Goering did not spring from the womb a full-fledged degenerate Nazi. Rather one must consider his origin and journey as a relatively normal person before later events influenced his decisions.



Their Last Full Measure: The Final Days of the Civil War (Joseph Wheelan, Da Capo Press, Boston, MA, 2015, 407 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index,

\$26.99, hardcover)

The American Civil War was spinning to a horrid finale in the first months of 1865. While the final campaigns in Virginia culminating at Appomattox come quickly to mind, climactic events were occurring across the country. Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman's armies were crushing the last strongpoints of the Confederacy in the Carolinas, including Fort Fisher, while other Union troops were attacking in Alabama. Combined, these three campaigns ended the rebellion. Meanwhile, other events during this time were equally important for the country. As the war ended, U.S. President Abraham Lincoln was assassinated, leading to the hunt for his killer.

The last five months of the war are covered in detail, each with its own chapter that breaks down the month's major events, showing how they came together, leading to the war's end. While it is a richly detailed history, the book reads almost like a novel. It is an engaging work that entertains as it informs.

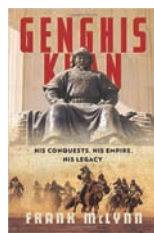


Tanks: 100 Years of Evolution (Richard Ogorkiewicz, Osprey Publishing, Oxford, UK, 2015, 344 pp., photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, \$25.95, hardcover)

The tank is 100 years old. The concept began

as an innovation to break the deadlock of the trenches during World War I but developed over time into a mainstay of military power. That evolution moved in fits and starts; they proved themselves in the war but during the 1920s their development largely stagnated until a handful of nations began testing them during the 1930s. World War II brought the tank into its own, moving it from a support weapon for infantry to a vital part of the combined arms groups that dominated the latter part of the conflict. After the war, armor proved its continued utility as a weapon even in places people doubted they could work effectively, such as the jungles of Vietnam, or elsewhere in the Third World.

Most tank development has taken place in five countries: United States, Russia, Great Britain, France, and Germany. The work done there is covered in great detail but the author delves into what smaller nations such as Israel and Japan have done as well. Tanks are a balance of firepower, armor protection, and mobility and this book contains interesting appendices covering each, giving the reader a good understanding of what makes a tank function. The history of the tank is thoroughly investigated in great detail and clear writing. Both casual readers and armor enthusiasts will find interesting information in this book.



Genghis Khan: His Conquests, His Empire, His Legacy (Frank McLynn, Da Capo Press, Boston MA, 2015, 688 pp., photographs, notes, bibliography, index, \$42.50, hardcover)

The achievements of the Mongols still have the capacity to astound. This relatively small nation of just two million people was able to conquer much of the world, creating an empire that stretched across Asia through the Middle East and into Europe, from China to Poland. Their initial influence in the 12th and 13th centuries created effects that resonate to the modern world. None of this would have been possible without the harsh and unrelenting leadership of Genghis Khan.

His world was one of complex political intrigues, raw brutality, and world-spanning warfare. Genghis possessed a sense of strategy, coupled with the talent to administer his conquests. He knew how to read men and manipulate them. The Mongol leader also had the vision and imagination to bring his dreams to reality. That reality proved cruel; thousands suffered and died often by his at times arbitrary decisions. The treachery of his rivals and followers was often imagined but he reacted

swiftly and finally to any hint of it. This new biography covers the life of this infamous and important man who would today be seen as a genocidal maniac. Time has softened the results of his actions, but the author brings the man vividly to life.



Ulysses S. Grant: Triumph Over Adversity, 1822-1865 (Brooks D. Simpson, Zenith Books, Minneapolis, MN, 2014, 560 pp., maps, photographs, notes, index, \$19.99, softcover)

Ulysses Grant is a complex character and this has allowed biographers to characterize him as they please. Some choose to focus on his drinking habits, his difficulties as president, or looking at his willingness to accept casualties as butchery. Others paint him as the perfect man in the right place at the right time. This biography portrays Grant as a very human figure, not perfect but eminently able to succeed as a warrior under difficult conditions.

