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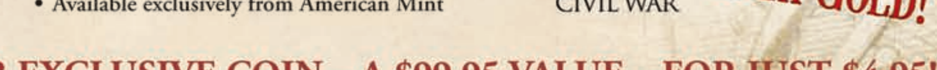

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editorial

Unsung Confederate Hero at Ball's Bluff

THE GRAY-CLAD VIRGINIA INFANTRY MARCHED quickly through the woods. In the distance they could hear the familiar rattle of musketry signaling an encounter with the enemy. Few had time that autumn day to appreciate nature's colorful display of red and yellow leaves in the upland forest.

Although not immune to the unsettling feeling that gnawed at the stomach of even veteran troops before a battle, the Virginians had already weathered their baptism of fire at First Manassas exactly three months earlier. That experience would serve them well in the unfolding clash at Ball's Bluff on October 21, 1861.

By the time 39-year-old Colonel Eppa Hunton arrived with his 8th Virginia Infantry at Margaret Jackson's farm less than a half mile from the Potomac River, other infantry and cavalry were engaged in a heavy skirmish. As the senior officer present, Hunton took command of the Confederate forces on the field.

A native of Fauquier County, Hunton had served for the past 12 years as commonwealth's attorney for Prince William County. He lacked any formal military training or significant military experience, although he had served in the Virginia militia. An ardent secessionist, he had raised the regiment at the beginning of the war. For that effort, he was given a commission as the regiment's colonel on May 8, 1861.

Hunton struggled with severe ailments throughout the conflict. He was on sick leave at home when it became apparent in mid-October that a fight was brewing for Colonel Nathan "Shanks" Evans' brigade, to which the 8th Virginia belonged, which had been assigned to defend Leesburg. "I put my bed in my wagon … and lying down made my trip to Leesburg," wrote Hunton.

After the 8th Virginia became engaged at 12:30 PM against a Union force of unknown size, Hunton sent repeated requests for reinforcements to Evans. But Evans was monitoring other developing Union threats, and it would be two hours before substantial reinforcements arrived in the form of the 17th and 18th Mississippi Infantry Regiments. To one of the first requests, Evans said, "Tell Hunton to fight on." To one of the later requests, Evans said tersely, "Tell Hunton to hold his ground till every damn man falls."

When the Union regiment against which he was engaged pulled back at 2 PM, Hunton followed closely on its heels, keeping up pressure on the Federal force. He used the terrain and cover of the woods to his advantage. "I was assailed repeatedly during the day and had to fight hard to maintain this position," Hunton wrote. When his men ran out of ammunition, he ordered bayonet attacks.

The battle heated up with the arrival of the two Mississippi regiments. An attack by the 1st California Regiment disrupted Hunton's 8th Virginia late in the battle. But Hunton rallied his command and led it back into battle. The Virginians played a key role in routing the Yankees, who lost a large number of men attempting to cross the river to safety.

Afterward, Hunton would lead Brig. Gen. George Pickett's brigade through the remainder of the Seven Days Battle after Pickett was wounded at Gaines' Mill. He also would lead Pickett's Brigade at Second Manassas. While leading the 8th Virginia in Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg, Hunton was wounded in the right leg.

During his convalescence, Hunton was promoted to brigadier general. Hunton's brigade fought at Cold Harbor and at Petersburg. On the retreat west from the Richmond-Petersburg sector, Hunton and most of his brigade were captured in the Confederate defeat at Sayler's Creek on April 6, 1865. After several months in a Union prison, he was allowed to swear an oath of allegiance to the Union and return home. He breathed his last breath in Richmond on October 11, 1908, and is buried in Hollywood Cemetery.

William E. Welsh

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By Kaveh Farrokh

Emperor Julian sought to emulate Alexander the Great's conquest of Persia, but Shapur II's formidable Savaran cavalry proved his undoing.

"[W]HEN EMPEROR JULIAN HAD RECEIVED THE WOUND [IN PERSIA], HE filled his hand with blood, flung it into the air and cried, Thou hast won, O Galilean," wrote Theodoret of Cyrus. Emperor Julian, who reigned from 361 to 363 CE, had received that fatal wound during his last duel with the Savaran armored knights of Persia, but not before defeating the armored gladiator-type Persian infantry at the very gates of Ctesiphon, capital of the Sassanian Persian Empire. Had Julian conquered Persia, he may well have become history's second Alexander, leading Roman armies far to the east toward India and Central Asia. Julian already had proven his martial mettle in the crucible of battle against Europe's Germanic warriors.

Julian had abjured Christianity in favor of returning the empire to pagan cults, such as Helios, Dionysis, Apollo, and Mithras, the Persian god of war. His rise to emperorship had been paved with blood. Constantius II, who was one of the late Emperor Constantine's sons and a cousin of Julian whose reign from 317 to 361 proceeded Julian's reign, slaughtered many members of Julian's family. Following this massacre, Constantius II and his brothers Constantine II and Constans I became co-emperors. Through the arrangement, each ruled a portion of the vast Roman Empire. Constantine II exiled Julian and his stepbrother Gallus into a strictly confined Christian education in Bithynia, Nicomedia, and then Cappadocia where Julian was also exposed to classical learning. Julian was then summoned in 355 to Constantius II's royal grounds in Milan (ancient Mediolanum) before departing for Athens.

Rome's imperial order experienced violent changes. In 340 CE, Constantine II lost his life battling Constans, who in turn died in combat 10 years later against a certain Magnentius, a pretender to the throne. As the empire's last surviving emperor

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An engraving depicts the death of Roman emperor Julian the Apostate at the hands of Persians. RIGHT: A reenactor outfitted as a legionnaire of the Late Roman Army.

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ABOVE: A 19th-century depiction of Julian being proclaimed emperor by his troops in February 360 at the magnificent thermal baths in Paris. OPPOSITE: A period coin bears a bust of Emperor Julian.

desperate for survival, Constantius II appointed Gallus as caesar of Rome's eastern realms. This freed Constantius' hand to finally crush Magnentius by 351.

Gallus' rapacious rule over Rome's eastern realms resulted in his execution in 354. Julian was then summoned to court on accusations of treason but was cleared of all charges. Julian was appointed as caesar of Rome's western provinces in 355. To cement the appointment, Julian married Constantius II's sister, Helena, but despite this, Constantius II distrusted Julian. Fate and the charisma of Julian himself soon changed that.

JIn 356, Julian demonstrated his prowess as a military commander with the campaign in the Rhine region. He cleared the Franks out of Cologne (ancient Colonia Agrippina) and returned to Gaul. The Franks counterattacked, and Julian was besieged for a number of months, but General Marcellus rescued the situation and repelled the Franks. Julian was then appointed as Magister Equitum, but the Germanic threat was far from over.

Constantius II ordered a massive strike in 357. Julian was sent with 13,000 troops from Gaul eastward into Germanic territory with a second force of 25,000 troops led by Barbatio marching northward from Milan. Julian's drive eastward was soon delayed by the attacks of the Laetian tribes. Stranded deep inside Germanic lands with Julian nowhere in sight, Barbatio was obliged to withdraw back into Roman territory. With Barbatio out of the campaign, the Germanic king Chnodomarius concentrated all of his might against the now vastly outnumbered Julian.

The great battle occurred in the region of Strasbourg. Chnodomarius scored an initial success by routing the armored Roman cavalry, but the Germanic warriors failed to capitalize on this success to outflank the beleaguered Roman forces. The turning point came when a powerful charge by the Germanic warriors failed to break the Roman center. The Romans responded with a devastating counterattack, trapping the Germanic warriors in a deadly crescent formation. Pressed on their flanks and having suffered heavy casualties, Chnodomarius' troops panicked. They attempted to flee, but to no avail. Julian's legions hunted down many of them with sword, arrow, and lance. It is believed that 6,000 to 8,000 Germanic warriors were killed. Untold numbers were also drowned by the weight of their amor in the Rhine River as they attempted to swim to safety. The Germanic humiliation was complete. Chnodomarius was captured and sent as a trophy to Constantius II.

By 360 Julian had become clearly ascendant in northwest Europe. He had proven his mettle as a Roman general, a remarkable fact given his nonmilitary, scholarly background. The victory at Strasbourg not only ensured Roman ascendancy in Gaul, but also facilitated the empire's ability to cross the Rhine River to inflict more defeats on the Germanic tribes.

Just as Rome had achieved military dominance in northwest Europe, terrible news arrived from the east. The mighty armies of Shapur II, the Shahanshah (King of Kings) of Sassanian Persia, had attacked Rome's eastern marches, capturing in 360 Amida, Busa, Rema, Singara, and Bezabde. Constantius II then attempted to recapture Bezabde the same year, but he was defeated by the stolid Sassanian defenders, forcing him to retreat to Antioch.

As Rome's military position crumbled along the Persian frontier, Constantius II asked for half of Julian's Gaullish forces to be transferred to the east. The emperor's order had actually bypassed Julian and gone directly to his commanders. Constantius was distressed to witness no western troops arriving to rescue Rome against the Persian threat. Instead, Julian was declared as augustus of the entire Roman Empire by his troops in 360 in what is now Paris (ancient Lutetia). Instead of marching against the Sassanian Persian empire, Julian continued to batter the remaining Franks and then to crush yet another Germanic king, Vadomarius, the following year.

Rome was now in danger of sinking into a deadly civil war. Julian sent three armies on campaigns: one force headed for northern Italy, another toward Raetia (roughly southern Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Liechtenstein), and the third toward the Adriatic coast. The latter force, led by Julian himself, travelled in boats, heralding the upcoming epic naval deployment into the Tigris against Persia. Pro-Julian forces now controlled Illyricum (roughly modern Croatia, northern Albania, and Bosnia) and Thrace. Pro-Constantius forces intervened in the Adriatic with Constantius' eastern Roman armies marching to Europe to confront Julian.

Rome escaped the seemingly inevitable disaster of a civil war. Constantine II died on November 3, 361, but made magnanimously clear in his final will and testament that Julian was his rightful successor. Affirmation of Julian as augustus rescued the Roman military machine from splitting into warring factions. This was critical as Persia's armies stood poised along Rome's eastern marches.

Julian formally entered Constantinople, a major center of Christendom, by mid-December 361. Julian, who had abjured Christ in favor of Greek polytheism, restored a number of pagan temples and passed laws unfavorable to Rome's Christian citizenry. Julian's stance earned him the antagonism of the church, which labeled him as "The Apostate." Christian or not, Julian was still confronted by the same menace faced by his imperial predecessors: the threat of the Spah (military) of Persia, which had overrun a number of key fortresses and territories. For centuries, Rome's eastern borders had been threatened by the armies of Persia, a challenge Julian was determined to settle for good in Rome's favor.

Shapur II sent his ambassadors to plead peace with Julian, but to no avail. Julian set out from Antioch on March 5, 363, arriving in Callinicum on March 27. The following day, Arab chieftains furnished him with scouts and auxiliary troops. Julian invaded Persia with a

combination of mobile army units and local frontier troops, an estimated 65,000 men. Splitting his army in two, Julian led the primary force of 35,000 troops southeast down the Euphrates River toward the enemy capital, Ctesiphon. Julian, who had been on the march from April to June, had ordered a powerful fleet of 1,000 ships to be built at Samostasa. General Procopius led 30,000 troops into northern Mesopotamia to link up with the armies of Armenian King Arshak. If this could be achieved, then Shapur II could be blocked from moving toward Julian's rear from the north. As events soon showed, the dispatch of Procopius to the north only served to weaken the Roman invasion.

Accompanied by the fleet supporting his invasion force along the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers, Julian entered the Mesopotamian heartland toward Ctesiphon. On April 12 some of Julian's grain ships were sunk due to a hurricane, but Sassanian raids also may have destroyed some of the ships. Despite his successful advance, there was a fatal flaw in Julian's strategy. Success rested on the assumption that Shapur II would engage Julian in set-piece battles. This would allow Julian to smash the bulk of the Spah at Ctesiphon and win the war. But when Julian and his fleet did arrive at

Ctesiphon's environs, Shapur II refused to commit to a do or die engagement. Nevertheless, Julian's forces did battle Sassanian forces in front of Ctesiphon's gates. The heavily armored, gladiator-type Persian infantry was defeated by the Roman forces, but this achieved little. The defeated forces simply retreated into the safety of the powerful walls of their capital.

Julian had the option of sailing his fleet to attack Ctesiphon from the Tigris River in coordination with Roman land forces, but a naval attack was fraught with risk. Julian's fleet would be subjected to ballistae, arrows, flammable materials, and stone-hurling engines from both Ctesiphon (east bank of the Tigris) and Veh Ardashir (west bank of the Tigris). Julian instead chose to attack the city on land. Roman attacks against Ctesiphon, however, proved futile and were brutally beaten back by the Persian defenders. Julian could have continued the siege, but Ctesiphon's powerful defenses could not be breached. Another danger was Ctesiphon's garrison. It could launch deadly hit-and-run raids against Julian and then retire into the safety of the city's walls.

Shapur II and the main core of the Spah were not even at Ctesiphon and remained dangerously at large. Julian decided to march farther east into the Persian heartland to finally crush Shapur II, a victory that would hopefully lead to Ctesiphon's submission. Having outlived their purpose, the Roman ships were destroyed by Julian to prevent them from falling into Persian hands.

The Spah was acutely aware that Julian's forces were exceptionally formidable in close-quarter, set-piece battles. As a result, the Spah adopted a strategy of mobile and fluid defense. The Spah's main weapon was the heavily armored, lance-bearing Savaran knights supported by archers. It was this Savaran cavalry elite that Julian had to destroy to win the war. But these Persian cavalrymen were far more formidable that the Germanic cavalry Julian

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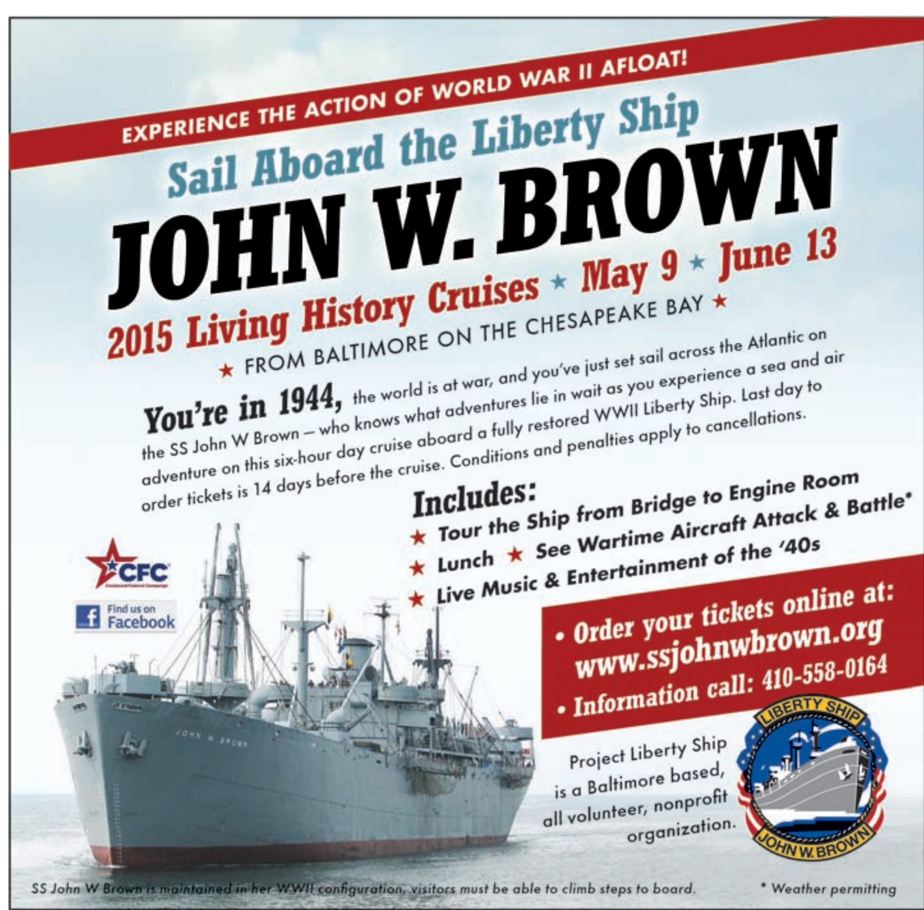

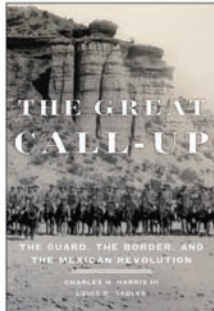

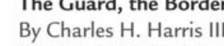

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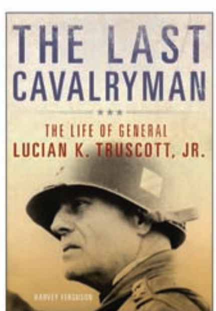

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had faced in Europe. These eastern knights hailed from the Persian aristocracy and were trained in the arts of war since childhood. Their armor and mail gave them great protection against blade weapons and arrows. Resembling bronze statues with their riveted metallic helmets and face masks, the Savaran were heavily armed with swords, maces, and deadly lances capable of piercing two men simultaneously when their bearers were riding at full gallop. The Savaran acted as shock troops with the mission of inflicting as much damage to Roman matériel and morale as possible. Unlike Julian's earlier Germanic opponents, the Persians also were highly skilled at horse archery. Julian had clearly anticipated this by recruiting excellent Turkic Khazar cavalry from the northern Caucasus to counter Persian horse archery.

Rome had excellent cavalry of its own, but to counterbalance the formidable Savaran Julian used the treachery of Prince Hormizd, brother of Shapur II, who had defected to Rome with his Savaran contingents. These led the left wing of the Roman cavalry during Julian's invasion. Nevertheless, Julian's attempt at deploying Hormizd to nullify Persia's elite armored knights had failed. Shapur II's Savaran had ambushed elements of Hormizd's forces in a surprise attack sometime in late April.

In addition to the threat of the Savaran, Julian's legions also were faced with a new terror: battle elephants topped with archers firing arrows into the Roman ranks. True, the Romans had certainly seen elephants during the Carthaginian wars, but Julian's new generation of legionaries had never seen these giant beasts in combat. Despite this, the legendary training and discipline of the Roman warrior largely negated the military potential of the Persian battle elephants. The elephants, however, proved useful as mobile archery platforms supporting the Savaran attacks.

Roman troops had devised an ingenious tactic against the deadly lance strikes of the Savaran. They would allow them to close into their lines, and then dive underneath their horses to stab their underbellies. This maneuver certainly required tremendous nerve, quickness, and discipline. When successful, this tactic would force the heavily armored knights to tumble onto the ground, resulting in their quick dispatch by Roman infantry. The tiny eye slits of the Savaran's iron face masks restricted their field of vision, facilitating the legionaries' dive-under-the-horse tactic. No amount of Roman bravery, however, could prevent the Savaran from launching their continual commando-style strikes against the Roman columns. The Romans certainly had the edge over Sassanian

infantry, but the Savaran could not be so easily overcome.

Julian finally had his set-piece battle with Shapur II on June 22, 363, at Maranga. The Savaran formed in the center with armored horse archers supporting them on their flanks and battle elephants standing to the rear. As at Strasbourg, the Romans again used a crescent-shaped formation. This shielded Julian from being enveloped by the Savaran. Sassanian archers were certainly deadly, but the Romans neutralized them by rushing toward their positions as quickly as possible. Julian's strategy of forcing the Sassanians to fight at close quarters paid off with a tactical victory. But Julian's victory proved to be a pyrrhic one. The bulk of the Spah remained intact and withdrew in good order. Unlike the Germanic warriors at Strasbourg, Sassanian warriors did not panic because they, like the Romans, were heir to a longstanding professional military tradition. Far more ominous was the fact that the battle at Maranga had failed to destroy the Savaran.

The tables were now turning against Julian. He was fighting on hostile ground, running dangerously short of supplies, and experiencing mounting casualties that could not be replaced. Julian was paying dearly for his error in sending Procopius to the north to link up with the Armenians. The invasion was now turning into a war of attrition Julian could not win. The lance-bearing Savaran had now increasingly seized the initiative by attacking Julian's army at times and places of their own choosing. Persian armored horse archers supported the Savaran's raids by shooting their arrows from a distance. Shapur's generals were wearing Julian down with Cossack-style raids, not unlike those that harassed Napoleon's Grande Armee in Russia in 1812.

A 4th-century plate depicts Shapur II in a hunting scene. Shapur sent ambassadors with pleas for peace, but Julian had already made up his mind to invade Sassanian Persia.

The turning point came just four days after Maranga on June 26, 363, when Julian reached Samarra. The Savaran again launched their lance strikes against Julian's columns, placing the Roman right wing in jeopardy. This crisis encouraged Julian to bravely enter the battle in person to rescue the situation, but he foolishly appeared without his armor. Just as he and his troops were locked in combat with the Savaran, a lance whisked toward Julian and fatally pierced him. It is still unclear as to who actually threw the spear at Julian. Was it a disgruntled Christian in Julian's camp or a Sassanian warrior? What is clear is that Julian succumbed to his wounds and died later that evening.

The invasion was an unmitigated disaster. Julian, the scholar-warrior, was dead with his battered army stranded deep inside Persia. Surviving Roman troops, now led by Jovian, were forced into the humiliation of requesting peace terms. In exchange for safe passage out of Persia, Jovian yielded to Shapur II's demands that Rome surrender strategic border territories and cities such as Nisibis to Persia. Julian's dream of becoming the new Alexander had died with him in the sands of Persia. □

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By Peter Kross

World War II double agent Juan Pujol Garcia helped the Allies mislead the Germans as to the actual D-Day landing site.

IN THE PREDAWN HOURS OF JUNE 6, 1944, THE LARGEST ARMADA EVER sent into war assaulted the coast of France at Normandy. A combined Allied force comprising more than 5,000 ships, 10,000 airplanes, and 200,000 men began the liberation of Europe, which culminated in the surrender of Germany almost one year later. Even as the Allied troops waded ashore against Fortress Europe, the high command of the German military still believed that the invasion was a feint and that the real invasion would come at the Pas de Calais, almost 150 miles northeast of Normandy near the Straits of Dover.

What the Germans did not know was that for months the Allied high command had fashioned an elaborate deception operation to fool them into believing the invasion would take place at the Pas de Calais, not Normandy. One of the most valuable double agents the Allies had in their deception operation against the Germans was a Spaniard named Juan Pujol Garcia to whom the British assigned the code name Garbo. It is not a stretch of the imagination to say that if not for the inventive efforts of Garbo, the Battle of Normandy, and perhaps the outcome of the war, would have been in doubt.

Juan Pujol Garcia was 30 years old when he began his career as a spy for the Allies. A chicken farmer who aspired to more lofty heights, he served a brief time in the Spanish Army in a cavalry regiment but found Army discipline not to his liking. When the Spanish Civil War started in 1936, he was called up for service but did not show up. Instead, he hid in the home of his girlfriend's parents, was arrested, and escaped. He then got a job managing a poultry farm near the French border but soon left.

Allied forces on the beach in Normandy in June 1944. Double agent Juan Pujol Garcia led the Germans to believe that the Normandy landings were a diversion and the main landing would be at the Pas de Calais. RIGHT: Garcia as a Spanish soldier in 1931.

Both: National Archives

Garcia then joined the forces under Nationalist Francisco Franco, where he worked as a signal corps operator. His stay with Franco's troops was short, as he deserted his post to cross into the Republican lines. He was put in jail, interrogated, and released after the war ended. He was sick of the Fascists and wanted to do his job as a patriot. The only way to do so was to offer his services to the British as a spy.

To do so, he enlisted the help of

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Who Should Pray on Jerusalem's Temple Mount?

Palestinians are killing Israelis in Jerusalem, saying al Aqsa mosque is threatened by Jews wanting to pray on the Temple Mount. Does this justify murder?

As the home of two Jewish temples dating back 3,000 years, the Temple Mount is the holiest site in Judaism, and Jews the world over still come to pray at its Western Wall. Situated atop the Temple Mount today are al Aqsa mosque and the Dome of the Rock, from which Muslims say Mohammed ascended to heaven. Claiming that al Aqsa is in danger because some Jews want to pray on the site, Palestinian terrorists have begun murdering Jewish civilians. Should only one group be allowed to pray there?

What are the facts?

According to the Bible and substantiated by archeological research and even Muslim historians, the First Jewish Temple was built by King Solomon on the Temple Mount in 957 BCE. After it was destroyed by the Babylonians, the Second Temple was built in 516 BCE, and this Temple, like its predecessor, was the focal point of Jewish life. The Second Temple, destroyed by the Romans in 70 CE, also figured prominently in Christianity, since it was here that Jesus studied Torah as a youth and later overturned the moneychangers' tables.

However, in order to impugn Jewish historical rights to a state in Israel, many Palestinian academics, politicians and educators today deny the existence of these Jewish Temples, just as they deny the Jews' well-documented, millennia-old history in the Holy Land. Palestinians also want to prevent Jews and other non-Muslims from visiting or praying on the Temple Mount. Indeed, Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas has warned Jews against "contaminating" al Aqsa.

After Israel's war of independence in 1948, Jordan seized the eastern part of Jerusalem, including the Old City and the Temple Mount. For the next 19 years, no Jew was allowed to visit the Western Wall or the Temple Mount. Since the 1967 war, when Israel liberated Jerusalem from Arab control, members of all religions have been able to visit the Wall and the Temple Mount.

Why do Palestinians deny Jewish rights to the Temple Mount? In 2000, against all evidence, then Palestinian President Yasser Arafat claimed that "Solomon's Temple was not in Jerusalem, but in Nablus." Since that statement, "Temple Denial" has become a central tenet of Palestinian political ideology. Recently Palestinian Authority advisor on Religious and Islamic Affairs Mahmoud Al-Habbash claimed that "all of al-Aqsa Mosque . . . including the Al-Buraq Wall (i.e. the Western Wall)" are inalienable and non-negotiable Islamic properties. These crude fabrications seem like nothing more than an effort to delegitimize the Jewish state and foment terrorist acts. To a Palestinian population indoctrinated with such falsehoods, they have been effective.

"Temple Denial" has become a central tenet of Palestinian political ideology.

Who should be allowed to pray on the Temple Mount? Though non-Muslims are still not allowed by Israeli law to pray or bring religious artifacts to the Temple Mount, some Jews have openly advocated that they be allowed to pray on ancient Temple sites around the Muslim sanctuaries. One such temple activist, Yehuda Glick, was shot and nearly killed by a Palestinian terrorist, precipitating additional terrorist acts, including car attacks that killed a three-month old baby and others, and the murder of four rabbis at prayer by axe-wielding killers. According to President Abbas and other Palestinian leaders, even the mere suggestion that non-Muslims be granted equal access to the Temple Mount is a "declaration of war" by Israel. Palestinian leaders now also call for a ban on Jewish visitors to the site. This denial of Jewish (and Christian) rights on the Temple Mount underlies recent cries by Abbas and the terrorist group Hamas to defend al-Aqsa using "any means" necessary.

Despite the fact that Israel's policies on the Temple Mount have not changed in decades and despite Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's repeated insistence that Israel is committed to the status quo—meaning *no* prayer—on the Temple Mount, Palestinian incitement and violence against Jews continue.

What is to be done? Imagine a law in any democratic country that forbids religious groups to practice their religion freely—wherever and whenever they choose. It shouldn't happen, because democratic states protect freedom of religion—which means equal rights for, and tolerance of, all religious groups. As a fiercely democratic country, Israel is entitled to enforce those same rights and values. Indeed, as long as Israel gives Muslims special privileges and denies other religions equal access, it is guilty of repression. Ironically, Israel is exerting this repression against its own majority *Jewish* population.

No group in Israel, including Muslim Palestinians, should be allowed to restrict the rights of other religious groups to visit and pray where they wish, provided these groups don't disrupt others. Jews should be allowed to advocate for these rights without fear of violent attacks by those who disagree with them. What's more, if Israel's democratically elected officials see fit to grant equal rights to all religious groups on the Temple Mount, this, too, should be allowed.

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National Archives

German soldiers operate the Enigma machine. British intelligence officials learned of Garbo's existence through decrypted German radio messages.

his wife, Aracelli. In January 1941, Aracelli approached the British embassy in Madrid, offering her husband's services. Her offer was refused. In his memoirs, Garcia wrote, "I decided to prepare the ground more carefully before I approached them again." His next move was to go to the German embassy in Madrid and offer his services as a spy in either Lisbon or England. He met with Gustav Leisner, chief of the Abwehr (the German military intelligence organization). Leisner told Garcia that he was not interested in having him work in Lisbon, but if he could make his way to England, then he might be interested in having Garcia work as a German agent.

After a few days of instruction in the techniques of spying, Garcia was told not to engage in any espionage work in England; instead, he was to recruit agents and was given an accommodation address in Spain where he should send his secret messages. On July 12, the Garcia family left for Lisbon and then for England, or so the Germans believed. For nine months Garbo lived in Lisbon and sent reports back to Germany. For a man who had never been to England before, Garbo did a fantastic job fooling the Abwehr into accepting his bogus information.

Garbo said that he had recruited five agents (all fictitious) for his network, dubbing them J-1 to J-5. He gave them false identities, such as a Portuguese man named Carvalo, a Swiss man named Gerbers, and an unnamed man from Venezuela. Another man "recruited" by Garbo was Fred, who came from Gibraltar. This came to be known in the spy business as creating notional agents, that is identities created to transmit fabricated information.

Since Garcia was not really in England, he had to devise a way to gather information that would be good enough to fool the Germans. He went to the Lisbon public library and studied the shipping schedules published in the newspapers. He also read a tourist map of England describing all the cities and towns, especially those on and near the British coast where any invasion of France would likely originate. Garbo said that he had recruited his agents while on various trips across England.

Garbo's false data was so good that he received the following cable from the Abwehr: "Your activity and that of your information gave us a perfect idea of what is taking place over there; these reports, as you can imagine, have an incalculable value, and for that reason I beg of you to proceed with the greatest care so as not to endanger in these momentous times, either yourself or your organization."

By February 1942, MI6 (the British Secret Intelligence Service) had heard of Garbo even though he was not then an agent of theirs. They learned of Garbo's work via Ultra, decrypts of German radio messages encoded on Enigma machines. The British were able via Ultra to read and decipher a huge amount of German intelligence as it emanated from Berlin and other listening posts. Ultra was the most valuable intelligence tool the Allies possessed in World War II, and it was vitally important in defeating the enemy.

In that same month, MI6 learned that the Germans were preparing to intercept a large British convoy leaving from Liverpool for Malta. The Germans sent considerable naval assets in search of the convoy. No matter how long they looked, they could not find the elusive ships. In fact, there was never a convoy sailing from Liverpool—it was all a fabrication made up by Garbo to fool the Germans.

To communicate with the Germans, Garbo wrote a great deal of correspondence in secret ink, sending more than 400 letters and later 2,000 wireless messages. For compensation, the Germans sent him 20,000 British pounds. In his letter, Garbo said that he had contacts inside the British Ministry of Information, as well as an agent in Canada. One of his agents, he said, was so high up in the chain of command that he spied on the activities of British Admiral of the Fleet Louis Mountbatten.

Garbo was nothing if not inventive. He cabled the Germans and told them that he was offered a job inside the Ministry of Information working for a man named Brenden Bracken, who was a friend of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. The job at the ministry would give him ample opportunity to spy for the Germans and provide them with huge amounts of information. But, he told them, he had qualms about accepting the job because he would be betraying Germany. He was told in no uncertain terms to take on the assignment. From his new job, he sent back more false information.

Garcia was becoming frustrated with the British. His overtures to them about becoming a bona fide agent were met with resistance. On a trip to Madrid, Garbo contacted the British embassy and met with a consular official named David Thompson. He showed Thompson the materials given to him by the Germans, but Thompson was not impressed and asked him to leave. Garcia's wife paid a visit to the American embassy in Lisbon and met with Assistant Naval Attaché Theodore Rousseau. She told him that she knew a person who was spying for the Germans and wanted to pass his information to him. She offered to sell the information for $20,000. She did, however, give Rousseau a copy of a microdot—information put on a letter no larger than a period—that Garcia was using. A meeting was set up between them and a member of MI6 in Lisbon.

