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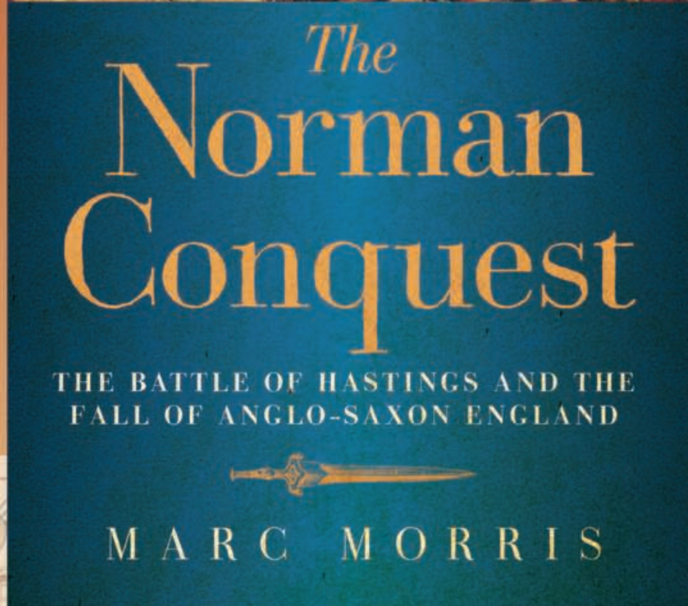

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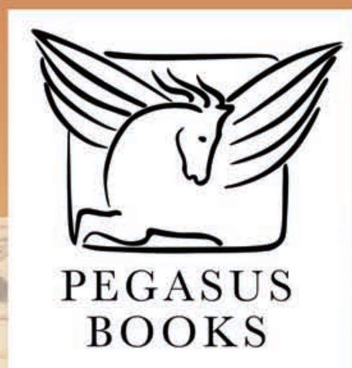

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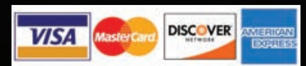

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A French soldier from the 4th Dragoon Regiment waves a captured Prussian flag, during Napoleon's triumphant victory at the Battle of Jena. Painting by Edouard Detaille. Credit: DEA / G. DAGLI ORTI / The Granger Collection, New York

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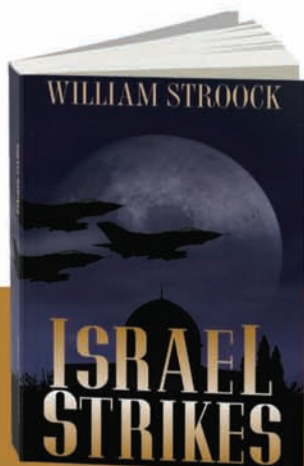

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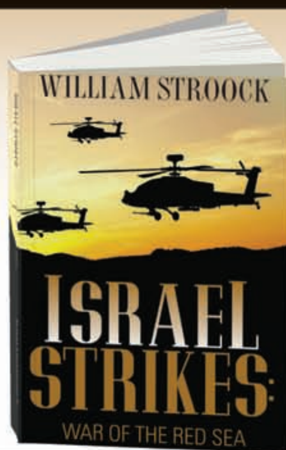

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The Falklands proved to be a dynamic theater of conflict.

THE BRITISH VESSEL WITH ITS BRIGHT RED HULL seemed out of place in the waters of Stromness Bay off the east coast of South Georgia Island on March 23, 1982. In contrast, the drab buildings of the abandoned whaling station at Port Leith nestled within the bay, with their white walls and drab brown roofs, seemed a perfect match for the treeless tundra and snow-capped peaks of South Georgia Island.

The ice patrol vessel HMS *Endurance,* recently arrived from Port Stanley in the Falkland Islands 1,550 kilometers to the west, had been sent as a warning to a group of about 40 Argentine scrap metal workers who had breached protocol on their arrival in the harbor on March 19. Aboard the *Endurance* were 24 British marines from the Stanley garrison. The Argentine workers, who had come to dismantle the storage sheds on the pier under a previously arranged agreement, failed to get a landing permit from the British Antarctic Survey base 20 miles away at Grytviken upon their arrival. Compounding the problem, the workers had hoisted the blue and white Argentine flag in the harbor as they began their work dismantling the metal sheds. British accounts of the incident state that Argentine marines had infiltrated the work group disguised as scientists, but precise details remain as opaque as the fog that routinely cloaks the island.

The ruling military junta in Argentina had hoped to gain control of the Malvinas, as they called the Falkland Islands, through diplomatic means. Frustrated with the British decision to break off sovereignty discussions earlier that year, the Argentine leaders turned to military options.

The arrival of the *Endurance* upped the stakes. The day after the transport vessel ARA *Bahia Buen Suceso* sailed away from South Georgia with all but a few of the workers, the armed Argentine naval survey ship ARA *Bahia Paraiso* sailed into Leith Harbor. Meanwhile, both sides were putting the finishing touches on their respective strategies for war and dispatching additional vessels to the area.

Both sides claimed sovereignty. In the late 18th century, both British and French settled on the Falkland Islands. Spain inherited the French claim, and Argentine in turn inherited the Spanish claim. For a short time in early 19th century, an Argentine governor had ruled the Falkland Islands, but Britain reasserted her claim in 1833.

The Argentines invaded the Falklands on April 2. Britain formed a task force to retake the Falklands. British Rear Adm. Sandy Woodward was the overall commander of the expedition, and Maj. Gen. Jeremy Moore oversaw ground forces whose objective was to retake Port Stanley.

The British sought to nullify as much as possible the threat of the Argentine Navy and Air Force before they sent their elite ground troops ashore. Removing the Argentine naval threat was simple enough. After the HMS *Conqueror* sunk the Argentine light cruiser ARA *General Belgrano* on May 2, the Argentine fleet hunkered down in port. This removed the threat that Argentine surface ships armed with Exocet missiles posed to Woodward's task force.

The air threat was more problematic. The threat posed by air-launched Exocet missiles fired by Argentine attack aircraft at high altitude was formidable; only two British Type 22 frigates equipped with medium-altitude Sea Wolf missiles could confidently counter that threat. During the course of the six-week war, the Argentines sunk or heavily damaged six British warships. But the British pressed forward, landing on East Falkland Island on May 21. In less than a month, they captured Port Stanley. Christopher Miskimon's feature article in this issue covers the final battle in great detail.

William E. Welsh

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CARL A. GNAM, JR.
Editorial Director, Founder

WILLIAM E. WELSH
Editor
editor@militaryheritagemagazine.com

LAURA CLEVELAND
Managing Editor

SAMANTHA DeTULLEO
Art Director

Contributors:
Arnold Blumberg, Robert Heege, Peter Kross, Joseph Luster, Christopher Miskimon, Eric Niderost, David A. Norris, Blaine Taylor

ADVERTISING OFFICE:

BEN BOYLES
Advertising Manager
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Subscription Customer Services
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KEN FORNWALT
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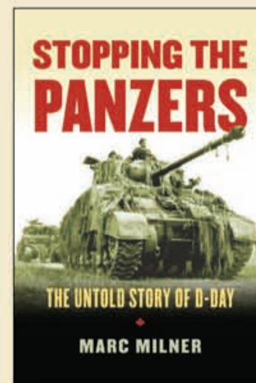

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By William E. Welsh

Inventor John Griffen's 3-inch Ordnance Rifle was one of the safest, most reliable, and most accurate cannons of the American Civil War.

TEAMS OF HORSES FROM FOUR CONFEDERATE BATTERIES CHURNED the ground with their hooves as they pulled artillery onto the southern crest of Benner's Hill just east of Gettysburg at 4 PM, July 2, 1863. Once the Southern artillerymen had dropped their guns, they began loading and firing against the Union lines more than three-quarters of a mile away. The batteries belonged to Andrews' Artillery Battalion of Maj. Gen. Edward Johnson's Division of Lt. Gen. Richard Ewell's II Corps. The crews were under orders to make a strong show of force against the Union units opposite them. The purpose of the demonstration was to pin down Yankees units that might otherwise have been sent to reinforce the Union left, which was at the time under heavy assault by Lt. Gen. James Longstreet's I Corps.

A Union gun crew from Battery A, 2nd U.S. Artillery, poses with its 3-inch Rifle near Fair Oaks, Virginia, in 1862. Cannon maker John Griffen introduced a sound process for crafting rifled barrels from wrought iron by rolling versus hammering.

It was an almost suicidal order as the Union artillery batteries countering the fire, some of which were stationed on higher ground on East Cemetery Hill, could bring converging fire against the 14 Confederate guns. The Confederates positioned six 20-pounder Parrott rifled guns further back. Andrews' Artillery Battalion, directed that day by 19-year-old Major Joseph Latimer, did its very best against fearful odds. "Benner's Hill was simply hell infernal," wrote a member of Captain William Brown's Chesapeake Artillery. "We were directly opposed by some of the finest batteries in the regular service of the enemy, which batteries, moreover, held a position to which ours was but a molehill."

William Welsh

A 3-inch Rifle on display at Antietam National Battlefield. The guns fired 9-pound Hotchkiss or Schenkl projectiles and also could accommodate 10-pound Parrott projectiles.

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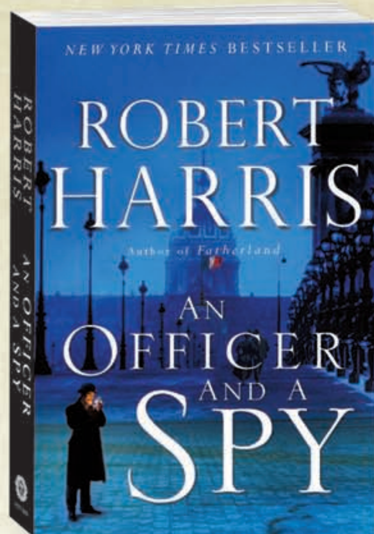
The Federals responded with 28 guns from the Union I and XII Corps. The majority was on East Cemetery Hill, but one battery was on Stevens' Knoll, a spur between Cemetery Ridge and Culp's Hill, and a few guns were on Culp's Hill. At the outset of the long-range artillery duel, a Union rifled gun from East Cemetery Hill scored a direct hit on a Confederate artillery chest setting off a series of secondary explosions further increasing the chance of the Rebel gunners getting killed or maimed while servicing their guns. Nevertheless, for a time at least, the Confederates gave as good as they



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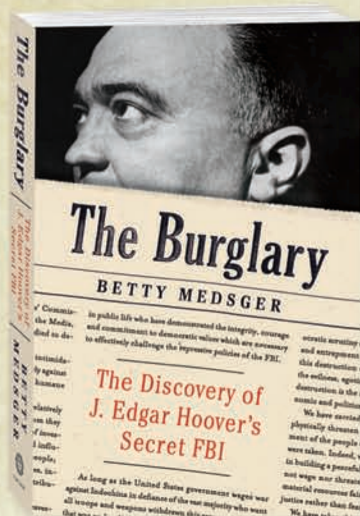

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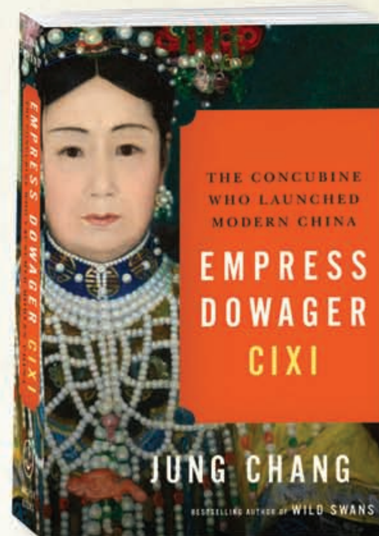

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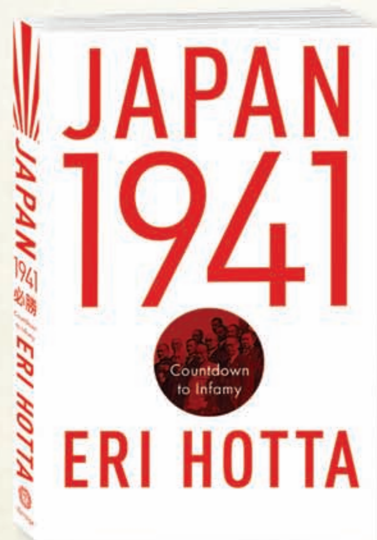

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A battery of 3-inch Rifles during the Peninsula Campaign in 1862. Although no match for the 12-pounder, bronze smoothbores in close-range action, the 3-inch rifle had a significantly lighter barrel that made the cannon easier to move.

received. The Southern artillerymen fired a shell that struck a Federal caisson causing considerable damage and panicking nearby horses hitched to limbers. The advantage throughout the contest lay with the Union gunners, whose rifled guns inflicted frightening damage on Andrews' Artillery Battalion as the minutes dragged by.