This book concentrates on Grant's earlier life, from his birth through the end of the American Civil War. His military career as well as his personal and family life are covered, showing the full scope of his experiences. This allows the reader to see all of what made Grant who he was and learn what helped drive him forward. In the end, he was far from perfect but certainly in the right place at the right time to take the Union armies to victory.



First Over There: The Attack on Cantigny, America's First Battle of World War I (Matthew J. Davenport, Thomas Dunne Books, New York, 2015, 336 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, \$28.99, hardcover)

The sun was just rising behind the German trenches on the morning of May 28, 1918. As it appeared, thousands of American infantrymen rose from their trenches and pressed forward. They wound their way through barbed wire and shell holes, braving horrendous machine-gun fire to attack the German lines. After grueling close-quarters fighting they seized the village of Cantigny, atop a hill just inside the territory the Germans had taken during their 1918 offensive. For the next two days they would endure harsh counterattacks, including punishing artillery fire and choking mustard gas.

This book covers the U.S. Army's first combat operation through the letters, diaries, and battle reports of the participants. This action

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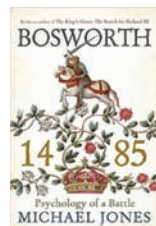
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brought American arms into the age of modern warfare; the battle included the use of modern artillery, the king of the battlefield, along with tanks and aircraft. Much of the planning was done by George C. Marshall, at the time a lieutenant colonel, who would go on to lasting fame in World War II. The future Army leader would learn his deadly trade through the fighting for Cantigny.

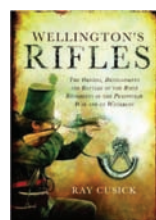
The author does an excellent job covering everything about the battle from the highest level operational planning down to the personal experiences of privates and corporals fighting in shallow foxholes and shedding their blood into the dark soil. This book brings the Battle of Cantigny to life on an engaging and lively way.



Bosworth 1485: The Battle that Transformed England
(Michael Jones, Pegasus Books, New York, 2015, 288 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, index, \$27.95, hardcover)

England's future was changed irrevocably on August 22, 1485. At the Battle of Bosworth Field, Richard III was slain. His death ended the Wars of the Roses and initiated the Tudor Dynasty, which included such pivotal figures as Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. At Bosworth Field, Henry Tudor relied largely on French mercenaries equipped with pikes. The battle ended with a fateful cavalry charge by Richard's supporters. This may have been where Richard met his end.

The Battle of Bosworth Field was less well-chronicled at the time it occurred, but the author pulls together what is available to provide an engaging account of an important event in British and world history. He shows how the battle took place in a different location than the accepted one. He also rejects the image of Richard as timid, maintaining the monarch was energetic and aggressive in his actions. In some ways the book is a reinterpretation of the battle, but the book's detailed research makes a good argument for the author's assertions.

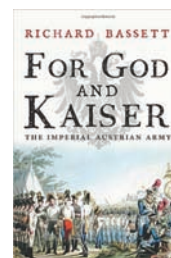


Wellington's Rifles: The British Light Infantry and Rifle Regiments, 1758-1815
(Ray Cusick, Carrel Books/Skyhorse Publishing, New York NY, 2015, photographs, notes, appendices, bibliography, index, \$34.95, hardcover)

Before and during the Napoleonic Era, most soldiers carried smoothbore muskets of limited accuracy. Occasionally, a unit would be armed with the slower firing but more accurate rifle.

Such formations were often considered elite, either as scouts or skirmishers but also as light infantry. The British Army raised a number of such regiments during the period, introducing them around the time of the French and Indian War. Over the next few decades riflemen proved themselves in combat time and again until they were considered a key part of the Royal Army. With the concept proven, rifle regiments played a key part in Wellington's Peninsular army in Portugal and Spain. Later they would again serve ably against Napoleon at Waterloo.

The story of Britain's light infantry troops receives well-deserved and overdue attention in this new work. How the units were organized and trained along with their innovative tactics are all covered in detail. There is also extensive coverage of how these units evolved over the decades as their performance earned acceptance by doubtful senior officers. Coverage of their significant battles completes the book, making it a thorough account.