The British now took interest in Garcia's activities. MI6's counterintelligence branch, called Section V, had been intercepting information between Madrid and Berlin, most of it false. They soon put all the pieces together and realized that the German agent, named Arabel, was sending out false information, and that man had to be Garcia.

After a bitter dispute between the various British intelligence services about what to do with Garcia, he was finally smuggled out of Lisbon via boat bound for Gibraltar. Once safely in Gibraltar, he was sent to England. He landed in Plymouth on April 24, 1942. At the docks, he was met by MI5 (British Security Service) officers Cyril Mills and Thomas Harris. He was debriefed by Harris and other members of British intelligence, and his story was cross-referenced against other intelligence that had come in. At that point, he was accepted as a double agent for the British.

Garcia was now put in the Double Cross System, the most secret program the British had during World War II, which was responsible for counterespionage activities. The British had been able to read German military secrets from a variety of electronic sources, one of them Ultra.

Using Double Cross, the British were able to learn the identities of each covert German agent who landed on their soil. The German agents were arrested upon arrival and given the option to cooperate or be shot. Most of them chose the first. The group that ran the Double Cross System was called the Twenty Committee.

The man put in charge of the Double Cross/Twenty Committee was John Masterman. Masterman, formerly an Oxford professor, had spent four years in a German prison camp during World War I. The majority of the Twenty Committee's work concentrated on deception operations leading up to the Normandy invasion. The deception phase of the plan was called Operation Fortitude, whose main purpose was to lull the Germans into thinking that the main attack would be at the Pas de Calais area, not Normandy. It was to this effort that Garcia would excel in fooling the Germans as to the real landing site of D-Day.

Under Thomas Harris's direction, Garbo told the Germans that he was working in a freelance position for the BBC and for the Ministry of Information. He further informed them that he now had another source inside Spain's Ministry of Information. He also invented another agent, whom he called Fred (agent 4), who was supposed to be a waiter from Gibraltar who worked in the Chislehurst Caves in London where an underground arms depot was located. He soon had 27 fake agents in his employ and told his Berlin contacts all that they were doing.

It took more than a week for Garcia's letters to arrive in Lisbon and then to a mail drop in Madrid. This was too slow for the Germans, however, and in March 1943 Berlin gave him a wireless set on which he would send his messages. They also provided him with their most current ciphers and codes. Armed with his new tools, Garcia began transmitting his messages in this fashion. What the Germans did not know was that his messages were being written by Charles Haines, who was a British ham radio operator. The British were now able to record all of the vital secrets the Germans gave to Garbo.

National Archives

An inflatable Sherman tank belonging to the nonexistent Army Group Patton in southeastern England. Garbo told the Germans of the existence of deep formations of Allied planes, tanks, and ships ready to sail to Pas de Calais.

In the early months of 1944, Allied planners were devoting all their time to the upcoming Allied invasion of France. It was at this critical juncture that Garbo would prove to be the best spy the British had. All of his previous work in deceiving the Germans would now come to fruition.

In January 1944, Garbo received a letter from his controllers in Germany telling him that the Abwehr had received word of a major Allied offensive against Europe. They told him to watch for unusual ship, air, or ground movements and to report such information to them immediately.

What they were referring to was D-Day. Garbo's most important disinformation operation began. Allied intelligence, on the eve of D-Day, came up with the so-called Reid Plan in which Garbo would report about the first phase of the invasion of Europe. His message was that airborne landings had already started, four hours before the seaborne landings took place. Thus, while the Germans could do nothing to frustrate the invasion, they would have no doubt about Garbo's reliability in providing concrete information. He was further to report on points in England where the troops were embarking on their ships, as well as their ultimate destination.

On June 5, one day before the actual invasion, Garbo radioed Madrid asking that his secure channel be kept open for an important announcement. But German radio operators on the other end did not reply because the Madrid radio operators were off the air from 11:30 PM until 7 AM the following day. By the time the Madrid radio operators came back on line, the invasion was already under way and the Germans did not move their tanks, which were inland from the Normandy coast, up to the beachhead to blunt the Allied landings.

On June 6, 1944, Garbo began sending a message that lasted 129 minutes. He reported that he had located the whereabouts of an Allied force called Army Group Patton in southeastern England. He further said that the Allied push on the Normandy beaches was a diversion and that the real invasion would take place at the Pas de Calais. In reality, Army Group Patton did not exist. The Germans took the bait, believing that the Normandy attack was just a diversion.

In response to Garbo's warning, Hitler ordered the Fifteenth Army, composed of tank and infantry units, to be diverted from Normandy.

Before the Normandy landings, Garbo told the Germans of the existence of deep formations of planes, tanks, ships, and trucks along the ports of the English Channel. In reality, these were nothing more than fakes, constructed of plywood by Allied engineers. This army in waiting was photographed by German reconnaissance aircraft.

Garbo also radioed his controllers in Germany saying that three of his fictitious agents, Donny, Dick, and Dorick, had vital news for him. Garbo sent a message saying that the landings at Normandy were a "diversionary maneuver designed to draw off enemy reserves in order to make an attack at another place. In view of the continued air attacks on the concentration area mentioned, which is a strategically favorable position for this, it may very probably take place in the Pas de Calais, particularly since in such an attack the proximity of air bases will facilitate the operation by providing continued strong air support."

By August 1944, German radio warned that Garbo's cover was about to be blown. Fearing he would be compromised, Garbo went underground. All in all, the Germans paid Garbo and his phantom network almost $340,000. They even awarded him the Iron Cross. Ironically, Garbo was the best agent they ever had.

Garbo and the Double Cross System had completely fooled the Germans into believing the Allied attack on France would take place at the Pas de Calais instead of Normandy. It is not too much to say that if it were not for the herculean efforts of Garbo and the fictitious agents he created the success of D-Day would not have been possible. □

By William F. Floyd Jr.

German U-boats threatened the Allies in World War II, but tactical changes and intelligence breakthroughs eventually negated the undersea peril.

ON THE EVENING OF OCTOBER 13, 1939, THE GERMAN SUBMARINE *U-47* surfaced off the Orkney Islands in the North Sea. Lt. Cmdr. Gunther Prien, a promising U-boat commander, pulled himself up on the bridge. He soon discovered that, although weather conditions were near perfect, the Aurora Borealis had made its appearance, illuminating half of the horizon and threatening to make the boat's presence known. This was the first command for the 31-year-old Prien, who had been chosen by Rear Admiral Karl Dönitz, head of the German submarine force. Prien was to carry out the first special U-boat operation of the war, an attack on the British fleet at its home base of Scapa Flow.

On October 8, *U-47* had left her mooring in northern Germany bound for the North Sea. After Prien revealed the mission to the crew, the *U-47* slipped into Holm Sound, one of the entrances to Scapa Flow. By 12:30 AM, October 14, the boat was inside Scapa Flow. At first Prien was able to make out the shapes of several destroyers, but then he spotted the battleship HMS *Royal Oak* and the seaplane carrier HMS *Pegasus*. *U-47* was now about 4,000 yards from her intended target and was in position to attack.

The bow torpedo tubes were aimed, and the order to fire was given. Three minutes later, one of the torpedoes exploded harmlessly against either the bow or anchor chain of the *Royal Oak*. Puzzled, Prien turned his craft around and discharged a stern torpedo, which also missed its mark. Those aboard the *Royal Oak* thought the torpedo explosion was caused by an internal source, thus giving Prien a second chance. *U-47* was again put into position to attack, and the torpedoes were fired. This time the *Royal Oak* was struck by a torpedo, and the harbor came to life. The *Royal Oak* soon sank taking 833 of her 1,234 officers and men down with her.

National Archives

BELOW: A German U-boat is depicted in a painting by German artist Adolf Bock. RIGHT: German Lt. Cmdr. Gunther Prien's daring raid on Scapa Flow earned him the Knight's Cross, but he and the crew of *U-47* went missing in March 1941.

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The submariners were exultant, but their worst ordeal still lay ahead, which was to escape unscathed. The tide was running against them, and even at full power *U-47* moved along at only slightly more than one knot. A searching destroyer was drawing near, her searchlight probing the darkness but failing to locate *U-47* as it made its way into Holm Sound. Soon *U-47* slipped back into the North Sea. "The glow from Scapa Flow is still visible," wrote Prien in his log. Two weeks later, Gunther Prien and his crew were the guests of Adolf Hitler in Berlin.

At the Chancellery, Prien was decorated with the Knights Cross.

According to the terms of the Versailles Treaty, Germany was barred from having submarines. However, when Germany decided it could no longer abide by the treaty, one of the first steps it took was to rebuild its vaunted submarine force. In 1934, the greatest submarine fleet the world had ever known was reestablished.

The Kriegsmarine (German Navy) had continued U-boat research and development through the Krupp front in Holland. The operation produced three submarine prototypes: one small (250 tons), one medium (500 tons), and one large (750 tons). The 250-ton and 500-ton boats were built in Finland. One 750-ton boat was built in Spain along with a plant for manufacturing torpedoes and tubes. The speed with which these types were built following Germany's pronouncement that it considered itself no longer bound by the Treaty of Versailles was an indication of German technical skill and knowledge in this particular field.

An important factor related to the manufacture of submarines during this period was their limited range when submerged. They spent the majority of their time on the surface and normally only submerged during daylight hours to escape detection or when approaching a target for an attack.

Before the outbreak of hostilities in 1939, Germany had 65 submarines of eight different models on hand. After the outbreak of war, construction was greatly increased. Supply was one pressing need for the submarine fleet. For some models, military requirements were sacrificed to increase cargo capacity to allow U-boats to stay at sea for longer periods. The Germans continued until the end of the war to make improvements and modifications, but in the end the overpowering force of the Allies was too much to overcome.

Of the various classes of U-boats, the type VII was the most ubiquitous with more than 700 produced. The 220-foot-long, 31-foot-high vessel could carry 14 torpedoes fired from four tubes located in the bow and an additional tube located in the stern. The Type VII was armed with the 88mm SK C/35 naval gun on the deck mounted in front of the conning tower. The diesel-powered vessel had a range of 8,500 nautical miles.

No other vessel of war had poorer living conditions than a U-boat. A U-boat crew included about 50 men. Patrols could last anywhere from three weeks to six months. During this

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Crew members of a German U-boat watch as a British cargo steamer goes under in an Adolf Bock painting. U-boat captains relied heavily on their deck gun to attack smaller ships so that they could save their small number of torpedoes for tankers and other large ships.

time the men were unable to bathe, shave, or change clothes. The availability of fresh water was limited and strictly rationed for drinking. The hardship was even more unbearable when one of their water tanks was filled with diesel fuel to extend the vessel's time at sea. Those on board were allowed only the clothes on their backs and one change of underwear and socks along with one small locker for personal items.

With such a shortage of space, sleeping arrangements were also extremely limited. The crew would often resort to hot bunking. In this arrangement, as soon as one person had crawled out, the next person would crawl in. Another major challenge on board was food. Before leaving on patrol, as much food as possible was crammed into every available location. Even a toilet was used to store food, making only the second toilet available for use by the crew until the food in the first toilet was used up.

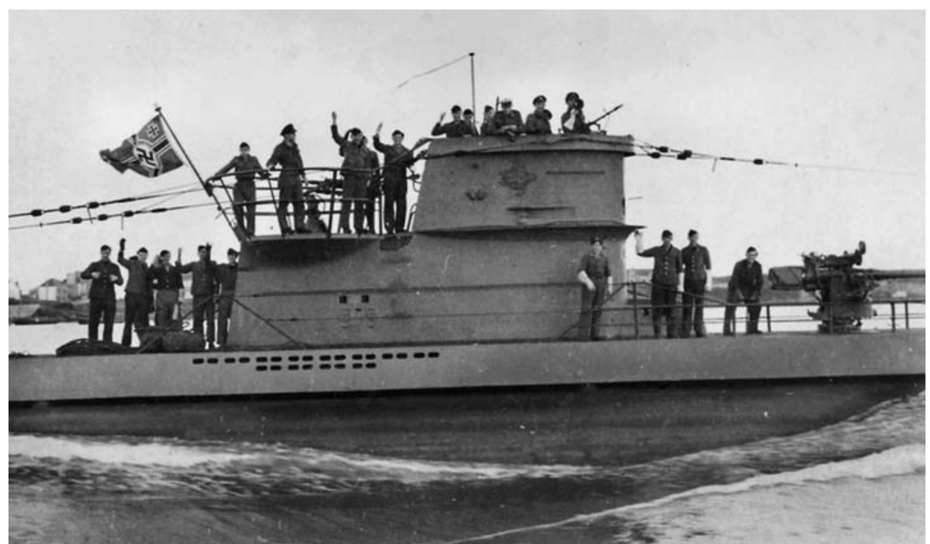
The long periods at sea could take a psychological toll on crew members. Danger was always present for the crew. Long periods of boredom could be replaced with moments of sheer terror when under attack by depth charges or on the surface in rough seas.

But the U-boats had a fearsome reputation. "The only thing that really frightened me during the war was the U-boat peril," British Prime Minister Winston Churchill said after the war. The U-boat war in the Atlantic was the longest continuing fight of World War II. It picked up pace following the fall of France on June 25, 1940, and lasted until the last day of hostilities in Europe.

After France was subjugated, the German U-boats were able to operate from bases on France's Atlantic coast. The importance of the naval battle in the Atlantic could not be overstated. If Britain's lifeline of Allied supplies was cut off, it would have to sue for peace with Germany. With Britain out of the war, the chances of the Allies launching an amphibious invasion of the European continent would be practically nonexistent. From the outset of the war, Dönitz (who became grand admiral in 1943) recognized this weakness, and he took steps to fully exploit it.

On September 3, 1939, the day Britain declared war on Germany, the U-boat force had only 57 boats in commission with 20 ready for combat. The German Navy also had a fleet of surface ships that took part in attacks on Allied shipping. The effectiveness of the German surface fleet quickly declined when engaged by the Royal Navy. After the war began, Hitler approved an accelerated U-boat-building program. However, building a single U-boat could take 12 to 21 months.

Despite this slow growth, U-boats had amazing success against British and neutral merchant ships early in the war. U.S. involvement in the Battle of the Atlantic came about slowly. Long before Germany's declaration of war, President Franklin D. Roosevelt had been supporting the



ABOVE: Venerable *U-203* had a long run of success sinking 23 Allied ships over a four-year period until the British sank it in April 1943. BELOW: German U-boat *571* inflicted heavy damage with its torpedoes on U.S. merchant tanker *Pennsylvania Sun* in July 1942.

National Archives

British. In September 1940, the United States sent 50 World War I-era destroyers to the British and Canadian navies. By February Roosevelt had started to upgrade the Atlantic Squadron under Admiral Ernest J. King.

On September 4, the first combat incident between an American warship and a German U-boat took place. The confrontation was between the USS *Greer* and *U-652*. The *Greer* dropped depth charges, and *U-652* fired torpedoes, but neither ship was damaged and they soon disengaged. On October 31, 1941, while escorting convoy HX-156, the American destroyer USS *Reuben James* was the first to be sunk by a German U-boat, with the loss of 115 crewmen. The first attack in American waters occurred on January 14, 1942, when the *U-123* sank the Panamanian flagged tanker *Norness* 60 miles off Long Island, New York.

The German U-boat fleet developed different methods of attacking Allied shipping. Dönitz, who was a U-boat captain in World War I, is credited with developing the tactic known as Rudeltaktik, or wolf pack, which was instituted in 1939. In wolf pack doctrine, when a single U-boat located a convoy its crew would radio headquarters. The headquarters staff would broadcast a homing signal that directed other boats to the location of the target. This might result in as many as 15 to 20 submarines attacking a convoy. The wolf pack existed only as a means to attack and would never travel as such. One disadvantage of the wolf pack was that in some cases several torpedoes would be used to sink an Allied vessel when one torpedo could have accomplished the objective.

The U-boat commanders also would use their deck guns as a means of attack. The relatively small size of the U-boat meant that a limited number of torpedoes could be carried on board. It was a general practice that these were kept for valuable targets such as tankers. At other times the 88mm deck gun was used for smaller targets found travelling alone, where a surfaced U-boat was unlikely to be intercepted by Allied warships or aircraft. Another benefit of surface gun attacks was that a merchant captain might surrender after being fired on. The deck gun tactic was particularly successful in attacking Allied convoys and warships accompanying the supply convoys in the early part of the war. In September 1939, approximately 25 percent of ships sunk by U-boats were destroyed by gunfire rather than torpedoes.

The Allies, particularly the British, came up with a number of innovations to counter the U-boat menace and eventually win the Battle of the Atlantic. A number of these methods were fairly simplistic. One such idea was painting the planes of Coastal Command white rather than black, making them more difficult to see from the ocean's surface. It was also discovered that resetting depth charges to go off at 25 feet rather than at 100 feet resulted in more U-boats being sunk.

At the start of the war, a device called Asdic was one of the many technological devices used against the U-boat. Asdic worked by sending out sound pulses that would bounce back when they hit something, similar to an underwater version of radar. The trouble with Asdic was that its range was limited, and it often was unreliable. By 1941, the Allies were transitioning to a high-frequency, direction-finding system that intercepted enciphered U-boat radio transmissions. The messages could not be read, but that did not matter because the goal was simply to locate the origin of the signal. If two or more stations picked up the signals, the position of the U-boat could be fixed.

Of all the innovations developed to combat the U-boat threat, the breaking of the German Enigma code was the most important. During the 1930s, the German military developed a top secret form of communications using what would come to be known as Enigma. It was an electro-mechanical typing machine able to encode every letter of the alphabet using a series of rotor blades. The scrambled message was then sent as a conventional radio signal. The rotor blades would be reset every 24 hours to further confuse those trying to decipher the messages. To attempt to break the German Enigma, the British government established the Code and Cypher School at Bletchley Park, a country estate north of London. The staff at Bletchley Park eventually numbered 7,000 with even more

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The crew of USCGC *Spencer* watches the results of a direct hit with a depth charge on *U-175* in April 1943. Allied naval personnel found that resetting depth charges to explode at 25 feet rather than 100 feet resulted in more kills.

workers at stations around the country. The information obtained from breaking the German codes was vital as it would allow Allied shipping to avoid U-boat patrols.

An extremely important breakthrough in solving the German code occurred on May 9, 1941, when an intact Enigma machine was captured. The British already possessed an Enigma machine obtained from Polish intelligence before the war, but the Allies also needed the internal rotors of the machines that were being used. The capture of the Enigma machine occurred when the destroyer HMS *Bulldog* forced *U-110* to the surface with depth charges. The German crew was removed, and a boarding party was sent over. As the boarding party went below, it was obvious the U-boat had been abandoned in haste, as books, charts, and other material were scattered about the boat. The real prize was the coding machine, which was found plugged in as if in actual use when it was abandoned.

The capture of the *U-110* was kept a secret because of its sinking. The crew of the *Bulldog* sent the recovered material to Bletchley Park where it aided in breaking the German naval code.

The U-boat fleet suffered a greater percentage of casualties than any other branch of service on either side during World War II. Of the 1,149 U-boats that entered service, 711 were lost in combat, to accidents, or to the bombing of shipyards, a destruction rate of 61 percent. Of the 39,000 who served in the U-boat force during the war, 27,490 lost their lives in combat or from accidents, a 70 percent fatality rate. For those who survived, 5,000 ended the war in Allied POW camps. Just 6,510 would end the war alive and as free men.

The Germans lost 243 and 249 U-boats in 1943 and 1944, respectively. While U-boat kills were significant, there were other major factors that enabled the Allies to eventually prevail in the Battle of the Atlantic. The most obvious factor is that later in the war there were more U-boats in service, which provided more targets, and the Allies had more weapons to sink U-boats. Another major factor that cannot be discounted was the Allied invasion of Normandy on June 6, 1944. This compelled the U-boat force to abandon its French bases in use since 1940. The result was that U-boats then had to spend more time travelling to and from their home bases and had less time to hunt convoys.

When the U.S. Navy began playing a much larger role in protecting convoys, it was a huge boost to the number of ships getting through. Aircraft carrier escorts provided a much needed increase in convoy security. The United States also transferred a group of extended-range Consolidated B-24 Liberator bombers to Newfoundland in 1941. This movement sent a signal to the Germans that the Allies had closed the previously undefended Greenland gap in the Atlantic Ocean.

In the end, the defeat of the U-boats really came down to a numbers game. The strategic goal of the German U-boat force was to sink more shipping than the Allies could replace and force surrender through starvation. This was a fight the Germans were sure to lose. In 1943, the U-boats destroyed 6.14 million gross registered tons of Allied shipping. Over the same period, American shipbuilders alone delivered 18 million tons of new merchant ships for the war effort, four million more tons than the Germans sank during the entire war. The gap in tonnage gained versus tonnage lost would continue in 1944 and 1945.

Although the U-boats were failing to sink as many Allied merchantmen to sustain the tonnage war, the U-boat crews were perishing in droves. Basically, the German goal of isolating Great Britain from the rest of the world, particularly the United States, was bound to fail. Even though the United States was not actually in the war when Germany started sinking merchant shipping, President Franklin D. Roosevelt had no intention of letting Nazi Germany defeat Great Britain. It would have been a disaster of major proportions in that the Allies would have been denied a staging area close to France for the invasion of Fortress Europe and would have, without question, lengthened the war and cost many more lives. □

Ted was the family adventurer, riding the rails at the age of 15, later was one of the first to be drafted, and then trained to be a tail gunner and belly gunner as a small framed man to fit into those tight spots.

Sent with 101st and 82nd as replacements at the German Seigfried Line. Parachuted down while being shot at. Six days later he was in one the hottest battles of Europe, the Battle of the Bulge.

Earned a Silver Star as they worked through the German pill boxes moving toward the Rhine River. Earned a bronze star at the Rhine and another at "The Day the Danube Turned Red" and earned a red cross as a sniper.

His full unbelievable story of survival and courage included in his journal.

Uncle Ted

by Barbara Gibby

By Peter Suciu

The Heeresgeschichtliches in Vienna, Austria, chronicles more than four centuries of Austrian history.

WHILE AUSTRIA'S HAPSBURG DYNASTY FELL AT THE END OF World War I, its legacy can still be seen throughout Vienna in its numerous palaces and museums. It is the Heeresgeschichtliches Museum that is most closely associated with the military history of the Austrian people. Located in the Landstrasse district of the Austrian capital, it is fittingly not all that far from the Belvedere complex, which served as the summer residence for Prince Eugene of Savoy—the French-born general who first saw action for his adopted home during the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683. It is also fitting that the building's history is tied closely to another infamous event in Austrian history, the revolution of 1848.

BELOW: Designed by architect Theophil Hansen, Vienna's imposing Heeresgeschichtliches is one of the oldest and largest purpose-built military museums in the world. RIGHT: A mid-19th century Austrian uniform exhibit.

While the Austrian Empire was able to hold itself together thanks to aid from its Russian ally, following the war it was decided that the capital needed a new military barracks. The result was a complex that was dubbed the "Arsenal." Its location was actually just outside the palace district, and for good reason.

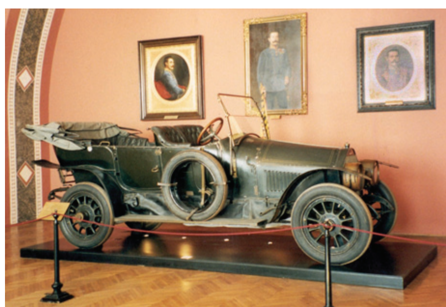
"It was within artillery range, but still provided enough room for the troops to drill and be ready in case there was another revolution," Christoph Hatschek, vice director of the Heeresgeschichtliches, told *Military Heritage*: "This provided an ideal location for the troops to be barracked."

Moreover, it also allowed for what was to be the first museum to be built in Vienna. While the Arsenal was to house the soldiers, it also was meant to contribute to the royal capital of the city with handsome build-

ings that were in keeping with the beauty of Vienna. The original intent was that the Arsenal would house the arms and armor collection of the Hapsburgs, and the original contract called for a building dubbed the "Waffenmuseum" (Arms Museum).

"While the original plan was to house the collection of medieval armor at this complex, in the end there was not enough space," said Hatschek.

However, the final building, at 235 meters in length, was large enough for the military collections of Austria up to that point. Designed by architect Theophil Hansen, the Heeresgeschichtliches is one of the oldest and largest purpose-built military museums in the world. Construction on the building began in 1856 at the behest of Emperor Franz Joseph I,



TOP: A collection of captured Ottoman weapons from the siege of Vienna in 1683. MIDDLE: Musketeers and pikemen from the Thirty Years' War. BOTTOM: The Gräf & Stift Double Phaeton automobile in which Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand was riding when assassinated on June 28, 1914.

with the museum's original purpose to chronicle the history of Austria.

When the building was completed in 1872 it soon became apparent that no actual consideration was given to displays or artifacts to exhibit. Finally, in 1891 the museum was opened as the Heersmuseum (Army Museum), and Emperor Franz Joseph I made his first visit. It was to be short lived, though, and less than 25 years later the museum was closed due to the outbreak of World War I.

The museum reopened in 1921. The collection was greatly expanded with artifacts from World War I, and for the first time included a significant number of paintings.

In 1938 Austria was annexed by Nazi Germany in the Anschluss. The Heersmuseum then fell under the control of the chief of army museums in Berlin. The museum remained open during the early stages of World War II and was used to stage special exhibitions that glorified the German victories in France and the Low Countries. As the tide of the war turned against the Germans, the collection was relocated to cache depots throughout Austria. The building was severely damaged during a U.S. air raid on September 10, 1944. The north-east wing was destroyed as were many of the artifacts in the depots.

"The building was not the only part of the museum to suffer during World War II," said Hatschek. "Following the war it was necessary to rebuild the collection."

The rebuilding of the collection and the buildings began in 1946. It was decided not to merely refill the building, but rather to design a historical museum with a more integrated character that chronicled Austria and its peoples. The museum consists of four large exhibition halls spread out over two floors along with a gallery of armored vehicles outside the museum. The collection at the Heeresgeschichtliches begins with the Thirty Years' War and the conflicts with the Ottoman Turks. Beginning on the upper level, the museum now chronicles the Thirty Years' War to the time of Prince Eugene of Savoy and does include some infantry armor of the post-medieval era. The gallery contains figures of various 17th-century Austria soldiers including an imperial pikeman and imperial musketeer, as well as numerous small arms used in the era. Paintings in this gallery present the romanticized view of the wars of the era and include portraits of early Austrian rulers, such as Frederick V, Elector Palatinate.

This gallery is also notable for the numerous objects that are not Austrian but rather Turkish and were captured following the unsuccessful Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683. The collection includes numerous compound bows, quivers, and even stirrups. Yet it is the Turkish colors that is the prized artifact from the siege. Captured outside the city, the banner features the Islamic creed: "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is his prophet."

This first gallery also contains paintings of

Uniforms of the Austro-Hungarian Army at the outbreak of World War I.

the siege, as well as a large painting of Prince Eugene of Savoy by Johann Gottfried Auerbach and numerous items of clothing belonging to the French-born general, who became one of Austria's most successful military leaders. The prince's funeral pall is also on display at the museum.

Just as Austria's wars with the Turks ended, the War of the Spanish Succession began. During this period the Hapsburg monarchy became a major power in central and southeastern Europe. This was followed by the War of the Austrian Succession, which saw Maria Theresa emerge as one of Austria's most important rulers, and fittingly the museum chronicles her rise to power and her four-decade reign (1740-1780). This is when the Austrian Army took on a more national characteristic, and military training improved as the empress established a military academy.

Artifacts in this collection include Austrian infantry colors and numerous spoils from the Seven Years Wars, including Prussian broadswords and bayonets. Most impressive is the captured "Color of the Royal Prussian 17th Field Regiment" from the army of Prussia's King Frederick the Great. This is especially valuable to the museum as stocks of the armory in Berlin, which contained many other relics and artifacts from the Kingdom of Prussia, were destroyed during World War II.

The Hall of Revolution contains the portraits of Emperors Joseph II and Leopold II, as well as Baron Ernst Gideon of Loudon, along with numerous artifacts that show the changing technology of the battlefield at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. There are several highly exquisite examples of late 18th-century Turkish muskets, which are richly ornamented and probably had belonged to high Ottoman dignitaries. These were likely taken as spoils of war by the emperor-to-be Francis II, who was the last Holy Roman Emperor, later the Austrian Emperor Francis I.

The hall contains a French observation balloon, believed to be *Intrepide*—one of six such special observation balloons used by the French Army in special airship companies between 1794 and 1799. The particular example in the Heeresgeschichtliches was captured by Austrian troops in the Battle of Würzburg on September 3, 1796.

Several excellent examples of late 18th- and early 19th-century uniforms are also on display, including that of a hussar of the Imperial Hussar Regiment and Landwehr infantryman. The gallery also contains an anonymous portrait of the Austrian State Chancellor Prince Clemens Lothar Metternich, who played a leading role in the reorganization of Europe following the Napoleonic Wars.

This wing of the museum then continues from the time of the 1848 revolution, which nearly saw the end of the Austrian Empire, to the foundation of the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy in 1867. The gallery features many paintings of Emperor Franz Josef I as a young man. It was following the 1848 revolution that Emperor Ferdinand I abdicated in favor of his nephew, Franz Josef.

There are also numerous artifacts that belonged to Field Marshal Count Joseph Radetzky, the once powerful supreme commander of the Austrian Army, who achieved victory against the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont.

The hall chronicles the Austrian and Prussian victory against Denmark in 1864 as well as the defeat of Austria by the Prussians in 1866. Among the unique pieces on exhibit are the Austrian muzzle-loading Lorenz rifle and the Prussian breech-loading Dreyse needle gun.

Somewhat surprisingly, the museum houses a small collection devoted to Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, the former Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, brother of Emperor Franz Josef I. Maximilian assumed the Mexican crown after French Emperor Napoleon III assured him of his assistance. But Napoleon III reneged on that promise, and after the American Civil War Emperor Maximilian found himself very much on his own. He was captured by Mexican forces and executed in June 1867. The Heeresgeschichtliches contains not only the emperor's death mask, but also a standard of the Imperial Mexican Hussar Regiment and several helmets, shakos, and rapiers used by members of the Mexican Life Guard.

After the suicide of Crown Prince Rudolph, it was hoped that Archduke Franz Ferdinand would be the reformer and could keep Austria out of a future European war. Instead, his assassination in 1914 ignited the war that was to end the Hapsburg dynasty.

The Franz Josef gallery includes many of the emperor's possessions along with a vast collection of uniforms and artifacts of the Austro-Hungarian Army from 1866 to 1914. Next is the gallery of World War I, which has been reorganized for the 100th anniversary of the outbreak of the conflict. Among the most notable pieces is the so-called Sarajevo car, a Graef and Stiff that was built in 1910 and was used by Archduke Franz Ferdinand on the day of his assassination. The car has numerous bullet holes.

The World War I collection includes many uniforms and pieces of equipment that suggest that while Austria fought a war that largely avoided the trenches that are so iconic of the Western Front, it was not spared the horrors of the conflict. The collection also reinforces that Austria fielded an ethnically diverse army.

The museum then chronicles World War II, but not specifically to Austria so much as just exhibiting artifacts from the war.

"We cannot escape the fact that Austria was at the time part of the German Reich," said Hatschek. "However, there was no specific Austrian unit—far from it, as Austrians were meant to be integrated into the German Army. So while it is true Austria could be seen as the first free nation to fall to the Nazis, Austrians had a role in the war as well."

The collection includes an exhibit of war remnants from the battlefield around Stalin-

The simple design of the water-cooled Austrian Schwarzlose M.07/12 World War I-era medium machinegun was well suited for mass production.

grad, and while there was no specific Austrian unit within the German Army, the museum does contain a fanion of the First Austrian Volunteer Battalion. This unit was raised from Austrian prisoners in 1944 by the Allies, but was only deployed for occupational purposes.