The skill of the Union artillery crews, coupled with superior artillery and position, resulted in Latimer requesting permission from Johnson to withdraw his guns after about 90 minutes in action. In the process of directing the withdrawal of the guns, Latimer was severely wounded in the arm by shrapnel. He would die one month later. The ill-conceived artillery demonstration resulted in a horrible harvest of death and major loss of equipment for Andrews' Artillery Battalion. Skilled Union artillery crews firing rifled guns were responsible. Nine men were killed and 30 wounded from Andrews Artillery Battalion when the duel was over.

In the July 2 artillery action east of Gettysburg, which is remembered as one of the greatest artillery duels of the American Civil War, the Union artillery units benefited heavily from their superior rifled cannon. Of the 28 Union guns, perhaps as many as two-thirds were 3-inch Rifles, also known simply as Ordnance Rifles, which went into full production in the North the first year of the war. Regarded as the most accurate, safest, and dependable gun in the Union arsenal, it was highly impressive in long-range gunnery. Nearly all of the Union guns on East Cemetery Hill arrayed against Latimer's crews were 3-inch Rifles. Of the 14 Confederate guns commanded by Latimer, at least three were 3-inch Rifles, and they undoubtedly enabled the Southern gunners to inflict damage on the Union batteries.

The origins of the 3-inch Rifle, whose shells swept Benner's Hill with demonic fury the second day of the titanic struggle at Gettysburg, can be traced to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. In the decade before the war, American cannon makers were determined to craft barrels from iron to offset the shortage of copper used to make pre-Civil War bronze light field artillery.

American cannon makers throughout the early 18th century crafted cannon barrels from iron for naval vessels and coastal fortifications, and that knowledge was on the brink of being extended to the manufacture of barrels for light field artillery.

Two processes for making iron barrels were used: cast iron and wrought iron. What distinguishes the two processes is not only the chemical composition of the iron used for each method, but also the tools and techniques used to shape the iron into the cannon barrel.

Cast iron involves taking pig iron or a similar alloy and heating it until it liquefies. The liquid iron is then poured into a mold for the cannon barrel. Wrought iron entails using iron with a lower carbon content and then hammering or rolling it by foundry machine into the cannon barrel.

In the first half of the 19th century, the U.S. Army Ordnance Board vacillated between whether it believed bronze or iron was the best metal for light field artillery. Some metallurgists argued that iron was too brittle, and therefore the barrels were more prone to stretching and warping than bronze. The primary complaint, and a valid one, was that wrought iron barrels produced by hammer failed to produce barrels with consistent and uniform strength. Nevertheless, iron offered the advantage of allowing cannon makers to turn out lighter barrels, and this was particularly important for field batteries where mobility on the battlefield was critical.

In the 1830s, the Ordnance Board decreed that field guns would henceforth be made from bronze, but that did not stop visionary cannon makers from trying to develop viable iron barrels for field guns. A disaster occurred in the following decade that served as a further setback for advocates of wrought iron barrels. A long-barrel ship cannon made from wrought iron known as "The Peacemaker" exploded during a demonstration for top officials of the Tyler Administration aboard the steam frigate USS *Princeton* on February 28, 1844. The explosion killed eight people, including the secretaries of state and navy. The unfortunate incident did not bode well for the future of wrought iron cannonmaking.

The U.S. Army campaigning in Mexico from

1846 to 1848 used the Model 1841 6-pounder, bronze smoothbore in the field. In the following decade, the U.S. Army, which was keen on using bronze guns in the field, adopted the Model 1857 12-pounder bronze smoothbore. The M1857 was nicknamed "Napoleon" after France's Emperor Napoleon III, who had pushed for the development of a larger bronze smoothbore for the French army. The Americans adopted his design.

The M1857 Napoleon's 66-inch bronze tube weighed 1,227 pounds. It had a 4.62-inch bore and could fire shot, shell, case shot, and canister. The Napoleon delivered devastating casualties when used at close range defending against an infantry attack. In addition to its ability to fire case shot and canister more effectively than rifled cannon, there were other reasons for Civil War armies to continue to use the M1857 despite the advent of rifled guns. One of the potential drawbacks of the rifled cannon was that its conical shells occasionally buried themselves in the ground, particularly in rough terrain, where they exploded without causing any damage to enemy personnel or equipment. In contrast, the M1857's round shot or shell, which had a lower velocity than rifled guns, caused a great deal of damage even when bouncing and rolling along the ground before it exploded, and the chance that it would bury itself was greatly reduced by the spherical shape.

Two rifled guns became ubiquitous in the Union army. One was the 10-pounder Parrott, and the other was the 3-inch Rifle. Captain Robert Parrott, who had graduated from West Point and subsequently became superintendent of the West Point Foundry, Cold Spring, New York, developed a cast iron rifled cannon in 1860 that bore his name. Parrott designed from cast iron a 10-pounder and a 20-pounder that had a 2.9-inch bore and 3.67-inch bore, respectively.

Parrott manufactured the tubes using the cast iron process. His design included a reinforcing bar made from wrought iron that was wrapped around the breech to furnish extra support for the tube. In theory, it was a sound design, but in practice it proved otherwise because welding the band onto the barrel put stress on the tube. As a result, the Parrott rifles occasionally burst when fired. Nevertheless, the Parrott rifles entered full production the first year of the war.

One Northern cannon maker was determined to find a sound process for making field guns out of cast iron. John Griffen, the superintendent of Safe Harbor Iron Works in Phoenixville, Pennsylvania, a subsidiary of Phoenix Iron Company, formulated a way to make cannon tubes from iron by passing the iron through a rolling mill instead of using the traditional method of hammering the iron in the forge.

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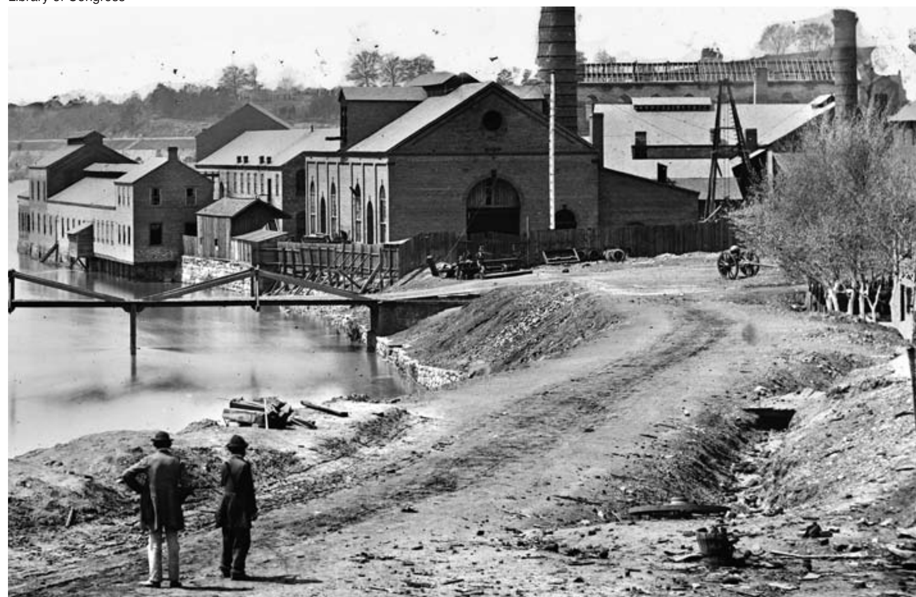

The Confederates incorporated captured 3-inch Rifles into their batteries and also made copies of them at Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond, Virginia.

At the start of the process, Griffen's workers welded together iron rods to form a core. Then, they wrapped five layers of wrought iron around the core on a lathe. The wrapped layers were then welded together. Afterwards, the workers removed the core inside and put a plug in the breach. By using a rolling mill rather than a hammer, the workers were able to create a finished product with uniform strength throughout the tube.

The prototype introduced in 1854 was known as the Griffen Gun. In the years leading up to the war, Griffen made various refinements to it, such as adding grooves to fire rifled shells, and eventually it became known as the 3-inch Rifle. Griffen shipped his 700-pound Griffen Gun, which fired a 6-pound shell, to Fort Monroe, Virginia, for testing. It languished for two years before the Ordnance Department tested it. In the meantime, Griffen applied for and received a patent for his wrought iron gun on December 25, 1855.

Griffen attended the tests of his experimental wrought iron field gun that were held at Fort Monroe in 1856. Captain Alexander Dyer, who was in charge of the testing, fired the gun and found that it performed well. Griffen, eager to see what kind of stress his prototype could stand, asked Dyer to try to burst the tube by firing 500 rounds from it. To Griffen's satisfaction, the gun held up during that additional test. Griffen then urged Dyer and his testing team to increase the weight of the powder and the number of shells in the barrel in an attempt to burst it. The barrel of the gun eventually exploded with seven pounds of powder and 13 shells in it. Griffen was more than satisfied, and so was the Ordnance Department.

After the testing, Griffen made various refinements to what became the 3-inch Rifle. The smoothbore Griffen Gun was converted to a rifled cannon by adding seven lands and grooves of equal width after the barrel had been forged. The tube for the Ordnance Rifle was 73 inches long. Not all of the tubes weighed the same. The weight varied somewhere between 803 and 823 pounds.

The 3-inch Rifles fired 9-pound Hotchkiss or Schenkl projectiles and also could accommodate 10-pound Parrott projectiles. These projectiles were conical shaped, not spherical like those used by the bronze smoothbores. The conical projectiles for the 3-inch Rifle had expansion rings made of lead, copper, or brass that fit tightly in the barrel's rifling.

The Ordnance Rifle is easily distinguished from the 10-pounder Parrott because it lacks the reinforcing band. Although rifling was not conducive to the firing of canister rounds, it gave the gun far greater accuracy than a bronze smoothbore. When firing the 9-pound projectile at a 5-degree elevation, the 3-inch Rifle had a range of 1,850 yards. When raised to 10 degrees, the Ordnance Rifle could fire the same 9 pound projectile 2,788 yards, and when raised to 20 degrees it could fire the 9-pound projectile 3,972 yards.

With war looming in February 1861, the U.S. Army Ordnance Department placed an order for 6-pounder Griffen Guns from Phoenix Iron Company. Phoenix began producing the 3-inch

Continued on page 66

By Blaine Taylor

Maryland's Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Towson's greatest hour was as an artillery commander in the trying days of the War of 1812.

FEW IN THE UNINCORPORATED COMMUNITY IN BALTIMORE COUNTY that bears his name know of the deeds of the eminent American brevet Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Towson, even though his portrait hangs in the expanded Maryland Historical Society, a plaque honoring him is displayed outside the Baltimore County Courthouse, and a major Maryland university bears his name.

Even among War of 1812 buffs, who know the accomplishments of great generals such as Andrew Jackson and Winfield Scott, Towson's name might be too obscure for them to cite his specific contributions to the American cause in that conflict, despite Towson having served under Scott in two of the war's most important battles on the volatile U.S.-Canadian border.

Towson is remembered today not only as an astute battlefield commander, but also for having served for 35 years as paymaster general of the U.S. Army from 1819 until, while still in uniformed service he passed away in 1854.

One anecdote tells of how he was informed of being granted a commission in the U.S. Army while he was busily engaged laying a barn floor. The messenger who bore the tidings, along with the owner of the barn, went to the construction site to inform Towson of his commission, wondering all the while how he might receive the good news.

As Towson was driving a spike through a rough, unhewn wooden plank, the messenger announced in a loud voice, "Towson, I have your commission." Shaking with pleasure at these glad tidings, Towson did not look up from his task until he had driven home the spike. Casting his hammer aside, he proudly said, "That is the last spike that Nathan Towson will drive until he sends one into the touchhole of the enemy's cannon!" Unfortunately, there is no record of whether he got an opportunity to do that, but it leaves no doubt as to his patriotic fervor.

British soldiers at the Battle of Lundy's Lane had to contend with Brig. Gen. Winfield Scott's 1st Brigade of Regulars, which included Nathaniel Towson's artillery company. RIGHT: Captain Towson in uniform.