For God and Kaiser: The Imperial Austrian Army
(Richard Bassett, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 2015, 592 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, \$45.00, hardcover)

For three centuries the army of the Imperial Hapsburg dynasty fought for Austria in its various guises. The nation itself went through several evolutions between 1600 and 1918 when Austro-Hungary finally dissolved in the aftermath of World War I. During that time the Austrian Army fought in many of the major conflicts of Europe, balanced as it was between the powerful nations of Western Europe and the often hostile states to the east, such as that of the Ottoman Turks. Often the region was a hotbed of religious warfare first as Islam sought to spread into the Continent and later as Christendom struggled to push them out. At the same time, it was really a multinational force that included Muslims in its ranks.

The Austrian Army is often portrayed as second-rate but the author makes a compelling case in defense of it. He effectively asserts the army fought effectively in numerous conflicts, often having to fight in several directions at once and wielding soldiers from various states. Its ability to shape these troops into a cohesive fighting force for so long was a major achievement seldom equaled in history. This book weaves several centuries of rich detail into a readable, easily to follow history on a subject rarely covered in English language publications. □

Philippine Sea

Continued from page 47

damaged and 123 aircraft destroyed. The task force lost 29 airmen and another 31 men on the ships.

The Japanese losses were irreplaceable. They had spent the better part of a year building up their carrier strike force, and the United States had destroyed 90 percent of it in the fighting. The Japanese only had enough pilots left to form the air group for one of their light carriers, and during the Battle of Leyte Gulf in October 1944 they used their carriers only as decoys.

The battle also added to the growing reputation of the American F6F Hellcat. With its powerful engine, greater speed, and firepower it had proved itself deadly, greatly outclassing the A6M Zero.

Spruance's conservative battle plan, while not destroying all of the Japanese aircraft carriers, had resulted in an overwhelming American victory. It had severely weakened Japanese naval aviation forces by killing most of the remaining trained enemy pilots and destroying their last reserves of naval aircraft. Despite the lopsided American victory, though, many officers, particularly aviators, criticized Spruance for his decision to fight the battle cautiously rather than exploit his superior forces and intelligence more aggressively.

Spruance's critics argued that he had squandered an opportunity to destroy the entire Japanese fleet. Admiral John Towers, a naval aviation pioneer and deputy commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet, demanded that Spruance be relieved. The request was denied by Nimitz. Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner, commander of the amphibious force during the Pacific campaign, and the Navy's most senior commander, Admiral Ernest King, chief of naval operations, joined Nimitz in supporting Spruance. Despite what some called the chance of the century, Spruance had done what Nimitz had ordered him to do: he had remained and protected the invasion of Saipan.

A month after the Battle of the Philippine Sea, King and Nimitz visited Spruance at Saipan. During that meeting, King made a point of telling Spruance of his support. "You did a damn fine job there," he said. "No matter what other people tell you, your decision was correct."

The Battle of the Philippine Sea was the last great contest between carrier strike forces ever fought. It was a victory that, among other things, brought the American B-29 within striking distance of the Japanese home islands, and in so doing shortened the war. □

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Wars and Battles brings polished strategy action to mobile devices, and *World of Warships* enters the open Beta seas.



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WARS AND BATTLES

It's kind of amazing how far war strategy games have come on mobile devices over the years. It seems like just yesterday I was settling for some rather rudimentary turn-based entertainment, but now we have more solid and impressive options like Kermorio's *Wars and Battles*. While the focus was on Battle of Normandy 1944 when *Wars and*

Battles first launched, updates are keeping it true to its name, and the latest release tackles The October War 1973.

The first thing that stood out to me in *Wars and Battles* was the overall presentation. Everything from the menus to the in-battle assets looks particularly nice, and it's clear a great deal of care and enthusiasm for the subject matter went into its development. Despite the occasional hiccup here and there,

ing the likelihood of success predicted prior to attack. If you have even a 2:1 chance of defeating the enemy, it might be best to rethink your strategy, because you're going to lose that showdown half the time. Anything higher than that swings things in your favor considerably.