Other artifacts include a full German 88mm Flak 36 antiaircraft gun that was used against Allied bombers during the air raids against the city. This is contrasted by an exhibit featuring the figure of an American bomber pilot.

At the end of the ground floor of the Heeresgeschichtliches is a notable gallery of Austrian naval history, which is all the more unique today given that the nation is now landlocked. For much of the 19th century the empire had access to the sea in lands that today include Bosnia and Croatia. It is also notable that the museum's gallery chronicles the naval race against Austria's then-ally Italy. This serves to educate visitors that even though Austria did not have overseas colonies, it did play a role that is largely forgotten in the Boxer Rebellion in 1900.

Another facet of the museum's collection is on permanent display outdoors. This includes one of the world's largest collections of bronze cannons, many of which are displayed on the grounds outside the main museum building. It also includes foreign artillery from Venice and the Ottoman Empire as well as several French examples.

The Austrians created the first armored-car type vehicle for the military that utilized not wheels but tracks. This was actually designed by Colonel Gunther Burstyn in 1911, five years before the British introduced tanks on the Western Front during World War I. While one is not on display, the museum does offer a "tank garden" of vehicles used by the Austrian armed forces after 1955.

In all it is an impressive museum, summed by the manager of the well-stocked gift shop, who said, "It is a good museum; it is far from the worst." Modest words, indeed. □

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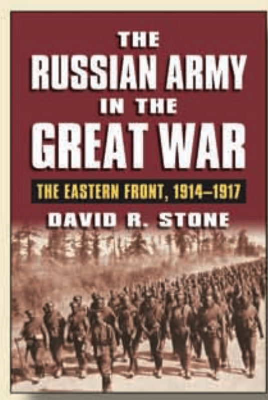

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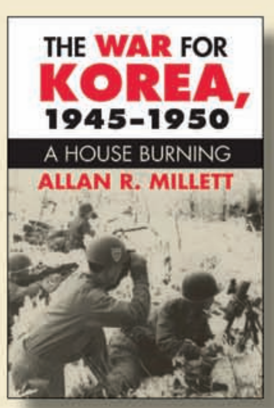

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A MINOR CLASH NEAR LEESBURG, VIRGINIA, ON OCTOBER 21, 1861, RESULTED IN THE DEATH OF SENATOR-TURNED-SOLDIER COLONEL EDWARD BAKER. THE UNION DEFEAT STUNNED THE NORTH. BY MIKE PHIFER

ABOVE: Union Captain Chase Philbrick's men mistook a stand of trees for a Confederate encampment in a twilight reconnaissance the day before the battle. RIGHT: Routed Federals stream down the bluff toward the Potomac River under fire from victorious Confederates.

DEATH ON A HIGH BLUFF

IT was almost dark when Captain Chase Philbrick led a reconnaissance party of 20 volunteers from Company H of the 15th Massachusetts Infantry across to Harrison's Island situated in the middle of the Potomac River. It was October 20, 1861, and the men had orders to slip across to the Virginia side of the river at Ball's Bluff to see if the Confederates had reacted to a demonstration made earlier in the day.

The men climbed into two skiffs and rowed as quietly as possible across the still river to the foot of Ball's Bluff. Once ashore the scouts followed a cart path up the steep 100-foot bluff. It was dark as the scouts reached the top and moved south in the hazy moonlit night.

After traveling about three-quarters of a mile, Philbrick suddenly spotted something up ahead. There appeared to be about 30 tents among a row of trees along a ridge. Philbrick and his men crept to within 150 feet of the camp. Strangely, they could not spot any sentries or campfires. This seemed like the perfect opportunity to attack the seemingly unwary Confederates, and Philbrick quickly headed back to the two skiffs.

Rowing back to Harrison's Island, Philbrick reported his findings to Colonel Charles Devens. In less than 12 hours a substantial body of Federal troops would return to Ball's Bluff only to find that things were not as they

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appeared in the moonlight.

After its victory at Bull Run on July 21, General Joseph Johnston's Confederate Army of the Potomac, which was based at Centreville, Virginia, had established a line of outposts along the Potomac River. The westernmost of these outposts was at Leesburg, which was located about two miles southwest of Ball's Bluff. The Confederate officer responsible for covering the gently rolling farmland of Loudoun County around Leesburg was South Carolina native Colonel Nathan "Shanks" Evans. Evans had posted his mixed brigade, which comprised three Mississippi regiments and one Virginia regiment, close enough to the steep cliffs overlooking the river to prevent the Federals from establishing a foothold on Loudoun soil.

Evans' superiors had praised him for the leadership and bravery he exhibited at Bull Run. As commander of the Confederate outpost at Leesburg, he was responsible for covering the approaches to Leesburg, namely for guarding Conrad's Ferry and Edwards Ferry, as well as various nearby fords. Evans established an earthwork called Fort Evans about two miles northeast of town and set up his headquarters there. To hold the area, Evans had placed his brigade, which consisted of the 13th, 17th, and 18th Mississippi and 8th Virginia Regiments, near the river. His

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A Union battery on the Maryland side of the Potomac shells Confederate pickets on the Virginia side in a period painting by Alfred Thompson. Brig. Gen. Charles Stone sent part of his division upriver to cross at Harrison's Island to turn the Confederate flank, while another portion demonstrated at Edwards Ferry.

command also included five companies of Virginia cavalry under Lt. Col. Walter Jenifer and Captain John Shields' 1st Company, Richmond Howitzers. Altogether, Evans' force totalled 2,800 men.

On the north side of the Potomac River, Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Banks' division covered the section from Washington, D.C., to Edwards Ferry, Brig. Gen. Charles Stone's division covered the section from Edwards Ferry to Point of Rocks, and Colonel John Geary's 28th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers covered the section from Point of Rocks to Harpers Ferry. It was important for both sides to cover the Potomac from Washington to Harpers Ferry because if one army were to cross in strength it might possibly outflank the other army.

A graduate of West Point in 1845, Stone left the U.S. Army 11 years later to take up civilian pursuits in California. He returned to the military when he was commissioned a colonel on January 2, 1861, and later was promoted to brigadier general. By October, Stone's 12,000-man division consisted of three brigades, two unassigned regiments (42nd New York and 15th Massachusetts), four companies of the 3rd New York Cavalry, a detachment of Maryland cavalry, two other cavalry companies (later to be part of the 2nd New York Cavalry), and three artillery batteries. Brig. Gen. Frederick Lander commanded the First Brigade, Brig. Gen. Willis Gorman led the Second Brigade, and Colonel Edward Baker led the Third Brigade (curiously known as the California Brigade even though its regiments were from Pennsylvania).

Major General George McClellan, commander of the Union Army of the Potomac, received reports during the third week in October that Johnston might be withdrawing Evans' brigade to Centreville. What prompted these reports was Evans' decision to fall back from the river the night of October 16-17 for fear that the Federals were trying to surround him. When his superiors found out that he had pulled back south of Leesburg, they ordered him to return to his original position covering the river crossings in his sector.

Not wasting any time, McClellan ordered Brig. Gen. George McCall to march his division 15 miles west from Langley to Dranesville and then to send out probes to determine whether Evans had withdrawn. In addition, the move would allow McCall to make maps of the area that would benefit future operations. When McClellan learned that Evans was still at Leesburg, he ordered McCall on the evening of October 19 to fall back to Langley.

The next day, October 20, McClellan's adjutant sent a message to Stone at his headquarters in Poolesville, Maryland, which read: "General McClellan desires me to inform you that General McCall occupied Dranesville yesterday, and is still there. Will send out heavy reconnaissances today in all directions from that point. The general desires that you keep a good lookout upon Leesburg, to see if this movement has the effect to drive them away. Perhaps a slight demonstration on your part would have the effect to move them."

Following orders, Stone sent troops to Edwards Ferry to deceive the Rebels into believing they were being attacked from two directions. What Stone did not know was that McClellan ordered McCall to return to Langley after he finished his mapmaking and that on October 21 McCall's division would no longer be at Dranesville.

Evans learned of McCall's march on Dranesville from a captured Union courier and took up a defensive position behind Goose Creek. Positioned on the west side of the creek four miles southeast of Leesburg, Evans waited for an attack from the east that never materialized.

In the interim, Stone began to make his demonstration at Edwards Ferry. On the afternoon of October 20, he ordered part of Gorman's brigade—the 1st Minnesota and the 2nd New York State Militia—along with the 7th Michigan from Lander's brigade and two companies of the 3rd New York Cavalry, to Edwards Ferry. Stone moved his headquarters to Edwards Ferry to direct the demonstration. When the Federal infantry arrived, they found a battery of the 1st U.S. Artillery lobbing shells across the river to scare off any Rebel pickets. Stone had his troops launch boats at the ferry to deceive the Rebels into believing he was crossing at that point.

Stone ordered other troops to various locations upstream from Edwards Ferry. They were not supposed to attack; instead, they were

meant to provoke the Confederates into either defending the crossings or abandoning them. Stone also ordered four companies of Colonel Charles Devens' 15th Massachusetts to Harrison's Island, which was located three miles upriver from Edwards Ferry and opposite Ball's Bluff, where they would join another company from the regiment already stationed there. The 20th Massachusetts from Lander's brigade also was ordered to the vicinity of Harrison's Island. In addition, the 42nd New York and a battery of the 1st Rhode Island Light Artillery were sent to Conrad's Ferry, which was two miles upriver from Harrison's Island.

At Edwards Ferry Stone ordered Gorman to send a small detachment of troops across the river as part of the demonstration. Gorman ordered Colonel Napoleon J.T. Dana, commander of the 1st Minnesota, to send two of his companies across the river. Near sundown, the men of Companies E and K climbed into three flatboats and pushed off into the current. After landing on the Virginia side of the Potomac, the Federals drove off some Rebel pickets. After about 15 minutes the Yankees returned to the north bank. Stone then notified McClellan that he had "made a feint of crossing" at Edwards Ferry, adding that he had "started a reconnoitering party toward Leesburg from Harrison's Island." This party was led by Philbrick.

After receiving Philbrick's report, Devens quickly sent word to Stone about the Rebel camp. In August, McClellan had advised Stone, "Should you see the opportunity of capturing or dispersing any small parties by crossing the river, you are at liberty to do so, though great discretion is recommended in making such a movement." Stone intended to take advantage of the opportunity presented by the enemy's carelessness in not posting pickets at its camp.

Stone ordered Devens to take five companies and cross the river at Ball's Bluff. Devens was to rout the Rebels and destroy their camp. After doing this, Devens was to return to his present position unless he found a good position to establish a bridgehead. Stone specified that the bridgehead would have to be one that Devens could hold until reinforced and could be defended against superior numbers. If he took that course of action, he was to report back that he had done so.

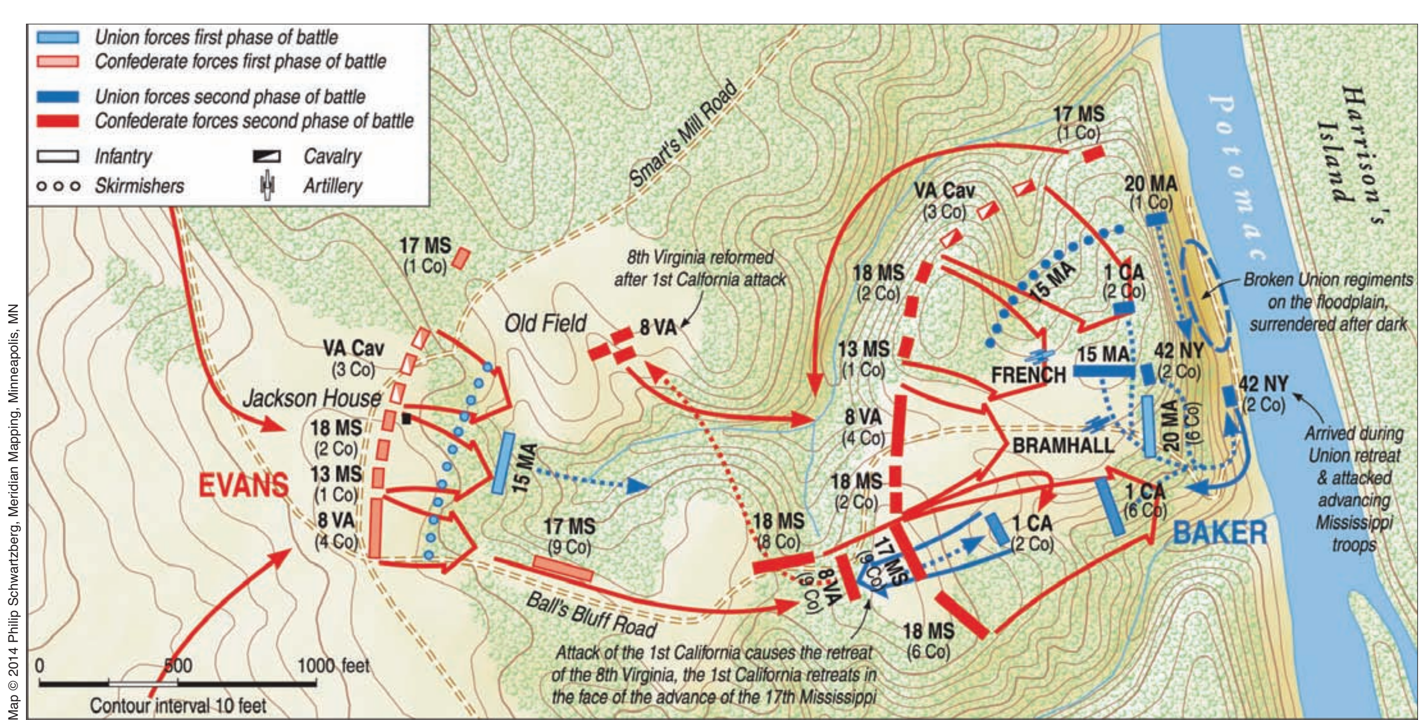
Neither Devens nor a number of his soldiers were excited about the mission. One officer in the 20th Massachusetts quipped that Devens "seemed like a man who had made up his mind that he was going on a forlorn hope." The five companies Devens was taking with him numbered about 300 men, and he had a covering force of two companies numbering about 100 men from the 20th Massachusetts under the command of Colonel William R. Lee. It took Devens about five hours to get his men across to the Virginia side of the Potomac. This was because they had only two skiffs and a copper lifeboat that could carry about 30 to 35 men per trip.

At daybreak on October 21, Devens and his five companies set out for the Rebel camp, while Lee remained at the top of Ball's Bluff with his covering force. Devens and Philbrick soon found the tree line in the growing light, but no Confederate tents or a camp. Further investigation revealed a nearby farmhouse and four tents near Leesburg, but there was no camp nearby. In the dim light of the previous evening Philbrick had mistaken a row of trees for enemy tents.

In the meantime, Stone decided to aid Devens' force by drawing the Rebels' attention away from him and conducting a reconnaissance in the direction of Leesburg with his force at Edwards Ferry. The Union commander ordered Gorman to send two companies of the 1st Minnesota and a detachment of about 30 cavalry across the Potomac River at Edwards Ferry. While the infantry guarded the bridgehead, the cavalry under Major John Mix were to ride along the Leesburg Turnpike until they came near the Confederate fortification on that road. At that point, they were to turn left and "examine the heights between that and Goose Creek" to see if there were any Rebels in the area and determine their numbers and position.

Under the cover of artillery fire, the two companies of infantry and cavalry crossed the river a little after dawn. While the infantry spread out in a skirmish line about 400 yards away from the river, Mix led his cavalry detachment on its scouting mission. Near Fort Evans, situated on a knoll on the Edwards Ferry Road, the Federals bumped into Evans' Mississippi troops and

Union Colonel Edward Baker stumbled into a hornet's nest on the Virginia shore. His hapless Yankees were assailed on three sides by Colonel Nathan Evans' brigade.



Map © 2014 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN

exchanged gunfire. After a brief skirmish, Mix withdrew to Edwards Ferry, where the troopers were posted as vedettes.

Believing he was undetected by the Confederates, Devens decided not to withdraw to Harrison's Island. Instead, he sent a report back via Lieutenant Church Howe and stayed in his position near the phantom camp and Margaret Jackson's farmhouse. He intended to exercise the option Stone had given him to hold on until reinforced.

While Devens was investigating the phantom encampment, Lee at Ball's Bluff had sent out patrols to protect his flanks. One of the small patrols traded shots with nearby Confederate pickets, who quickly withdrew and reported to their Company K commander, Captain William Lewis Duff of the 17th Mississippi, who sent word on to Evans of the Yankee presence.

Posted about a mile northeast of Leesburg at Big Spring, Duff with 40 men headed out to link up with the rest of the Confederate forces. The Rebels followed a hollow to a hill near the Jackson House where Devens' pickets spotted Duff's little command at 8 AM. Devens ordered Philbrick to take Company H and attack the Rebels, while Captain George Rockwood's Company A moved to the right to cut the enemy's retreat toward Conrad's Ferry.

Duff realized the Yankees outnumbered him, and he fell back about 300 yards down the slope toward Leesburg with Philbrick's company in pursuit. Duff formed his troops to face the 65 Yankees who were pursuing them. As the Federals moved toward his company, Duff yelled "Halt!" He did this a few more times, with the Federals replying, "Friends!" When the Federals got to within 60 yards of him Duff ordered his men to kneel and fire.

A sharp skirmish ensued. Devens, who was with Philbrick, sent an order for Company G to give assistance. But before the reinforcements arrived, the Yankees learned that Confederate cavalry was approaching from Leesburg. Devens ordered Philbrick to withdraw, which Duff did as well. With one man killed, two missing, and nine wounded, Philbrick's company took up position on the edge of some woods behind a rail fence south of the Jackson House.

Suffering three wounded, Duff and his company fell back about 300 yards. He was reinforced by four companies of cavalry under the command of Jenifer, who hearing of the Union advance around 8 AM had ridden toward the sound of gunfire. Jenifer did not remain long with Duff; he soon received orders recalling him to Fort Evans. When Jenifer arrived at Fort Evans at 9 AM, Evans kept one of Jenifer's cavalry companies but sent him back with about 70 men to reinforce Duff. Evans ultimately would send four companies, which were drawn from the 17th, 18th, and 13th Mississippi.

Meanwhile, Devens led his men back to Ball's Bluff where Lee went over to meet him. He found Devens "very much vexed [and] angry," wrote Lee. "If you are going to stay here, colonel, you better form your line of battle across the road, instead of leaving your battalion in column and halted in the road," Lee said. Devens did not respond. Instead, he left his men where they were

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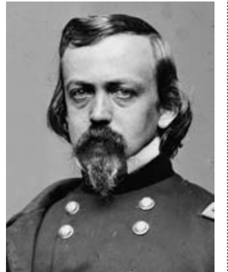

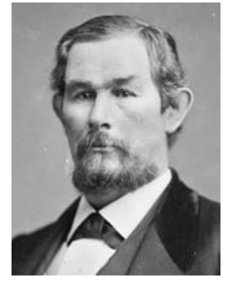

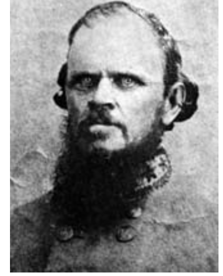

TOP: Colonel Charles Devens (left) and Brig. Gen. Charles Stone. MIDDLE: Colonel Eppa Hunton (left) and Colonel Nathan Evans. BOTTOM: A Union noncommissioned officer of the 20th Massachusetts stands guard at Edwards Ferry.

for 30 minutes and then marched them back to their position in the woods near the Jackson House.

At Edwards Ferry, Howe delivered Devens' message to Stone around 8 AM informing him there was no Rebel camp. The Union commander quickly sent Howe to tell Lt. Col. George Ward, second in command of the 15th Massachusetts, to take the rest of the regiment and proceed to Smart's Mill, located at a narrow part of the river about a half mile north of Ball's Bluff, allowing him to protect Devens' right flank.

Howe was sent back to Devens and delivered his orders to Ward along the way. At about the same time, Stone ordered his temporary aide, Captain Charles Candy, to take 10 cavalrymen and a noncommissioned officer and cross the Potomac. Once across, they were to unite with Devens and act as scouts for him.

Candy would not make it to Devens, though; at Ball's Bluff Lee ordered him to report back to Stone. He was to tell Stone that they had gained a foothold on the south bank of the Potomac River and that if the government meant to launch a campaign then both reinforcements and additional boats would be needed.

Meanwhile, Howe delivered Ward his orders to cross over to Harrison's Island and then move on to Smart's Mill. The young officer crossed the Potomac and moved inland to join up with Devens near the Jackson House. Once he arrived at the front, Devens debriefed him on his fight with the Rebels and ordered him to report this to Stone. On his way back to Edwards Ferry, Howe met Ward on Harrison's Island, slowly moving his five companies of infantry to the island due to the small number of boats. Howe informed Ward that Devens was being pressed hard and could use his support. Believing that Devens was asking him for help, Ward decided to go to his aid instead of Smart's Mill.

Up to that point, Baker's brigade had done little in the day's growing events. The 1st California under Lt. Col. Isaac Wistar had moved from Conrad's Ferry, where they had arrived at first light, to the crossing point from the Maryland shore to Harrison's Island. After visiting briefly with Wistar, Baker rode along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal towpath to Edwards Ferry. There he met with Stone sometime around 9 AM to get his orders for the day. Stone informed him of the situation and ordered him to Harrison's Island, where he was to take command of the Union force's right wing. The Union commander warned Baker not to engage the Rebels if they outnumbered him and not to advance south of Leesburg.

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Baker's men fought valiantly, but their counterattacks failed to reverse the tide of battle.

Baker wanted in writing the order that he was to assume command. Stone jotted down the orders, which read: "Colonel: In case of heavy firing in front of Harrison's Island, you will advance the California regiment of your brigade or retire the regiments of colonels Lee and Devens upon the Virginia side of the river, at your discretion, assuming command on arrival." Baker then rode back to Harrison's Island intending to cross the river and engage the Rebels.

By about 10 AM, Evans had determined that the Yankee crossing at Edwards Ferry was a feint, believing the main attack would be at Ball's Bluff. He dispatched nine companies of the 8th Virginia Infantry under Colonel Eppa Hunton to reinforce Duff and Jenifer, leaving one company near the burned bridge at Goose Creek. But before they arrived, Jenifer engaged the Yankees.

"At 11 o'clock I determined to attack the enemy, and, if possible, drive him from his strong position," wrote Jenifer. The Confederate attack drove in the Federal skirmishers, which included some of Ward's men who were positioned along a treeline near the Jackson House, back to Devens' main line posted near the edge of the woods. Heavy firing from the main Yankee line caused Jenifer to temporarily retreat.

At 12:20 PM, the 8th Virginia arrived on the field, and Hunton took over command. The Rebels quickly formed into position with most of the Mississippi troops in front with skirmishers deployed. The 8th Virginia supported these companies, while Duff's company and the dismounted cavalry were on the extreme left about three quarters of a mile to the north. They had orders to advance toward Smart's Mill. The main line advanced on Devens' 15th Massachusetts men. Due to the thick woods and rough ground, the Mississippi and Virginia troops lost sight of each other, and after a short time the Virginians were in front with the Mississippians on their left.

"After marching several hundred yards through dense woods our troops were fired upon by the enemy's skirmishers," wrote Jenifer. With both sides about equal in number the fighting raged into the early afternoon.

About the time that Hunton arrived with his Virginians to reinforce Jenifer, five companies of the 20th Massachusetts under Major Paul Revere crossed over to the Virginia shore with two mountain howitzers to join Lee and the two companies of the regiment posted on Ball's Bluff. More troops would arrive as the afternoon dragged on. Unfortunately, transfer of the 1st California and 42nd New York from Maryland to Harrison's Island to Virginia was painfully slow due a shortage of boats. Meanwhile, Baker spent valuable time overseeing a canal boat transferred to the river to help facilitate the troop crossing.

While Union troops began massing at Ball's Bluff, Stone received a message from McClellan informing him that he might be required to take Leesburg. Stone replied that he thought the Confederates numbered about 4,000 men and were receiving reinforcements but believed he could do it. "We are a little short of boats," Stone informed McClellan.

Stone sent word to Baker to push the enemy if he could and if possible to establish a strong position near the town. Baker was ordered to report back on his progress and also determine whether the Rebels were retreating. Stone sent the rest of Gorman's brigade across the river at Edwards Ferry with orders to strike the Confederate right flank.

About 1:30 PM Baker finally crossed over to Ball's Bluff and conferred with Lee as to how he had deployed his force. Lee had five companies of the 20th Massachusetts drawn up in a battle line across a 10-acre clearing at the top of the bluff. On both sides of the Federal position were deep ravines. Lee had placed a mountain howitzer on each end of the line and also ordered a company to deploy as skirmishers on each flank. Baker began to deploy troops from the 1st California as they made their way up the bluff. Then Baker turned to Lee and asked his opinion on the troop deployment. Lee told him he thought the battle would be made on the left. Baker also posed the same question to Wistar, who had just arrived on the field. Wistar believed the left flank was weak and exposed to enemy fire from a cluster of wooded hills that overlooked the Union position. "I throw the entire responsibility of the left wing upon you," said Baker, when Wistar asked for skirmishers to cover that area.

With his flanks being threatened and fearful of being cut off, Devens fell back to Ball's Bluff at

2 PM. There he finally made contact with Baker, who rearranged his defensive position. The 15th Massachusetts was positioned to the right of the 20th Massachusetts and perpendicular to it along a wooded edge facing south onto the field. To the left of the 15th were two companies of the 1st California, while another two companies of this regiment were placed on the left flank of the 20th Massachusetts.

Colonel Milton Cogswell of the 42nd New York arrived shortly after 2:30 PM on the Virginia shore with Company C of his unit and a James rifle from Battery B of the 1st Rhode Island Light Artillery. The gun proved too heavy to be pulled up the steep slope by horses and had to be dismantled and manhandled up the muddy trail with ropes. To make matters worse, Duff's little force, which had reached the river, was firing down at them from a wooded hill north of the landing site. Cogswell sent his company to disperse Duff's detachment. A half-hour skirmish took place before the Rebels pulled back.

Cogswell made his way to the top of the bluff where Baker asked his opinion of the troops' position. "I told him frankly that I deemed them very defective, as the wooded hills beyond the ravine commanded the whole so perfectly, that should they be occupied by the enemy he would be destroyed," wrote Cogswell. The 42nd commander advised that the whole force should be sent quickly to occupy those hills. Baker did not take Cogswell's advice but did order Wistar to send out two companies to scout the vulnerable Federal left.

Library of Congress

Baker is shot at point-blank range in a fanciful rendering of the incident by Currier and Ives. U.S. President Abraham Lincoln was stunned by the news of his friend's death.

At 3 PM, Wistar, acting on Baker's orders, ordered Captain John Markoe of the 1st California to take his Company A and move forward. Wistar then led Company D and followed about 30 yards behind him. They were to scout the woods in front and locate the Rebels' right flank. They would not have to go far.

After Devens had retreated back to Ball's Bluff, Hunton moved his force forward. He placed his right on the high ground that commanded the Yankee left. While Hunton's left was protected by woods at the western end of the field, the bulk of the Confederate forces were positioned north of the cart path. Earlier Hunton had sent a number of messages to Evans asking for reinforcements, and eight companies of Colonel Erasmus Burt's 18th Mississippi were dispatched to his aid with nine companies of the 17th Mississippi under Colonel Winfield Scott Featherston being sent shortly afterward. The 18th had not yet arrived at Ball's Bluff when an element of the 8th Virginia south of the cart path rose up and fired on Markoe's men, catching them by surprise. A sharp firefight ensued.

More firing broke out north of the cart path as some of the Confederates fired on the main Federal line. Wistar quickly left command to Markoe and ran back to take command of his regiment. Markoe's command lasted only about 15 minutes. He was wounded and captured while his men fell back fighting after suffering heavy casualties.

The Federals were not the only ones to fall back. Hunton had ordered his men to fall back, but several companies panicked and ran. Lt. Col. Charles Tebbs, Hunton's second in command, was retreating with these men, but according to Hunton he "and a portion of the men with him returned to the line of battle. Some of them went home, but not many."

Hunton struggled to consolidate his remaining troops. When the 18th Mississippi arrived on the scene, Hunton's men shifted to the left allowing the Mississippian to deploy in their former position.

Across the clearing, the James rifle rolled onto the field, with the 20th Massachusetts making room for the gun and horses to get through and take up position in the center of the Union line. Equidistant from the James rifle were the two mountain howitzers, which supported the Union right and left flanks. The Rebels fired on the horse team of the James rifle. The two lead horses were shot, while the rest became frantic. The horses broke their traces and galloped down the hill dragging the limber. The unlimbered James rifle opened up on the enemy, but the Rebels shifted their fire to the crew. Most of the crewmen were killed or wounded, and the gun fell silent.

Burt soon advanced with the bulk of the 18th Mississippi. The Rebels advanced diagonally across the field toward the angle of the Federal line. Apparently Burt could not see the men of the 15th Massachusetts inside the edge of the woods on the northern part of the field. When the Mississippians came to within 100 yards of the Yankee position, the Yankees unleashed a deadly volley, stopping the Confederate attack. Burt, who was mortally wounded in the advance, would die three days later.

Command of the 18th Mississippi now fell to Lt. Col. Thomas Griffin, who ordered the regiment back and divided it into two battalions. He sent the larger detachment to the right in an attempt to flank the Yankee left. This move produced a 200-yard gap in his line, which was soon filled by the newly arrived 17th Mississippi.

About that time, Stone, who was at Edwards Ferry, received a message from McClellan ordering him to take Leesburg. Unfortunately, it was encoded and Stone did not have the means to decode the message. It did not matter much because the day was growing long, and

events were about to take a turn for the worse for the Federals at Ball's Bluff.

Fighting continued to rage at Ball's Bluff, even though most of the fighting on both sides was uncoordinated with units acting independently. Confederate pressure on the Federal right was not a serious threat; however, the same could not be said on the left flank. The 18th Mississippi's right battalion managed at about 4:30 PM to get around the Federals left flank. Baker ordered over two companies of the 15th Massachusetts to reinforce his left. The Mississippians launched repeated attacks against the Federal left, which was defended by elements of the 1st California, 15th and 20th Massachusetts, and 42nd New York Regiments.

In one of the advances, Wistar was struck by a minie ball in the hip. It was his second wound of the day. Nevertheless, he stayed in the fight, even helping to man the James rifle. Lieutenant Walter Bramhall, who was in charge of the gun, was aided after his crew had been shot down not only by Wistar but also by Cogswell, Lee, other officers, and even Baker, who helped roll the gun back into position after its recoil. They were soon replaced by volunteer infantrymen.

On the Confederate right, the Mississippians attacked again. Wistar was shifting troops to face the new attack when he received his third wound. Baker helped him to his feet and ordered a soldier to get the wounded officer to a boat. Baker remained in the action, but not for long.

At 5 PM Baker was shot and killed. The troops around him were thrown back, leaving Baker's body unattended. As the Confederates surged closer to Baker's body, Captain Louis Bieral of Company G, 1st California, rallied a group of men from his regiment to recover Baker's body. The men rushed forward. Bieral shot a Confederate who was bending over the body. More troops from both sides rushed in, and a sharp fight raged over the body, which eventually was retrieved, but not before Bieral was wounded several times.

The situation was turning worse for the Federals. Lee met with Devens and ordered a retreat back across the Potomac. Cogswell soon joined the two officers. He claimed seniority to Lee, and he believed they could break out and cut their way to join Gorman at Edwards Ferry. Cogswell ordered Devens to bring his men from the right of the line to the left to support a column of attack by the 1st California and three companies of the 42nd New York, two of which had just recently arrived.