Author's Collection

The community of Towsontowne (now Towson), Maryland, reportedly was founded when William and Thomas Towson of Pennsylvania began farming at what is now the junction of York and Joppa Roads in modern downtown Towson. With the construction of the Towson Hotel by William's son Ezekiel, Towson became the market center for the

the construction of the Towson Hotel by William's son Ezekiel, Towson became the market center for the transport of goods to Baltimore, and also for the sale of farm produce, which still occurs regularly at the local farmers' market sponsored by the Towson Chamber of Commerce.

Towson was born on January 22, 1784, on his family's farm as the 12th and last child of Ezekiel and Ruth Towson. Young Nathaniel's parents had opened a tavern at what is now the Towson Roundabout at the intersection of York, Joppa, and Dulaney Valley Roads in Baltimore County.

Formerly Bosley's Hotel, today it is Souris' Saloon. Towsontowne, seven miles north of the port of Baltimore, was named in the family's honor for having built the first home on a distinct ridge. Nathaniel grew up there and later went to farm in both Kentucky and Mississippi.

The future Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Towson began his successful military career during the War of 1812 and was considered afterward to be one of the most accomplished artillery officers in the United States. Before that, though, as a still roving 19-year-old, Towson moved to Natchez, Mississippi. He was living there in 1803 when United States bought approximately 530 million acres in a vast land deal with Napoleonic France known as the Louisiana Purchase, in which the French signed away their claim to the territory of Louisiana. Since many of the French inhabitants were unsettled at the prospect of belonging to the relatively new United States, local volunteer companies of militia troops were formed to enforce the American claim should any difficulties arise. Young Towson joined one of these militia companies and eventually rose to command the Natchez Volunteer Artillery. In that post, he earned a reputation for both roughness and gallantry. His superiors noted that he rarely shrank from undertaking tough tasks that they assigned to him.

Returning to Baltimore County in 1805 to become a farmer, two years later Towson joined the Maryland State Militia when the British Royal Navy attacked the Baltimore-built U.S. frigate *Chesapeake* in what became known as the notorious *Chesapeake-Leopard* Affair of 1807. This almost resulted in a renewed state of war between Great Britain and the still embryonic United States before passions cooled.

Five years later, in 1812, Towson was duly commissioned in the U.S. Regular Army as an officer. Soon renowned as one of its most useful officers, Towson was appointed a captain in the U.S. 2nd Regiment of Artillery in March

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U.S. Army

Towson was brevetted lieutenant colonel at the Battle of Chippewa where his 6-pounder cannons were instrumental in helping Scott's brigade drive the British from the battlefield.

where they joined the 2nd Artillery Regiment, part of the command of General Winfield Scott. His force was then stationed on the shores of Lake Erie on the American-Canadian frontier at Buffalo, New York, for service in the War of 1812's Niagara campaign.

Just north of the United States lay Great Britain's colony of Canada, taken from the French in 1763. As was the case in the American Revolution, this locale again seemed the best and most logical place for the American Republic to attack its British foe. President James Madison declared war on England in June 1812, and had a force of 5,000 U.S. soldiers known as the Army of the Niagara, deployed on the U.S.-Canadian border.

"The acquisition of Canada this year as far as the neighborhood of Quebec will be a mere matter of marching!" said former U.S. President Thomas Jefferson upon the formal declaration of war. It was a foolish boast that fell flat.

As with the earlier failed American invasion of British Canada during the Revolutionary War, the attempts that occurred between 1812 and 1814 also proved to be doomed. The fighting soon bogged down in stalemate, and the conflict became known as "Mr. Madison's War." New England even opposed it outright, going so far as to consider secession from the union at the Hartford Convention.

Between seasonal campaigns, various local truces were sometimes declared so that the officers of both sides might socialize a bit. At one of these soirees, a British officer was reportedly heard to insult one of the ladies present. As the story goes, Captain Towson promptly knocked the offender down. In the resulting duel with pistols, Towson lost a finger while his British opponent suffered a more serious injury, but both lived.

Towson would soon be involved in far greater battles. In all, Towson saw action in the Battles of Fort George, Stoney Creek, Queenston Heights, Chippewa, and Lundy's Lane, although he is best known today for the last two engagements.

During the active military campaign seasons, various Maryland citizens took part, and one of these was U.S. Navy Lieutenant Jesse Duncan Elliott, who with 50 men surprised and captured two British ships on Lake Erie. Elliott was to become a useful ally to his fellow Marylander, Towson.

Elliott was born in Maryland in 1785, and enlisted in the U.S. Navy in 1806, being promoted to officer's rank in 1810. After the gallant exploit near Buffalo, Elliott was posted to Sackett's Harbor and in July 1813 was named master commandant in command of 30 lieutenants, also commanding the 20-gun brig USS *Niagara*, itself built on Lake Erie.

Elliott also served as Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry's second in command at the Battle of Lake Erie on September 10, 1813, for which Congress voted him a gold medal. That November, he was awarded command of the new sloop-of-war USS *Ontario,* just then completed at the port of Baltimore, seeing action with the U.S. Navy's Mediterranean Squadron in 1815. Promoted to captain, Elliott received other sea commands and was officer in charge of the U.S. Navy shipyards at Boston and Philadelphia.

Elliott and Towson typified the high caliber of officers produced by Maryland during the War of 1812. In all the Canadian fighting in which it was involved, Towson's company became renowned as being the first into combat and the last to leave it. Indeed, on one occasion when defending Fort Erie against the British-Canadian forces, his men reportedly fired their cannons so rapidly and continuously that the fortress the enemy nicknamed "Towson's Lighthouse" because of the seamless flame from its guns.

In one of their joint adventures, Towson helped Elliott capture the British ship HMS *Caledonia* off Fort Erie in October 1812. For his bravery Towson was brevetted a major, his first field officer grade. Elliott was ordered to construct, borrow, or take shipping to gain control of Lake Erie. While he was busy supervising such shipbuilding near Buffalo, HMS *Caledonia* and *Detroit,* both of which were armed British Royal Navy brigs, cruised by on a reconnaissance mission, anchoring just under the American Fort Erie, near the lake's neck.

Elliott's plan was for a night seizure by stealth, with Towson's soldiers armed with pistols, swords, and sabers. Commanded by Elliott on water, the expedition set sail in two boats using muffled oars. One boat with Towson sailed ahead but was sighted by HMS *Detroit* and duly fired upon. When the Navy master wanted to abort the discovered amphibious assault, Towson overruled him, took over, and slid alongside HMS *Caledonia.*

All but one of their grappling hooks missed their mark, again exposing the Americans to deadly enemy fire. Nevertheless, even in the dark, Towson got his men aboard the British vessel, and in less than two minutes the fighting ceased with the surrender of her crew and the *Caledonia* in Yankee hands.

Meanwhile, its crew being so transfixed by the fighting aboard the *Caledonia,* the *Detroit* was boarded with but little notice by Elliott and his men and also captured in just 10 minutes of combat. The topsails of both vessels were sheeted, and they were soon underway, bound for American captivity.

Towson was wounded during his successful repelling of a British attack at Fort George in Upper Canada in July 1813. Scott's forces crossed the Niagara into Canada on July 3, 1814, where they faced British Maj. Gen. Phineas Riall. Towson's second brevetted promotion was to lieutenant colonel for achieving even greater glory at the Battle of Chippewa in Upper Canada on July 5, 1814. His superiors wrote that he had garnered this new laurel by "greatly distinguishing himself" against the British.

Indeed, his guns there were said to have stood firm in defeating a charge made by British

grenadiers, smashing their lines with artillery barrages using heavy iron balls that compelled the redcoats into headlong retreat. However, the Battle of Chippewa cost the Americans dearly.

The clash reduced American effective troops to 2,644 men as opposed to a British-Canadian force of 2,995, with reinforcements of 1,230 more redcoats six miles off. This set the stage for the followup Battle of Lundy's Lane three weeks later. The battle opened at 5 PM on July 25, 1814, and lasted until well after midnight. It became one of the war's bloodiest battles.

As part of an advance force of 1,200 men, Towson and his 70 artillery gunners crossed a bridge over the Chippewa River with Scott's First Brigade. Earlier at Chippewa, Scott had been surprised to find the British army on the bank opposite him. Rather than cause a panic among his own men by withdrawing, Scott had stormed ahead, attempting to make the British believe he was coming with the entire American army. Riall later famously acknowledged that Scott's men were not despised Yankee militiamen: "Those are Regulars, by God!"

As it evolved, the Chippewa-Lundy's Lane campaign became known in both American and Canadian history not so much for the battles, but for the gray militia-colored uniforms that Scott's men were forced to wear in lieu of American Regular Army blue. The Corps of Cadets of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York, eventually adopted gray as its official uniform color to honor Scott's troops, a uniform tradition that endures to this day.

Meanwhile, the main body of the British army was still rapidly advancing from the Canadian town of Queenston, with a column head having reached Lundy's Lane. This was a road running a short way due west of the river below Chippewa, near the roar of the famous Niagara Falls. Scott's army now faced an enemy numbering 1,600 to 1,800 men.

By dusk, however, both sides had received reinforcements, with the Americans fielding 2,100 soldiers and the British about 3,000. Fighting far into the night, the sound of the guns was nearly drowned out by that of the steep falls in the background. The American army withdrew with 171 dead, 572 wounded, and 110 missing or captured. As for the British, they suffered 84 killed, 599 wounded, 193 missing, and 42 captured. The battle was considered a draw. When Towson's guns had fired their final rounds, 27 of his 36 gunners were either dead or wounded.

Some contemporaries regarded the Battle of Lundy's Lane as a tactical British victory, with Riall alleging that not only had the Americans given up their camp but also abandoned most of their equipment, baggage, and even supplies in the nearby river. In addition, the British asserted that they were the ones who retained control of the battlefield. The U.S. army fell back on Fort Erie "in great disorder," the British charged. Despite this, it was noted by the Americans that the Canadian site of Street Mills had been burned and the Chippewa Bridge destroyed.

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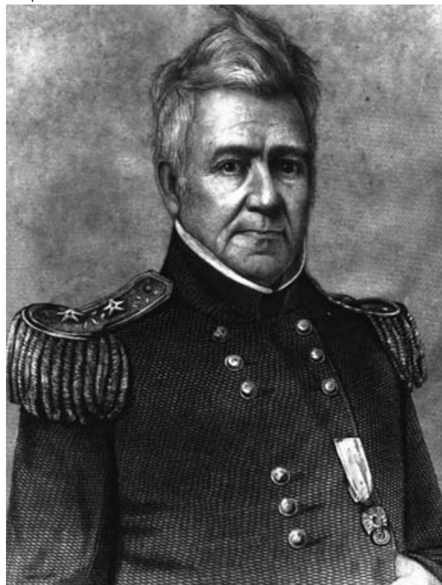


Towson wears the two stars of a major general in a period sketch. After the War of 1812 he served with distinction as U.S. Army Paymaster General.

Thus, both sides claimed victory, with Towson duly lauded in after action reports as being "competent" in the handling of his battery's pair of 6-pounder guns and a sole 5½-shell howitzer that had battled British gunners and infantry at both Chippewa and Lundy's Lane.

One entire Towson gun crew had been killed during an exchange of deadly fire, while he and his men were credited with having added captured British cannons to their battery.

Oddly, Scott allegedly never filed an official report on the disputed Battle of Lundy's Lane, and this was used against him during his unsuccessful campaign for the U.S. presidency in 1852, when a pamphlet was published charging that Towson's force "stood and were shot down, and fired to animate the infantry to stand and be shot down." But Scott would go on to become the first commander of the Union Army when the American Civil War began in 1861. Despite the later charges, Scott was, and is still is, acknowledged as one of the heroes of the War of 1812.

Having been promoted to brigadier general, one of Towson's last official acts was to preside over an 1848 court of inquiry on Scott. The investigation sought to determine whether Scott had misappropriated public monies to bribe Mexican Army generals during the U.S.-Mexican War that ended that year. The charges were dropped. For his noted discretion during the hearings, Towson was brevetted yet again, this time to major general.