It's a fun system that works well in gauging your odds of victory, but it's occasionally limiting and can make you second guess outcomes that otherwise look like surefire wins. That's part of the gam-



ing things that much more immersive and helping to break up any monotony that might set in with one of the longer missions.

A few issues do hamper the experience, but there's nothing terribly deal-breaking in there. Load times can be a bit on the long side, and I experienced a small but noticeable handful of crashes that kicked me out of the app. On the bright side, *Wars and Battles* frequently auto-saves your progress in the overall game and in individual battles, so there's very rarely any risk of actually losing the hard work you've put into a mission. That's especially handy once the missions get longer—three-star indicators on the menu let you know the difficulty level and the duration of each—because having to redo one of the more extensive battles could be grueling.

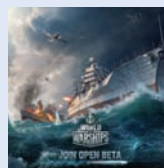
Wars and Battles is currently available on iOS and Android devices, with PC and Mac versions coming soon. Next up after The October War 1973 are battles based on Kharkov 1943 and The Korean War 1950-51.

UPCOMING BATTLES WORLD OF WARSHIPS

Similar to the way wargaming.net has handled previous releases, *World of Warships* is an ever-expanding project that continues to add new features as it barrels toward its full release. This summer it made a huge leap toward said goal with the launch of an Open Beta. The Closed Beta that preceded it drew in more than 410,000 players, paving the way for a solid level of participation in the next Beta phase.

The Open Beta for *World of Warships* includes more than 80 warships from America and Japan, as well as 10 original maps that can accommodate 12-versus-12 matches. Both player-versus-player and player-versus-enemy combat is supported, with the warship options divided into categories like battleships, destroyers, aircraft carriers, cruisers, and so on. This all covers what players of the Closed Beta have come to expect from *World of Warships*, but the Open Beta also brought along a handful of fresh additions to battle.

Soviet and UK nations entered the mix, bringing their finest British and USSR vessels with them, and a signal flag customization system was introduced. Players can earn signal flags in battle as achievements, but they aren't just cosmetic additions that show off accomplishments to friend and foe alike. The signal flags can also be applied to vessels to enhance performance, providing buffs and advantages. Some of the bonuses signal flags can grant are more credits per battle, more experience points in combat, improved speed, and beyond. □



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the battles that are peppered throughout each historical period are similarly engaging. With relatively little hand-holding, *Wars and Battles* drops players and their units on a hex-based grid and tasks them with simply emerging victorious.

Victory can be gained in many ways. There are territories that can be taken on most maps, making it more of a game of movement than holding your current position and slowly taking out the enemy forces. There's also the option of simply scoring more points than the opponent by destroying units and keeping your side stronger than theirs. This is how most battles will play out, especially in the beginning. It's not necessarily the fastest way to go about combat, but it's rewarding nonetheless. The unit-on-unit combat is based on dice rolls tied to factors such as how many life points your respective units have, and one of the tips the game most heavily emphasizes involves heed-

ble inherent in *Wars and Battles*, so while the dice roll is usually spot on, those with the tendency to take their chances might find some real thrills in going against the odds and trying their luck. Outside of that, battles are continuously spiced up with new features throughout the campaign. One mission might toss in naval units that can attack enemy units from afar, for instance. *Wars and Battles* isn't satisfied with giving players the same missions over and over, and that's what makes it a well above average mobile strategy game.

Visuals on the grid stand out a great deal. The map looks pretty good in the default setting, but there are a bunch of different options depending on how you prefer to oversee things, including one that turns it into a straight-up overhead 2D view. It's also really easy and satisfying to pinch, turn, and zoom in and out of the map with the touch screen, mak-

Intelligence

Continued from page 23

April morning in 1944 it was a mind-numbingly simple and also lethal recipe for disaster.

Unaware that both the live-fire battle simulation and H-hour had been delayed, several LSTs, still adhering to the exercise's initial timetable, made landfall and disembarked their men at Slapton Sands just as the now rescheduled naval bombardment began raining shells down on the beach. Soldiers that had never really expected to be placed in harm's way in what was supposed to be a simulation, albeit an ultra-realistic one, suddenly found themselves in danger of being blasted to pieces.