Cogswell's breakout attempt ended in failure. The Rebels quickly moved into the woods from which the 15th Massachusetts had withdrawn. Then, a Confederate officer, Lieutenant Charles

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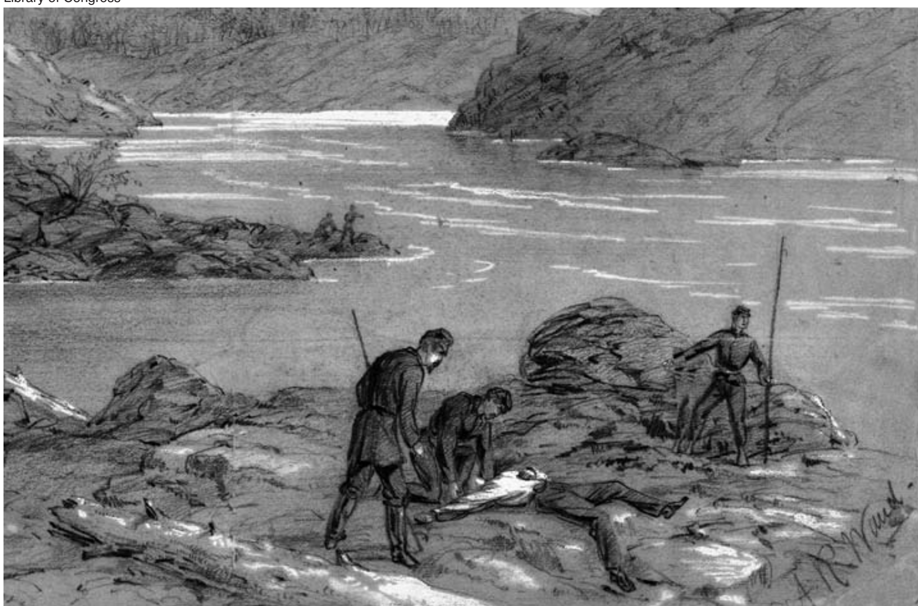

A Union patrol goes about the sad duty of collecting the bodies of their fallen comrades along the Potomac River after the battle. In the battle's aftermath, Stone became the first target of the vindictive Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War.

Wildman, suddenly appeared on a gray horse in front of the 42nd New York, took off his hat and waved it, and ordered them to charge. Apparently he mistook the 42nd in their gray uniforms for Confederate troops. They obeyed the order believing he was a Union officer and surged forward. The men of the 15th Massachusetts started to charge, too, but were stopped by Devens. The New Yorkers on the other hand were badly shot up.

Hunton, with his 8th Virginia now back in action, ordered a charge. Mississippi and Virginia troops drove back the Yankees and captured the two mountain howitzers. The troops of the 8th Virginia were now completely exhausted and withdrew to the rear.

Not long after the Virginians' withdrawal, Featherston of the 17th Mississippi ordered a charge, "Forward, charge, Drive the Yankees into the Potomac or Hell!" The 17th and 18th Mississippi troops advanced close to the enemy when Featherston ordered them to fire and charge. The Yankees were overwhelmed. Featherston would claim that his men captured the James rifle during the attack, while most Federal accounts state the gun was rolled off the bluff.

By this time, Cogswell had determined that retreat was the only option. He said as much to Devens and ordered him to retreat. Although the 15th Massachusetts made a brief stand at the edge of the river among some trees and two companies from the 42nd freshly arrived put up a brief fight, they, like the rest of the troops, broke. Many of the Federal troops scrambled down the path for the river, while others were driven back to the edge of the bluff. The Yankees huddled on the brow of the cliff "in one wild panic-stricken herd, rolled, leaped, [and] tumbled over the precipice.... Screams of pain and terror filled the air," said Private Randolph Shotwell of the 8th Virginia. Some of those who jumped landed on the bayonets of the troops below.

"Here was a horrible scene," said Captain William Francis Bartlett of the 20th Massachusetts. "Men crowded together, the wounded and the dying. The water was full of human beings struggling with each other and the water." To make matters worse, Confederate soldiers were firing at the mass of humanity trying to escape across the Potomac. Troops scrambled into the few boats available, which soon disappeared after the men in them were shot down by the Rebels. A large scow, which had carried over the two newly arrived companies of the 42nd, was overloaded with soldiers as it made its way back to Harrison's Island and capsized, drowning most of its occupants.

Despite the confusion and death at the river's edge, many Federals managed to get across to Harrison's Island. Devens ordered his men to discard their guns and swim for the island. Other officers ordered the same thing. Some of the men who had been issued new Enfield rifles strapped them to their backs as they attempted to swim for their lives. Some made it. By 8 PM most of the Federals still remaining at Ball's Bluff surrendered.

Upon hearing of Baker's death, Stone quickly sent word to McClellan and rode from Edwards

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ON MARCH 14, 1590, King Henry IV of France achieved his greatest military victory on the field of Ivry. There was nothing ambiguous about the battle. Superior tactics won the day for the Royalists, who smashed through the ranks of their Catholic League enemy and utterly routed it. But while the dramatic outcome of Ivry was unquestionable, its significance was virtually nil. Ivry may have been one the most climactic moments of the last of France's religious civil wars, but it was far from decisive. Instead, it was merely part of a ballet known to history as the War of the Three Henrys in which politics largely dictated the nature of military campaigns. Political reality along with Henry IV's inability to exploit his martial masterpiece crippled the usefulness of the triumph. That did not, however, prevent the Battle of Ivry from becoming French legend.

Henry IV was a French Protestant, also known as a Huguenot. Henry was raised a Huguenot through the strenuous efforts of his mother, Queen Jeanne d'Albert, while his father, Antoine de Bourbon, willingly discarded his own Calvinist faith out of pure opportunism. Antoine was the King of Navarre and essentially a king without a kingdom, as Navarre had long been occupied by Spain. He consequently converted to Catholicism in order to possess some political relevance. Henry's mother, estranged from her husband, ensured that her son did not follow the dishonorable path of his father. Antoine was killed in 1562 during the siege of Rouen at the start of the many religious conflicts that would internally disrupt French society for the better part of half a century. Ten years later, in 1572, Jeanne too died, leaving Henry both King of Navarre and a seemingly devout Protestant.

"RALLY ROUND MY WHITE PLUMES"

Before she died, Jeanne arranged for Henry to be married into the House of Valois, the reigning dynasty of France. The bride to be, Marguerite de Valois, was a Catholic, the sister of King Charles IX, and daughter of the supremely influential Queen Mother, Catherine de Medici. It was Catherine's hope that the marriage of her daughter to a Huguenot prince would help foster peace in war-torn France. It was thus difficult for anyone to miss the black irony of what occurred only days after the wedding.

On August 22, 1572, the day following the wedding festivities, an assassin made a failed attempt on the life of the Huguenot leader, Admiral Gaspard de Coligny. It was largely believed to be the work of the Catholic Guise family, which collectively controlled large parts of northern and eastern France. Desperate to avoid possible retaliation and civil war, Catherine and Charles chose to preempt the Huguenots with an attack

Henry IV is shown directing the siege of Paris in 1593 in a 19th-century painting by Frederic Ronmy. The Catholic populace feared retribution from the victorious Huguenot king.

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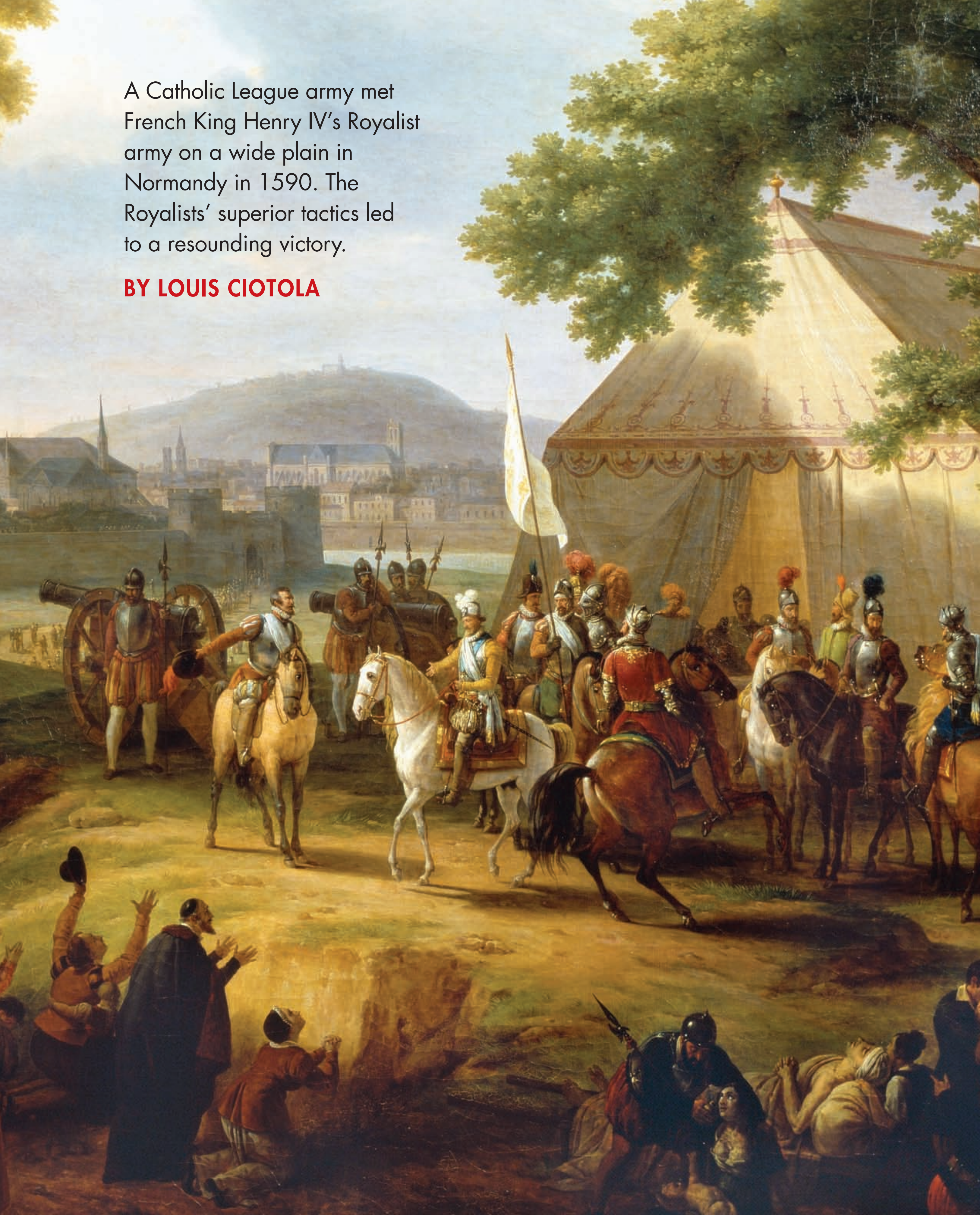

A Catholic League army met French King Henry IV's Royalist army on a wide plain in Normandy in 1590. The Royalists' superior tactics led to a resounding victory.

BY LOUIS CIOTOLA

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of their own. The result was the excessively bloody St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. Beginning in Paris but soon spreading throughout France, angry Catholic mobs brutally slaughtered tens of thousands of Protestants.

The indiscriminate murder of Protestants had not been the intention of the Valois. Only their leadership was officially targeted. As such, 18-year-old Henry de Navarre was in danger of losing his life. He only escaped execution by accepting conversion to Catholicism, a humiliation he had little recourse but to suffer. For the next three years he remained a virtual prisoner in Paris until making his escape in February 1576. Immediately thereafter denouncing his imposed faith, Henry, along with Huguenots throughout France, pledged themselves enemies not of the crown, but of the true instigator of the massacre, the House of Guise.

By the time of Henry's flight from Paris, France had a new king in the person of Charles' brother, Henry III. Henry III was largely conciliatory toward the resurgent Huguenots, earning him the contempt of many Catholics. Not least among the disgruntled were the Guises, who already had their own personal feud with the monarch and, like most in France, regarded him as corrupt, weak, and effeminate. As a consequence, in 1576 Henry de Guise formed the Catholic League, a group of Catholic organizations united as much to counter Huguenot power as challenge Henry III's authority. Naturally, the move escalated tensions between Henry III and the Guises, especially when the king attempted to control their creation.

After 1576 the situation remained largely static, interrupted only by a few incidents of relatively minor warfare, until the death of Francis d'Anjou, the king's brother and heir in June 1584. Because of his marriage to the king's sister, the Huguenot Henry de Navarre found himself the new heir to the throne of Catholic France. For many Catholics, including the League and the Guises, such a development was entirely unacceptable but could at least be made more tolerable should Henry volunteer to convert. Henry, however, could not risk alienating his already wary Huguenot allies in exchange for winning over an uncertain number of Catholic loyalists. Ironically, the situation was not necessarily unwelcome to the Guises as they had been looking for some time to assert their self-assumed role as the defenders of France against heresy.

Contrary to Henry III's demands, Henry de Guise began militarizing those parts of the League that he controlled, vowing to resist "those who are seeking to subvert the Catholic religion and the entire state." As the king had feared, anarchy descended as Catholic elements within France took matters into their own hands under the excuse that Henry III had failed to act decisively against the Huguenot menace. League cells, many with no connection to the Guises, organized throughout the country, including a faction known as "The Sixteen" in Paris, named for the 16 sections of the city. There was little the king could do. Resisting the League would be tantamount to siding with heresy.

Things only got worse for the kings of France and Navarre. In January 1585, Henry de Guise completed the Treaty of Joinville with Spain, uniting them in a military alliance. That July, he forced Henry III to sign the Treaty of Nemours, whereby Protestantism was forbidden and Charles, the Cardinal de Bourbon, was designated as the rightful heir to the throne. Even more insulting, the French king would be forced to finance the League army, which was being used as the very leverage against him now that it had occupied much of northern France and recruited a large contingent of foreign mercenaries. But perhaps the greatest insult came from Pope Sixtus V who, by issuing a decree of excommunication against Henry, had interfered with issues of the crown and demonstrated just how powerless the king had become.

Henry could do little but declare war on the League, which he did in the name of France. He stated no equivalent hostility toward Henry III, dubbing the Treaty of Nemours "a peace with foreigners at the expense of the princes of the blood," but immediately scrambled for aid from Europe's Protestant powers so that he could maintain an army in the field that would likely come to blows with royal troops. The War of the Three Henry's, France's last religious war, had begun.

Henry's choice of military strategy in 1585 was based on political and financial reality. He did not wish to war against the king, only the League, so indirect fighting would be the best way to draw out the hostilities while working to create a rift between the Royalists and the Leaguers. As he dispatched letter upon letter to Henry III stressing the evils of the League and even challenging Guise to a duel, he conducted a guerrilla-style campaign in Guyenne and Poitou, tempting the enemy to sap its strength against well-prepared fortifications. At any rate, the Huguenot forces lacked the financial capacity for offensive war. Moreover, their leadership and loyalties were questionable. Command was often divided between Henry and the Prince de Conde, at times nearly leading to disaster. Even Henry's own wife was quick to abandon him, though that did not come to him as a shock or a disappointment.

If Huguenot difficulties were large, they paled in comparison to that of their adversaries. Henry III and Guise were as far from close allies as was possible. The king believed he could subvert the Treaty of Nemours and hoped Henry would eventually convert to undermine the despised League. In the meantime, he made every effort to keep Royalist troops out of Guise's hands and even ordered his generals Jacques de Goyon, Lord of Matignon, and Anne de Joyeuse to avoid engaging Huguenot armies whenever possible.

For Henry III, the best case scenario would have been a battlefield demise of Henry de Guise, something he actively wished for. Guise had made great efforts to undercut the king's

military power. He removed Royalist officers from the royal army wherever possible, placing the troops under himself or his brother, Charles de Mayenne. He also levied large numbers of German and Swiss mercenaries to consolidate League domination of the north and east. Try as he did to counteract these measures, Henry III's soldiers were, as a Tuscan ambassador recalled, "undisciplined, licentious, disaffected, and badly paid." Like the Huguenots, the Catholics were in no condition to do more than engage in minor operations.

Huguenot deficiencies as a result of financial constraint were most evident in their inferior equipment, which was only tempered to some degree by tactical innovation. Like all French armies of the period, the Huguenots designed their cavalry to be the decisive arm in battle. Henry divided his cavalry between mounted carabins (arquebusiers), chevaux-legers (light cavalry), and gendarmes (heavy cavalry). He used the carabins as support troops that were also trained as infantry. They constituted the bulk of the cavalry. His light cavalry, faster and lighter than traditional cuirassiers, could also fight on foot.

The gendarmes were the most important branch of the cavalry and best demonstrated Huguenot innovation. Under the direction of Francois de La Noue, the Huguenots redesigned heavy cavalry tactics to suit their particular needs. Grouped together in deep formations of 300-600 men, the gendarmes were armed with wheelock pistols and swords in place of the cumbersome and expensive lance. Acting like German Reiters, they would charge forward and unleash a volley of shot into the enemy ranks. Unlike the Reiters, they would follow the volley with a headlong sword charge rather than turn back to reload in a caracole maneuver.

For the first two years of active fighting, Henry had little opportunity to test the new tactics in battle. That changed in late 1587 when he arranged a merger with recently hired Swiss and German mercenaries. Fearful of this dramatic boost in Huguenot power, Henry III finally ordered Joyeuse and Matignon to prosecute the war with more vigor and prevent the merger. Meanwhile, Henry had decided to march from southern France toward the Loire to facilitate the unification. Marching south separately, the two Royalist commanders planned to trap him in a pincer, with both ordered to refrain from battle until the other had arrived. Sensing the scheme, Henry maneuvered to avoid the trap while hoping to catch one of the two generals alone, confident that he could then achieve a victory.

At Coutras, on October 20, 1587, he succeeded in tempting Joyeuse to battle. Outnumbering Henry's 6,300 men by nearly 4,000, Joyeuse was not about to refuse, regardless of his orders. But Henry was able to choose his ground and bait Joyeuse to attack in what was a long advance that tired and disordered the Royalist lines. When the moment appeared ripe, Henry, wearing his famous helmet plumed by white feathers, launched a ferocious countercharge with his gendarmes. Within five minutes the Royalist army was devastated. Joyeuse, who before the battle had claimed, "The King of Navarre is frightened," lay dead, killed while trying to surrender as revenge for a previous massacre. Alongside him were 2,500 of his men. Huguenot losses were negligible by comparison.

After scolding Henry for his typical personal recklessness in battle, his commanders begged him to press his advantage. Afraid of pushing the king closer to Guise, he refused. Instead, as legend had it, he took a detour to present the captured Royalist standards to his mistress. True or not, his acute lack of funds prevented an offensive anyway, as the petty nobility within his army needed to withdraw and reequip their men, most of whom had yet to be paid. Consequently, Henry's victory, the first major triumph of Huguenot arms, came to nothing.

Soon that would be the least of his troubles. While the Royalists fumbled with the Huguenots, Guise took it upon himself to meet the foreign threat. The king could not be more pleased. With any luck his Royalist armies would defeat Henry while at the same time Guise, fighting the Swiss and Germans, would be killed or humiliated. At the very least he would be far from Paris. Henry III subsequently gave the League no support and even tried to withhold supplies, but Guise was more than capable of procuring what he needed on his own. In two successive battles, Vimory and Auneau, he bested the mercenaries and prevented any chance of Huguenot reinforcement from the east. With those defeats and the death of Conde shortly thereafter, Henry was at his lowest.

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Catholic King Henry III (left) was murdered by monk Jacques Clement on July 31, 1589. Protestant Henry IV, who was the rightful heir to the throne, was compelled to secure it through military conquest. OPPOSITE: The failed assassination attempt on Huguenot leader Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, at left, and the related bloody St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572 are portrayed in a period drawing. Henry of Navarre, a Huguenot, was forced to hide in the Louvre until his escape three years later.

As it turned out, the Huguenot cause was far from lost. The Guise victories, rather than unite Catholic France, tore apart the tenuous League-Royalist alliance. Just as Guise was about to finish off the mercenaries, Henry III negotiated with them, paid them to quit France, and took all the credit when they did so, undercutting his ally's glory. Naturally, Guise was infuriated, and this came at a time when his popularity in Paris was soaring. Afraid of what might occur, the king forbade him from entering the capital and threatened to crush "The Sixteen." It proved a momentous error in judgment.

Under the gun, "The Sixteen" turned to Guise for help. Encouraged by the Spanish and his own anger, he was only too willing to oblige. On May 8, 1588, Guise entered Paris. Four days later, when an understandably nervous Henry III rushed troops into the city to quash the League presence, all of Paris erupted in a popular rebellion forever known as the Day of the Barricades. The

king's gamble backfired completely as the population overwhelmed his troops and, after a brief stint as a prisoner in the Louvre, he fled as a refugee.

The king's humiliation was not yet complete. Despite the petitions of the radical Catholic tide in Paris, Guise rejected any royal ambitions of his own, but he was not quite finished with Henry III. That July he forced the king to sign the Edict of Union in which all League demands were met in full and Guise was made lieutenant general of the royal army. Henry begged the king to unite with him against the treacherous League, but Henry III, ever the weakling and on the advice of his mother, instead bowed to Guise.

It was an unsustainable situation, and it became increasingly clear that France was not big enough for both Henry III and Henry de Guise. In the waning months of 1588, the king finally reached his breaking point. Rumors, which were entirely untrue, abounded that Guise planned his overthrow. With nothing left to lose, he decided he would rid himself of the menace once and for all. Meanwhile, Guise's supporters kept him fully informed of the king's machinations but, flush with power, Guise brushed off warnings of assassination quipping, "He would never dare."

For reasons quite understandable, Guise had fatally underestimated the feckless monarch. On December 23, a bodyguard dispatched by Henry III murdered him as he arrived for an appointment with the king. The next day his brother Louis, Cardinal de Guise, followed him to the grave. Pleased with his actions and surprising display of backbone, Henry III rushed to his now decrepit

Library of Congress

mother to tell her the good news. Her reaction was unsettling. "What do you think you have done?" she asked, "You have killed two men who have left a lot of friends."

Catherine's last admonition to her son (she would be dead within two days) proved painfully prophetic. Enraged by the murders, Paris exploded in rioting. Rather than regain Catholic supremacy, the king's support fell lower than ever as League cells seized control of city after city. Guise's brother Mayenne simply stepped in to fill his dead sibling's role as lieutenant general, and the king was even excommunicated by the pope. Far from being disheartened, League power was as robust as ever. With his mother now dead and support all but withered, Henry III at last turned to the one man who could save his crown, Henry of Navarre.

Conciliation was the best Henry III could do given the situation while Henry, who had already been taking advantage of the turmoil in Paris to launch an offensive, continued to profess loyalty to the crown. On April 3, 1589, the Huguenots and Royalists agreed to an alliance against the League. The agreement provided an immediate boost to Henry's forces, especially the acquisition of the Royalist Swiss pikemen, as his infantry had been sorely deficient. Reinforced, his offensive toward Paris picked up steam. A series of skirmishes, most notably at Tours, drove Mayenne back to the capital and strengthened the trust between Huguenot and Royalist commanders. Said an English agent, "The King of Navarre is thought to do what he does by sorcery, for all places do yield to him."

In July the two allies reached Paris hoping for a quick capture of the city that would rip out the heart of the League. In their initial attacks, the Royalists managed to seize a bridge at Saint-Cloud while the Huguenots penetrated into the suburbs at Meudon. It was then, as they considered how best to maintain momentum, that a young monk named Jacques Clement, claiming to have information on the defenders, gained an audience with the king in order to plunge a dagger into his abdomen. Approaching death, the king espoused Henry's right to the succession and urged his followers to do the same. On August 2, he died. Henry of Navarre became Henry IV, first Bourbon king of France.

His predecessor's dying endorsement provided no guarantee that Henry would be found universally acceptable as the legitimate king of France. Indeed, when he again refused to convert to Catholicism for fear that he would lose his base of support and foreign benefactors, many former Royalist Catholic nobility quit his newly acquired army, taking their men with them and consequently causing his force to shrink significantly. Although there were some notable exceptions who were satisfied by his pledge to defend the free practice of Catholicism, such as Armand de Gontaut, Marshal Biron, and Francois, Duc de Montpensier, enough left to make a continued siege of Paris impossible. Meanwhile, in the city itself Parisians cheered the Cardinal de Bourbon as the new King Charles X, an ironic gesture as the cardinal was a Royalist prisoner, one whom Mayenne was making no effort to liberate.

Henry's total army was now a mere third of what it had been before the previous king's death, reduced to 18,000 men. As for his foreign contingents, he was forced to bribe the Swiss captains to maintain the use of their pikemen, the bulk of whom were growing restless for lack of pay. Considering the substantial drop in strength, most of those who remained loyal to Henry advised him to withdraw south across the Loire, but he rejected the advice out of hand as detrimental to his now kingly status. He was already compelled to leave Paris. Falling back to the start could undermine what support he had left. Instead, he would lead the army north into Normandy, taking towns along the way, in an effort to procure supplies from England.

By contrast, Mayenne's army was growing as he had managed to convince many League leaders to come to the defense of Paris. Even though a number of them were wary of risking their men in Mayenne's hands, his army nevertheless greatly outnumbered the Royalists, having 20,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry, which were largely reinforcements from Flanders and Lorraine along with some Swiss and German landsknechts. Still, it was only with hesitancy

that he decided to pursue the enemy north, pushed on by a threat to League-controlled Rouen.

But Henry never intended to target Rouen. His priority was English supplies and reinforcements, which could best be attained at the port of Dieppe. Mayenne's approach, however, forced him to march inland from the port to establish a defense. He selected a small valley formed by two rivers near the town of Arques where, protected by hills, marsh, and forest, the Royalists would be at an advantage should the Leaguers attempt battle.

The Royalists further strengthened their position with the construction of two parallel trenches at their front. Biron, commanding Swiss and German as well as French troops, held the first trench while French soldiers and Henry's Swiss Guard manned the second. Also in the first trench sat the cannons with the cavalry in between. Despite their preparations, many Royalist generals were uneasy with their numerical inferiority, but Henry was unfazed noting, "You are not counting everything. You have left out God and the cause of right which is on my side." Mayenne was equally apprehensive, hesitating for three full days in the vain hope that his enemy would withdraw. His indecisiveness gave Henry more time to prepare.

Although skirmishing began on September 14, the battle proper commenced on September 21 when Mayenne's Germans ventured a flanking attack through the woods against the Royalist right that succeeded in driving Biron out of the first trench. Some 300 Leaguer landsknechts even managed to penetrate completely behind the Royalist lines by feigning surrender only to unleash temporary chaos at the first opportune moment. Henry would later hang a number of Swiss pikemen who had fled the first trench without fighting, ignoring their explanation of a lack of pay.

The heaviest combat took place at the second trench where the Swiss held firm supported by a Royalist countercharge led by Henry himself. The fighting was thick, and at least once the king found himself surrounded and crying out for anyone with "courage enough to die with their prince," before being rescued by his gendarmes. The tide at last began to swing in Henry's favor at noon when, thanks to the lifting of the morning fog, the Royalist cannons could open fire. Shortly thereafter, the timely arrival of veteran troops under Francois de Coligny, son of the Coligny of St Bartholomew fame, turned events decisively in Henry's favor.

The Battle of Arques left Henry free to continue his plans in Normandy. It provided a huge boost to morale and lured in a flood of new

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ABOVE: Following the assassination of Henry III in July 1589, Henry de Navarre began a long campaign of conquest against resilient Catholic opposition. He won a key victory at Arques two months later. OPPOSITE: Henry de Navarre's victory over a Catholic army at Coutras on October 20, 1587, enhanced his military reputation.

recruits, though the League army remained larger. Demoralized, Mayenne withdrew on October 6, struggling to keep his force intact in the face of mounting tensions with League nobility that pushed him ever deeper toward Spanish dependency.

Several days after the battle, the English reinforcements Henry has hoped for arrived in Dieppe at last. In combination with a second Royalist army under La Noue, the king was now sufficiently strong to again move on Paris. On November 1, he reached the capital and quickly learned that things would not be any easier the second time around. Although they had beaten the League army to the city, the Royalist attack penetrated only as far as Philippe-Auguste's wall marking the border of the city proper due to stiff Parisian resistance, which increased even more following the massacre of 400 civilians at the abbey at St. Germain.

Worse still, the besiegers almost unbelievably allowed Mayenne to enter the city the following day across a bridge over the Oise that they had neglected to destroy. When subsequent efforts to tempt Mayenne into battle failed, it became clear that Paris could hold out indefinitely. Although many within the city had urged Mayenne to accept battle to ward off the growing influence of Spain, military prudence dictated otherwise. Mayenne's patience paid off.

Henry's decision to again abandon Paris was unpopular within the Royalist ranks. "I do what I can," he humbly told them. Following a brief stint in Tours, he again marched north into Normandy fully expecting Mayenne to pursue. Here he fared much better, meeting success after success as he captured nearly every place of importance in the region save Rouen. After taking Lisieux he mockingly exclaimed, "I took the place without firing one of my cannons, except to make fun of them." His luck continued at Meulan where, while observing the enemy from atop a church steeple, he survived a near miss with a cannonball that passed harmlessly through his legs.

With Spanish prompting and reinforcements from the Netherlands in the form of Spaniards and Walloons under Philip of Egmont, Mayenne commenced his pursuit as the Royalists conducted their latest siege at Dreux. Even after losing his English contingent as well as many troops to garrison duty, Henry was eager to do battle. On March 12, he raised the siege of Dreux and moved his 8,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry onto the plain of Saint Andre between the towns of Nonancourt and Ivry, only 36 miles from Paris. He was met by a League army with 15,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry. The two forces skirmished lightly throughout the day as they positioned themselves for an inevitable confrontation.

Although the plain of Saint Andre was soft and muddy, Henry would as always rely on his cavalry to win the day. He divided it into six segments, each flanked by infantry and covered by arquebusiers. The king planned to strike the enemy left with his right center and accordingly posted himself there in command of his best gendarme, a contingent of Swiss infantry, and his personal guard.

All of Henry's commanders leading a segment of the army were former officers serving Henry

III. To his right at the end of the line were German and French infantry under Dietrich of Schomberg. On the opposite end was Marshal Jean d'Aumont with 300 horse and two regiments of French infantry. Between d'Aumont and Henry from left to right were cavalry, Swiss pike, and landsknechts under Montpensier, 400 light horse and the five Royalist cannons under Charles, Duc d'Angouleme and Sieur de Givry, and Baron de Biron with some horse and a large number of infantry. The baron's father, Marshal Biron, led the reserves, some 150 horse positioned behind the right flank.

Mayenne possessed little enthusiasm for battle, but his positioning with his back to the river Eure made it impossible to avoid. He drew up his army similarly to the Royalists, dividing his cavalry with the infantry, and took command of the left center exactly opposite Henry at the head of 700 lancers and 400 Spanish horse-arquebusiers. To his left was Charles, Duke of Aumale, with French horse and French and Walloon infantry. Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Nemours, led the far right composed of light and heavy cavalry with Swiss and landsknechts. Between Nemours and Mayenne was Egmont with French lancers and Walloon infantry followed by German Reiters backed by more Swiss and German foot. The guns sat to the right of Nemours.

As the League line extended farther than the Royalists', Mayenne planned to outflank the enemy on both ends. But there were a number of flaws in his formation, particularly the close proximity of his units, which would restrict his Reiters' caracole. Henry, by contrast, would suffer no such difficulties as he ordered his cavalry to dispense with the maneuver altogether.

The moments just before battle were filled with rhetoric meant to spur common soldiers that was typical of the era. Flying his banner bearing the crosses of Lorraine that symbolized his dead Guise brothers, Mayenne petitioned his men to fight for the liberation of France from heresy. Henry, meanwhile, rallied his men in his typically personal way, exclaiming, "If you lose your ensigns, cornets, or banners rally round my white plumes for you will always find it on the road to victory and honor." As noble as his words may have been, however, they were not always enough to drive men forward blindly. Only moments before, he felt compelled to apologize to a distraught Schomberg after having imprudently accused him of cowardice for having presented the issue of his men's arrears in pay on the eve of battle. Fortunately for the Royalists, the ill-timed incident caused no serious discord.