Elliott also got into career difficulties following the War of 1812. Charged with official misconduct during one of his Mediterranean commands, Elliott was court-martialed in 1840, receiving a sentence of four years' suspension from the naval service. By then, Commodore Elliott also became embroiled in a postwar dispute over his conduct at the Battle of Lake Erie that ended only with his death on December 18, 1845. Controversy had also flared around him when he placed an image of President Andrew Jackson as a figurehead on the U.S. Navy frigate *Constitution*, which was seen as a blatant political act.

Towson sidestepped any and all such controversies. Indeed, in his long-running posting as U.S. Army Paymaster General, Towson disbursed $70 million "without any hint of impropriety," it was noted at his death on July 20, 1854, at age 70 in Washington, D.C.

Towson's noteworthy record on the Canadian frontier during the War of 1812 brought him very few laurels, but one celebration did recognize his deeds. The January 9, 1815, edition of the *American Commercial and Daily Advertiser* covered a celebration titled, "A Tribute to Valor." The celebration honored a pair of Free State heroes of the War of 1812, George E. Mitchell of the 3rd Maryland Militia and the Regular Army's Nathaniel Towson.

Present also were other famous contemporary warriors, including American commander at the September 12, 1814, Battle of North Point Militia Brig. Gen. John Stricker, and Baltimore's Fort McHenry Regular Army post commanding officer Lt. Col. George Armistead. Toasts were made all round, including this one to Towson: "In 1812—under the batteries of Erie—he displayed the bold enterprise and undaunted valor of an American. The fire of his artillery has, since—in many a well-fought field—awed the enemy until its correct aim and incessant blaze has gained the distinction of 'Towson's Lighthouse.'" The paper added that this toast was followed by nine cheers.

The object of these hurrahs lies today on a pleasant lawn slope at Oak Hill Cemetery in the Georgetown section of Washington, D.C., at his wife's side. Above them was placed a beautiful white marble monument bearing the following inscription: "Nathan Towson, Brevet Major General and Paymaster General, United States Army. Sophia Towson, wife of Nathan Towson." □

By Peter Kross

Mounting circumstantial evidence has given new credence to the theory that General George S. Patton, Jr., was killed by a conspiracy.

WHEN ONE THINKS ABOUT THE MAJOR CONSPIRACY THEORIES of the post-World War II era, one is drawn to the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and Senator Robert F. Kennedy. However, there is one incident that happened at the end of World War II that has been given little or no notice by historians since it occurred more than 60 years ago.

That event is the mysterious death of George S. Patton, Jr., one of the most famous generals in U.S. military history. The life of George Patton was brought to the big screen in the blockbuster 1970 movie *Patton,* starring George C. Scott, which told his story to a mass audience. Another movie based on the circumstances surrounding the death of Patton was *Brass Target,* based on Frederick Nolan's novel *The Algonquin Project*. The theme of *Brass Target* is that there was a vast conspiracy to kill Patton, part of which was the auto accident that he was involved in after the war. On the face of it, a conspiracy in the death of Patton might sound silly or inconceivable. But over the years, certain circumstantial evidence has come forward from multiple sources that put that theory in a new light.

Patton was born in San Gabriel, California, on November 11, 1885. He attended West Point, graduated in 1909, and was sent to the cavalry branch of the Army. He served with distinction in World War I on the Western Front under the command of General John Pershing. During the war, Patton was given command of the 304th Tank Brigade. He saw action in the battle of St. Mihiel and was wounded in the Meuse-Argonne campaign. After the war, Patton returned to the United States and was assigned to the newly created tank center at Camp Meade.

On October 1, 1940, Patton was promoted to brigadier general and given command of the 2nd Armored Division at Fort Benning, Georgia. After the United States entered the war, Patton's troops waded ashore in North Africa in November 1942 during Operation Torch. His troops took Morocco and subsequently participated in the Allied invasion of Sicily in July 1943.

Some aspects of Patton's conduct in Sicily got him into trouble with the Allied high command. During the Messina operation, 73 Italian prisoners were killed by Allied soldiers of the 45th Division. Two men were put on trial for the crimes. In their defense, the men said they carried out the attack because they were obeying orders from Patton, who had told his men in a June 27 speech that they should take no prisoners. To prevent a full-fledged scandal from breaking out, General Omar Bradley decided to drop all the charges against the two American soldiers.

Patton also got into hot water in

General George S. Patton's vehicle (below) was hit by an Army truck on December 9, 1945. Investigators considered the accident trivial, but Patton later died from his injuries, fueling conspiracy theories.

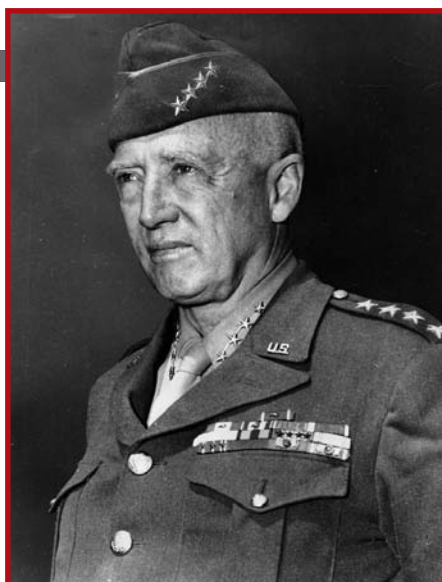
OPPOSITE: Patton as a four-star general.

All: National Archives

an incident that took place on August 3, 1943. While visiting the 15th Evacuation Hospital, Patton asked Private Charles Kuhl why he was in the hospital. Private Kuhl replied, "I guess I can't take it." Witnesses said that the general slapped him with his glove and pulled him up forcibly by his collar.

A second incident involving Patton took place a week later when the general was at the 93rd Evacuation Hospital, where he was making an inspection tour of the sick and wounded. He spoke to Private Paul Bennett, who told him that he was in the hospital because of his nerves. Patton shouted at Private Bennett, calling him a coward and a disgrace. "You ought to be lined up against a wall and shot," bellowed Patton.

General Dwight D. Eisenhower, by then Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, soon learned of the incidents and, despite his horror at Patton's conduct, asked the newsmen who knew about the incident not to publish the story. But Drew Pearson, a noted Washington-based reporter, learned of the Patton slapping incident and filed a story. Calls went out for Patton's removal, but Eisenhower believed that



Patton was too valuable in the fight against the Nazis and did not fire him. For his part, Patton publicly blamed the Jews in the Roosevelt administration and the press for publicizing the slapping incident, which did little to endear him to his military superiors.

Throughout the war, Patton was an accident waiting to happen. He showed no inclination to compromise, especially when it came to the running of the war. He made as many enemies as friends, both in the American and Russian military establishments. In time, both the United States and the Soviet Union would tap his phone in an effort to find out what the irascible general was doing.

While he was still stationed in Germany, Patton's vehicle was struck by a truck on December 9, 1945. Patton was the only one hurt. Curiously, the incident was not investigated to its full extent. One person who was at the scene of the accident, Lieutenant Joseph Shanahan, a former provost marshal of Patton's Third Army, said that the accident did not kill Patton (he was hospitalized and subsequently died in a military hospital in Germany). Shanahan said that no official investigation of the accident was undertaken by the U.S. Army. Of the incident, Shanahan later said, "By the time the MPs got there, there was nothing to report. They considered it a trivial accident at the time. No one thought that Patton was hurt at all."

Another military officer who was on hand at the scene of the accident was military police officer Lieutenant Peter Babalas of the 818th Military Police Company at Mannheim, Germany. In later life, Babalas was to serve as a

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state senator in Virginia. Around 11:45 AM, he and his partner, Lieutenant John Metz, had passed Patton's car, going in the opposite direction. After hearing the crash, they turned around to provide whatever aid they could.

Babalas made an official investigation of the circumstances surrounding the accident and found that Patton's driver, Private Horace Woodring and the driver of the truck that struck Patton, Robert Thompson, were directly responsible for the accident. Almost immediately after the accident, the Army's Criminal Investigative Division spirited Thompson out of Germany and brought him to England where he stayed for a few days. The reason for his sudden trip to England ostensibly was for his own protection.

Babalas said that Patton's accident was, in his words "trivial," but that his injuries were not. On January 11, 1971, Babalas wrote to the Department of the Army, describing himself as "the officer who had made the automobile accident investigation in which General George Patton was involved."

He subsequently asked for an official copy of his report, which he had filed at the time. In March 1971, after failing to hear from the Army, Babalas filed another request. He received a letter from the Records Center of the General Services Administration in St. Louis, Missouri, which read, "A review of the military personnel record of George S. Patton, service number 02605, has been bade (sic): however, the report of the investigation which you request has not been located." A search of the various files on Patton, including those of the Office of the Adjutant General, Medical Corps, or in the files of the Military Police, or in the document collections of the Army's Military History Center, have found no records pertaining to the accident in which General Patton was involved."

In 2008, author Robert Wilcox wrote a sensational book on the circumstances surrounding the accident and later death of Patton called *Target Patton: The Plot to Assassinate General George S. Patton.* The book, which caused a huge controversy, said that Patton had been assassinated on orders from high-ranking American military leaders. One person whom author Wilcox interviewed for his book was a distinguished World War II veteran and assassin, Douglas Bazata. In 1979, Bazatta gave a two-part interview to the publication *Spotlight,* in which he made a sensational claim that Patton had been assassinated. In the first interview, he said that the Russians had the motive to kill Patton because he wanted the United States to go to war with them right after the end of World War II. In the second installment which

TOP: Patton in his 1938 Cadillac 75. BOTTOM: Patton chats with wounded soldiers awaiting evacuation.

was called, "I Was Paid to Kill Patton," he said that he was asked by none other than William Donovan, the head of the wartime Office of Strategic Services (OSS) to kill Patton. Bazata said that he did not take part in the Patton assassination because he knew Patton and liked him. He further said that the accident, which took place on December 9, 1945, had been arranged by someone he knew and would not name him. Bazata said that since the general had not died in the accident he was told, "A refined form of cyanide that can cause embolisms, heart failure, and things like that had been used to kill him later in the hospital. It had been made in Czechoslovakia, and, in small amounts, could be timed to kill over a period of 18 to 48 hours."

Bazata further stated that Donovan believed he had killed Patton and paid him $10,000. While Bazata was attending a reunion of former intelligence officers, a reporter heard Bazata say regarding the attempt on Patton's life, "Apparently quite a number of top-level people were jealous of Patton. I know the guy who killed him. But I was the one who got paid for it.... If you [referring to the reporter] get me killed, get someone to say a prayer over my grave."

Bazata served in the OSS in World War II and took part in many undercover missions behind German lines. Bazata also served in the Marines and was an excellent marksman and boxer. He was part of an expert 500-man team that operated in enemy-held France, Belgium, and the Netherlands as part of the Jedburgh teams. The "Jeds," as they were called, were composed of three-man teams from the Allied nations.

On one hazardous mission, Bazata parachuted into the Haute-Sanoe region of France and met with a British agent known as "Emile." Their job was to reconnoiter with the French resistance, called the Maquis, which were sabotaging German military installations. On one mission Bazata brought with him $300,000 for use by the resistance. For his wartime service, he received the Purple Heart four times, as well as the Distinguished Service Cross and an award from France. He retired from the Army as a major and wrote a book, called *Maquis* in 1947. After the war he worked in the wine industry in Europe and later was a distinguished painter in the abstract expressionist movement and had a wide following. In the 1970s he entered politics and worked in the Veterans Administration and served in the Reagan administration as a special assistant to Navy Secretary John F. Lehman, Jr. As an OSS assassin, Bazata would have been a prime candidate to kill Patton.

Bazata told *Spotlight* that higher ups in the military wanted to stop Patton's advance into Germany in the closing days of the war. In one incident, Eisenhower did halt Patton while he was approaching the Belfort Gap. In that situation, Eisenhower allocated precious gasoline to British Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery instead of Patton. Bazata further told the magazine that he did not know who gave the order to Donovan to stop Patton but "since Donovan was directly responsible to the president ... I assumed Franklin Roosevelt knew and had authorized the action. They thought Patton disobedient, disruptive, and uncontrollable and were going to stop him with or without my help."

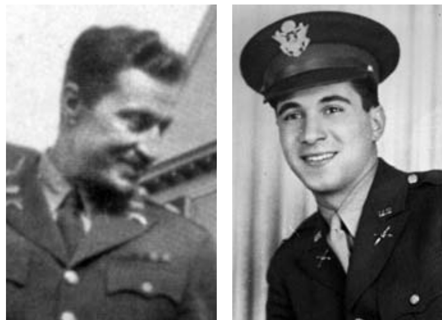
Bazata said that he was a trained OSS assassin whose job it was to kill not only the enemy but those on the Allied side who were believed to be spies. He said, "If somebody knew something, or thought they did, and that would hurt us, we had to shut them up before he got to [the other] government. That was my job."