According to plan, the machine guns firing just above their heads had also been directed to fire a few bursts into the ground a few yards ahead of the landing zone on U-Beach for the added benefit of the infantrymen as they came ashore—a realistic touch that was to have chilling consequences. As the machine gunners' bullets began tearing up the gravel directly in front of them, the now understandably bewildered soldiers reacted like a clutch of startled bumblebees. Worse still, the soldiers hitting the beach had been ordered to return fire at their imaginary enemy as they went forward as part of the simulation. Many did so, apparently under the impression that they had all been issued blank cartridges. However, the GIs on the beach that day had inadvertently loaded up their rifles with real ammunition instead of blanks. Bunched up as they were, some of the boys became the unwitting casualties of friendly fire.

Meanwhile, according to plan, the *Hawkins* continued its bombardment, pouring ordnance into a designated section of the beach that the beach wardens had obligingly marked off for the naval gunners with a cordon of white tape. In the ensuing chaos and confusion, scores of soldiers desperately attempting to get out of the line of fire strayed across the white demarcation line and ended up directly in the kill zone. As the officers on the bridge of the *Hawkins* looked on in stunned horror and disbelief, these unfortunate souls were practically vaporized, blown to bits by the Royal Navy's big guns.

During the early morning hours of the April 28, a second larger convoy of LSTs bristling with young Americans of the 4th Infantry and 1st Amphibious Divisions, combat engineers, tanks, trucks, and all manner of vehicles and equipment of the U.S. 1st Engineer Special Brigade took a second crack at a beach landing. This also ended in complete catastrophe. One of the two escort ships assigned to protect the LST flotilla, the World War I-era destroyer HMS *Scimitar*,

had incurred some structural damage during an earlier collision with another vessel and had to break off and head back to Plymouth for repairs, leaving only a single corvette, the HMS *Azalea*, to escort and protect the LSTs. Incredibly, once again, British Royal Navy headquarters and the Royal Navy ships participating in the exercise continued to transmit to each other on a different radio frequency than the Americans on the LSTs. As a result, communication between the two broke down once again.

Rather than zigzag, the *Azalea* opted to lead the eight LSTs in a straight line, making these slow moving transports easy prey for any of the super swift E-boats routinely prowling the English Channel. Other Allied ships and the coastal shore batteries at nearby Salcombe Harbor had, in fact, spotted the telltale silhouettes of several E-boats in the vicinity some hours before, skimming low across the waters like hungry sharks in the dark of night. The *Azalea* was duly informed. The LSTs were not.

A German night patrol consisting of nine E-boats was just preparing to return to Cherbourg when the early morning light presented them with a tempting target: a daisy chain of eight heavily laden, ridiculously vulnerable craft, each one neatly spaced out at a distance of about 500 yards from the one in front of it, plodding through the waves toward the English shore like so many slow-moving sea beasts. Moments later, all nine E-boats moved in for the kill.

Lined up as they were, the LSTs were sitting ducks for the E-boats' hit-and-run tactics. *LST-531* was torpedoed and sent straight to the bottom, another, *LST-507*, was set completely ablaze, sending soldiers weighed down by their gear scrambling over her sides into the frigid waters of the English Channel. Two other LSTs, though badly damaged in the attack, somehow managed to limp back to port. *LST-289* was still smoldering. The other, *LST-511*, had been shot up by her own escort as it returned fire at the enemy. The E-boats, apparently satisfied with the evening's carnage, called it a night and returned safely to base.

More than 441 American soldiers and 197 sailors died of wounds. Upward of 111 souls were either taken by the sea, succumbed to the effects of hypothermia afterward, or were casualties of friendly fire at Slapton Sands, according to the U.S. government. But documentation recently released under the Freedom of Information Act suggests that the authorities deliberately sought to minimize the casualty reports. This development might push the death toll as high as 946, meaning that more Americans actually died during Exercise Tiger than in taking the real Utah Beach on D-Day itself. □

Jerusalem

Continued from page 39

of Jerusalem. Believing that it was wrong to wear a crown in the same city where Jesus had worn a crown of thorns, Godfrey instead accepted the title Defender of the Holy Sepulcher. Godfrey and the other princes decided to march 50 miles to Ascalon to meet the Fatimid relief army on open ground rather than at Jerusalem.