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The royalists struck first, opening up a cannonade with Egmont and the Reiters as their target. Two rounds into the bombardment the League cannons returned the favor against Montpensier. While the League guns wildly missed their target, Royalist cannonballs tore viciously into Egmont's Walloons. The effectiveness of his enemy's fire forced Mayenne's hand. With the choice being between standing still and taking heavy casualties or fighting in an attempt to end the punishment, he chose to fight.

The bulk of the battle consisted of a series of cavalry charges and clashes all along the opposing lines. While Montpensier and Nemours fought to a standstill, elsewhere events were much more fluid. On the Royalist left, d'Aumont's horse broke through the League lines, driving its light horse into the woods and absorbing a volley of arquebus fire upon penetration. On the opposite end of the line, Schomberg and Aumale met in a draw that was only decided in favor of the Royalists upon the arrival of Biron's reserves. The Leaguers had better success in the center, where Egmont's Walloons sliced through Angouleme and Givry, then turned on the Royalist cannon from the rear, knocking it out of commission. It proved a temporary victory as they were thoroughly disordered from the charge and subsequently driven off by Baron Biron's carabins.

It was the clash between Henry and Mayenne, however, that decided the battle. Things began poorly for the Leaguers. Their Reiters' attempt at a caracole was an unmitigated disaster as first it was disrupted by the still active Royalist guns and then, because of the compactness of the Leaguer lines, crashed into Mayenne's main body, forcing it to halt its attack on Henry. The Spanish mounted arquebusiers fared better, causing a number of casualties including the king's standard bearer, creating a brief fear that the king had fallen. But Henry was alive and well and ready to strike his fumbling enemy.

A witness later testified that Henry "was everywhere, as if he had a hundred eyes and as many arms." With his gendarme in tow, he smashed headlong into Mayenne's troops as they struggled vainly to recover their momen-

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ABOVE: King Henry IV's triumphant entry into Paris in 1594 is portrayed in a painting by Flemish Baroque artist Peter Paul Rubens. Despite his myriad shortcomings, "Henri-Quatre" remains one of France's most popular kings. OPPOSITE: Henry IV's cavalry employed innovative pistol and shock tactics to defeat the Catholic cavalry and pike units at Ivry.

tum. The Leaguer lance was made useless by its failure to charge so that the lancers were forced to discard them for swords, but it was already too late. After 15 minutes of sharp combat amid steel and shot, the Leaguers broke and attempted to flee. With a small body of men, Mayenne escaped across the Eure, then in an act of cold necessity destroyed the bridge over which he had passed, trapping many of his men on the opposite bank.

Henry, wounded several times and dazed by a blow to the helmet, ordered that any French captured be spared but all foreigners killed. As a result, the Royalists slaughtered the remaining landsknechts and Walloons almost to a man. Only the Swiss, thanks to a stout defense, saved their own lives by negotiation. Those Leaguers that eluded death or capture retreated to Ivry and Chartres.

"God has shown that he favors right more than power," Henry bragged after the battle as he was presented with Mayenne's captured standard. Indeed, the more powerful force suffered greatly at Ivry. Nearly 4,000 League soldiers remained dead on the field, including Egmont, who had been shot through the head as Biron decimated his Walloons. Thousands more were made prisoner. Royalist losses amounted to fewer than 500, though among them was the luckless Schomberg.

Henry's victory at Ivry has long been stained by his failure to exploit it by marching directly on Paris. Even his enemies admitted the city would have surely fallen had he done so. Instead, the Royalist army did not reach Paris until May 6, and by then it was too late. Many of Henry's detractors have called him lazy or branded him an overrated general. Some even accused him of wasting time so that he could hunt. His defenders posited poor weather, flooding, and the need for English reinforcements and supplies for his patience. Regardless, an immense opportunity to end the war was missed due to an overly cautious strategy.

The Parisians were fully prepared for their third siege in less than two years. The city garrison was led by Nemours this time rather than Mayenne, whose popularity had suffered immensely due to his defeats at Arques and Ivry. He waited at a distance as League preachers reviled against him almost as much as Henry. To the citizens of Paris, Henry was the epitome of evil waiting for his chance to take revenge upon the population with an unimaginable bloodletting. Their fanatical defense would reflect that belief.

Henry, meanwhile, desperately tried to portray the opposite image, which is the reason he did not press the siege as vigorously as possible. By August, the city was facing starvation on a mass scale as the Royalists prevented all grain supplies from entering. Said Francois d'Orleans, "The inhabitants of Paris are in such desperate straits that I believe they will be starved into submission within fifteen days." Henry's generals therefore condemned his decision to permit women and children to evacuate the city under safe conduct. Humanitarian as it was, it critically damaged the prospects of inducing surrender. Nevertheless, 13,000 Parisians would die of starvation and another 30,000 from disease.

League representatives did agree to negotiate, but it was simply a ploy to buy time. In September relief at last arrived in the form of a Spanish army under Alexander Farnese, the famous Duke of Parma. Parma, by far the most experienced soldier present, ignored Mayenne's pleas and avoided Henry's attempts to fight a pitched battle, choosing a more sophisticated strategy of maneuver, with which he successfully broke the siege through the occupation of Lagny. For Henry, his third siege of Paris, despite the glory of Ivry, was an unmitigated disaster. His army broke up as many of his supporting nobles returned home in disgust. Henry himself withdrew northwest.

Such was the story over the following three years as the king struggled to keep an army in the field. There was no more glory to be had. The continued intervention of Parma made life difficult while a failed siege of Rouen showed that Paris had not been a fluke. Even after Parma left for good in May 1592, Henry could make no military gains. It soon appeared that he had only one card left to play to maintain his tenuous hold on the throne.

By the start of 1593 it became apparent to Henry that his failures on the battlefield would

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DRIVE TO MESSINA

BY PHIL ZIMMER

Sergeant Alfred Johnson peered from behind a boulder on a rock-strewn hillside at Piano Lupo about six miles inland from the southern coast of Sicily. As he glanced down a big valley to the north, Johnson spotted tanks moving in a tight pattern some 2,000 yards away, their pennants flapping colorfully in the wind.

What a beautiful sight, he thought. The U.S. Army must have offloaded the tanks early on July 10, 1943.

But then it hit him. They were not American tanks. He barked orders to his 1st Infantry Division men to quickly dig into the rock-hard, sun-baked Sicilian soil. The veteran of the fighting in North Africa clawed feverishly at the terrain, determined to dig a foxhole that would protect his six-foot two-inch frame from the oncoming Tiger tanks. He wanted it deep enough to protect him from the powerful panzers firing their heavy shells into American machine-gun positions, trucks, and jeeps.

It was pure chaos. The panzer crews machine-gunned the Americans and deliberately spun their machines atop foxholes until the man beneath was little more than a red stain in the parched earth. The panzers turned toward Johnson, and less than 100 yards away a brave but foolhardy lieutenant stood up, aimed his .45 Colt pistol, and fired a few rounds as a panzer lumbered toward him. The panzer crushed him, leaving a yard-wide mess in its wake.

Johnson flopped deeper into his foxhole and began reciting the Lord's Prayer. All his other men were quiet, save for Richards, an American Indian who began chanting in his native tongue. Johnson recalled being told in a briefing aboard ship before the landing that the panzers were in northern Sicily, and therefore it would take two to three days for them to get near the southern beachheads. But the enemy had arrived sooner than expected. Johnson contemplated his next move as the tanks moved ever closer. In desperation, some men stood up, hands raised. Some were machine gunned by the panzer crews, and others were simply flattened by the 57-ton steel monsters.

American artillery opened up but did little damage. A U.S. light cruiser slipped in close to shore and began lobbing six-inch high-velocity shells at the panzers. The naval shells took their toll and gave the men a brief respite as the panzer company pulled back to regroup.

The Americans and British were ashore, but Operation Husky, as the Allied invasion of Sicily was code named, was only at the beginning of a long, frustrating struggle that would last 38 grueling days. The invasion consisted of a series of battles pitting the Allies against veteran and fanatical German forces.

Operation Husky marked the largest amphibious landing to date in world history with seven divisions initially put ashore, two more than would land at Normandy on June 6 the following year. Nevertheless, poor and incomplete planning, insufficient communications, indifferent tactical air support, rivalry, and fratricide marked the Sicilian campaign.

Planning for the invasion began even before the last shot was fired in the preceding North African campaign. But even then there were signs of problems to come. Great Britain had been at war for nearly four years, and it was stretched thin with more than 100,000 battle deaths and the loss of another 65,000 civilians and merchant mariners to the German onslaught.

The once undersized U.S. Army had now mushroomed to some six million soldiers. The army as a whole was trying to find its footing and gain experience against the mighty Wehrmacht, which following its invasion of Poland in 1939 had overrun much of Europe and a good portion of the Soviet Union. The U.S. Army's poor showing early in North Africa at the Kasserine Pass cast long shadows and raised grave concerns among both American and British commanders.

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and his generals had cajoled the Americans into the attack on Sicily. General George C. Marshall, the U.S. Army chief of staff, and other Americans initially opposed the venture. They contended that a Sicilian campaign would invariably lead to an invasion of Italy that would siphon experienced troops and precious war matériel away from a cross-Channel invasion of France that offered a more direct thrust into the heart of Germany. Marshall and like-minded thinkers believed the British fixation on Sicily and Italy belied their colonial interests and a hesitancy to again risk the horrendous losses suffered a generation earlier in the trench warfare on the Western Front during World War I.

British General Bernard Montgomery, who was to lead the British efforts on Sicily, continually put off planning for the invasion, contending that he needed to focus first on mopping up the Axis in North Africa. The initial planning went ahead without Montgomery and called for the British to land in southeastern Sicily and the Americans to take Palermo, the capital, on the northwestern coast. From there the Allies would move forward to squeeze the enemy into submission. Little substantial thought was given to air cover or in closing off the Straits of Messina, the gateway to the Italian mainland.

When the prickly Montgomery, whose ego was inflated as a result of his recent victory at El Alamein, finally got around to reviewing the plans, he called for a nearly complete revision. Never at a loss for words, Monty said the initial plan "breaks every common-sense rule of practical battle fighting and is completely theoretical. It has no hope of success and should be completely recast." His criticism unleashed harsh comments from others who also had reservations about the plan. Much of the concern centered on the idea that the enemy might crush one

U.S. troops patrol a captured town in Sicily in a GI's drawing. The invasion of Sicily, codenamed Operation Husky, was the largest Allied amphibious operation in World War II up to that time.

THE ALLIED INVASION OF SICILY IN JULY 1943 WAS FRAUGHT WITH COSTLY MISTAKES. BUT UNWAVERING DETERMINATION RESULTED IN VICTORY.

U.S. Army Art Collection

Both: National Archives

ABOVE: Americans land on the beaches of Sicily under enemy fire. A total of four British and three American divisions landed along a 100-mile strip of the island's southern coast. RIGHT: British troops come ashore in southern Sicily with the help of a rope to get through the heavy surf.

of the two invading forces before taking on the other; mutual Allied support would not be possible with such a widely separated, two-pronged amphibious invasion of the island. For that reason, Montgomery held out for an additional division as part of the overall effort to subdue Sicily.

The clamor for additional troops and matériel, as well as a call to rethink the entire plan, eventually reached Churchill. The British prime minster dashed off an acid-laced letter on April 8, 1943, to the British chiefs of staff. He chided those with "pusillanimous and defeatist doctrines" who shied at attacking the two German divisions on the island. He also lashed out at the planning staffs "playing on each other's fears" and the "total absence of one directing mind and commanding willpower." Churchill chided their timidity when faced with two enemy divisions at the very time the Soviet Union was entangled in a life-or-death struggle with 185 German divisions.

The plan was revised, with four British and three American divisions landing along a 100-mile stretch of beach on southeastern Italy. Palermo would have to wait. In addition, portions of two airborne divisions and eventually 13 Allied divisions would be committed to the invasion.

Despite the revised planning and the increased troop strength, the Allies missed seeing the need to seal off the two-mile-wide Strait of Messina to prevent Axis resupply and later prevent the escape of German and Italian forces to the mainland. The planning was so heavily focused on the capture of southern ports and nearby airfields that little thought was given to areas beyond the beachheads. What is more, the Americans would not have a large port to support their movement inland.

One aspect of the planning did go well. Efforts at misdirection and misinformation proved exceptionally helpful. The clever deployment of a supposed British officer's corpse found floating off the coast of Spain with detailed but false plans in his briefcase convinced many high-ranking Nazis that the coming Allied invasion would occur in southern Greece rather than Sicily. That area was beefed up rather than Sicily's defenses.

As it steamed toward Sicily, the Allied invading force with its 3,200 ships was the largest amphibious operation of World War II up to that time. There were an estimated 300,000 Axis troops on Sicily, mostly Italian troops of questionable quality backed by two top-flight German divisions, Generalleutnant Paul Conrath's Luftwaffe Panzer Division Hermann Göring and Generalmajor Eberhard Rodtfrom's 15th Panzergrenadier Division. Operation Husky also included the largest Allied airborne assault yet attempted.

The risks were substantial and were compounded by the poor planning. Amphibious landings over the centuries had proven horribly inflexible once unleashed, largely because of difficulties in synchronizing the attack. "Seldom in war has a major operation been undertaken in such a fog of indecision, confusion, and conflicting plans," Maj. Gen. Omar Bradley said afterward.

The American attack was to fall on and around Gela, a town of 32,000 located on a hill overlooking the Mediterranean. More than 3,000 paratroopers under Colonel James Gavin were to drop the night of July 9-10 on crucial road intersections north of the town and serve as blocking units protecting the troops landing in the morning light. Hardly anything went right for the paratroopers; many were scattered widely over the island and others were machine gunned as they descended. Only about 15 percent landed anywhere near where planned, and those who had the misfortune of landing in the sea needed to quickly dispose of their 82 pounds of kit before making an attempt get ashore. Those who did land on firm soil quickly moved to cut telephone lines, attack couriers, and create confusion.

The first American infantry started coming ashore shortly after 3:30 AM. Shortly thereafter the Italians blew up a sizable portion of the 1,000-foot-long Gela pier, and gunners lashed the waters with bullets as the 16th Infantry came ashore. In the confusion one soldier said, "I've been wounded, but there's so much blood

I can't tell exactly where." Another was about to leave his landing craft when he felt a weight against his leg. Shouting that someone had left his pack behind, he looked down and saw the crumpled body of a sergeant who had taken a fatal shot to the head.

Daylight did not brighten the situation for the Americans. The rough seas tangled the hard to manage pontoon bridges, and many men resorted to rubber boats to get ashore. One new contraption, a seagoing vehicle nicknamed a DUKW, or Duck, proved a godsend in getting men and equipment safely ashore.

Even after the U.S. troops were ashore, matters were still desperate. Contrary to intelligence reports, the American beaches were thoroughly mined. The dune exits also were mined, and many vehicles were blown up as they attempted to worm their way off the beaches. This held up attempts to get inland. Operable mine detectors were at a premium; many had shorted out when brought ashore, and others remained aboard ship. The scene on the beaches became a madhouse with exploded and burning vehicles blocking the exits, trucks mired in the sand, and boats overturned. Men searched desperately for fuel and ammunition in the stores brought ashore, often finding only

ullstein bild

A German Tiger tank rolls through a rural village. Field Marshal Albert Kesselring shifted four elite divisions and a large number of Italian troops to the island to fight the Allied invaders.

clerical records and miscellaneous matériel.

Lieutenant Colonel Bill Darby's 1st Ranger Battalion pushed into Gela as naval gunfire destroyed buildings in front of them. The Rangers forced Italians from the Livorno Division to surrender after a brief firefight. Farther inland, Gavin's paratroopers tangled with 32 light Renault tanks and Italian infantry. Salvos from the cruiser USS *Boise* slowed the enemy, although 20 of the tanks managed to press forward toward Gela until rounds from the 16th Infantry Regiment forced the enemy to flee northward toward safety.

Another 24 Italian tanks trundled southward from Ponte Olivo to be met by shellfire from the destroyer USS *Shubrick*. The naval shells set several enemy tanks ablaze, but 10 of the light tanks did reach Gela to face stiff resistance from the determined Rangers. The Americans fired bazookas, tossed grenades, and lobbed TNT from rooftops in an effort to stop the Italian tanks. In a movie-like sequence, the quick-thinking Darby directed his driver to the beach where he commandeered a 37mm antitank gun, used an ax to free shells from a crate, and returned to Gela. Darby lined up the gun and brought a tank to a stop with his second round. The Italians tumbled out in surrender as the other tanks fled northward to safety. About that time, Italian infantrymen marched toward Gela from the west and were cut down with the survivors fleeing in disorder.

The Germans also made a run at the invaders, the Hermann Göring Division launching a counterattack with a tank-heavy task force heading south along the Niscemi Road when it encountered Sergeant Johnson's 1st Division and elements of the 82nd Airborne Division at Piano Lupo. The attackers were supported from the east by an infantry-heavy German force also aimed at Piano Lupo. The tank crews fell prey to the heavy naval gunfire from American cruisers and destroyers located offshore. This compelled them to make a hasty withdrawal northward toward Niscemi.

Gela was secured for the time being by late morning, and things also went well some 15 miles west at Licata. The 3rd Infantry Division, a Ranger battalion, and a gaggle of American tanks found mine-free beaches and few Italian artillery positions. American destroyers covered the landing craft, and within an hour, according to most reports, 10 battalions made it ashore complete with tanks.

The third prong of the American attack located across the Gulf of Gela went badly. Twelve-foot swells and high surf buffeted the invaders. Inexperienced coxswains landed the first assault on the wrong beach, and others in the 45th Division and the 180th Infantry were splayed across a 12-mile stretch of Italian shoreline. While landing was difficult, unloading was even more problematic in the wild seas and chaos onshore. Congestion and the pilfering of supplies by Army shore parties exacerbated the situation. Some landing waves were diverted to secondary beaches where engineers blew up dunes to create access inland. Worse still, the growing congestion prompted some captains to head for North Africa without unloading.

By nightfall, the Americans were ashore and in command of their crescent along the beach. Some 5,000 vehicles and 50,000 Americans were planted on the Sicilian coast, sharing their rations with hundreds of Italian prisoners.

Thirty-five miles to the east, the British landings were led by commandos who landed early and took out Italian coastal artillery batteries at Cape Murro di Porco and Cassible. Subsequent landings were made by the Canadian 1st Division and the British 5th, 50th, and 51st Divisions. The rough seas played havoc in this sector, too, and the naval transports dropped anchor some 12 miles off the coast rather than the planned seven. As a result, many of the men were confined to their small landing craft for several hours and were wet, cold, and seasick as their craft putted toward shore.

The poorly equipped and poorly led Italians put up some resistance to the British and Canadian invaders before either surrendering or retreating into the island's interior. The British Eighth Army continued to land throughout the day, taking the vital Ponte Grande Bridge just south of the crucial port city of Syracuse and pushing on toward that city located farther up the eastern coast. Air or naval gunfire took out any remaining Italian batteries in the area, while Canadian troops took the abandoned Pachino airfield. The British and Canadian beaches were soon jammed with artillery, vehicles, and related war matériel.

The taking of the key Ponte Grande Bridge was not without problems. Montgomery had planned to have 1,700 men in 144 gliders land in the dead of night, capture the bridge, and secure Syracuse, which would give the Eighth Army a major port. At that point in the war, experience was at a premium, and the pilots of the tow planes had little nighttime navigation experience and even less experience towing packed seven-ton gliders at the end of 350-foot-long nylon rope tethers. And the glider pilots themselves lacked sufficient experience for the undertaking.

As the glider disaster unfolded in the turbulent nighttime sky, one glider pilot actually put down on Malta, thinking it was Sicily, and another inexplicably landed in Tunisia. Most of the gliders did arrive in Sicily, but many were cut free of their tug planes too early. Fifty-four gliders made land, a large number ditched in the Mediterranean, and 10 vanished. The Allies managed to make the bridge, tear out the demolition charges, and seize the structure.

The taking of the Ponte Grande Bridge came at an exceedingly high price. More than 600 men were lost, most of them drowned. Anger at the American tow pilots grew to the point where surviving British arriving back in Tunisia were kept well away from the Americans to prevent possible problems.

National Archives

ABOVE: U.S. infantrymen take cover behind a wall in close-quarters fighting with Axis troops. The rough terrain of Sicily furnished fanatical German infantry with superb defensive positions. BELOW: A paratrooper from the 82nd Airborne Division prepares to jump over Sicily. RIGHT: A German paratrooper from the Hermann Göring Division totes a light machine gun.

National Archives

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-303-0555-34; Photo Dohm

Montgomery came ashore near Pachino early on Sunday, July 11, shortly after Syracuse had fallen and the vital port was seized intact. By that time, the Allies had a secure foothold on the southern shore of Sicily, but the Germans were planning a major counterattack. Field Marshal Albert Kesselring issued orders for his men to attack Gela early on Sunday, July 11, and force the impertinent Americans back into the sea.

The fighting began early on July 11. The 26th Infantry advanced north along Highway 117 on the left, and the 16th Infantry pushed in the same direction on Highway 115. The regiments ran directly into the path of German panzers headed toward the Gela beachhead. The panzers on the left scooted past the pinned-down American infantry, swerved across wheatfields, and rolled on toward the beaches. Brig. Gen. Theodore Roosevelt Jr., son of the former president and second in command of 1st Division under Maj. Gen. Terry Allen, was near the front. He got on the horn and called for American tanks to counter the fast-moving threat.

Like his father, Roosevelt was never one to run from a fight. The 55-year-old rallied his riflemen, most of whom were young enough to be his sons. "Do you know who those bastards are?" he said. "The Hermann Göring Division. We beat their asses in North Africa and we're going to do it again!" Matters were even more dicey on the right where the 16th Regiment's 2nd Battalion held off 40 panzers for two hours before two companies moved back without orders, digging in at Piano Lugo.

Thirty panzers were spotted shortly after 10 AM northeast of the Gela-Niscemi road junction. The situation was growing more desperate by the minute. The regiment had lost nine antitank guns, two battalion commanders had been badly wounded, and officers desperately resorted to shooting at the panzers' observation slits with their pistols. Allied confusion was everywhere, including the beaches that had been hit at first light by Italian dive bombers with successive air attacks continuing. In desperation, a number of mortar men commandeered small fishing boats to row ammunition ashore past the floating debris and the equipment stored along the waterline. Sixty Sherman tanks managed to get ashore that day, but only four managed to successfully navigate the tangle of equipment and the dunes to make it into battle that morning.

The Germans were not without problems. Two regimental commanders were relieved of their duties, and the large Tigers often broke down, blocking the advance. The Italians had moved forward, too, but not in coordination with their German allies. By midday Sunday, the Axis front was extended in a loosely held 18-mile arc.

Lieutenant General George Patton, commander of the U.S. Seventh Army, came ashore at 9:30 AM Sunday, July 11, near Gela and made it to a rooftop to observe what he could despite the dust kicked up by the oncoming German tanks to the north and east. He spotted Italian tanks nosing within a mile of Gela and shouted to a naval ensign below to contact his superiors and request shellfire to protect the American positions.

Thirty-eight shells from the cruiser *Boise* roared down on the enemy tanks, followed by mortar shells landing among Italian infantrymen. This effectively stalled the Italian attack, but incoming German 88mm fire and bombs from two German aircraft demonstrated that the fight was far from over. German tankers at Santa Spinta controlled the coastal highway and were less than a mile from the beach, threatening American supply dumps.

Allen called for more firepower, and he got it in the form of 48 artillery pieces, Sherman tanks, and antitank companies. Shells from the *Boise* and the cruiser *Savannah* filled the air, and the Germans called off the counterattack by 2 PM.

Sunday also brought a fresh round of enemy air attacks, largely unmolested by Allied planes. More than 4,500 Allied planes had been assigned to Operation Husky, but few on the ground knew where they were.

In the first three days of Operation Husky the Germans lost more than 625 men dead or wounded and had 10 Tigers destroyed, while the American Seventh Army reported 175 dead and 665 wounded in the first two days of fighting.

Sunday night was to bring more confusion and more losses as 2,300 men from the 504th Parachute Infantry Regiment, 82nd Airborne Division, jumped from C-47 transport planes. Despite personal efforts by Patton and Maj. Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway to alert skittish gun

crews that friendly parachutists were on the way, many did not get the message. The resulting fratricide was deplorable. One hundred and forty-four planes were flying that night; 23 planes were destroyed and another 37 were heavily damaged with the casualties running at more than 400 men. "The safest place for us tonight would have been over enemy territory," quipped one pilot.

By Monday, July 12, the Allies had a firm foothold on a 100-mile arc with some 80,000 men ashore along with 300 tanks, 7,000 vehicles, and 900 guns. The British had Syracuse and had begun moving toward Catania, one of the last perceived obstacles before Messina, some 45 miles farther away at the northeastern tip of Sicily. The strutting Montgomery predicted that Catania would fall soon, possibly by Tuesday evening.

But it was Tuesday, July 13, when Montgomery unilaterally ordered his troops to cut across Patton's front on Highway 124 as part of the British Army's two-pronged effort around Mt. Etna. Patton's army was left protecting the British flank, and the American 45th Division was turned back toward the beach for a shift to the west. This turn of events proved controversial because if the Americans had seized the road near the town of Enna they probably would have prevented the Axis forces in the west from fleeing eastward to form a defense around Mt. Etna.

Montgomery was now left with the full bag; half his troops headed toward tough terrain at Enna far from Royal Navy fire support and the other half 45 miles away toward Catania. Patton sized up the situation immediately, but because of an earlier spat with theater commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower he chose not to speak up. Patton's choicest words were left in his private diary: Montgomery had best "stay out of my way or I'll drive those Krauts right up his ass."

Montgomery's action created further distrust and unease between the Allies. Even many of his British colleagues were taken aback by Montgomery's move on Enna and Highway 124. One must remember, one British commander said, that Montgomery "is not quite a gentleman." He supposedly shunned attention, but he nevertheless had a habit of "backing into the limelight," said one wag.

The British started encountering difficulties in their advance while German troops in the western section of the island fled eastward toward Mt. Etna and the Messina Peninsula. With difficulty, the British managed to eventually take and hold the Primosole Bridge seven miles south of Catania on July 16, but a German defensive line just north of the bridge was to defy the attackers for two weeks. The Eighth Army found it tough going in the interior too, with the rugged terrain unsuited to tank warfare. As his advance stalled, Montgomery further divided his army, sending his XIII Corps farther west in an attempt to outflank the enemy only to find that the Germans had seized the high ground and could bring down artillery fire on those below.

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

The British Eighth Army pushed north along the eastern coast of Sicily while the U.S. Seventh Army swept west to capture Palermo before advancing on Messina.

By this time Patton had taken enough of being shunted from the main action by the British. On July 1, he grabbed his maps and flew to Tunisia for a meeting with General Harold Alexander, overall head of Operation Husky. Patton argued that his Seventh Army should drive northward from Gela and take Palermo, 80 miles away.

Alexander listened patiently. He gave Patton the go ahead, although he questioned the fighting acumen of the Americans. The wiley Patton had already given his men the green light before Alexander's approval and had sent Darby's Rangers 10 miles north up the coast to Agrigento. With assistance from Maj. Gen. Lucian Truscott's 3rd Infantry Division, they seized Agrigento and Porto Empedocle, scooping up 6,000 prisoners in the process.

The American force continued to move northward during the next several days with numerous small towns falling with little or no resistance. The 3rd Infantry aptly demonstrated the "Truscott Trot," making some 4.5 miles per hour on foot despite the summer heat and the thick, choking Sicilian dust. Alexander's effort to moderate the forward momentum was ignored by the Americans as Patton urged his forces onward. Bradley proudly displayed his map of Sicily showing large areas colored in blue signifying areas taken by the Americans and a much smaller red-colored area held by the British.

By midday on July 22, Truscott was perched atop a ridgeline overlooking Palermo. Truscott managed to send two battalions into the city to secure the docks, and an impromptu surrender was arranged after 7 PM with the assistance of a bedsheet tied to a fishing pole and waived atop a speeding scout car headed to the Royal Palace. Patton was delighted as he took up residence in the king's apartment in the palace and dined on captured German champagne and food.

The drive north to Palermo had inflicted 2,300 casualties on the Axis forces with fewer than 300 American casualties. The Americans captured more than 53,000 enemy troops in the process, mostly Italians. Within days Patton would be eyeing ways to get American forces to Messina, 150 miles to the east, before Montgomery.

In the meantime, the Allied high command began considering the best way to wrestle mainland Italy from the Axis. The war had been going badly for the Italians under Mussolini, and on July 25, 1943, Il Duce was summoned by King Victor Emmanuel III to his private hunting lodge north

of Rome. Victor Emmanuel, whom Mussolini had privately called "the little sardine" for years, told Il Duce that he must resign. Mussolini was whisked away, and celebrations broke out across Rome when the news became known.

Patton was now on top of the world. He was featured on the covers of both *Time* and *Newsweek*. In backslapping correspondence back and forth with the president, Roosevelt said he would work to make Patton the "Marquis of Mt. Etna" after the war. Patton now pushed him men toward Messina via a roadway along the north coast of Italy where they could be supported by the U.S. Navy's large guns offshore.

Patton's nerves frayed as he pushed on. At one point he threatened to shoot a gun crew that took cover in a copse of trees. The hot, harsh Sicilian conditions and poor medical facilities continued to take their toll on the advancing Americans. Patton pushed his forces relentlessly. In August, Patton on two separate occasions slapped shell-shocked American soldiers in field hospitals. The fallout from the incidents would have major repercussions for both Patton and the U.S. Army.

The advance seemed to grow ever more difficult for the tired, sun-bleached Americans. The Germans had managed to blow up more than 150 bridges to slow the advance and made prodigious use of deadly mines. Although the Italians seemed to lose heart with Mussolini's downfall, their German allies only seemed to grow tougher. As they advanced over Sicily's hardscrabble interior, the Allies became more reliant on mules to transport men and matériel. The mules, for their part, also seemed to resent the Sicilian sun and rough terrain. One soldier assured all listeners that the only way to get a mule to behave "was to bite him on the ears."

Imperial War Museum

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-570-1612-20; Photo Haas

ABOVE: British soldiers from the 51st Highland Division rush to capture a rail station west of Catania in a photo staged for publicity purposes. The German decision to withdraw from Catania enabled the British to resume their advance after it had stalled for two weeks. BELOW: German paratroopers fire an MG 42. The Germans typically deployed the superb weapon in concealed positions so as to enfilade attacking enemy units.

At this point, the British main force was spidering carefully up against Mt. Etna's foothills, and its right flank was blocked at Catania. The U.S. Army was working toward Messina along two parallel roads, and the 1st Division managed to take Enna after the Germans pulled out.

The Allied troops were now butting into the fortified Etna Line that ran from San Fratello along the northern coast through Troina then southeast below Mt. Etna. The Germans chose to reinforce Troina, located on the highest hilltop in Sicily and on the crucial east-west Highway 120. The 15th Panzergrenadier Division withdrew from western Sicily and entrenched at Troina. The Germans placed minefields and strongpoints north and south of the city and positioned four artillery batteries to the east. Attackers from the west would be channeled by the terrain into an open and potentially deadly three-mile run of Highway 120. The presence of panzers only added to Allied anxiety.

The American move toward Troina and nearby Cerami began August 1 with the 39th Infantry moving against the entrenched Germans who held the high ground. The enemy firepower, mainly mortars and machine guns, proved withering to the exposed attacking forces. The attrition over the next few days was appalling. By August 5, the 1st Division's rifle companies had been reduced by two-thirds, and one company in the 26th Infantry had only 17 men fit to tangle with the Germans.

The Americans had had enough at this point, and Allen prepared and laid out a detailed plan to outflank and take Troina. Advancing American patrols found that the Wehrmacht had withdrawn earlier on August 6 and trundled farther eastward on Highway 120. In addition, the Hermann Göring Division had pulled back from Catania on the east coast. Troina was a mess of destroyed houses and buildings with more than 150 dead lying about.