Bazata laid out his participation in the Patton assassination. In 1945, he was told by Donovan that he had orders from up the chain of command that Patton was considered a threat to the war effort and his actions could no longer be tolerated. Bazata told Patton of the internal threats against him, but the general brushed them aside. For his part, Bazata reluctantly went along with the plot. Bazata went on to say that he met an unidentified man whom he knew only as a "Pole" (Polish extraction), who was also ordered to kill Patton. Both men then began planning the general's murder.

On the day of Patton's car accident, Bazata and his accomplice followed the general's car, and when Patton stopped at a Roman ruin along the roadside, Bazata put something into the window of Patton's auto that would leave an opening for a rifle shot to the target. He said that they had an Army truck that would run parallel to Patton's car (the one that Horace Woodring was in) and then would deliberately turn into it. When the truck hit Patton's car, a shot was fired, severely wounding Patton but not killing him. "Basically, they botched it, as happens more often than not, in such operations," he said. Bazata said that in the confusion of the moment he went to the aid of the wounded general and then left among the confusion of the unfolding events. He then said that he went to Patton's hospital with a poison concoction that had been made by both he and the Pole but that he was unable to get into Patton's room. In his interview with *Spotlight,* Bazata said that the man who killed Patton went into his hospital room and killed him with a form of cyanide, which was made in Czechoslovakia and could cause heart failure or an embolism. It should be noted that after the general's death, his wife Beatrice did not order an autopsy on her husband's body. Therefore, if the cyanide theory is correct, and a substance was covertly put into Patton's system, it went with him to the grave.

Bazata said that he had eight meetings with Donovan before and after the war. In one of these meetings, he said that Donovan asked him to kill Patton. Author Wilcox writes that he found a "restricted" OSS order while searching files at the National Archives that said that Bazata, Joseph La Gattuta, an Army officer and friend of Bazata's during the war, and other unnamed American officers met with Donovan in Washington, D.C. The meetings with Donovan and Bazata occurred in 1943 in a hotel so as not to attract any untoward attention.

Another person who had information on a possible assassination plot against Patton was Stephen Skubik, a U.S. Army counterintelligence agent. Skubik served as an investigator in Patton's 89th Division before being transferred to the postwar 970th CIC. Skubik wrote an unpublished book, *The Murder of General Patton,* in 1996 in which he places the blame for the assassination on an OSS-Russian plot. He wrote that in his investigation of the Patton case that the car accident in which Patton was involved was set up by the Russian NKVD in cooperation with the American OSS, and that Patton died in the hospital at the hand of an unknown assassin.



World War II veteran Douglas Bazata (left) claimed in a 1979 interview that Patton had been assassinated. Military police officer Lieutenant Peter Babalas (right) filed a report on the accident involving Patton's vehicle but was told it did not exist when he requested a copy decades later.

Skubik was the liaison officer with the Ukrainians who were allies of the United States during the war. Skubik met with Stepan Bandera, one of the most famous Ukrainian military leaders of the time, in May 1945, in Munich, Germany. Bandera told Skubik that Patton had incurred Stalin's wrath and that the Russian leader had put an order out to kill him, partially because of Patton's incendiary talk of a postwar U.S. invasion of Russia. Bandera told Skubik that Patton was holding covert meetings with certain Ukrainian leaders in order to start hostilities against the Soviets after the war was over. Bandera was on the Soviet hit list for years, and he was murdered by a Russian assassin in Munich in 1958.

Another unexplained incident involving Patton took place on April 20, 1945, when the general was making an inspection tour of his Third Army. He was flying in a light plane, which was accompanied a short distance behind by an escort aircraft. As the planes were flying near Reidfeld near Munich, Patton's plane was attacked by a larger aircraft, possibly a Spitfire fighter. Patton later said that tracer rounds were fired at his plane and that the fighter made at least three passes. It was only the skill of Patton's pilot that saved the general that day. What was a plane doing shooting at Patton, and who was responsible? There are no documents in any U.S. repository regarding this incident.

Another incident took place on May 3, when Patton was riding in a car and he was almost struck by a passing farmer's wagon when a scythe-like instrument nearly took off his head.

After the war ended, a large number of both American and British troops, numbering at least 21,000, were illegally being held in Soviet-occupied territory. Patton knew of these prisoners and pleaded to no avail to get them released. According to Vasili Mitrokhin, a former KGB archivist who wrote a best-selling book on Soviet espionage, *The Mitrokhin Archives,* Stalin had no qualms about assassinating his enemies, and at various times he targeted Hitler, Francisco Franco of Spain, and Communist political rival Leon Trotsky. Stalin knew of Patton's incendiary words about starting a war with the Soviet Union, but would he have been foolish enough to have Patton killed?

The most important concern in assessing a possible assassination plot against Patton is the veracity of Douglas Bazata's story to author Robert Wilcox. Is it credible? Without doubt, Bazata was a highly decorated officer of the OSS and a man who served his country with dignity and honor in World War II. What motive would he have had to fabricate such a story and give it to a respected journalist? If his story was true, that both the OSS and the NKVD had hatched elaborate assassination plots against Patton, then history as we know it might have to be rewritten.

The existence of so many anomalies in the circumstances before and after the death of Patton—such as missing files on the accident, no official investigation by American military officials, no autopsy on his body, the fact that the Cadillac he was riding in during the accident is not the same Patton car that is in the Patton Museum, and the fact that he was recuperating in a hospital before suddenly taking a turn for the worse and dying as a result of a probable embolism on December 21, 1945, raises more questions than answers.

The death of George Patton has stirred new interest with a new book, *Killing Patton: The Strange Death of World War II's Most Audacious General,* by Fox reporter Bill O'Reilly and Martin Dugard. The authors delve into the many conspiracy theories surrounding the death of General Patton, giving special attention to the possible culprits as being Joseph Stalin and OSS leader Donovan. These are the same theories as postulated by Robert Wilcox in *Target Patton.*

Patton was buried in Europe with his beloved troops. But the circumstances of his death still lie unanswered almost 70 years later, seeking a final determination. □

Australian War Memorial

It was the first week of April 1941, and Lt. Gen. Richard O'Connor could scarcely believe what was happening as his driver suddenly cocked the wheel and swerved hard left, flooring the gas pedal in a futile attempt to outrun the multiple bursts of machine-gun fire erupting all around them, lighting up the Saharan night as bullets chased after his wheels. A moment later O'Connor's vehicle had ground to a halt, the unmistakable ping of bullets ricocheting off shattered steel rims still ringing in his ears.

As commander of the British Army's XIII Corps, he had led men through an impressive string of successes against the Italian arm of the Axis camp. It was there, among the arid, unforgiving wastes of North Africa, that he had helped scotch, once and for all, it seemed, the overreaching hubris of Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini and his puerile dream of turning the Mediterranean into an Italian lake.

As O'Connor sat peering out over the windscreen from the passenger side of his Lend-Lease American-made jeep, his eyes squinting in the ink-black darkness on the outskirts of Martuba, it was his own turn to face his dog day in the desert. Staring into the business ends of the submachine guns pointing directly at him from what passed for a road in the Libyan backwater, he could do little more than slump dejectedly in his seat and put up his hands.

In action almost without interruption since the summer of 1940, O'Connor and his hard-fighting corps had fought to counter Mussolini's ill-fated invasion of Egypt. Having helped to carry the day almost within the shadow of the pyramids, they had fought on with the rest of the British and Imperial forces, racking up victory after victory over their numerically enormous adversary.

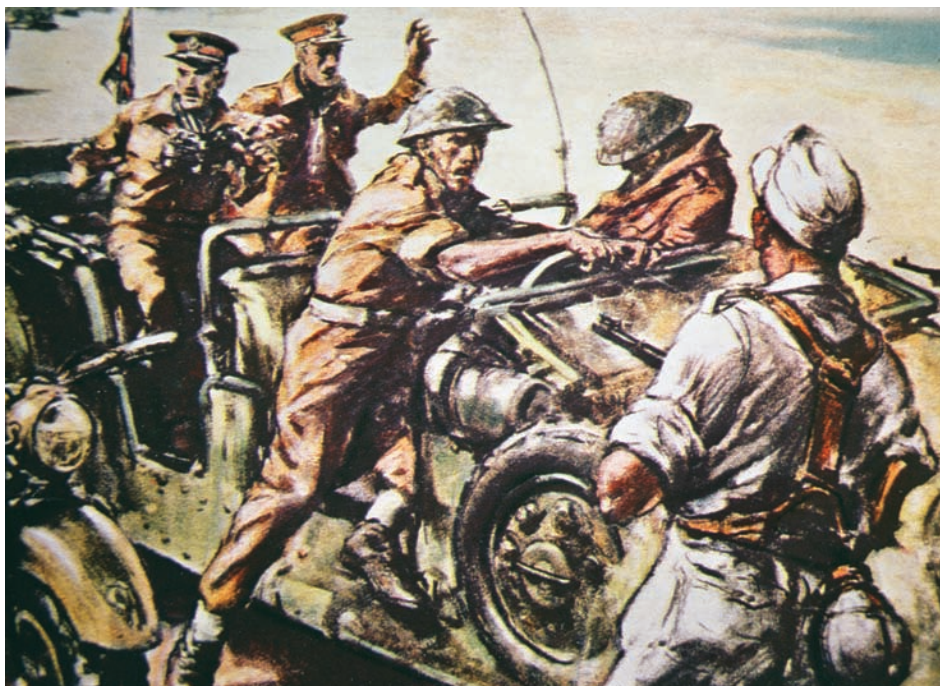
Seizing the initiative, they had continued their counterattack, rolling up the unwieldy Italian forces arrayed against them, not only driving the Italians from the Egyptian frontier, but by February 1941 nearly succeeding in pushing them completely out of the whole of their Libyan colony. Then, with all of eastern Libya and Cyrenaica in British hands and what little remained of the Italian forces in the western rump of the country all but finished off, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill rashly ordered some of the most seasoned units in North Africa, including many of O'Connor's finest, diverted to the Aegean Theater in support of Greece.

ROMMEL REPULSED

British and Commonwealth troops endured repeated attacks by the Afrika Korps from April to December 1941 to retain the port of Tobruk for the Allies.

BY ROBERT HEEGE

Australians expand and improve the Italian defenses at Tobruk in February 1941 in anticipation of an attack by Axis forces in a painting by Australian war artist Ivor Hele. Two months later, Generalleutnant Erwin Rommel's Afrika Korps began probing the Allied defenses at the key Libyan port. RIGHT: Lieutenant General Richard O'Connor, commander of the British Army's XIII Corps, is taken prisoner April 6 by a German patrol in eastern Libya.



Peter Newark Military Pictures / Bridgeman Images

O'Connor, promoted to command all British troops in Egypt, was posted to Cairo. By late March, alarming intelligence reports soon proved more than reliable as a new and deadly player appeared on the scene, having disembarked at Tripoli with two tank divisions. This was enough to send the newly appointed British military governor of Cyrenaica, Lt. Gen. Philip Neame, packing off due east with his entire headquarters. Ordered to race back to Cyrenaica to assist Neame, O'Connor had the wretchedly bad luck to run straight into an errant enemy patrol. The forward scouts quickly surrounding the jeep were cut from a different cloth altogether than the decidedly lukewarm Italians. Barking their orders with a deep, guttural menace as they surrounded their prize, they were armed with the latest German submachine guns, which they proceeded to level at the jeep's forlorn occupants in deadly earnest.

The Germans had officially arrived in North Africa. For the unfortunate O'Connor, the war appeared to be over as it had barely begun. However, as the see-saw shooting match in the desert heated up anew, an unlikely band of heroes would soon capture the imagination of a world already weary of war and badly in need of hope.

In what was, at first, a sort of anachronistic sideshow of the war, the tenacity and courage of a hardy cohort of sun-baked diehards captured the attention of the world and scored a strategic victory that almost singlehandedly stopped the German juggernaut in its tracks and rolled back Mussolini's annexations. In retrospect, it was, arguably, the turning point of the war, and it came in the desert at a place called Tobruk.