Tancred, who had been sent on July 25 with Eustace of Boulogne to assert Frankish control over Nablus to the north, skirmished with Fatimid cavalry on August 7. Upon learning of this clash, Godfrey and Robert of Flanders set out immediately to support him. They were joined at Ramla on August 10 by Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Robert of Normandy. The approximately 10,000-strong crusader army marched to Ascalon in square formation so that it could face an attack from any direction, or more than one direction, if circumstances called for it. On August 12, the crusades attacked the Fatimid camp north of the walled city.

The Fatimid army numbered about 20,000, but not all of it was bivouacked outside the north wall of the city. The Fatimid foot soldiers outside the city formed up for battle. The Fatimid attack began in earnest when Ethiopians armed with flails attacked the center of the Frankish line. The flails were highly effective and were able to inflict casualties on the Frankish footsoldiers. The Ethiopians were supported by missile troops, including archers, spearmen, and slingers. Godfrey, on the left of the Christian line, had wisely refused his flank. As a result, he was able to block an attempt by the Arab cavalry to get behind the Franks.

The momentum switched to the Franks when the crusader knights charged the Fatimid infantry. The Franks overran the Fatimid camp, and some began plundering it. The Fatimid officers attempted to rally their men, but the effort was in vain. The Fatimid troops attempted to withdraw inside the walled city, but the garrison closed the gates for fear the Franks would get inside. Raymond and Godfrey bickered over who should be in charge of negotiations for the city's surrender, which derailed the negotiations. As a result, the Franks returned to Jerusalem.

In the weeks that followed, many of the warrior-pilgrims departed by boat for their homes. Godfrey was left with only 300 knights and 2,000 footsoldiers to hold off Fatimids, Arabs, and Turks. Because of the vast odds he faced, it was a miracle that the Kingdom of Jerusalem was able to survive in its infancy. □

Four Days' Battle

Continued from page 53

Myngs was on the quarterdeck of his 82-gun flagship *Victory*. Myngs was soon embroiled in a vicious fight with the new 66-gun *Ridderschap*. Both vessels unleashed a storm of roundshot, case shot, and chain on each other, and the results were devastating.

Marines also scoured the decks with musket balls, one round piercing Myngs through the cheeks. The admiral refused to leave his station on the quarterdeck, though he was bleeding profusely and his jaw and lower face were torn and mangled. He stoically held the shattered remains of his face together with his hands, but when a second musket ball hit his shoulder he was forced to go below. Later, brought back to London, he died from his wounds.

The rest of the fighting was somewhat confused. At one point de Ruyter sailed past Prince Rupert to try and attack Albemarle from behind. Rupert tried to parry this move but was rewarded by a series of shots that dismasted his flagship *Royal James*. The prince's Green Squadron left the fight and went south, its main duty to protect his crippled flagship.

The battle slowly wound down, and it was clear to all that the Dutch had won a victory. The English were at the end of their tether; many ships were perilously low on powder after so many days of fighting. As an added bonus, the Dutch captured four English stragglers: *Convertine*, *Essex*, *Clove Tree*, and *Black Bull*.

The battered English fleet withdrew, this time for good. It retired into a fog bank, and de Ruyter, fearing shoal waters, decided not to pursue. Altogether the English lost 10 ships, the Dutch only four. The fog bank was unseasonal, and de Ruyter interpreted this as God's work. The Almighty wanted to humble the English and not utterly destroy them.

The Dutch defeat of the Royal Navy left England and British shipping vulnerable to attack for the near term. But Monck returned to sea the following month determined to break the Dutch blockade. In the Saint James' Day Battle fought July 25 he inflicted a stinging defeat on de Ruyter.