"Troina was the toughest battle since World War I" for Americans, said Maj. Gen. John Lucas. The 1st Division recorded more than 500 casualties with the 39th suffering as well. Off the battlefield the casualties included the relief of Allen, the division's commanding general, and Roosevelt, the assistant commander. Bradley brought about the changes in command, citing Allen's supposed poor temperament and related factors. The moves shocked and surprised the soldiers of the division, with Maj. Gen. Clarence R. Huebner taking the helm of the 1st Division.

With the abandonment of Catania by the Germans, Montgomery's right wing was able

to advance after being stalled for two weeks. As the Allies eventually hoofed it forward past Mt. Etna, what had been a 170-mile front narrowed to 45 miles on the Messina Peninsula. As the 100,000 enemy soldiers pulled back, the Allied air forces dropped bombs on the retreating troops and managed to obliterate a good many Sicilian towns in the process.

As usual in the Sicilian campaign, not everything went smoothly. There was an effort to land a battalion 12 miles behind the German lines near Brolo on Sicily's northern coastal Highway 113. By taking that and nearby Monte Cipolla, the Americans would cut the enemy's escape route. American landing tanks and equipment got tangled up on the beach. The attack failed.

The Germans counterattacked, and Allied airmen contributed to the confusion by errantly bombing a friendly command post and destroying American artillery positions. By August 12 the Germans had again pulled back, destroying a mountainous section of Highway 113 in the process.

Kesselring was no fool. As early as mid-July he had privately acknowledged that his veteran infantry must be saved to fight another day. Kesselring relied on Colonel Ernst-Gunther Baade, who managed to have some 500 guns placed along the shores of Messina Strait. He rustled up 33 barges, 76 motorboats, and a dozen "Siebel ferries" (large rafts propelled by a pair of airplane engines mounted on pontoons). German engineers built a dozen ferry sites designed so motorized vehicles could both drive on and off the ferries, thereby speeding the evacuation of Sicily when the time came. Equipment that could not be taken from the island was destroyed.

Yet again, Allied air attacks failed Operation Husky. Bombers never appeared over the straits at that point to destroy the fleeing concentrations of enemy men and matériel. Most available heavy bombers had been assigned to hit targets on the Italian mainland, and Allied naval commanders were leery of the potential of coordinated German artillery fire. The Allies, in short, had become so focused on the upcoming invasion of the Italian mainland that they neglected to consider the advantages of isolating, cornering, and destroying the enemy on Sicily.

National Archives

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ABOVE: Americans troops enter Messina on August 17, 1943. Despite Adolf Hitler's orders to fight to the last man, Kesselring skillfully employed hundreds of antiaircraft guns to cover the withdrawal of 40,000 Germans to the mainland. LEFT: Lt. Gen. George Patton speaks with Lt. Col. Lyle Bernard near Brolo on Sicily's northeast coast. Patton was heavily censured for two incidents in which he slapped a shell-shocked U.S. soldier in a field hospital.

But the Allied ground forces pressed on. By the evening of August 16, American units had slipped into Messina before the British and awaited Patton's grand entry into the city early the following day. Patton admitted in his diary that he felt let down by victory. But soon his spirits would be brought even lower. Written details on the slapping incidents had reached Eisenhower who, in turn, had a harshly worded letter of censure hand delivered to Patton. He headed to the sidelines for reassignment.

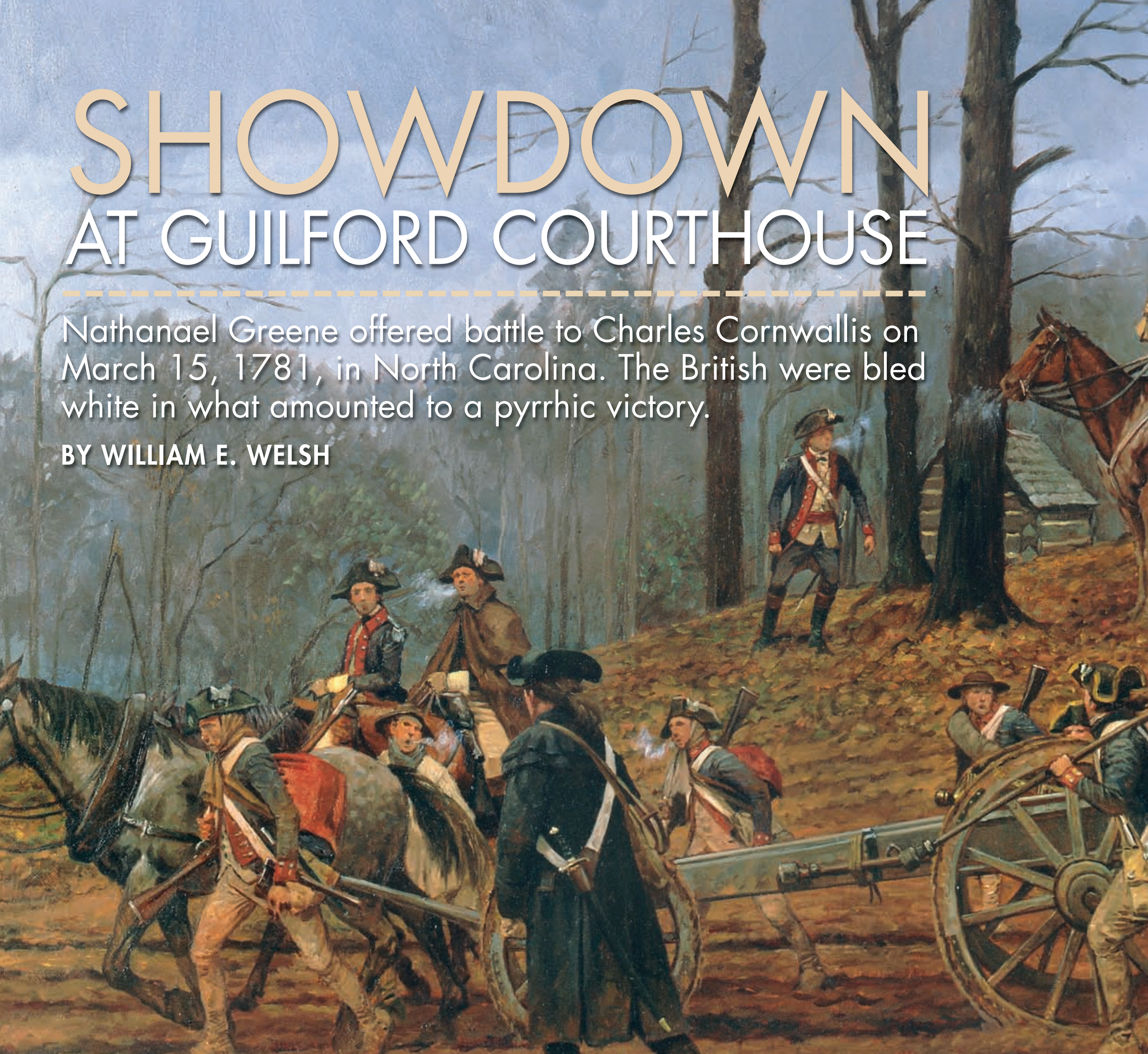
In many ways, what happened to Patton was a metaphor for the Sicilian campaign. Despite substantial trials and tribulations, the Americans had risen to the occasion. Despite poor planning and the absence of consistent tactical air support, they did manage to work fairly closely with their British allies on the ground and even more closely with naval support to win the day.

Barely 50,000 determined Germans, aided by poorly led Italian troops, managed to tie up nearly a half million Allied infantry for five weeks despite superior Allied air and sea power. And all this was at a time when the Soviets were engaged in a life-and-death struggle with some 185 German divisions at Kursk and elsewhere on the Eastern Front.

Operation Husky resulted in 21,600 American and British casualties, including nearly 5,000 dead. Axis dead and wounded were more than a third higher at 29,000, including 4,300 German dead and 4,700 Italians killed in battle. The total number of enemy captured was 140,000, mostly Italian soldiers.

The Western Allies still had much to learn in terms of planning and interservice cooperation. The need for dramatically improved tactical air support would be shown again with the landings on the Italian coast, lessons well learned by D-Day in Normandy. The need to seal off escape routes would be shown yet again at the Falaise Gap a year later in France.

The Sicilian campaign was a turning point; the Americans had proven their mettle. Concerns about the debacle at Kasserine Pass in North Africa were laid aside as American military prowess and matériel strength truly began to make a significant difference in the ground war on the European continent. □



SHOWDOWN AT GUILFORD COURTHOUSE

Nathanael Greene offered battle to Charles Cornwallis on March 15, 1781, in North Carolina. The British were bled white in what amounted to a pyrrhic victory.

BY WILLIAM E. WELSH

American militiamen with their lungs heaving, hearts pounding, and eyes bulging with terror ran for their lives as soon as the British and Hessian troops in their bright red and blue uniforms came ashore at Kips Bay on Manhattan Island. No officer, not even General George Washington, who waded on his horse into the river of humanity, could check the retreat of the Patriots. When the enemy began firing in Washington's direction, his aides compelled him to fall back and join the headlong retreat toward Harlem Heights to the north. "The demons of fear and disorder seemed to take possession of all and everything that day," said an American private. "Nothing appeared but fright, disgrace, and confusion," said an American officer.

Not a shot was fired in opposition to the British amphibious landing the morning of September 15, 1776, on Manhattan Island, which occurred less than three weeks after the British decisively defeated the Americans in the Battle of Long Island. The officer who had laid out the American defenses on Long Island in April, Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene, had been stricken with a debilitating fever just days before the August 27 battle and therefore was not directly responsible for the debacle. Even before the British set foot on Manhattan, Washington, Greene, and others were in agreement that the island, surrounded by water, could not be held against the British, whose large fleet controlled not only the bay to the south but also the East and Hudson rivers.

Greene had recovered enough to return to active duty the first week of September. When Washington had solicited the Rhode Island gen-

Continental Army units march toward Guilford Courthouse in a modern painting by Keith Rocco. Greene would use similar tactics to those employed by Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan in his triumph over British forces at Cowpens two months earlier.

eral's advice about what should be done in regard to the defense of the city, Greene made a harsh recommendation.

"I would burn the city and suburbs," said Greene, noting that two-thirds of the city's population was loyal to King George III. "It will deprive the enemy of an opportunity of barracking their whole army together [and] deprive them of a general market. All these advantages would result from the destruction of the city. And not one benefit can arise to us from its preservation."

Neither Washington nor the Continental Congress was ready to take such a drastic step. Ironically, an accidental fire in the early hours of September 21 burned a quarter of the city, most of which by then was under British occupation. What Greene's remarks reveal is that he knew that for an underdog to succeed against a more powerful foe it had to take drastic, unpopular steps.

Four years later, on October 14, 1780, Washington appointed Greene to command American forces in the southern colonies following the British victory at Camden. As an independent commander, Greene would have a chance to show what Washington knew all along—that Greene had the fortitude to make difficult decisions. Furthermore, Greene had learned well from serving under Washington that it was best to avoid a general engagement with the British. Instead, the path to American victory in the long war was to wear down the British, giving battle when the enemy's strength had been substantially compromised.

With the entry of France into the American Revolutionary War on the side of the Americans in

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February 1778, British control of the waters on the Eastern Seaboard was no longer assured. British commander-in-chief General Henry Clinton decided shortly afterward that rather than continue to wage war from New York he would take advantage of substantial Loyalist support for the war in the southern colonies, particularly in the Carolinas. Clinton believed strong Loyalist support in the southern colonies would enable the British to form a solid base from which to renew efforts to extinguish the rebellion in the rest of the colonies.

The British occupied Savannah, Georgia, on December 29, 1778. Then, after a month and a half siege, Clinton forced Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln on May 12, 1780, to surrender his 5,000-man army, which had been bottled up in Charleston, South Carolina.

The following month, Clinton returned to New York, leaving Lt. Gen. Charles Cornwallis, a veteran of the battles in New York and New Jersey, to eradicate Patriot resistance in the Carolinas. Although the number of British regulars Cornwallis had was modest compared to the British Army in New York, he was optimistic that he could recruit large numbers of Loyalist militia. To deal with Patriot guerrillas that raided British outposts and threatened British supply lines, Cornwallis created a fast-moving mounted strike force led by the ambitious and ruthless Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton.

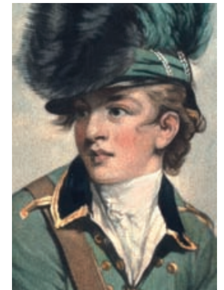
Initially things went well for Cornwallis. In one of the first of a number of key small battles in 1780, Cornwallis defeated an American army led by Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates on August 16 for control of the important inland supply center of Camden, South Carolina. Gates, who fled on horseback to save his own hide, proved that he was not worthy of commanding American forces.

While Cornwallis was busy plotting an invasion of North Carolina, he dispatched Major Patrick Ferguson to lead Loyalist militia against bands of Patriots in western South Carolina that threatened Cornwallis's supply line. Ferguson's vow to lay waste to the farms of those who did not swear allegiance to George III compelled the so-called over-mountain men from the Blue Ridge Mountains to plot to kill Ferguson. In a bloody clash of Patriot and Loyalist militia on October 7 at King's Mountain, Ferguson was shot during a vain attempt to rally his men.

The Patriot victory at King's Mountain had substantial repercussions. First, it resulted in the loss of a Loyalist army that represented one-third of the manpower available to Cornwallis. Second, it forced Cornwallis to delay his planned invasion of North Carolina.

Greene arrived in Charlotte, North Carolina, during the first week of December to take command of the downtrodden American army that Gates left behind. The son of a Rhode Island Quaker, 38-year-old Greene was tall and stocky with striking aristocratic facial features.

Both: Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection



National Park Service

TOP: Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton (left) and Lt. Gen. Charles Cornwallis. BOTTOM: Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene (left) Colonel William Washington.

Anticipating that Rhode Island would need to contribute significantly to the Patriot cause, Greene had raised a company of militia in 1775. That year Congress appointed a total of 12 generals, one of whom was Greene. He was the youngest and least experienced of the group. By the time Greene arrived in North Carolina, he had substantial administrative and battlefield experience in the Brandywine/Germantown and Monmouth campaigns. Having served as quartermaster and commissary general at Valley Forge during the winter of 1777-1778, he was amply acquainted with the hardships that the Patriots had to endure if they were to prevail over the British.

Greene needed an interim plan to keep Cornwallis occupied while he recruited militia and waited for the arrival of additional regulars from the middle colonies. Greene decided in late December to send Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan, an expert in backcountry warfare, into western South Carolina. Once there, Morgan could recruit militia and harass British outposts.

Cornwallis was not about to let Morgan operate unopposed. Cornwallis sent Tarleton with a fast-moving column of 1,000 men to intercept Morgan. The two forces, which were equally matched, collided on ground of Morgan's choosing. Morgan selected as his defensive position a meadow known as Cowpens. On the morning of January 17, 1781, Morgan put his militia in two lines to soften up the British and placed his regulars behind the militia in a third line. Morgan deployed companies of rifleman and dragoons on both flanks. Tarleton committed all of his troops to the battle. When the British assaulted Morgan's main line, they floundered. A bold bayonet attack by Morgan's continentals routed the British. Nearly all of Tarleton's army was either killed or captured.

When the disaster at Cowpens occurred, Cornwallis was encamped about 40 miles to the southeast at Turkey Creek. A small number of begrimed survivors arrived during the night and shared news of the disastrous defeat. The British commander desperately wanted revenge. Another large British force under the command of Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie had arrived at Turkey Creek that same day, swelling Cornwallis's army to 2,550 men.

Two days later the British broke camp. Morgan had not lingered at Cowpens. He had marched swiftly into North Carolina to put as much distance as possible between his force and Cornwallis's larger one. On January 23, Morgan's men crossed the Catawba River. Since catching the Americans would be difficult with his cumbersome baggage train, Cornwallis on January 24 ordered his commissary wagons burned. The following day Cornwallis encamped at Ramsour's Mill on the west side of the Catawba. The river was rising from heavy rains, which delayed Cornwallis's pursuit.

The weather seemed to be on the side of the Americans as January drew to a close. On January 30, Greene arrived in Morgan's camp to discuss strategy. The "Fighting Quaker" told Morgan he wanted to continue the American retreat as far as the Dan River, which lay just across the border into Virginia. Morgan argued that it was a risky strategy because Cornwallis might overtake the Americans and force them to fight when they were not ready. But Greene overruled Morgan.

Cornwallis fought his way across the Catawba on January 31. Morgan had left behind Brig. Gen. James Davidson's North Carolina militia to guard the fords that Cornwallis was likely to use. The British regulars easily overran the militia, and Davidson was slain in the fighting.

Morgan marched swiftly through Salisbury and made it across the Yadkin River with Cornwallis on his heels. Greene, who was following behind Morgan, was desperately trying to rendezvous with Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger's force, which had been operating independently in eastern South Carolina. Unable to affect a junc-

Anne S.K. Brown MIlitary Collection

Continental Army General Johann De Kalb is mortally wounded at the Battle of Camden fought August 16, 1780, as British regulars sweep the field. Washington sent Greene to replace Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, who fled the battle on horseback.

tion of American forces at Salisbury, Greene advised Huger to continue north toward Guilford Courthouse.

Late in the day on February 2, the Americans crossed the flooded Yadkin River in rowboats that Greene had arranged for ahead of time. While Cornwallis waited for the Yadkin River to drop so his army could cross on foot, Greene led his army to Guilford Courthouse where it rendezvoused with Huger's 1,500-man force. Although at that point Greene had enough men to meet Cornwallis on near equal terms, he stuck with his plan to march to the Dan River.

Cornwallis ordered Tarleton to take his remaining dragoons and try to catch up to Greene. Although Tarleton would not be strong enough to attack the American column alone, he could keep Cornwallis informed of its movements. Greene dispatched Lt. Col. Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee's cavalry to drive off Tarleton.

Greene needed a strong commander for a rear guard to hold off the British while the Americans crossed the Dan River. Although Greene gave first consideration to Morgan, the stalwart frontiersman's physical condition was deteriorating, and he was allowed to leave the army.

Greene had devised a plan to mislead the British in order to buy time for the Americans to cross the Dan River safely. Greene entrusted command of the rear guard, which would consist of a 600-man light corps, to Colonel William Washington. He told Washington to march toward the upper reaches of the Dan River. If the plan worked, the British would follow Washington while Greene led the main body of the American army to the lower Dan, where it might cross by boat at Boyd's Ferry without being attacked by the British. On February 13, Greene's army safely crossed the lower Dan. To make the most of a bad situation, Cornwallis issued a proclamation from Hillsborough, North Carolina, stating that the British had driven the Americans out of the Carolinas and secured them for George III.

Because of the continuing erosion of his militia, Greene's force had shrunk to about 1,500 by the time he crossed the Dan River. To meet Cornwallis in a set-piece battle, he would need an infusion of both regulars and militia. In the meantime, he sent Lee's Legion and Washington's Light Corps south of the Dan River in late February to harass the British. Lee achieved a key success on February 25 when his dragoons defeated 400 Loyalist militia under Colonel John Pyle in the Battle of Haw River.

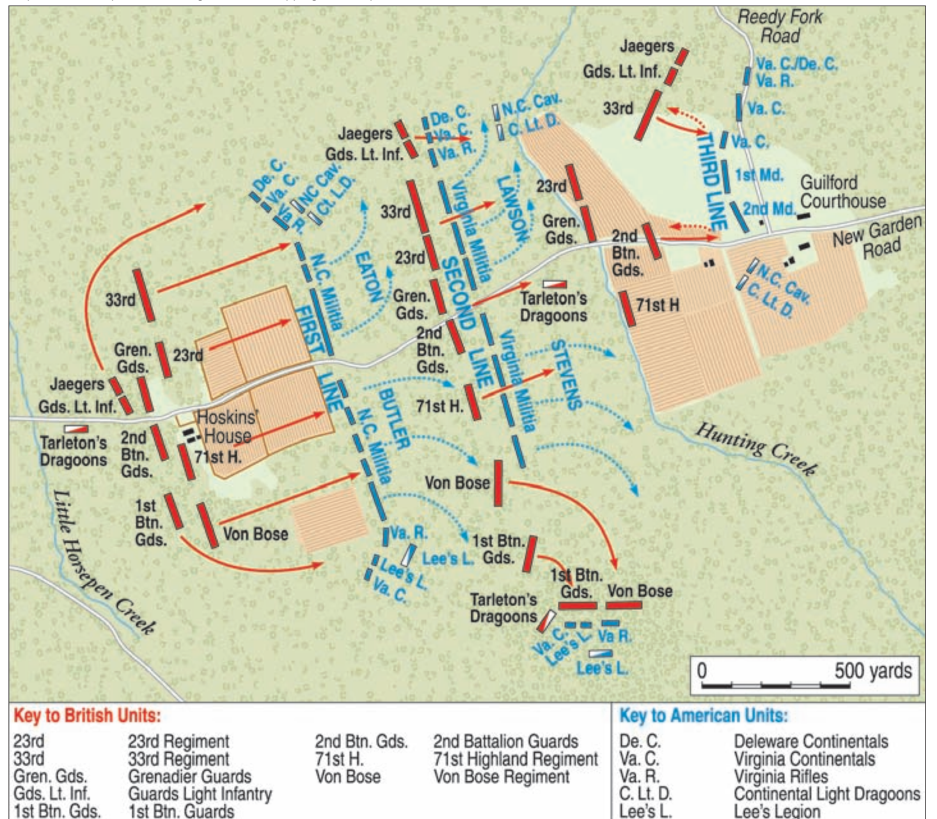
Greene's main force crossed to the south side of the Dan River in late February. Greene was still waiting for reinforcements from Virginia, and therefore he purposely kept his forces at what he believed was a safe distance from Cornwallis's army. But Tarleton believed Greene's advance units were vulnerable.

Acting on Tarleton's intelligence, on March 6 Cornwallis ordered Lt. Col. James Webster, whose brigade included two regiments of veteran British foot soldiers, to launch a surprise attack against the vulnerable American units south of Weitzel's Mill on Reedy Fork Creek. As often happened in the campaign, the British lost the element of surprise when their advance was reported by an American patrol.

The exposed American units marched rapidly north to Weitzel's Mill. They barely made it across the creek before the British arrived. The American force, which consisted of Brig. Gen. William Campbell's Virginia Rifle Regiment, Colonel Otho Williams' Maryland Brigade, and Lee's Legion, fanned out to cover three fords in close proximity to the mill.

In a short but sharp skirmish in which the smoke from the muskets mixed with morning fog in the creek valley making it difficult for either side to clearly see the enemy, Webster sent the 33rd Regiment of Foot to force a crossing at Main Ford (the middle crossing) and the 23rd Regiment

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



Greene deployed the Americans in three lines at Guilford Courthouse. The first two lines of militia, which were supported on the flanks by cavalry and backcountry riflemen, were to fight briefly before falling back. Greene's intention was to bleed Cornwallis's units substantially before they reached the American third line.

of Foot, also known as the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, to fight its way across Horse Ford (the eastern crossing). The initial assault of the 33rd Regiment was repulsed, but Webster personally led the second attack, which was successful. Once the British had gained a foothold on the north bank, the Americans continued their withdrawal. A running battle occurred for five miles before the British stopped their attack. Each side lost about 30 men.

A standoff occurred in the first half of March with Cornwallis encamped south of Guilford Courthouse at Deep River Friends Meeting House and Greene bivouacked north of the courthouse at Speedwell's Iron Works on Troublesome Creek. During that time, Greene's ranks swelled with the addition of 400 newly recruited regulars from Maryland. He also gained substantial numbers of eager militia, including 600 Virginia militiamen under Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson and two brigades of North Carolina militia totaling 1,000 men led by Brig. Gens. John Butler and Thomas Eaton. Greene decided that the new recruits to his army would give him good odds in a set-piece battle against Cornwallis' 1,900-strong army, so on March 14 he marched his 4,500 Americans south to preselected positions at Guilford Courthouse.

Guilford Courthouse was located about 15 miles due west of Weitzel's Mill. The courthouse was situated on a low hill slightly less than 1½ miles east of Little Horsepen Creek. On the east bank of the creek were farm fields, but a belt of woods separated the fields near the creek from other fields surrounding the courthouse. The first clearing was about 800 yards wide, the belt of woods another 800 yards, and the distance from the east edge of the woods to the courthouse another 800 yards. The farm fields between the woods and the hill on which the courthouse sat were located in a shallow vale.

On March 14, Greene's army struck camp and marched about 20 miles south to Guilford Courthouse. The "Fighting Quaker" was concerned that Cornwallis might learn of his advance and attempt a surprise attack that night, so he ordered Lee to take his Legion and patrol west on New Garden Road. To bolster Lee's Legion, he ordered Campbell to send 100 Virginia riflemen to accompany Lee. The savvy American cavalry commander set up a blocking position about 1½ miles west of Little Horsepen Creek. In addition, Lee detailed Lieutenant James Heard to lead a patrol to watch Cornwallis's camp and send word once Cornwallis began his march to Guilford Courthouse to seek the battle for which he was so badly yearning.

On the evening of March 14, Cornwallis's scouts informed him that the Americans were 12 miles away from the British camp at Guilford Courthouse. As expected, the British broke camp at 4 AM. Heard sent word to Lee, who passed the information along to Greene. When Greene received the news, he sent orders to Lee to contest the British advance. Greene wanted to fight the British in full daylight because he believed the highly disciplined British regulars would have a clear advantage in a predawn battle.

Lee decided to spring an ambush on his archrival, Tarleton. Light Horse Harry told two-thirds of his troops to conceal themselves behind fences lining the road. One troop of cavalry remained in the road. Lee's instructions to the hidden cavalrymen and infantry were to fall on the British once they became heavily engaged with the single troop of American cavalry.

At about 4:45 AM, Tarleton's cavalry attacked Lee's cavalry. Slashing sabers rang out in the gray light of dawn as each side sought to gain an advantage. When the British drove back the cavalry in the road, the concealed American troops joined the skirmish, striking Tarleton in both flanks. Shots rang out as the Virginia riflemen attempted to drop some of the British from their saddles. In the melee Tarleton was shot in the hand, which meant that he would have only one hand with which to guide his horse throughout the long day ahead. The British suffered 30 men killed, wounded, or captured in the sharp skirmish. Lee's men regained the ground they had lost, but they were forced to fall back when Webster's Royal Welsh Fusiliers arrived and reinforced Tarleton.

Since Morgan's deployment of his army in three lines at Cowpens had laid the foundation for an American victory, Greene decided to position his troops similarly. He intended to deploy his green militia in the first line, his veteran militia in the second line, and his regulars in the third line.

Eaton's Brigade would hold the right, and Butler's Brigade would hold the left in the first line. The North Carolinians fanned out behind split rail fences along the eastern edge of the farmland nearest to Little Horsepen Creek. To bolster the militia, Greene ordered Captain Anthony Singleton of the First Continental Artillery to deploy his two 6-pounders in the center of the line astride New Garden Road.

Greene also deployed Washington's Legion, Colonel Thomas Lynch's Virginia Rifle Regiment, and Captain Robert Kirkwood's company of Delaware regulars to anchor the

extreme right of the first line. Similarly, Greene ordered Lee's Legion and Campbell's Virginia Rifle Regiment to hold the extreme left of the first line. As for the militia in the center, the general idea was that they were to fire three volleys at the enemy and then fall back. Likewise, the veteran units on the American flanks also were to fall back and maintain their respective positions to prevent the British from outflanking any of the American lines.

Greene ordered the Virginia militia to form a second line in the woods about 800 yards behind the first line. The "Fighting Quaker" ordered Stevens's and Lawson's Brigades of veteran Virginia militia to form, respectively, the left and right sections of the second line. They also were given permission to retire after firing three volleys. Greene's intention was that the two lines of militia would soften and tire the British so that they would be too weak to break the third line.

The third line, which deployed on the east side of the vale separating the woods from the courthouse, was about 500 yards behind the second line. Unlike the first two lines, the right and left wings of which lay directly astride the New Garden Road, the third line was entirely north of the New Garden Road on the slope of a hill with the left flank positioned to follow the contour of the low ridge. Greene ordered Williams's Maryland brigade to form up on the left and Colonel Isaac Huger's Virginia Brigade to take up a position on the right. The Continental regiments from left to right were Lt. Col. Benjamin Ford's Second Maryland Regiment, Colonel John Gunby's First Maryland Regiment, Lt. Col. Samuel Hawes's 5th Virginia Regiment, and Lt. Col. John Green's 4th Virginia Regiment.

Cornwallis was fortunate to have competent and tenacious subordinate commanders. Although the cavalry skirmish was over shortly after daybreak, the British commander waited most of the morning for his army to arrive at the battlefield. The men from North Carolina in the front line of the American army listened nervously to the sound of fifes and drums throughout the latter part of the morning, signaling the approach of the main body of Cornwallis's army on the New Garden Road. The natural thing to do seemed to be to crouch low behind the split rail fence for protection and await the awful specter of battle.

Shortly after noon the British marched across Little Horsepen Creek and switched from column into line of battle on the opposite side of the farm fields from the North Carolina militia. Cornwallis entrusted his left wing to Webster and his right wing to Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie. Webster's left wing comprised the 33rd Regiment of Foot and Lt. Col. Nesbitt Balfour's Royal Welsh Fusiliers, which took up positions on the left and right, respectively, north of the New Garden Road. Forming a second line behind them were Colonel James Stewart's Second Guards Battalion and the Grenadier Detachment from the Foot Guards.

Forming the front line of Leslie's wing were Lt. Col. Duncan McPherson's Second Battalion of the 71st Highlanders in their distinctive blue bonnets on the left and the blue-uniformed Hessians of Johann Du Buy's Von Bose Regiment on the right. Supporting them in a second line was Lt. Col. Chapel Norton's First Battalion of the Foot Guards. As for the reserve, it comprised Tarleton's Legion, the Hessian jaegers, and the Light Infantry Detachment of the Foot Guards.

Cornwallis maintained control of these units so that he could dispatch them where needed as the battle progressed. Assisting Cornwallis in directing units into the battle was Brig. Gen. Charles O'Hara, who commanded the Guards Brigade. At about 12:30 PM, Cornwallis ordered Lieutenant John MacLeod to open up on the Americans with his 3-pounders. Singleton responded with his larger guns, but the action did nothing more than signal that the time had come to decide by force of arms which side would control North Carolina.

Cornwallis studied the American position behind the split rail fence through his field glasses. Greene's tactics did not impress him. He discerned that Greene had probably deployed multiple lines to blunt his attack, and he also knew that the militia would scatter when threatened with a bayonet charge. They simply were no match for the well-drilled and unshakeable British regulars. At 1 PM, Cornwallis gave the order for his two wings to advance. The British and Hessians marched with muskets angled slightly upward and bayonets fixed across the stubble fields toward the Americans. When the British were within 140 yards, the North Carolinians stood up and fired their first volley. Some British and Hessians fell to the ground. Clouds of smoke from the guns made it difficult for the Americans to see what damage they had inflicted. Within the British ranks, men from the second rank quickly stepped forward to plug the gaps created by the Amer-

British artillerists roll their guns into position at the outset of Cornwallis's attack in a Keith Rocco painting. Cornwallis knew that the American militia would not hold its ground in the face of a British bayonet charge.

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ican volley, and the British continued their advance with an impressive degree of precision.

When the British came to within 50 yards of the American front line, they stood and fired a volley, tearing large gaps in the American line. Then the British charged. "C'mon my brave Fusiliers!" shouted Webster as the British ranks surged forward. It was more than the North Carolinians could take. All of the men in Butler's Brigade on the American left ran for their lives, throwing away packs, canteens, and muskets as they sought safety in the woods behind them. A portion of Eaton's Brigade remained in the fight by falling back obliquely on the veteran companies commanded by Washington on the American right flank. The battle was well under way, and it promised to be a sanguinary affair as the opening action showed. Of the fighting, Captain Roger Lamb of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers wrote, "Dreadful was the havoc on both sides."