On June 10, a scant four days before Nazi troops entered Paris, Hitler's ally and fellow dictator, Mussolini, decided that it was safe at last for Fascist Italy to declare war on France. For good measure, having seen the British Expeditionary Force chased back across the English Channel from the beaches of Dunkirk the week before, it seemed like a safe bet to declare war on Britain as well.

After standing on the sidelines watching with an increasing envy as the battering ram of the German military machine succeeded beyond the wildest dreams of its Wehrmacht architects, Mussolini became increasingly eager to get more out of the four-year-old Pact of Steel than the dubious honor of merely basking in the reflected glory of a Nazi victory.

What Mussolini wanted most, apart from upping his prestige, was more territory to expand his insufferably grandiose pretensions to empire. With the prospect of a quick land grab in the offing at the expense of an already prostrate France, Mussolini threw in his lot with Hitler. For his troubles, he could boast a postage stamp-sized corner of the French Riviera, but with his enormous ego bristling over his puny gains, Il Duce was soon setting his sights on bigger game.

Libya, or Italian North Africa, as it was then officially known, had been wrested from the dying Ottoman Empire in the Italo-Turkish War of 1911-1912. Initially comprising little more than the port of Tripoli and its outskirts, its territory had been steadily and painstakingly added to in the years that followed, including a generous allotment of empty desert ceded to Italy in the 1920s by her friendly neighbors next door in British Egypt.

With England hard pressed to defend her own shores, much less make a stand anywhere else, it was to the east, in Egypt, with hungry eyes and dreams of martial glory, that Mussolini now cast his gaze. To Il Duce, it must have seemed like easy pickings.

The brutal Italian General Rodolfo Graziani was decidedly less than hot blooded when it came to the prospects of an Italian victory, easy or otherwise, in a war with the British, but Mussolini was determined to roll the dice, impatiently exhorting the commander in chief of Italian North Africa to commence operations by August 8, 1940. On September 13, Graziani took the bit in his teeth, albeit reluctantly and from the safety of his headquarters, ordering no less than the five cobbled-together divisions of the lumbering Italian Tenth Army eastward toward the Egyptian frontier.

Underequipped and patently obsolete by the standards of the day, the invasion force tasked with carrying out Operation E (for Egypt) was only partially motorized, with foot soldiers slogging along behind a spearhead of aging tanks. Advancing along the only practical route open to them, the sliver of territory between the Mediterranean Sea on their left flank and the Sahara on their right, the Italian column nevertheless managed to penetrate 59 dusty miles inside Egypt before deciding, while their luck still held, to halt their advance in the bedraggled precincts of Maktila. From there, they set about constructing a series of heavily fortified cantons stretching back along their route, dug themselves in, and waited for resupply and reinforcements.

And there they sat, waiting under the blistering desert sun, tormented by flies and desert scorpions, their foodstuffs and water supply, which were inadequate from the start, rapidly dwindling. The British, for their part, were content for a time to let them wait. Then, on December 9, they lowered the boom. Under the command of the redoubtable O'Connor, 30,000 British regulars, Australian, and Indian Army troops pounced on their hapless enemy and proceeded to kick the tar out of them.

This is not to say that the individual Italian soldier was not brave. He very often was. But, he was ill equipped, poorly trained and led into battle by an officer corps that was long on bravado and woefully short of tactical genius. Operating in one of the harshest environments on Earth without adequate shelter, food and especially water, unit cohesion, indeed military discipline itself, simply broke down, and he cracked.

APPEARING AND DISAPPEARING AS IF FROM NOWHERE, OUTFLANKING THEM AT EVERY TURN, ROMMELS'S SWIFT PANZER COLUMNS SUCCEEDED IN PUSHING THE BRITISH STRAIGHT OUT OF LIBYA, SENDING THEM REELING BACK IN DISORDER ACROSS THEIR OWN LINES IN HALF-STUNNED RETREAT, OVER THE BORDER INTO EGYPT.

Imperial War Museum

ABOVE: The Italian Ariete Division fought alongside the Afrika Korps at Tobruk. BELOW: Italian tanks race across the North African desert. The British foiled the Italian invasion of Egypt in September 1940 and by February 1941 had driven the Italians from Libya. OPPOSITE: The port of Tobruk burns after its seizure in January 1941 by Allied forces. In the foreground are captured Italian tanks painted with white kangaroos to indicate they belong to the 6th Australian Division.

Imperial War Museum

Imperial War Museum

Codenamed Operation Compass, the British offensive was designed to not only push the Italians completely out of Egypt, which they soon did, but to press the attack all the way back into Libya and seize control of the great camel's hump of the Libyan coastline. This was vital, because in doing so the British would be able to capture the enemy's strategically invaluable ports, making them masters of the narrow 1,100-mile track, west to east, between the Libyan ports of Tripoli and Tobruk and the Egyptian port of Alexandria.

It was through this single crucial artery that any army, friend or foe, operating along the North African coast would depend for reinforcements and the resupply of tanks, guns, ammunition, artillery pieces, munitions, spare parts, food, medicine, and all manner of war matériel coming in via the shipping lanes of the Mediterranean Sea. Once in port, the precious supplies would necessarily have to be trucked through the daunting, scorching wilderness to the waiting troops.

As the Italian Tenth Army fell back in utter chaos and confusion, the soldiers, mostly bewildered conscripts, began surrendering by the bushel, throwing their hands up with unabashed abandon. On January 22, 1941, the 25,000-strong Italian garrison charged with holding the prized central port of Tobruk threw in the towel after a day and a half of pounding courtesy of the Australian 6th Division, which lost about 50 men and another 300 wounded to capture the city.

The zeal with which the Italians in every sector tossed away their carbines and literally rushed to cheerfully surrender themselves to the care of their pursuers took the astounded British professionals completely by surprise and actually began to seriously impede the progress of O'Connor's battle plan. By the time they were compelled to halt their advance at the dusty coastal village of El Agheila in February 1941, the British had rammed their way 500 miles into Libya and bagged 133,000 prisoners, a huge, unwieldy number, for whom they were now responsible, taken at a cost of 2,000 British and Imperial troops killed or wounded from December 1940 to February 1941. No one could have dreamed in those heady days that O'Connor would be a prisoner himself within a matter of weeks.

The entire Italian Tenth Army had surrendered by the end of February, and the whole of the enormous province of Cyrenaica was in British hands. The plan was to regroup and push on to Tripoli. Then the politicians became involved. With the Italian Army seemingly all but finished in North Africa, Churchill began denuding the cream of the British forces, including O'Connor's XIII Corps and the crack Australian 6th and New Zealand 1st Divisions, diverting them to Crete in a fruitless attempt to stymie Axis intentions in Greece and elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean.

This was, in retrospect, one of the most stupid decisions of the entire war because by that time Hitler had already dispatched a German expeditionary force to Libya to pull Mussolini's fat out of the fire, a mighty host, the lead elements of which began arriving in Tripoli on February 10, 1941. The Afrika Korps, led by Maj. Gen. Erwin Rommel, comprised the 5th Light Division, 15th Panzer Division, and 90th Light Infantry Division. Rommel and the Afrika Korps would achieve lasting fame for their victories in desert warfare.

Churchill's notorious meddling may well deserve the lion's share of the blame for what followed, but a good deal of the responsibility also rests with the astonishing failure of military intelligence in Egypt to adequately appreciate the gravity of this looming threat and to properly convey that danger to Whitehall and Downing Street. Ultimately, that responsibility lands in Alexandria, on the desk of General Sir Archibald Wavell.

As the senior officer and commander in chief of British Forces, not just in Egypt, but the entire Middle East, Wavell should have been able to make better use of the human assets on the ground and the burgeoning warren of wartime intelligence analysts available to him to provide both himself and his superiors in London with a firmer grasp of the rapidly changing dynamics of their situation. He did not.

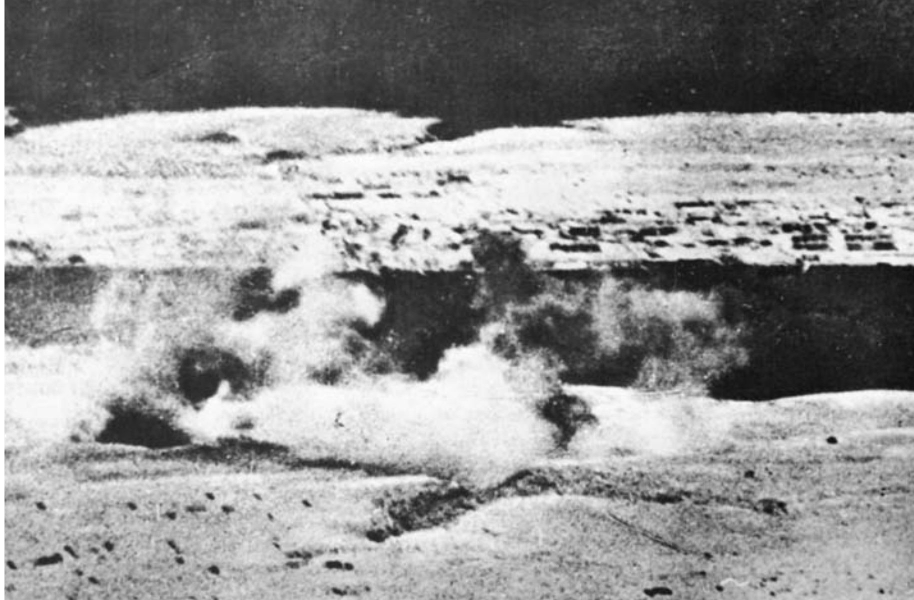
Seeing, in his view, no hard evidence to corroborate the reports he was receiving, Wavell saluted smartly and followed orders despite his misgivings and did nothing to dissuade his peripatetic prime minister from his foolhardy adventure in Crete, nor to safeguard his own flanks and the so recently won gains of his soldiers in the face of the gathering storm in Tripoli.

On March 24, Rommel struck hard. In two weeks of bloody jousting in the parched, arid, hardscrabble arena that became his killing ground, he turned the tables on the already well worn and now threadbare British forces.

Appearing and disappearing as if from nowhere, outflanking them at every turn, Rommel's swift panzer columns succeeded in pushing the British straight out of Libya, sending them reeling back in disorder across their own lines in half-stunned retreat, over the border into Egypt.

Despite his earlier blunder, in this hour of crisis Wavell, to his credit, was nevertheless able to see the broader strategic picture and act accordingly. Having failed to take Tripoli when it was so very nearly within his grasp, a simple glimpse at the map of the Mediterranean Theater quickly told the old soldier all he needed to know.

Wavell knew the British would have to hold Malta, which was a vital supply hub in the East-



ABOVE: The German Luftwaffe strafed and bombed Tobruk repeatedly to support Rommel's ground assault. BELOW: German engineers construct a land bridge across one of the many antitank ditches surrounding Tobruk.

ern Mediterranean. Beyond that, safeguarding Alexandria and the Suez Canal was absolutely essential. Lose them and lose all. But the shortest route to the desert and the men fighting for possession of it was dead center, between Tripoli and Alexandria. The linchpin, squatting on the North African coastline like the central connector in a life-or-death daisy chain was the port of Tobruk. The British had taken it in just over a day. Now they had to keep it.

Though his columns were in the midst of a headlong retreat back into Egypt in the middle of a sandstorm, Wavell ordered the very competent Lt. Gen. Leslie Morshead and his battle-tested 9th Australian Division to remain behind along with a contingent of British soldiers, which amounted to a combined force of 35,000, to defend the port. Morshead and his men would be expected, for the sake of Britain, the empire, and the fate of the free world, to hold Tobruk until their last breath. They would have no immediate prospects of relief and only machine guns, artillery, and fewer than 50 tanks to hold back the Germans.

To protect the port itself and its all-important harbor, the Italians had earlier constructed a system of concrete fortifications on the broad, rocky escarpment directly to its rear, which the Australians feverishly set about improving. The entire defensive area, being nearly 16 miles long and about 11 miles deep, had to defend a perimeter that stretched on for some 32 miserable miles worth of Libyan dirt.

When the Aussies were done, the frontline defensive belt, christened the Red Line, had an interconnected series of concealed trench lines bristling with barbed wire and interspersed machine guns linked to a network of thick concrete strongpoints dug down into the rocky sand, one for about every 1,000 feet. These partly concealed, roofless, mini pillboxes functioned in part like abbreviated blockhouses and were large enough to hold between 30 to 40 crouched defenders.