But the Dutch were not yet finished. In June 1667, the Dutch sailed uncontested into the Thames estuary. In the Raid on the Medway, the Dutch torched lightly crewed English ships unprepared for such an attack. The vulnerability of the Royal Navy coupled with acute economic troubles compelled the English to enter into peace talks. But another war between the two rivals would erupt during the next decade. □

Brutal Boxer Rebellion

Continued from page 63

army for a final attack. They did not bring forward anything like a substantial portion of the modern European artillery pieces stored in their arsenals. Nigel Oliphant saw a batch of captured guns after the end of the siege. One, a 10-foot-long bronze 30-pounder, bore "a Dutch inscription which shows that it was cast in Rotterdam in 1606."

News of the departure of a large Allied relief expedition reached Peking, sparking the renewal of hostilities on August 4. After three major battles and much skirmishing, the allies reached Peking from the east on August 13.

Gaselee drew up plans for a united attack, but they fell apart quickly. The Russians moved first, anxious to secure new business concessions and territory. Not only did the Russians move prematurely, they also marched in front of the Americans and attacked the Tung Pien Men, a city gate that had been assigned to the Americans. Not to be outdone by their Russian rivals, the Japanese forces moved in, followed by the other national contingents. The final assault of Peking began.

With the Russians bogged down at the Tung Pien Men, Chaffee turned his attention to a section of the city wall nearby. Two companies of the 14th Infantry reached the foot of the wall. "Heavy rifle fire" rained down from "a pagoda over the gate," according to Lieutenant Joseph F. Gohn. Officers asked for a volunteer to scale the wall. There were no ropes or ladders available for the attempt, but musician Calvin P. Titus of the 14th Infantry answered, "I'll try, sir." Titus climbed up the stone façade at about 10:45 AM, getting footholds in cracks and holes in the masonry. More men followed, and they lowered a rope made of rifle slings to pull up their weapons and ammunition. At 11:03 AM the regimental flag became the first allied flag to fly atop the wall.

From the Legation Quarter just before 3 PM, a force of what seemed to be German cavalry was sighted nearing the Tartar Wall. When these soldiers grew closer, it turned out that the "Germans" were actually Gaselee and his staff officers accompanied by 60 men from the 7th Rajputs. They entered through the sluice gate of the nearly dry Imperial Canal with the Indian troops tearing at the bars of the gate from the outside as U.S. Marines worked from inside. After 55 days, the siege of the Legation Quarter was over.

Boxer resistance continued in the city, and the little garrison at the Pei Tang Cathedral had to hang on for two more days before it was

relieved by Japanese troops.

The Dowager Empress escaped with the court on August 15, before allied forces broke through the gates of the Forbidden City. Mopping-up operations and reprisals continued for weeks in the city and then the region. More allied troops arrived, including an Australian contingent and several thousand Indian troops led by the maharajas of Jodhpur, Gwalior, and Bikanir.

Doctor Gustav Velde, surgeon of the German Legation and director of the hospital during the siege, reported that 76 foreigners were killed and 169 were wounded in the siege at Peking. In addition, two Russians died of disease. Twelve of the dead and 23 of the wounded were civilian volunteers. Military casualties included over half the garrison.

Chinese losses were never firmly tallied. Many Chinese deaths were caused by inaccurate artillery and rifle fire in a densely packed urban setting. Stray bullets and shells often overshot the Legation and crashed down into Chinese military positions or civilian homes, shops, and streets some distance away from the fighting.

On September 7, 1900, Chinese officials signed the Boxer Protocol, in which China accepted blame for the Boxer Rebellion and agreed to pay massive damages. Not satisfied with the harsh monetary reparations, Russian forces moved into Manchuria, bringing them on a collision course with the Japanese, who also eyed the region.

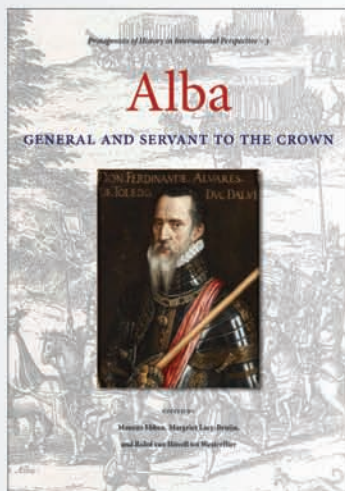
In January 1902, the Dowager Empress returned to the Forbidden City. Adjusting to the inevitable, she agreed to some modern reforms. She died in 1908, one day after the young Emperor Guangxu. The ancient empire survived the Dowager Empress by only four years. On February 12, 1912, the Qing Dynasty ended when Emperor Puyi abdicated. China became a republic headed by its first president, Sun Yat-sen.