As soon as the North Carolinians fled, the American flanking units began pouring steady musket and rifle fire into the outside regiments of both wings as they entered the woods. The 33rd Foot and the Hessians on the left and right, respectively, turned to respond to the flankers. This greatly slowed the advance east of the outside regiments, so Cornwallis ordered two units from the reserve to join the fight against the American flanking forces to free up the outside regiments. The British commander ordered the Hessian jaegers to join the left wing and instructed the light infantry of the Foot Guards to aid the right wing.

Cornwallis also was deeply concerned that his inside regiments, which had lost many men to the single volley by the North Carolinians, would need additional support. He therefore sent the 2nd Battalion of the Foot Guards and the Grenadier Detachment of the Guards to join the center of the British line by falling in on the right flank of Webster's Royal Welsh Fusiliers. This meant that the only remaining reserve unit was Tarleton's Legion. It was important to hold back the dragoons in case they were needed to cover a partial or full retreat.

U.S. Army Art Collection

Soldiers of the 1st Maryland Regiment reload in the foreground as Colonel William Washington's Continental dragoons ride to their support in a modern lithograph. The dragoon charge bought precious time for the Continental line to reorganize following the rout of the inexperienced 2nd Maryland Regiment.

One part of the battle did not go as planned by either Cornwallis or Greene. Instead of falling back to the second line, Lee decided on his own initiative to withdraw his legion southeast to a small knoll in the woods about three-quarters of a mile from New Garden Road. Lee's intention probably was to weaken the British army's attack against the second line of militia. The First Battalion of the Foot Guards and most of Von Bose's Regiment took the bait and pursued Lee. What developed as a result was an isolated battle involving about 300 men on each side.

Greene believed the Virginia militia in the woods would fare better than the North Carolinians not only because of their experience, but also because of the obstacles the forest presented to the British battle line. Cornwallis's regulars were forced to fight in small groups to navigate around the trees and undergrowth. As a result, they were not able to inflict the shock of a massed bayonet charge by an entire regiment but instead could bring the bayonet to bear only in groups or singly. What is more, the losses the North Carolinians had inflicted on the British and the American flank attacks sapped the strength of the units in the middle of Cornwallis's line.

The British struck Greene's second line at about 2 PM. The 71st Highlanders were heavily outnumbered against Stevens's Brigade, which held the left of the American second line. But Webster's Brigade, augmented by the smaller reserve units in the center, had much greater success against Lawson's Brigade on the American right. As soon as they struck Lawson's broken line in the woods, the Welsh Fusiliers were able to successfully penetrate it. At the same time, the jaegers and light infantry attacked Lawson's left flank. Lawson's militiamen fired a few scattered shots at the British, but most of them fled in panic when they realized that the British were behind them. The militia "dispersed like a flock of sheep frightened by dogs," wrote Major St. George Tucker, an officer in Lawson's Brigade.

Stevens's Brigade made a better show of things. They held their ground initially against the British. Firing from behind trees, the Virginia militiamen felled a number of British with their fire. "Posted in the woods and covering themselves with trees, [Stevens's Brigade] kept up for a considerable time a galling fire, which did great execution," wrote Charles Stedman, a British staff officer. The 71st Highlanders, like the regulars of Webster's Brigade, used a tactic in which some members of a group fixed the enemy in place with their fire while the remainder flanked the enemy and charged them with their bayonets.

While the regiments closest to New Garden Road were busy fighting the Virginia militia, the First Battalion of the Foot Guards and the Von Bose Regiment of Hessians pressed their attack on Lee's Legion and Campbell's riflemen to the south. Lee's Legion initially had the upper hand when it outflanked Norton's Guards, but a counterattack by Du Buy's Hessians stabilized the situation. At that point, the British launched an all-out assault to capture the knoll. They managed to capture it briefly, but a subsequent counterattack by the Americans successfully recaptured it. The Americans would retain the upper hand for most of the small isolated battle until Cornwallis sent Tarleton's dragoons to assist the British and Hessians, both of whom were at a disadvantage in the forest against the Americans.

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Washington's dragoons fall on the flank of the British 2nd Guards Battalion in the final phase of the battle in a modern painting by Don Troiani. A conservative Greene chose to retreat shortly afterward rather than risk destruction of his army.

Between 2:30 and 3 PM, sporadic fighting continued in the woods as the Virginia militia fell back toward the safety of Greene's third line. Greene's tactic of wearing down the British had succeeded, but the day would be decided when regulars from both sides met each other in the vale west of the courthouse.

The left wing of the Continental Army regiments in the third line consisted of the 2nd Maryland, Captain Ebenezer Finley's Detachment of Continental Artillery, and the 1st Maryland. The right wing was composed of the 5th Virginia and 4th Virginia. When Lynch's Virginia riflemen and Kirkwood's company of Delaware regulars reached the third line, they took up a position on the right of the 4th Virginia. Following on the heels of those infantry units that had fallen back steadily from their original deployment on the right flank of the first line were Washington's dragoons. Washington led his dragoons south through the vale to take up a position in the farm fields on the extreme left flank to compensate for the absence of Lee's Legion. It was a sound decision on Washington's part because it gave his horsemen more room to maneuver than if they had stayed in the woods on the extreme right flank.

The first units to reach the vale were the 33rd Foot, the jaegers, and the light infantry detachment of the Guards. Webster immediately led them in an attack at 3 PM against the two Virginia regiments on the American right. When the British and Hessians, who were advancing with bayonets, came to within 40 yards of the American line, the Continental officers gave the order to fire. The first volley completely shattered the assault, and the attackers fell back to the safety of the tree line on the west side of the vale. Webster was among the wounded. He had been shot badly enough in the knee to require assistance to avoid capture.

As the 33rd Foot and its supporting units were retreating, the 2nd Guards Battalion emerged from the woods. Their commander, Lt. Col. James Stewart, also attacked immediately. The 2nd Guards had emerged from the wood on the right flank of the 33rd Foot, and they advanced with fixed bayonets toward Ford's 2nd Maryland Regiment. Stewart had unwittingly chosen a good place to strike the Continental line because the 2nd Maryland was a green unit and thus as unsteady as a militia unit. The men of the 2nd Maryland shamefully fled into the woods behind them. In so doing, they left Finley's two 6-pounders unprotected, and the Guards swarmed over them.

The fate of the Continental line hung in the balance. If Cornwallis and his subordinates could exploit the gap in Greene's line, they might just destroy the American army piece by piece. Seeing the disaster that was looming over the battlefield, Washington ordered his dragoons to draw their sabers and charge the 2nd Guards. They rode north and began assailing them on the right flank to buy time for the remaining Continental regiments to react to the unfolding threat.

Gunby, the commander of the 1st Maryland, had been preoccupied with events on his front and had failed to realize that the 2nd Maryland had been routed. When he became aware of the crisis, he ordered his men to change front to the south. The Guards saw an American regiment advancing on them and turned to meet the threat. The two sides poured volleys into each other at point-blank range. "They appeared so near that the blazes from the muzzles of their guns seemed to meet," wrote Lt. Col. John Howard of the 1st Maryland. Then both sides fell on each other in desperate hand-to-hand fighting. The British volley killed Gunby's mount, and he required assistance to get out from under it. In the meantime, Washington's dragoons continued harassing the Guards. The Marylanders repeatedly charged the Guards, who by that time had begun to suffer substantial losses. After the bloody melee, the Guards fell back, and Gunby's men were able to recover the two 6-pounders. Gunby's prompt action and the pluck of his men restored the Continental line for the time being.

By that time, Cornwallis had arrived on the field. Although the 2nd Guards had not entirely exited the vale, Cornwallis made the cold-hearted decision to order the British artillery to fire despite the certainty that many Guards would be slain in addition to the men of the 2nd Maryland. O'Hara, who

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DURING THE AFTERNOON of October 9, 1973, Colonel Amnon Reshef, the commander of the Israeli Defense Force's (IDF) 14th Armored Brigade, conducted probes along the water's edge of the Great Bitter Lake, a wide part of the Suez Canal. Temporarily attached to Maj. Gen. Ariel Sharon's 143rd Reserve Armored Division, along with that division's reconnaissance unit, Reshef's advance patrols had reached the so-called Chinese Farm located just north of the Great Bitter Lake, on the east side of the Suez Canal and five miles east of the town of Deversoir, which sits on the west bank of the canal. The Chinese Farm was an experimental agricultural area used by Japanese instructors before the Six-Day War fought in 1967. Viewing Japanese inscriptions on the walls, Israeli troops, not particularly well versed in East Asian script, named the place Chinese Farm.

On the morning of October 10, Reshef's advance forces were ordered by the Israeli high command to withdraw from the immediate region of the Chinese Farm. The reason was that—unknown to the Egyptians—the IDF had been alerted by intelligence from U.S. spy planes of a gap between Maj. Gen. Mohamed Sa'ad Ma'amon's Egyptian Second Army and Maj. Gen. Mohamed Abd El Al Mona'am Wasel's Third Army. The Second Army was composed of the 2nd, 16th, and 18th Infantry and 21st Armored and 23rd Mechanized Divisions, and Third Army comprised the 4th Armored, 6th Mechanized, 7th Infantry, and 19th Infantry Divisions. The two armies had crossed the Suez Canal on October 6, 1973, at the start of the new war.

Since the commencement of the conflict the Israelis had debated the wisdom of crossing the Suez Canal as part of their counteroffensive to hurl the enemy back over that waterway. Reshef's probe of the thinly held boundary between the two opposing armies would be the key to the final decision to attempt the passage and thus turn what had been up to that time a possible Israeli military defeat into national salvation and victory.

Humiliated by the stunning and rapid victory achieved by Israel over her Arab neighbors (i.e., Egypt, Syria, and Jordan) during

TANK CLASH IN THE SINAI

the Six-Day War in June 1967, Egypt and Syria launched a surprise attack on October 6, 1973, against Israel on Yom Kippur, one of the holiest days on the Jewish calendar. The aim of Operation Badr was to take back territory lost in the Six-Day War. Egypt sought to recover the Sinai Peninsula, and Syria sought to retake the Golan Heights.

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat planned to send his Second and Third Armies into the Sinai. The two armies comprised five infantry divisions (each of which was supported by an armored brigade), three mechanized, and two armored divisions. Altogether, Egypt had massed 200,000 men, 1,600 tanks, 2,000 pieces of artillery, 100 SAM batteries, and 300 aircraft for the assault across the Suez Canal.

The assault began at 2 PM, October 6, under a protective umbrella of Russian SAM-2, SAM-3, and SAM-6 antiaircraft missiles. Within hours Sadat's army had secured lodgments over 55 miles of the 110-mile-long waterway.

An Israeli tank passes scorched enemy vehicles during the 1973 Arab-Israeli War. Egypt deployed large numbers of missile-armed infantry in the Sinai that inflicted substantial losses on Israeli armor in the opening stage of the conflict.

Facing the attackers on the first day of the 1973 Yom Kippur War were 436 men of the Jerusalem Reserve Infantry Brigade. These inexperienced soldiers manned a series of fortifications seven to eight miles apart called the Bar-Lev Line. The Bar-Lev Line featured 30 strongpoints on the east bank of the Suez Canal, each screened by a sand bank several yards high equipped with small arms, machine guns, and mortars. At the outbreak of the war, 16 of the works were fully garrisoned, two partially so, with the remainder closed or held by only small observation teams.

Acting as a backstop to the Bar-Lev Line was a small infantry brigade holding the northern marshland reaches of the Canal Zone, and Maj. Gen. Avraham Mandler's 252nd Armored Division, which comprised three armored brigades: Colonel Amnon Reshef's, Colonel Dan Shomron's, and Colonel Gavriel Amir's 14th, 401st, and 460th, respectively. But the

An Israeli offensive to create a path to the Suez Canal during the 1973 Yom Kippur War was nearly repulsed by an Egyptian counterattack at the Chinese Farm.

BY ARNOLD BLUMBERG

The Central Intelligence Agency

bulk of the latter formation, which numbered 13,000 troops, 280 tanks, and 80 guns, was being held as an immediate reserve in the eastern Sinai, ready to be activated by the trip wire of the Bar-Lev Line. It was intended as merely a holding force until the rest of the army could be mobilized and sent south, which was expected to take 48 to 72 hours. The Syrians launched a simultaneous attack against the Golan Heights on Israel's northern border.

Following the Six-Day War, Israeli military analysts attributed success in that conflict to only two elements of their armed forces: the air force and the tank corps. As a result, those branches of the IDF received 50 percent and 30 percent, respectively, of the massive defense budgets appropriated annually after that war. This left little for the infantry, artillery, and quartermaster corps. The Israeli Air Force (IAF) concentrated on acquiring sophisticated American fighters and fighter-bombers, as well as impressive arrays of ordnance and advanced radar equipment. The Army purchased new British and U.S. tanks and improved its existing armored fighting vehicles with upgraded equipment. The result was an unwarranted overconfidence in the ability of the aircraft and armor combination to defeat all opponents. Since planes and tanks had been so successful in the Six-Day War, the Israeli military believed it wise to invest heavily in both weapons for future conflicts.

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Egyptian President Anwar Sadat planned to fight a largely defensive battle in the Sinai but eventually deviated from the plan with disastrous results.

As early as 1970, the Egyptian Army decided to abandon attempts at mimicking the swift movement of the Israeli blitzkrieg tactics. Instead, the Egyptian Army developed a new strategy that employed new tactics. The shift to a new strategy was based on Egyptian War Minister General Ahmed Ismail's trenchant assessment of Israel's strategic weaknesses. "His lines of communication were long and extended to several fronts, which made them difficult to defend," said Ismail. "His manpower sources do not permit heavy losses of life. His economic resources prevent him from accepting a long war. He is, moreover, an enemy who suffers the evils of wanton conceit."

Israel's blitzkrieg tactics were intended to minimize the Jewish State's disadvantages by conducting a swift war with a low casualty rate. Ismail intended the Egyptians to wage a prolonged war that would be costly to Israel's economic and human resources while minimizing its advantages. To do this, Egypt needed to come up with new battlefield stratagems designed to counter any Israeli blitzkrieg. "[We] did not want to be conventional," Ismail said afterward.

To begin with, it was admitted that Egyptian Air Force pilots did not have the skill to match their Israeli counterparts in aerial combat. Moreover, they flew inferior Soviet aircraft compared to the Western models used by Israel. Thus missile screens—in the form of massed batteries and infantry weapons like the shoulder-fired, low-altitude SA-7 Strela heat-seeking missile—were created to offset Israel's advantage in the sky. If the IAF could not soften up the enemy, the IDF would have to use artillery to do so.

But Israel had not significantly expanded its artillery capability since the Six-Day War, and it was again found lacking throughout the 1973 conflict. The result was that Israeli ground attacks were preceded by insufficient artillery preparation. On the first day of the war the IAF lost more than 20 aircraft attempting to knock out Egyptian bridges across the Suez Canal and SAM battery sites. For the entire war, 95 percent of the IAF's losses were to enemy air defense systems. This missile umbrella virtually nullified Israeli air power, making impotent one-half of the blitzkrieg formula.

On the ground the Egyptian tactics were even more unique than their air defense system. After a well-prepared crossing of the Suez Canal, borrowed straight from Soviet military textbooks, both the Russians and Israelis were confounded by the way the Egyptians then went about deploying their armies. Normally, specialist troops would seize a bridgehead with enough infantry to reinforce it before masses of tanks would pour across to charge into enemy territory. The Egyptians did not follow this orthodoxy. Instead of concentrating against a few selected points of their enemy's position, they threw their bridges over the 100 miles of canal along its entire length from Port Said to Suez. The objective in doing this was to force the Israelis to disperse their efforts along the whole front.

Once over the waterway, Egypt's forces did not immediately thrust eastward but moved north and south to form a long, continuous bridgehead only six to 10 miles deep. The missile-armed infantry marched into the Sinai Desert and took up defensive positions, while SAM-6 and ZSU-23 antiaircraft batteries deployed near the canal and farther west. Next, the Egyptians waited for the Israeli response, in the form of a blitzkrieg counterattack, which they knew would surely come soon.

The cleverness of Ismail's plan was in its combination of two distinct elements of warfare not seen previously. The single major stride across the canal was strategically an offensive move of the most aggressive sort. But Ismail then consolidated this by defensive tactics. The Egyptian foot soldiers just entrenched with their missiles. The combination played to the strength of the Egyptian Army, which always had been tenacious in defense, while at the same time avoiding its long-standing inability to conduct a war of maneuver.

The novel Egyptian tactics also capitalized on the Israeli belief that the only fitting way for a tank commander to behave was to charge ahead. To stop the Israeli tank attacks, the Egyptians were relying on a combination of AT-3 Saggers and RPG-7s. The Sagger was an antitank missile that could be carried and operated by a single soldier. The operator used an optical sight and manually steered the wire-guided missile to its target. The Sagger's 5.7-pound warhead could penetrate eight inches of armor at a range of two miles. Waiting in the sand dunes the Egyptian infantry could easily hide until ready to fire on the unsuspecting Israeli armor from ambush.

The IDF was ill-prepared for this new kind of combat, which was not a dashing war of movement but instead a slow methodical slugfest. The IDF's primary tank in the Yom Kippur War was the American M48A3 (known in Israel as the Magach-3) outfitted with the 105mm L7 gun, although it also had M60A1 (Magach-6) tanks. The Egyptian Army in the Sinai was equipped with Soviet T-55s with a 100mm gun and T-62s with a 115mm gun. The Israeli tanks in the Sinai initially carried armor-piercing rounds, which were fine against tanks if they could find any but were almost useless against infantry. To combat the Egyptian infantry, high-explosive rounds were essential, but these were not available until the third day of the war.

What the Israeli tank crews also needed to counter the Egyptian missile-carrying foot soldiers was artillery and infantry. But those vital

commodities were always in short supply since the prewar military budgets largely ignored those elements of the IDF ground forces in favor of tanks. To make matters worse, the initial Egyptian air strikes knocked out 40 percent of Israeli artillery in the Sinai at the start of the war.

What is more, IDF tactics in place after 1967 did not stress coordination between infantry and armor because the former was intended only to mop up what the latter left behind. This tenet pushed the Israelis to enlist and train too few infantry before the war, a fact that would hobble the IDF's operations considerably through the October 1973 struggle.

Egyptian Chief of the General Staff General Saad el Din Shazli termed the type of war his army would prosecute in 1973 as the "Meat Grinder War." As the grisly name implies, it was designed to kill Israelis more that it was to outmaneuver or defeat them in battle or gain ground. Considering that by the fifth day 300 of the 900 Israeli tanks committed to the Sinai front had been destroyed (about 200 by Saggers and RPG-7s, a few by aircraft, and the rest by artillery), the name seemed most appropriate.

The Meat Grinder War sought to turn the tables on the type of combat that tanks had been engaged in for more than 30 years previously; that is, shock effect and rapid movement—the basics of blitzkrieg. The tank could no longer protect itself and now fell victim to its former prey, the antitank-equipped infantryman. The missiles deprived the tanks of their shock capability, forcing a greater reliance on terrain for their survivability. Thus the value of firepower displaced shock action, cover replaced flowing movement, and slaughter substituted for superior maneuver.

The first phase of the Yom Kippur War, which lasted from October 6 to October 9, saw the Egyptians gain great success in their assault across the Suez Canal. By the morning of October 7, the battle of the canal crossings had been won at a cost of only 208 men killed and 20 tanks and five airplanes destroyed. In 22 hours the Egyptian Army had crossed the Suez Canal with 100,000 troops, 900 tanks, and 12,000 vehicles.

Although the Egyptians expected a significant Israeli response within eight hours of the initial crossing, the IDF had not been able to attack due to being caught off balance and having little armor in the tactical zone. This was because its reserves had not yet mobilized and moved to the battle area. Therefore, the Egyptians, who had thought their opponent would deliver his counterblow on October 8 or 9, dug in and awaited the inevitable Israeli assault. After repelling the expected enemy attack, the

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Egyptian forces cross the Suez Canal on the second day of the war. Instead of establishing a single bridgehead, the Egyptians chose instead to establish a 100-mile-long, shallow bridgehead to force the Israelis to disperse their efforts along the entire front.

Egyptian forces were to undergo an operational pause starting on October 11 to allow them to consolidate and extend their long, shallow bridgehead while inflicting maximum losses on the IDF.

The Israeli high command, dominated by veterans of the Armored Corps and disciples of the doctrine of the concentrated armored assault, was not overly disturbed by the lack of success their tanks had had during the first two days of the war. To its way of thinking, the failure to rout the Egyptians up to that point was due to the piecemeal commitment of the tanks in platoon and company strength, which allowed the enemy—especially its well-trained and well-armed antitank-equipped infantry—to maul the Israeli armored fighting vehicles. It would be a different matter entirely, the IDF generals were convinced, when they were able to bring to bear brigade- and even divisional-strength tank formations.

To that end, two armored divisions—Maj. Gen. Avraham Adan's 162nd Reserve (in the northern Sinai sector), and Sharon's (in the southern sector)—would be employed to eliminate the enemy bridgeheads. The plan called for the Israelis to roll southward along the east bank of the canal. Adan was to strike from the area of El Qantara at the enemy Second Army, while Sharon remained in reserve near Tasa. If Adan's attack went according to plan, Sharon would launch an assault south from the Great Bitter Lake against the Egyptian Third Army. However, if Adan's part of the operation appeared to be failing, Sharon was to go to the former's support. The real objective of the attack was muddled by some in the Israeli high command, who stressed that it was to break up the enemy lodgments on the east side of the canal, while others hoped the strike would be the first step in crossing to the canal's western shore.

With sparse air support (most of the IAF was flying against the Syrians over the Golan Heights) and little artillery assets available to him, Adan attacked on the morning of October 8. By noon it was apparent that the Israeli plan had collapsed. At 2 PM the attack was halted. By that time, Adan, who had only 100 tanks in his division at the start of his assault, had lost dozens of tanks to effective Egyptian infantry armed with antitank weapons. Meanwhile, Sharon's division had spent the day moving first south then north without exerting any influence on the unfolding battle.

The main effect of the fighting that day was that the IDF realized it had to conserve its strength and allow time for the reserve army to enter the field with all its supporting arms. Adan and Sharon had each lost 50 tanks from October 8 to October 9. Regardless of the gloom engendered by the results of the fighting on October 8, there was one positive element. Egyptian losses in infantry had been significant, and their plans to expand their bridgehead and move farther into the Sinai had been seriously disrupted.

Beginning on October 9, the Israelis set about stabilizing the Sinai front. During that time, the fighting grew in intensity. On October 10, the Egyptians launched five separate attacks against

ABOVE: Israeli armor maneuvers in the Sinai Desert. The initial commitment of Israeli reserve units resulted in the loss of 100 tanks but blunted Egyptian efforts to expand the Sinai bridgehead. RIGHT TOP: Egyptian units fighting beyond their antiaircraft umbrella were vulnerable to Israeli armor, airstrikes, and artillery. RIGHT BOTTOM: A destroyed Israeli M-60 Magach tank.

Adan, while Sharon warded off a strike by the Egyptian 21st Armored Division, which suffered the loss of 50 tanks. For the next few days stalemate reigned in the Sinai, but events on Israel's northern border would materially alter the course of the war on that front.

By October 10 the IDF had pushed the Syrians off the Golan Heights, and the decision had been made by the Israeli government to drive the Syrians from the war by an advance on Damascus. Responding to this threat, the Syrians implored Egypt to launch an attack in the Sinai to relieve the pressure on their country. Responding on October 12, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, against the strenuous objections of Shazli, ordered an offensive from the canal toward the Gidi and Mitla Passes, which led from the Sinai to southern Israel.

The offensive ordered by Sadat was an unmitigated disaster for the Egyptian Army. Set in motion on October 14 using four separate axes of advance, the assaulting force was composed of four armored brigades and one mechanized brigade containing a total of 500 tanks. They faced 700 Israeli tanks, of which half were on the battle line and half in reserve. The Egyptian tank crews advanced against the Israeli armor across open terrain with the sun in their eyes. The Egyptian tanks were vulnerable to airstrikes since they were beyond the range of their antiaircraft missile umbrella. The IDF waited for them in well-prepared defensive positions on high ground. The Israelis had tube-launched, optically tracked, wire-guided antitank missiles recently purchased from the United States. As the sun rose in the early afternoon of October 14, the Egyptian Army was in full retreat back to its enclaves on the canal after losing 250 tanks. That single day's number exceeded the 240 Egyptian tanks destroyed since the start of the war. In contrast, the Israelis lost only 20 tanks that day.

Determined to capitalize on the Egyptian repulse, Lt. Gen. David Elazar, IDF chief of staff, initiated Operation Stouthearted Men, which had as its goal the crossing of Israeli infantry and armor to the west bank of the Suez Canal to threaten the supply line of the Egyptian forces on the east bank. The operation, which was scheduled to begin on October 15, called for three armored divisions—Adan's, Sharon's, and Mandler's, the latter by then headed by Brig. Gen. Kalman Magen, with 200, 240, and 140 tanks, respectively—to cross near Deversoir and then surround the Egyptian Third Army by capturing Suez City. For the crossing, Sharon's 143rd Armored Division would secure both sides of the canal and the two roads, the Akavish and Tirtur, that led to the crossing site on the east bank. Adan would then take his 162nd Armored Division across and destroy the Egyptian air defense system, thus allowing needed Israeli close air support to come into play. If all went according to plan, Magen's 252nd Armored Division would pass over the canal and relieve Sharon as Adan raced south to capture Suez City.

Both: The Central Intelligence Agency

Based on the assumption that the Egyptians had reverted to their old form and that they had only 700 tanks posted on either side of the canal, Operation Stouthearted Men envisioned a one-day crossing with only an additional 24 hours to encircle the Third Army. As it turned out, this 48-hour timetable was completely unrealistic as the Egyptians would display remarkable defensive prowess even when confronted with Israeli units in their rear.

Sharon's division was tasked with securing the access routes and crossing site and the creation of a bridgehead on the west side of the

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

Operation Gazelle (also known as Operation Stouthearted Men) had as its goal the crossing of Israeli forces to the west bank of the Suez Canal to threaten the supply line of the Egyptian forces on the east bank.

canal northward from the Great Bitter Lake. To carry out his mission, Sharon assigned Colonel Tuvia Raviv's 600th Reserve Armored Brigade to launch a diversionary frontal assault along the Tasa-Ismaila Road on the strongpoint of "Missouri" just north of the Akavish Road and the Chinese Farm to pin down the Egyptian 16th Infantry Division. Raviv's initial objectives were the "Hamutal" and "Machshir" sand hills. Thereafter, Raviv was to hook to the southwest and take "Televisa."

An hour after Raviv started on his way, Reshef's reinforced 14th Armored Brigade was to march through the sand dunes past the southern flank of the Egyptian positions blocking the Akavish and Tirtur Roads until it reached the Great Bitter Lake. After that it was to achieve three objectives. First, it was to secure the three-mile sector of the canal opposite Deversoir, including "The Yard" (a concealed gap in the sand rampart giving access to the canal). Second, it was to protect the crossing by capturing the Chinese Farm. Third, it was to clear the Tirtur and Akavish Roads to allow access by the bridging trains, which included a pontoon bridge and a massive 200-yard-long, 400-ton roller-bridge. The pontoon structure was to move along the Akavish Road, while the roller-bridge travelled along the Tirtur Road. Colonel Dani Matt's 247th Reserve Paratroop Brigade, attached to Sharon and reinforced by 10 tanks, was to follow Reshef and cross the canal at 11 PM on October 15 and secure several additional crossing areas. Lastly, Sharon's 421st Armored Brigade, which was led by Colonel Haim Erez, was to trail Matt's paratroopers to reinforce their bridgehead and destroy any SAM sites encountered.

At 5 PM on October 15, Israeli artillery opened up on the entire Egyptian line so as not to give away the real point of the Israeli attack. Raviv began his feint against "Missouri" and managed to penetrate the Egyptian defenses, inflicting multiple casualities but losing four tanks in the process. An hour later, Reshef ordered Lt. Col. Yova Brom, in charge of Sharon's divisional reconnaissance battalion, to move out along with his three tank battalions and Matt's paratroopers. Back at his headquarters, Elazar was notified that the Israeli offensive had commenced.

After emerging onto the Lexicon Road five miles south of Tirtur Road, Reshef was only five miles from the Chinese Farm where, unbeknown to him, Brig. Gen. Fouad Aziz Ghali's Egyptian 16th Infantry Division and Brig. Gen. Ibrahim Oraby's 21st Armored Division, which had taken quite a beating in the attack into the Sinai on October 14, had taken position. The former formation had 20 of its original 124 tanks, while the latter could field only 40 tanks. Reshef's command was heading for the Chinese Farm and an enemy who outnumbered him two to one in tanks and had hundreds of infantry armed with Saggers and RPGs fighting from the cover of numerous irrigation ditches that dotted the area.

After crossing the intersection of the Tirtur and Lexicon Roads four miles behind the Egyptian front lines, Reshef penetrated the enemy position and opened fire. He hoped that a sudden appearance in their rear would stampede the enemy; if not, it would be a bloody affair.

Before reaching the intersection, Brom's recon unit peeled off to the west, reached the canal, and took position along a two-mile stretch of the waterway without encountering any opposition. Meanwhile, Lt. Col. Amram Mitzna's 40th Armored Battalion, along with Reshef's mobile command post, passed through the Tirtur-Lexicon intersection without drawing any enemy fire. The same cannot be said of Colonel Avraha Almog's 18th Tank Battalion, which lost 11 tanks at the crossroads to enemy tank shells, RPGs, and mines. As bad as Almog's losses were, they paled in comparison to the unit following him; Major Shaya Beitel's 7th Armored Battalion lost almost all its armored vehicles as it approached the intersection.

Although reduced in strength by half, the remainder of Reshef's brigade struck the enemy's rear, which turned out to be the administrative and logistical area of the 16th Egyptian Infantry Division. Soon Mitzna's tank crews were firing at the plentiful targets they found in every direction with their cannons and machine guns, while his tank commanders engaged enemy troops with Uzis and hand grenades. Enemy ammunition stocks and thin-skinned vehicles were run over by Israeli tanks during the wild nighttime encounter.

Recovering from their initial surprise, Egyptian tankers and infantry were soon challenging the intruders in the dark. As the Israelis moved beyond the Egyptian encampment, Egyptian tanks from the nearby 21st Tank Division counterattacked. Although this effort was finally repulsed, the tank Mitzna was riding in was destroyed and the colonel wounded.

As Mitzna lay injured, Almog led four of his tanks east into the heart of the Chinese Farm, spraying the irrigation ditches full of Egyptian soldiers with machine-gun fire, tossing hand grenades,

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Israeli infantry advances through the Sinai. Fighting between Israeli and Egyptian forces at the so-called Chinese Farm often occurred at point-blank range as the two sides battled for control of key roads on the Sinai front.

and torching ammunition and a radar station, while cutting down scores of enemy infantry armed with RPGs. Soon Almog, who was reinforced with six more tanks, fended off Egyptian armor coming from the north and east firing at ranges of less than 400 yards.

Reshef, his command scattered over several miles and reporting heavy casualties, halted on the Lexicon Road among Almog's force. He ordered his supporting infantry down from their half-tracks to help retrieve the wounded. He then radioed Brom to send back a company to reinforce what was left of Mitzna's battalion.

Even as the brigade leader was directing his battle by radio, he had to fight off attacking enemy infantry, which had appeared out of the darkness. Using their tank and Uzi machine guns, he and his tank crews held their ground. The question was how long could his two battalions, which were holding separate fire bases deep inside the Egyptian Second Army's bridgehead, hold out against repeated but uncoordinated enemy armor and infantry attacks.