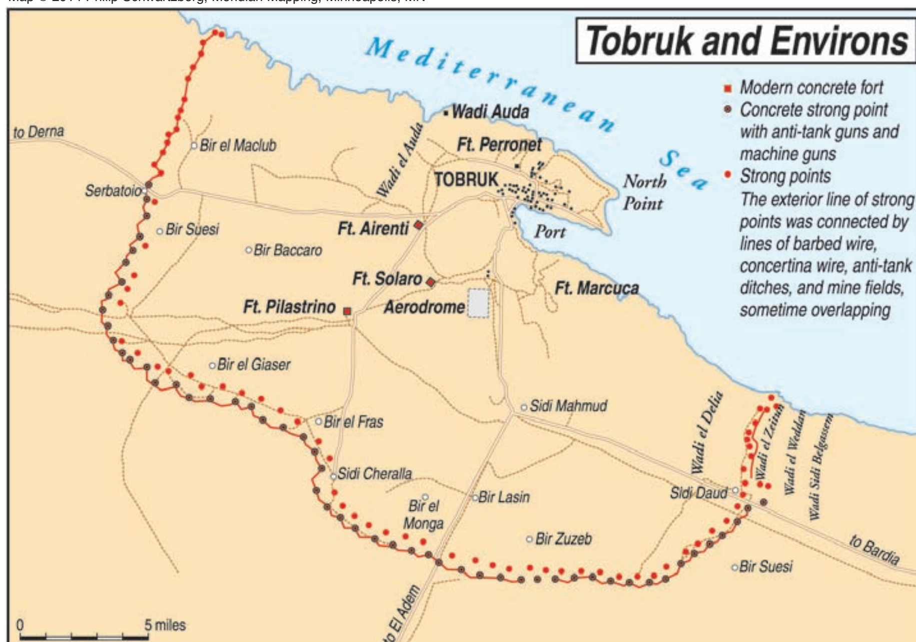
Augmenting the Red Line, a partially filled in antitank ditch, another gift of Il Duce's minions, seven feet deep in some places, ran east-southeast along the eastern outskirts of the perimeter. Twenty-two miles deep inside the Red Line, protected by still more wire and several minefields, was the inner defensive ring, the Blue Line, yet another network of trenches and strongpoints, bringing their number to nearly 150, constructed of the very finest Italian concrete and now fortified by British military engineering and 12 battalions of Australian muscle.

Around April 10, Rommel's confident soldiers, bolstered by a sizable number of Italian troops, arrived in force expecting to easily recapture their prize while simultaneously racing eastward to smash their way through the hastily thrown up British defenses, take Egypt by storm, and seize the beckoning Suez Canal.

Rommel expected his troops to take Tobruk in a day, just as the unfortunate O'Connor had done before him. The only trouble was that nobody had bothered to tell that to the Australians, who were not quite as ready to roll over as Mussolini's conscripts had been just three months earlier. In fact, on April 13-14 when Rommel sent in elements of his 5th Light Division under cover of night for a desultory poke at Morshead's defensive line at a spot just west of the roadway called El Adem (literally "the end," in Arabic), the Aussies handed them their heads.

The Germans initially managed to punch a hole through the Red Line positions held by the men of the 17th Battalion of the 2nd Infantry Regiment. But when the Italian Ariete Division's tanks pushed forward through the breach, they soon found themselves under the guns of the Royal Artillery defending the Blue Line. Subjected to a devastating barrage of 25-pound cannon shells and antitank fire, the Nazis and their Axis partners were compelled to beat an undignified retreat. When they shifted west and tried it again the next day at another point along the Red Line's defenses, joined this time by the tanks of Italy's Trento Division, they fared even worse. In addition to completely clobbering their foes, the Australians of the 2nd Regiment's 48th Battalion bagged some 800 prisoners, mostly Italian.

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



Morshead divided the 32-mile perimeter into three sectors, one for each of his three infantry brigades. The defense area inside was 11 miles deep.

For more than two weeks, the headstrong Rommel, still pushing east, seemed to take little notice of what was happening in his rear at Tobruk and declined to go full bore in pressing the attack. The Aussies made great use of the relative pause in hostilities, toiling like demons to continue to repair and improve their defenses, even as Luftwaffe bombers blasted the actual town of Tobruk nearly off the map and bombed and strafed the harbor, sinking several supply ships caught running the Mediterranean gauntlet.

Undaunted, Morshead, far from cowering in his command post, took the fight directly to the enemy nearly every night. In addition to constantly conducting reconnaissance in strength to inspect the defenses and take measure of the enemy—capturing absurdly large numbers of prisoners in the process—his patrols, often 300 men strong, slipped out under the desert night sky to deliver a dose of death in the dark.

By April's end, the Aussies had managed to regain Rommel's attention. So long as he was denied the use of Tobruk's port, the vaunted Afrika Korps had to rely on an overstretched supply line extending several hundred miles west to east from Tripoli. Rommel's grand offensive was literally and continually running out of gas.

On the afternoon of April 30, determined to remove this irritating thorn from his backside, Rommel unleashed his attack on Tobruk. After watching with great interest as a Luftwaffe squadron bombed the Aussie defensive positions from the air, he ordered an attack on the dugouts at the hilly southwest corner of the Red Line. With tanks from his 15th Panzer Division advancing on one side and the motorized 5th Division moving forward on its flank, the Germans renewed their attempts to blast open pathways through the concrete and barbed wire, through which the hapless Italians were expected to advance, straight into the teeth of British artillery and chattering machine guns like something out of World War I.

Despite the deficiencies of Mussolini's army as a whole, the heroism of the individual Italian soldier was on full display. At one point, as the momentum of the attack bogged down, in a desperate bid to create a broader pathway for their own two divisions, the Ariete and the Brescia, respectively, Italian sappers braved withering machine-gun fire to plant the explosive charges that succeeded in blowing open huge holes in the wire, making the Axis advance possible. As for the Aussies in the trench lines, they resisted like wildcats, making the enemy pay for every dusty yard.

Following behind the Italian spearhead, the Germans sent their panzers racing north and east toward the Blue Line. Morshead and his men were waiting for them. What the minefields did not stop, the antitank guns blew to pieces. For good measure, Morshead risked a handful of the tanks he had been holding in precious reserve. The attack of May 1 lasted all day and well into the night, and for a full two days beyond that, forcing Rommel to throw in his reinforcements to blunt the numerous Australian counterattacks hell bent on tossing him off the two miles of blood-soaked desert corridor that his vehicles attempted to cross.

At that point, the Germans, stunned and staggered by the fierceness of their enemy, and unaccustomed as they were to not getting their way, grudgingly took their cue from the insults being hurled at them from the Aussie trenches. By May 3, the hitherto victorious Germans were breaking out their spades and digging in for the long haul themselves. In this sector in particular, known to history as "the salient," it was man against man, trench against trench, and foxhole against foxhole, in a lethal faceoff that was destined to go on for months.

For the defenders, food, remarkably enough for an army of 35,000 men under siege, was relatively plentiful if far from luxurious, canned fruit, salt beef, and biscuits being the order of the day. It was a shortage of fresh water that rankled almost as much as the enemy. Despite the presence of two wells and a preexisting desalination plant left by the Italians, water soon became an extremely scarce commodity for these men enduring months in the relentlessly scorching desert conditions. Even for the Aussies, proud as they were of their Outback heritage, it was tough going. The daily ration was a pitiful three pints.

Moreover, in the Red Line sectors the men were effectively pinned down. Venturing out of their barely concealed positions, even poking their heads up a little too high for a little too long from a narrow slit trench was like suicide, and the Diggers, as they called themselves, farther back in

National Archives

ABOVE: Rommel confers with a staff officer during the siege of Tobruk. BELOW: Major General Leslie Morshead, left, led the veteran Ninth Australian Division against the formidable Afrika Korps.

Australian War Memorial

Australian War Memorial

Australian soldiers man a strongpoint during the siege. These partly concealed, roofless pillboxes were located about every 1,000 feet around the perimeter. RIGHT: Australian troops march along the bottom of an antitank ditch, which the Italians had dug when they possessed Tobruk. OPPOSITE: An aerial photo of a key strongpoint in the southern sector of the Tobruk defenses reveals the strength of the network of defenses that enabled the Australians to repulse Rommel's elite units.

the Blue Line soon learned that being caught out in the open, particularly for those foolish enough to congregate in clusters or groups, might soon provoke a strafing or bombing run.

The ships of the British Royal Navy operating out of Alexandria quickly came to prefer the cover of dark, moonless nights when it came to resupplying the Tobruk garrison, as did the wide variety of other vessels pressed into service. Hugging the coastline, slipping into the harbor as quietly as possible (no easy feat) and getting back out again—before dawn if they could—everything from a destroyer or minesweeper to the smallest of seagoing craft was used to keep the vital lifeline open.

The ships making this perilous run were subjected not only to magnetic mines, but also to direct and constant attack both from the air and from the sea by German U-boats and E-boats near the shore. The Luftwaffe pilots, operating out of bases in Italy and Tripolitania, were particularly vicious, bombing cargo craft and hospital ships alike, Red Cross markings and the Geneva Convention be damned.

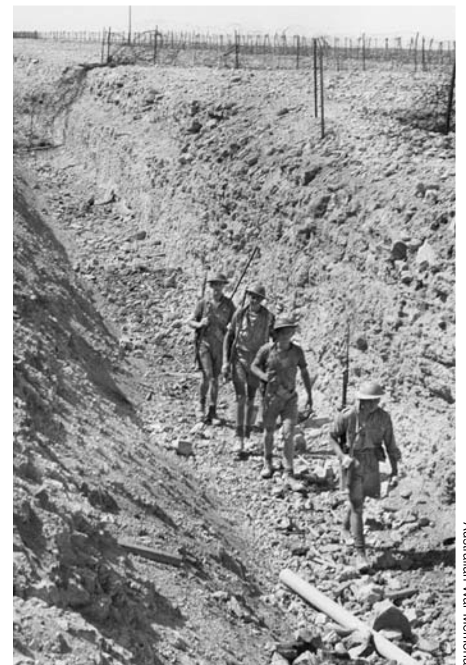
The harbor was soon filled with half-sunken hulks, which the ever resourceful blockade runners sailing west from Egypt soon began using as cover. For all the bravado associated with it to this day, the resupply of Tobruk's indefatigable denizens was an incredibly dangerous, deadly bit of business. In due course, most of the troop movements in or out, including battlefield casualties, became the purview of the heavily armed destroyers.

Within the garrison's defensive rings, as time wore on the seemingly endless ordeal made for a maddening experience. Apart from those who considered themselves fortunate enough just to be alive, the luckiest men in Tobruk were the troops stationed in the rear, who were posted within the bomb-blasted ruins of the town. They, and the crews that manned the antiaircraft guns who were given leave to join them there once a week, were among the happy few who were afforded the opportunity to go down to the sheltered beaches for a cooling, cleansing dip in the surf. For the men manning the defenses at the Blue Line, and especially the lethal forward positions at the Red Line, however, it was no such luck.

Sensibly, Morshead failed to live up entirely to his sobriquet in this regard, as it quickly became routine policy to rotate his soldiers between the murderously exposed Red Line, the relatively less deadly Blue Line, and the troops stationed behind them in reserve, who functioned like a continuously operating labor battalion.

Moreover, despite Morshead's best intentions, the troop rotations could only provide a temporary respite at best for his exhausted soldiers, and there was no relief in sight. For the men in the frontline trenches, continuously exposed to the elements and facing direct fire from the enemy, the prospect of being picked off by snipers, the omnipresent threat of aerial attack, artillery bombardment or a full-fledged frontal assault, life devolved into a nightmare. Even the parched, cracked, seemingly dead soil of the Libyan desert itself proved a constant torment with eye-pecking swarms of disease-carrying flies, mosquitoes, sand fleas, Saharan beetles, and desert scorpions.

In addition to the specter of heat exhaustion, heat stroke, and dehydration, the greater part of the garrison was invariably plagued by still another desert scourge, the painful sores that erupt upon the flesh of men whose diet is devoid of the essential vitamins and nutrients so



Australian War Memorial

easily found in fresh fruit and vegetables.