The ad hoc Eight Nation Alliance had less time left than the crumbling Chinese Empire. Two of its members were soon at each other's throats in the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War. War broke out in Europe in 1914, eventually pulling in every one of the eight nations. Even Japan entered the war, taking German possessions in the Pacific. The German, Austro-Hungarian, and Russian empires, each of which sent troops into the Dowager Empress's Forbidden City, collapsed in 1918. The imperial thrones of Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, which looked so invincible in 1900, lasted scarcely half a dozen years longer than the doomed court of the Forbidden City. □



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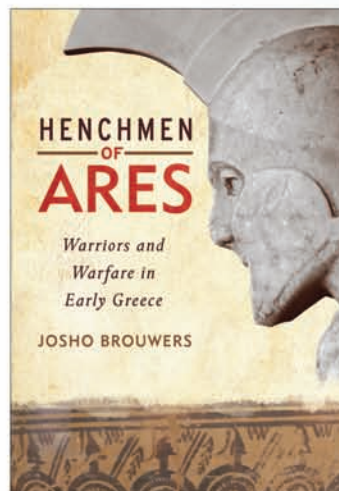
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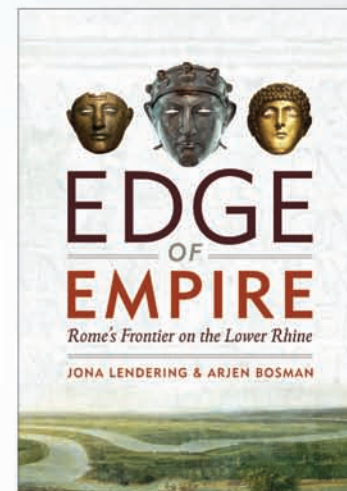
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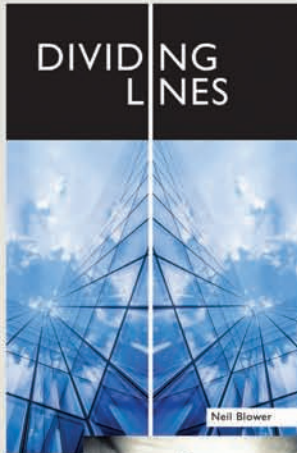
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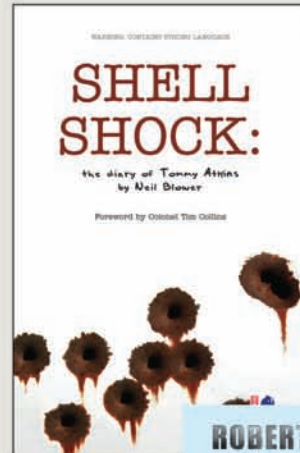
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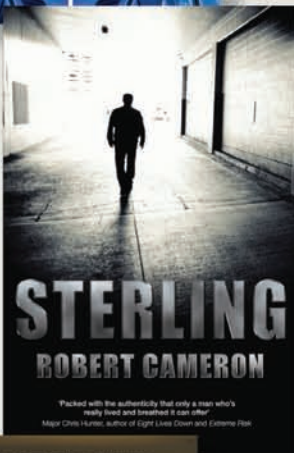
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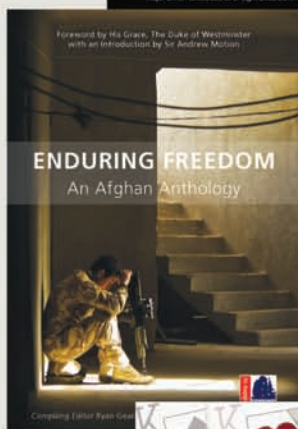
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