Among scenes of Egyptian soldiers fighting and some fleeing in the glow of burning vehicles, four Egyptian tanks lumbered out of the night heading directly for Reshef's tank. Ordering his gunner to fire as fast as possible, all four enemy vehicles were destroyed. Reshef then learned from a radio message from Sharon that the enemy tanks that had just attacked him were part of the Egyptian 14th Armored Brigade, 21st Armored Division, and that the former's commander had been recently killed. Sharon also informed his subordinate that his efforts were being rewarded since intercepted radio traffic indicated they thought that Reshef's attack was part of a plan to roll up the 16th Infantry Division's flank northward and not a prelude to an Israeli crossing of the canal.

As the night of October 15 dragged on, the Israelis became more concerned with the situation on the Tirtur Road. Held by a brigade of enemy infantry heavily armed with antitank weaponry, the bottleneck along the road was blocking the route the roller-bridge was to travel to the canal. To help pry the road open, Reshef ordered Brom to clear the obstruction. The young reconnaissance leader led two of his companies in a 3 AM attack on October 16. The Israelis knocked out three enemy tanks, but the effort came to an abrupt halt after Brom, who had discovered the seam between the Egyptian Second Army and Third Army six days before, was killed in his tank by RPG fire 30 yards from the intersection of the Tirtur-Lexicon Roads.

Determined to take the Tirtur Road and intersection, Reshef threw into the fight a reserve unit of paratroopers attached to his command led by Major Natan Shunari. Along with two tanks under Captain Gideon Giladi, the paratroopers riding in half-tracks crossed the Tirtur-Lexicon intersection but were immediately hit by small arms and RPG fire, destroying the tanks and the half-tracks. Under a continuing hail of enemy fire, the paratroopers retreated to the south. Of the 70 men Shunari led into the fight, 24 were killed and 16 were wounded.

A thick fog wrapped the Chinese Farm at dawn on October 16, and silence reigned there after 10 hours of savage combat. Hundreds of gutted and smoking vehicles littered the desert floor alongside scores of dead Egyptians and Israelis. The new day saw the Tirtur Road still blocked, the Akavish route too dangerous to use, and the Egyptians stubbornly clinging to the Chinese Farm. Reshef had lost 56 of his 97 tanks and would ultimately suffer 128 killed and 62 wounded at the Chinese Farm. By any standard the attack had been a failure, but the colonel was determined to continue the fight. He reasoned that if he was hurting so were the Egyptians.

At 5:30 AM, Reshef contacted Sharon and told him that he would continue fighting even though his men were exhausted. Reshef said that artillery fire he had requested after Brom's failed attack appeared to have had no apparent effect on the enemy infantry. This was because the Egyptian infantry was well protected in its deep ditches. Egyptian tanks were well hidden behind earthen mounds. Sharon said he would send one battalion from each from his other brigades to reinforce Reshef.

At dawn Reshef ordered the remnants of Mitzna's and Almog's units, which were down to 10 tanks from an initial strength of 43 tanks, to withdraw from their exposed positions on the plain and take positions on a high dune closer to the canal.

As Mitzna's and Almog's wrecked commands fell back, dodging Egyptian tanks and jeeps toting Saggers along the highways near the Chinese Farm, the Israelis again attacked the crossroads with a company under Major Gabriel Vardi. Taking cover behind knocked-out Israeli tanks, Vardi's armor destroyed eight enemy armored fighting vehicles without any losses.

As Vardi dueled with the Egyptians, Reshef led the remainder of his reconnaissance battalion past the major's command directly against the crossroads. This time the defenders raised

white flags to surrender. The battle for the Tirtur-Lexicon intersection was over, but the struggle for the rest of the Tirtur Road and the Chinese Farm was far from over.

Lieutenant Colonel Ami Morag's battalion, Sharon's division, and a battalion from Raviv's brigade arrived early in the morning two miles northwest of the Chinese Farm along the Tirtur Road. Morag had no idea of the fierce battle that had been raging in the area. The Egyptians unleashed a storm of Sagger missiles at Morag's battalion, and he ordered his tanks to withdraw.

Morag tried to advance once more with eight tanks, which were covered by five others sheltering in a quarry. He led his small force in a rapid charge down the road. While the tank crews fired their guns, the commanders fired Uzis and threw grenades at the stunned Egyptian infantry lining the ditches on either side of the thoroughfare. Amazingly, Morag's little band managed to reach the Tirtur-Lexicon intersection with the loss of only one of its vehicles. Seeing too many enemy infantry to handle, he led his men back down the Tirtur Road after picking up 20 paratroopers, survivors of Shunari's unit. Unfortunately for the Israelis, the Tirtur Road was still blocked, and the Akavish route was still too dangerous to use.

As the hours passed on October 16, it was apparent to the Israelis that until the Tirtur Road was open the roller-bridge could not reach the canal. Equally important, until the Akavish Road was secured the pontoon bridge moving along it to the canal could not be used. Adan was given responsibility to solve this dilemma. He realized only friendly infantry could pry the enemy from the needed roads. He therefore requested that Colonel Yitzhak Mordecai's 890th Battalion, which was part of Colonel Uzi Yairi's 35th Paratroop Brigade, be assigned to him to finally secure the vital roadways. Yairi met with Adan at 10 PM on October 16 and was told that the assignment had to be accomplished before dawn on October 17. No aerial photos of the Egyptian positions were available, and no artillery preparation would be provided. The paratroopers would have to capture their objectives before morning, Adan insisted, because no foot soldiers moving across the terrain in daylight had a chance.

The paratroopers began to move shortly after midnight. Their route would be the same as that taken by Morag, although no one in Adan's command knew about the masses of enemy infantry Morag had encountered. This was because Morag was in Sharon's division, and his reports of his earlier movements were never given to Adan's command.

The first contact the paratroopers made with the enemy was at 2:45 AM, and it proved a disaster. One company wandered straight into the front of the Egyptian position, while a second, ordered to make a flanking attack, was likewise caught in the open by enemy infantry, tanks, and artillery, and its commanding officer was killed in the fighting. Meanwhile, the lead companies were shot up within 200 yards of the Egyptian lines, losing most of their officers killed or wounded. Soon enemy tanks approached, and they were only driven back by the paratroopers after Mordecai's men were able to employ light antitank missile launchers, which set one Egyptian tank ablaze.

At dawn a tank battalion under future Israeli Prime Minister Lt. Col. Ehud Barak arrived to help the beleaguered paratroopers. Five of Barak's tanks were immediately destroyed by Sagger missile fire, causing the remaining two vehicles to withdraw.

As Yairi's men fought and died on the Tirtur Road, Adan, realizing that Egyptian attention was fixed on the contest there, was able to move the Israeli pontoon bridge down the Akavish Road and onto the canal. Although the paratroopers lost 41 dead and 100 wounded, their brave fight had loosened the Egyptian grip on the Akavish Road and opened the way to Africa.

On October 17, the Egyptians finally attempted to close the Israeli corridor to the canal and cut off all the enemy forces between the Lexicon Road and the canal. Guessing their opponent's latest intentions, Adan and Sharon concentrated three armored brigades in the north against the Egyptian 16th Infantry Division and 21st Armored Division, while Lt. Col. Amir Jaffe's tank battalion, with only 15 tanks, held the line west of the Chinese Farm.

The Central Intelligence Agency

An Israeli tank rumbles across the preconstructed roller bridge over the Suez Canal. The Israeli victory in the Battle of the Chinese Farm gave them control of the roads needed to launch an offensive across the Suez Canal but at a heavy cost in lives and equipment.

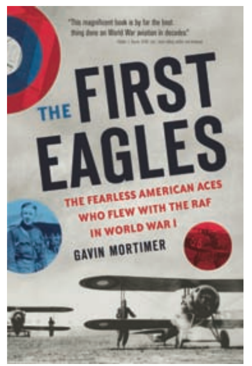
During the night of October 16, Jaffe reported the apparent withdrawal of enemy infantry from the Chinese Farm. He was ordered not to interfere with that movement. The following day began with an attack by Egyptian infantry firing Saggers at Jaffe's tank battalion. One of Jaffe's tanks was able to disperse the attackers with a single volley. Shortly thereafter, the Egyptian 21st Tank Division struck Jaffe's battalion. Jaffe commenced firing at his attackers at a range of 1,500 yards. Within half an hour the Egyptian tank crews pulled back, leaving 48 of their tanks burning on the battlefield. Jaffe did not have any tanks damaged in the one-sided encounter.

As the Egyptian tanks succumbed to Jaffe's deadly fire, Adan on the same day destroyed the enemy's 25th Armored Brigade attached to the Third Army, finally clearing the Tirtur and Akavish Roads. Meanwhile, Reshef's command had been reorganized and reinforced. This enabled it to advance and secure the Chinese Farm. After bitter fighting, the position fell to the Israelis on October 18. Subsequently, the Israelis crossed to the west bank of the canal and cut off the Third Egyptian Army.

The fight for the Chinese Farm served the Egyptian purpose of causing the IDF unsustainable military losses, while for the Israelis it paved the way for their crossing of the Suez Canal. Both events were key factors in bringing the war to a close by cease-fire on October 25. □

By Christopher Miskimon

Hundreds of Americans eager to join World War I did so flying for the RAF. Only a few would earn the coveted distinction of ace.



WITH WORLD WAR I RAGING ACROSS THE MUDDY BATTLEFIELDS of Europe, the Allies were pressed for personnel to man their ever-increasing air forces. Both France and Britain went to North America to recruit eligible pilots. For the British, Canada was soon stretched thin itself, having committed thousands of men and women to the empire's war effort. America was technically neutral, but in actuality firmly on the side of the Allies. Young men who wished to join the British air arm were tacitly encouraged to make their way to Canada where facilities were quickly thrown up for training those with the courage to take such a chance.

The First Eagles: The Fearless American Aces Who Flew with the RAF in World War I (Gavin Mortimer, Zenith Press, Minneapolis MN, 2014, 240 pp., maps, photographs, notes, appendices, bibliography, index, $30.00, hardcover) tells the story of the hundreds of young men from across the United States who made the journey and soon became aviators for Great Britain. The training was arduous; aviation was in its infancy, and accidents were commonplace. Those who succeeded soon found themselves on ships bound for England and further training. Eventually the Yanks were being filtered into active squadrons on the Western Front. Many served a short term as ferry pilots, taking new planes from the factory across the English Channel to France, where serving combat fliers took them over the lines into action against the Germans. Each hoped their ferrying service would be short, with a fast transfer to the front.

As the war progressed, squadron commanders learned how to train and use their pilots to keep them alive. Tactics evolved and most pilots were eased into their new roles by conducting less hazardous patrols until they gained more experience. Aerial dogfights are often depicted as swirling melees of individual combat with fliers from each side pairing off into small, deadly duels. In reality, pilots worked in teams and had to watch their flight leaders for signals and direction as they entered into combat as a group with a mission. While this could often break down into an aerial melee, pilots who could keep their heads could achieve success, downing five or more enemy planes and earning the coveted title of ace.

Of the Americans who flew for England in World War I, 28 would become aces. Many more would die in the skies above France. As dreadful as this was it was in line with their ethos. Attitudes were different then and many young Americans joined the Royal Air Force with the idea they would either cover themselves in glory or die in the attempt. This brashness often did not last long under combat conditions where seeing friends die often tempered them. When companions were lost the survivors still had to carry on, a tempo that only increased as the war moved toward its end with increasing Allied offensives. That young men barely

An Allied airfield in France during World War I. In the years before the U.S. entered the war, daring Americans who made their way to Britain were welcomed into RAF fighter squadrons.

Zenith Press

into their twenties could continue with their duty under such conditions is a testament to both their steadfastness and true courage.

Despite this personal cost, the American pilots proved their worth, dog fighting enemy fighters, strafing and bombing columns of ground troops, and flying risky reconnaissance missions behind German lines. They earned the respect of their British counterparts and of their opponents as well. Although they are not as well known as the Americans who served in the RAF's Eagle Squadrons a generation later in World War II, they flew and fought just as fearlessly.

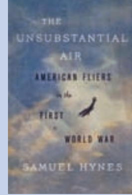
The author concentrates on the men who became America's first ace pilots, even though in another nation's service. Through his words you learn what it was like for them, from the moment they walked through the door of the RAF recruiting office in New York City in 1917 until they returned home after the war. Using extensive postwar interviews with these men along with their own words in memoirs and wartime letters, he creates a vivid picture of their experiences during combat and the times between missions. The book is well illustrated with many pictures of the actual pilots and the planes they flew and fought against. Technical information on the aircraft and how they were flown abounds throughout this work, which is sure to please aviation aficionados and students of World War I alike.

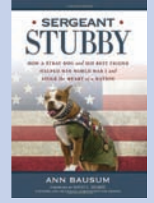
A Christmas Far From Home: An Epic Tale of Courage and Survival During the Korean War (Stanley Weintraub, Da Capo Publishers, Boston MA, 2014, 320 pp., Maps, photographs, bibliography, $26.99, hardcover)

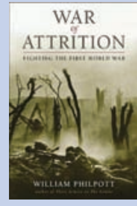
As Thanksgiving 1950 approached, General Douglas MacArthur made a prediction that the Korean War would soon be over. This forecast proved optimistic; thousands of Chinese soldiers would soon be attacking American and South Korean units, sending them reeling southward. Some of these Americans, the X Corps, would find themselves facing entrapment around the Chosin Reservoir, risking death or capture if they could not get out. Unwilling to surrender, they fought their way through difficult terrain in appalling weather to reach evacuation on the coast. Marines, now famous for their actions at the Chosin Reservoir, would largely lead the way, but many U.S. Army troops were there as well. Together this force extracted itself from certain destruction with the last ships taking the last troops to safety on Christmas Eve, a fitting gift for their bravery and perseverance.

The reader is given an all-around view of the battle from the foxhole and evacuation routes up to MacArthur's planning room. The focus is on the soldier at the front, however, making this book a very enjoyable read. The author is known for writing of soldier's experiences at war during Christmas, and this book can only improve his reputation for delivering engaging histories of men in combat.

The Smell of Battle, the Taste of Siege: A Sen–







SHORT BURSTS

To commemorate the 100th anniversary of World War I, we present some of the newest titles covering that conflict on the ground, at sea, and in the air.

The Unsubstantial Air: American Flyers in the First World War (Samuel Hynes, FSG Books, 2014, $26.00, hardcover) A disparate group of Americans formed its force in the air during World War I. This book collects American flyers' experiences using letters, journals, and memoirs.

July 1914: Countdown to War (Sean McMeekin, Basic Books, 2014, $17.99, softcover) This book recounts the month between the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and the outbreak of war. A handful of men leading only a few nations led the entire world into conflict.

Battle of Dogger Bank: The First Dreadnought Engagement, January 1915 (Tobias R. Philbin, Indiana University Press, 2014, $32.00, hardcover) In January 1915 a German raiding force became engaged in battle with the British Royal Navy. The result was considered a victory for England, but it taught the Germans lessons they put to use later in the war.

Climax at Gallipoli: The Failure of the August Offensive (Rhys Crawley, University of Oklahoma Press, 2014, $34.95, hardcover) The author scrutinizes the strategy and performance of the Allies' Mediterranean Expeditionary Force at the operational level.

Sergeant Stubby: How a Stray Dog and his Best Friend Helped Win World War I and Stole the Heart of a Nation (Ann Bausum, National Geographic Books, 2014, $24.00, hardcover) A Connecticut National Guardsman befriended a stray dog at his camp and smuggled him to France with his unit. The story became famous and the dog's tale was reported back home to millions.

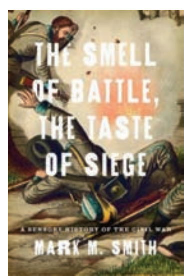
War of Attrition: Fighting the First World War (William Philpott, The Overlook Press, 2014, $32.50, hardcover) World War I was the first conflict to be fought on a truly industrial scale, leading to massive casualties and echoing political consequences. This book explains how this happened and the lingering effects of the conflict.

The Red Baron: The Graphic History of Richthofen's Flying Circus and the Air War in WWI (Wayne Vansant, Zenith Press, 2014, $19.99, softcover) The author is well regarded for his graphic histories of military events. This volume, which is well suited for young readers, covers the exploits of the famed German aviator.

Naval Battles of the First World War (Geoffrey Bennett, Pen and Sword, 2014, $29.95, softcover) The war at sea is well covered in this gripping account of the major battles and events. Written from a British perspective, it includes battles overseas, in home waters, and underwater.

The First World War in 100 Objects (John Hughes-Wilson, Firefly Books, 2014, $39.95, hardcover) This book expands the reader's knowledge of the conflict through examination of the physical objects people used. From a Bolshevik red banner to a war dog's collar, these items are placed into a wider context.

Fighting the Great War at Sea: Strategy, Tactics and Technology (Norman Friedman, Naval Institute Press, 2014, $85.00, hardcover) This large tome delves into every detail of how the United Kingdom fought World War I at sea. Information on other navies is included as well.

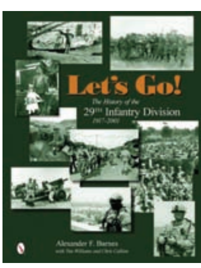


sory History of the Civil War (Mark M. Smith, Oxford University Press, New York, 2014, 216 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, index, $27.95, hardcover)

Everyday life in the 1860s was a very different sensory experience from today. There were no cars, planes, or air conditioners to fill the air with noise. No refrigerators kept the food fresh. No electricity lit the dark and washed out the stars overhead. The smell of horse manure rather than car exhaust was in the air. Therefore, civilians and soldiers who experienced the Civil War had sensitivities that their 21st-century descendants may not understand.

A battle was one of the loudest things contemporary people could hear. The thunder of artillery, rattle of musketry, and screams of the wounded and dying assaulted the ears. At First Bull Run, one could see soldiers running and discarding their weapons and equipment on the ground next to picnic baskets and parasols abandoned by civilian spectators fleeing alongside them. A woman arriving at Gettysburg a few days after the battle was greeted by the smells of blood, infected flesh, and the decay of yet unburied corpses and severed limbs.

Rather than another retelling of events already well covered, this book seeks to inform the reader of what a participant saw, heard, and smelled. It succeeds remarkably well, using a combination of the author's prose and eyewitness statements. Each chapter covers a separate event and uses different viewpoints to give an overall impression of the episode. The American Civil War has been so widely written about it is difficult to find fresh perspectives and subject matter. This work provides the reader with both.



Let's Go! The History of the 29th Infantry Division 1917-2001 (Alexander F. Barnes with Tim Williams and Chris Calkins, Schiffer Books, Atglen, PA, 2014, 296 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, $69.99, hardcover)

The 29th Infantry Division has a storied history going back to World War I. It is a National Guard unit, comprising elements from several states with the largest numbers from Maryland and Virginia. As such, its roots go back even farther. This division fought in the Meuse-Argonne Campaign during World War I and gained lasting fame as one of the two divisions selected to make the initial assault on Omaha Beach during World War II. From Normandy the unit went on to fight across France and into Germany with significant battles at St. Lo, Brest, and the Ardennes. After the war the unit was rebuilt and elements were occasionally called up for riots, disasters, and emergencies. While the division was not deployed as a whole, detachments served in Operation Desert Storm and did peacekeeping duty in Bosnia and the Sinai during the 1990s.

National Guard formations have unique features different from the regular army. Members tend to serve in the same units for long periods rather than transfer occasionally. Soldiers frequently serve most of a career in the same battalion. This creates cohesiveness and shared personal histories. This book showcases that well, revealing how a unit owned by a state deals with its dual role of serving a governor in peace and the nation in war.

As with many Schiffer Books, this work is a treasure trove of photographs, uniforms, and memorabilia of the 29th Division. Many of the subjects in the images are identified by name, another benefit of long-serving members. The text is good and contains many interesting stories as well. A final chapter briefly highlights the unit's participation in the War on Terror.

Comics and Conflict: Patriotism and Propaganda from WWII through Operation Iraqi Freedom (Cord A. Scott, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2014, 224 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $49.95, hardcover)

Throughout history visual media have been an important part of human culture. This has naturally extended to warfare. Paintings and

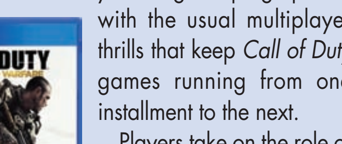
simulation games

By Joseph Luster

THE LATEST *CALL OF DUTY* MIXES IT UP WITH ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY, PROVIDING ONE OF THE BEST SINGLE AND MULTIPLAYER EXPERIENCES IN THE SERIES.

CALL OF DUTY: ADVANCED WARFARE

With another year we have another *Call of Duty,* this time in the form of *Call of Duty: Advanced Warfare.* The latest entry in Activision's long-running franchise takes things beyond the realm of modern warfare, throwing in futuristic tech that fits right in with a setting that starts off in 2054. The result is a mostly exciting campaign paired with the usual multiplayer thrills that keep *Call of Duty* games running from one installment to the next.



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Players take on the role of Private Jack Mitchell, who suits up in high-tech military gear for the United States Marine Corps in an effort to take out the North Korean forces in Seoul. After losing both his friend, Private Will Irons, and his own left arm, Mitchell finds himself discharged from service. This provides an opening for Will's father, the rich and powerful Jonathan Irons (Kevin Spacey), CEO of private military contractor the Atlas Corporation, to attempt to get Mitchell to join his outfit. To say he's not fond of the U.S. military is an understatement, and Atlas finds some real potential in Mitchell, who he quickly outfits with advanced prosthetics before sending him out on missions against a terrorist group known as the KVA.

Early missions as a member of Atlas task players with finding and, hopefully, putting a stop to notorious KVA leader Joseph "Hades" Chkheidze. From rescuing the Nigerian prime minister to capturing a KVA technologist, the tech used on the field gradually gets more and more impressive. Even the most advanced setup in the world fails to prevent KVA's ultimate attack, though, as the terrorists manage to force a nuclear reactor meltdown in Washington, triggering multiple attacks around the world and killing thousands. It's after this tragedy that things start to really get interesting.

The *Call of Duty* franchise isn't known for the most graceful storytelling, and its twists and turns are typically telegraphed well in advance. While there aren't too many surprises in *Advanced Warfare,* it does manage to be one of the most coherent stories of the series, and while the major turning point won't shock anyone, it does provide a nice sense of progression, consistently raising the stakes from beginning to end. Kevin

sketches, photographs, and films have been used not only to document conflict, but also to advance political and ideological arguments related to it. So it is only natural the comic book, that now iconic creation of the 1930s, would be used to convey messages to a public seeking understanding of the wider issues of the wars they had to fight.

The use of comics as war propaganda began simply enough, with patriotic tales of right and wrong, good and evil used largely to arouse a peoples' ire toward the enemy. During World War II they served this role well. Afterward the comic book had to evolve as American society was itself evolving. Comics would supplant a child's magazine of an earlier age with tales of heroic action in battle. Eventually that changed. As people became more publicly aware of the horrors of war, comics shifted to reflect this. In the 21st century, comics have mirrored the many facets and trials of the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, and other global hot spots.

The Naval Institute Press excels at publishing books covering obscure yet important and fascinating aspects of military history. This new work continues that tradition, providing a look at how comics, now widely considered an art form, have developed through the coverage and depiction of war. No doubt many readers grew up reading war comics, feeding their fledgling interests in military history. Now the reader can discover how those comics related to larger issues they likely were unaware of previously. □

Spacey and the rest of the cast do an admirable job of selling things, even if seeing Spacey in his ultimate uncanny valley CGI form can be a bit unsettling.

Some of the previous entries started out strong and petered out over the course of their respective campaigns, but the opposite holds true for *Advanced Warfare*. Early stages had me groaning and wondering how long the whole thing would be—despite the new tech it all seemed so familiar—but that started changing after the first handful of missions. Locales and objectives are nicely varied after the awkward beginnings, and abilities like grappling hooks and boost jumps add a new dimension to a franchise that occasionally gets a bit too comfortable with itself. The last few missions are genuinely thrilling, with exciting firefights and plenty of those big *Call of Duty* moments we've all come to expect.

Most surprising is the fact that there's actually a bit of freedom in the way certain objectives can be completed. While there's still the issue of overly-cinematic moments that rely on timed button presses and trial and error, it's nice to see the occasional break from that rearing its head from time to time. By the end of the campaign I felt it was genuinely the best single-player experience since maybe *Call of Duty: Modern Warfare 2*, but we all know this is just the temporary fix that kicks off the full *CoD* package. Leaping into multiplayer should be comforting for those who stick to it year after year; well, as comforting as repeatedly dying can be, at least.

Leveling up was never too much of an issue in the past, but it's even breezier in *Advanced Warfare*. Players of all skill levels can look forward to plenty of rewards for sticking it out, from general experience and rank-ups to cosmetic bonuses, new weapons to put toward custom loadouts, and more. Customization ends up being one of multiplayer's strongest suits, with players able to tweak their character to their own specifications and even test out their weapon choice in a multiplayer lobby firing range to make sure it feels just right. Some won't warm up to the Exo Suits as quickly as others, but it all mixes together nicely and should keep anyone interested in online firefights hooked for quite a while.

The future of *Advanced Warfare* is looking pretty promising, too, with some big updates around the corner. One of the major upcoming releases is *Exo Zombies*, which is coming in early 2015 to the online stores and those who picked up a season pass. *Exo Zombies*, as you might have guessed, is the big zombie-blasting campaign, and is set to be released episodically. The first chapter will come alongside the *Havoc* expansion pack, scheduled to be available for Xbox players first with the rest to follow. Some heavy-hitter talent is getting in on the fun, too, including John Malkovich, Bill Paxton, Rose McGowan, and Jon Bernthal.

Some aspects of *Call of Duty: Advanced Warfare* might bring *Titanfall* to mind, and perhaps there was some inspiration there. It's still *Call of Duty* through and through for the most part, though, and if more of that sounds like a treat, then *Advanced Warfare* is a solid purchase. After the last couple entries let me down, Sledgehammer Games' work on *Advanced Warfare* brought me back into the *CoD* fold with open arms. If the rest of the DLC turns out to be worthwhile it should have no problem staying on top of the play pile. □

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balls bluff

Continued from page 33

Ferry to Harrison's Island. There he discovered the disaster that had overtaken his right wing. Ordering Colonel William Hinks of the 19th Massachusetts to hold Harrison's Island at all cost until the wounded had been evacuated, Stone rode hard for Edwards Ferry, fearing the Rebels would attack them next.

Stone sent word to McClellan of the defeat at Ball's Bluff and of his intent to evacuate Edwards Ferry. McClellan, however, ordered Stone to hold his position. McClellan promptly dispatched Banks' division to reinforce Stone at Edwards Ferry. Stone also sent word to McClellan proposing that McCall be sent from Dranesville to Goose Creek. Stone was soon to learn that McCall had not been there all day. The reinforced Federals would not stay long at Edwards Ferry. The last Federal units withdrew on the morning of October 24.

The Battle of Ball's Bluff was a decisive victory for the South. As for the North, it was its second major defeat in northern Virginia. Of the 1,700 Federal troops who were engaged, 553 were captured and 400 were killed or wounded. The South, with roughly the same number of troops engaged, suffered approximately 200 casualties.

A shocked North wanted an answer for the defeat at Ball's Bluff, as well as the earlier debacle at Bull Run. A Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War was formed, and it quickly targeted Stone. The committee preferred to blame Stone for the disaster rather than Baker, who was a fellow politician. Stone defended himself by stating that he would have withdrawn from Virginia had he known that McCall was not at Dranesville.

Stone placed the blame for the defeat squarely on Baker, whose discretionary orders at Harrison's Island were not to fight if the Rebels outnumbered him. This did not sit well with the committee, press, or radical Republicans, all of whom sought a scapegoat. Stone was arrested, although he was never formally charged. Stone was accused of being disloyal and incompetent, among other things. He spent six months in prison before being released.

In early 1863, Stone appeared before the committee a third time. He refuted the accusations against him, but his military career was severely damaged. He would serve until September 1864, at which time he resigned from the army. By that time the catastrophe at Ball's Bluff had been overshadowed by much greater events in the long and terrible war. □

ivry

Continued from page 41

cause whatever Catholic support he still retained to disintegrate. Meanwhile, at the prompting of Spain, the League called for a meeting of the Estates General for the purpose of selecting a legitimate king. When the body announced it would accept Henry as king in exchange for a conversion to Catholicism, he was given one last chance to obtain peacefully what he could not through war. At last he relented and in July 1593 was converted. "Paris is worth a mass," he was reputed to comment. Many of his Huguenot supporters and foreign benefactors did not agree, most notably Elizabeth I of England, but the deed was done and with it the cause of his enemies. The League slowly deteriorated, and by the time of the Edict of Nantes in 1598, through which Henry granted the Huguenots full civil liberties, it was all but forgotten.

For a man who once said, "Religion is not something you discard like a shirt," conversion for political reasons may have seemed hypocritical, especially in an age when the Inquisition actively hunted such men, but there was little doubt that it was best for France. By 1593 the country was exhausted from a half century of civil war, and many Catholics were still unprepared to relent against heresy. Furthermore, without his Catholic supporters Henry could not have continued on, let alone have issued the Edict of Nantes which, while not erasing his hypocrisy, went a long way toward tempering it.

Much more uncertain than Henry IV's political legacy was his military legacy. Parma, the premier general of his age, once said of Henry, "He can make a splendid retreat, but why does he get into situations where such a retreat is necessary? I never do." Even if Parma was an unfair standard of comparison, there was little doubt that Henry's skills in military matters were limited, his financial pains notwithstanding. On the field of battle he relied exclusively on cavalry, showing little talent with infantry or artillery, while his sieges of major cities almost always ended in failure. Perhaps his only real talents were his charisma and ability to field an army at all.

Ivry was the sole exception. On an open plain without the aid of geography, Henry won a clearcut and skillful victory. Sadly, it became tainted by its failure to bear a decisive impact. Nevertheless, thanks in no small part to the contemporary propaganda, the Battle of Ivry became part of French lore. Despite all of his shortcomings, Henry IV still remains one of France's most popular kings. □

guilford courthouse

Continued from page 57

had been hit twice and was prone, implored Cornwallis not to fire until all of the Guards had made it to the west side of the vale, but Cornwallis ordered Lieutenant John MacLeod to load his two 3-pounders with canister and fire on the Americans. Of the remaining Guards, about half were killed. But Cornwallis's plan had its desired effect in that Washington's dragoons rode to safety and the 2nd Maryland fell back to the east side of the vale.

The British were ready to launch a fresh attack at 3:30 PM when the 71st Highlanders and 23rd Fusiliers, both of which had been mopping up against the Virginia militia, emerged from the woods into the vale. Just as they were preparing to attack the vulnerable American left flank, Greene issued orders for his Continental regiments to attempt to break off the fight and retreat east. His rationale was that he had bled the British units substantially and that he intended to preserve the bulk of his army to fight another day. Greene ordered the 4th Virginia to serve as the rear guard during the retreat. To the south, Lee managed to extract his infantry and cavalry from the fight, but in so doing selfishly made no effort to help Campbell break off from the fight at the knoll. This resulted in substantial losses to Campbell's regiment as Tarleton's dragoons rode them down and either killed them or took them prisoner.

When Cornwallis realized the Americans were quitting the fight, he decided not to pursue them because most of his units were badly cut up. American losses were about 80 killed and 185 wounded. Of the 1,050 American missing, 885 were militia who promptly went home. The British had lost 93 killed, 413 wounded, and 26 missing. After the battle, Cornwallis had only about 1,400 men to continue his campaign.

Cornwallis led his troops toward the coast. His British and Hessians raided parts of southeastern Virginia and eventually bivouacked at Yorktown in August to await resupply. On September 5, a French fleet successfully blocked a British fleet from reaching Cornwallis.

Cornwallis's choice of position had proved to be a major strategic blunder. American and French armies, which were well supported by the French Navy, easily bottled up Cornwallis on the Virginia peninsula. Just seven months after the pitched battle at Guilford Courthouse, on October 19, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered his British army to a victorious General George Washington. The long war for American independence was effectively over. □

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