The conditions at the siege of Tobruk proved so appalling that an informal, officially unsanctioned soldier's truce eventually came into being for two hours every evening as the boiling sun went down at last and day made its transition to night. The combatants on both sides used this time to gather water, rations, quinine, and all manner of supplies, including ammunition. They also used it to answer the call of nature or simply to emerge from the cramped confines of their dusty, sand-choked trenches for the first time in 12 long hours, stand up straight, and stretch their aching legs, crooked spines, and stiff necks. With typically Teutonic punctuality, the Germans would, very obligingly, shoot off a clip of tracer bullets into the night sky to alert their opposite numbers in the Australian Red Line when the particular evening's nightly cessation of hostilities was thereby concluded.

This anachronistic code of martial chivalry

extended in part to daylight hours as well, as the Aussies and the Germans came to develop a simple but very effective method for getting their wounded out of the killing zones. If one side or the other began waving a simple flag adorned with the symbol, however makeshift, of the International Red Cross fashioned upon it, the soldiers on the opposing side would make certain not to open up on the medics and the stretcher bearers, contenting themselves with blasting away at other less vulnerable combatants until the wounded were safely out of the way.

This is not to say that as the weeks ground on and the long, endless, blistering heat of North Africa slowly began to boil Brit and Boche alike, that a deep, burning enmity was not broiling away as well in both camps. Something in the Australian character hardened Tobruk's defenders, filling them to a man with a dogged determination to stand up and prove that they could take it. Long derided as the backward spawn of a colonial backwater, the Australians were now showing the enemy and the world what real backbone looked like.

Their ancestors, mostly Irish, had been hauled away in chains to the edge of the world on death ships, only to be marooned in a howling wilderness, but within a few generations they and their descendants had managed to turn expulsion and exile into a kind of frontier glory, carving a new homeland and a national identity out of what was a penal colony in one of the most inhospitable places on Earth. Now, that hardy bloodline and same indomitable spirit spurred on these defiant men, who mocked and railed against the accursed Germans and dared them to do their worst.

For their part, Nazi fury and frustration in the face of the stubborn garrison's continued refusal to knuckle under increased with the passing of every desert day. Back in Berlin, at the daily situation conferences, Hitler demanded to know whether or not he could proclaim himself the master of the Mediterranean.

In the newsreels and on the radio, venomous insults began to pour out of the poisoned pens of the increasingly shrill Nazi propaganda machine, with no less a miscreant than the whiskey-swilling, erstwhile British Union of Fascists Hitlerite "Lord Haw-Haw" practically snarling into the microphone during his nightly English language rants, assailing the beleaguered Australians under siege in the Libyan desert for daring to defy the Nazis, burrowing down in the dirt of their grimy slit trenches as if they were a mangy pack of half dead dogs defending their own shallow graves. It was he who first dismissed Tobruk's gallant defenders as being "trapped like rats." The Aussies just laughed at the insult and ran with it. The men who called themselves Diggers now happily began to refer to themselves with a wink and a nod as the Rats of Tobruk. History has saluted them as the Desert Rats ever since.

In the third week of May, Wavell, spurred to action by Churchill, launched the appropriately named Operation Brevity, sending his tanks west toward Tobruk, but they were immediately checked by Rommel's superior panzers and badly mauled in the process. For their part, the Aussies were able to thwart German attempts to push farther north from their positions in the Red Line's bulging salient and make for the Blue Line defenses. In ferocious fighting, the Australians stopped them cold. Several counterattacks launched by Morshead on the 17th drove home the lesson, but he lost many good men making his point. The Saharan summer had only just begun.

A month later, with Churchill braying in his ear, Wavell tried again with still more tanks and more Tommies, launching Operation Battleaxe, but Rommel, after running rings around the British tank columns in the sands of the Halfaya Pass, proceeded to make mincemeat out of them when he unleashed his secret weapon, a battery of antiaircraft guns reconfigured for ground operations. In their battlefield debut, the dreaded 88mm guns proved to be excellent tank killers. Rommel's counterattack on June 17 sent the surviving British tankers reeling in retreat. Wavell was recalled shortly thereafter.

Rommel, too, was beginning to run out of steam. He could still spring up like a sandstorm to wreak havoc up and down the frontier like a desert bogey man, but denied his port and his petrol, Alexandria, Cairo, and the Suez Canal remained, like a desert mirage, just beyond his reach. By summer's end, after holding out for over four grueling months, Tobruk had become an important psychological symbol, a morale booster for the British Empire and its war effort. Its Aussie defenders had to be saved at all costs.

In August, pressured by the Australian government, Churchill, aware of their propaganda value, issued the order from London. Tobruk would remain British, but the time had come for its Australian garrison to be relieved. Getting the Aussies out and their replacements in without tipping off the Germans was a difficult exercise. It took more than two months, but by the end of October the Aussies were nearly all safely evacuated, and command passed from Morshead to Lt. Gen. Ronald Scobie and his British 70th Division. On December 7, 1941, as part of Operation Crusader, South African troops and the British tanks of the Eighth Army appeared on the horizon to link up at last and relieve Scobie's command. The 242-day siege of Tobruk was history.

In the spring of the following year, Rommel would return to Tobruk. In a fresh offensive that began in May 1942, Rommel successfully captured the port on June 21 by outflanking British forces. However, the tide of war gradually turned. In November 1942, Lt. Gen. Bernard Montgomery won a decisive victory over Rommel at El Alamein. Then, caught between American and British pincers, the Germans were driven out of Africa once and for all in May 1943. Nothing remained of the Nazis in North Africa save the memory of their fleeting triumphs. □

Australian War Memorial

In the 13th century, Kublai Khan twice attempted to conquer Japan. But the Great Kahn seriously underestimated the skill and courage of the Japanese samurai—and failed to take into account the perils faced by armadas.

BY ERIC NIDEROST

IN the early 13th century the legendary Mongol Genghis Khan laid the foundations for the greatest land empire in history. At its height, circa 1250, it stretched from China to the fringes of Poland and Austria in Europe, a total of roughly 12 million square miles. The Mongols were essentially Asiatic nomads who became masters of the battlefield with their two assets: swift horses, which they rode as if born

Mongol detachments conduct an amphibious assault at Hakata Bay in Kyushu in 1274 in a modern painting by Richard Hook. Mounted samurai supported by foot archers conduct a vigorous defense in an attempt to prevent the invaders from establishing a beachhead.

in the saddle, and composite bows. Few could withstand the deadly showers of arrows unleashed by these rampaging horsemen.

But it was inevitable that the empire would break apart. In 1260 Kublai, one of Genghis's grandsons, engineered a *khurltai*—an assembly of Mongol warriors—who proclaimed him rightful successor to his dead brother, Monke. Not all Mongols agreed with this decision, and the empire eventually broke apart into four different segments.

That was quite alright with Kublai; he wasn't that interested in Russia, Iran, or some of the more distant conquered lands of the far-flung Mongol realm. He was content to take what to him was the lion's share: China. Kublai Khan was a remarkable man in many ways. He seems to have genuinely appreciated the great accomplishments of Chinese civilization and wanted to be a part of it. He created two splendid capitals: Datu (now Beijing) and Shangdu. Shangdu is immortalized as Xanadu in Samuel Taylor Coleridge's poem.

This refined civilization of China required a change in lifestyle and attitude. Traditionally, Mongols were nomads of the grassy steppes, living in mobile yurt dwellings, tending herds, and living

Divine Winds TRIUMPHANT

Photo: akg-images / Osprey Publishing / The Mongol Invasions of Japan 1274 and 1281 / Richard Hook

on cheese, mare's milk, and kumiss (fermented mare's milk). By contrast, Kublai transformed himself into a Chinese emperor, formally establishing the Yuan Dynasty (Great Originator) in the time-honored Chinese manner.

Much of the old Chinese governmental apparatus was maintained with Mongol supervision, and Chinese Confucian ceremonies and rites were scrupulously performed. But Kublai was still a Mongol at heart, and the Chinese remained a conquered and therefore, in Mongol eyes, an inferior people. The Great Khan, as Kublai came to be called, did not trust the Chinese, so he employed many foreigners. One of them was a young Venetian named Marco Polo.

Empires based on military conquest continually expand. Once the forward motion ceases, decay and decline are almost inevitable. This is what happened to the Roman Empire, but there were traits within Mongol culture that made perpetual conquest a necessity. Traditionally, Mongol tribes gave complete obedience to a leader only in time of war. A khan's prestige also depended on his successes in defeating enemies.

Kublai was not about to lose face anytime soon. Even as he established himself as emperor, most of southern China remained under the rule of the Southern Song, a native Chinese dynasty. That meant, of course, the Mongols had to subdue the Southern Song before they could truly claim China as their own.

The lands south of the mighty Yangtze River proved a hard nut to crack, at least initially. They were mountainous in spots and laced by waterways, terrain hardly suited for cavalry maneuvers. The Mongols also had to take well-fortified cities such as Xiangyang. The siege of Xiangyang, lasting from 1267 to 1272, is one of the greatest of world history.

Technically, the operation was a joint siege of Xiangyang and its neighboring Fancheng, the latter just across the Han River. The two cities were the guardians of Song China because the Han River led to the Yangtze and ultimately straight into the southern heartland. The Mongols brought up traction trebuchets, but these were not as effective as they could have been, in part because the Chinese had widened the moat, and also because they had netting hung from the walls as a kind of cushion.

Kublai, becoming impatient after several years of little real progress, sent for some Persian engineers. They brought in some trebuchets that were capable of hurling stones of enormous weight and size. These were the machines that would turn the tide in the Mongols' favor.

The Chinese citizens of Xiangyang were terrified of the new weapons, which they dubbed *hui hui pao,* akin to Moslem trebuchets. The walls were battered into rubble, and if the Mongols had launched an all-out attack all the inhabitants would have been put to the sword, regardless of age or sex. Lu Wenhuan, the garrison commander, had no choice but to surrender. Xiangyang had finally fallen.

The Mongols had triumphed, but the war was not yet over. Sporadic fighting continued for several years, but it was clear the Southern Song were doomed. Ever eager for fresh conquests, Kublai Khan turned his attention to Japan, those islands to the east of his domains. The Mongols had already conquered Koryo (Korea) and transformed it into a vassal state. This was important because the Koreans had something that the Mongols sorely lacked, a seafaring tradition.

The Japanese were somewhat aloof but did have trade and cultural links to other parts of Asia, particularly Song China. Zen Buddhism was a favorite with Japanese rulers, and Chinese Buddhist priests found refuge in Japan in the wake of the Mongol invasions of their homeland. It was well known that Japan was a source for gold, which must have whetted Kublai Khan's appetite for conquest.

"[The] people on the island of Zipangu (Japan) have measureless quantities of gold," wrote Marco Polo. "The King's palace is roofed with pure gold." Gold probably was one of the major reasons for a Mongol invasion, but it does not tell the whole story. Spurred by the sheer momentum of conquest and the desire to include every nation in his expanding realm, Kublai had to have Japan. But wars are costly, and the Great Khan tried diplomacy first. If the Japanese had submitted, it would have saved a lot of trouble and expense.

In the mid-13th century Japan was formally ruled by an emperor who resided in Japan. At the time of the Mongol invasions, the Emperor Kameyama sat on the chrysanthemum throne. He was ritually honored, and many things were done in his name, but in reality the Japanese emperors were mere figureheads with little actual power.

Both: Wikipedia Commons

ABOVE: Mongol emperor Kublai Khan. LEFT: A 13th-century Mongolian uniform.

The real ruler of Japan in this period was Hojo Tokimune, the *shikken* (regent) of the country. He was first and foremost a warrior, a samurai, but was also interested in religion. One of his mentors was Magaku Sogen, a Zen Buddhist priest from China. He had been present when Mongols had raided his monastery. The invaders slaughtered many of the monks, decapitating them and leaving their headless bodies in spreading pools of blood.

Amid the terrible slaughter, Sogen remained calm and was actually meditating during the attack. Perhaps a little frightened by his detachment, the

Mongols spared him. There is no doubt that the tales told by Sogen and other refugee monks colored the Japanese view of the Mongols.

Actually, the Great Khan sent the first embassy to Japan in 1268, before Xiangyang had fallen. This earliest contact may have been an attempt to further isolate the Song, who still had good relations with the Japanese. The envoys carried a letter from Kublai himself, who tried to be the very soul of courtesy and tact. Despite the Great Khan's best efforts, the Japanese took the missive almost as an insult.

To begin with, the letter was addressed to the "King of Japan," which the Japanese considered a studied insult. The Japanese emperor, according to tradition, was directly descended from Amaterasu-Omikami, the Sun Goddess. And there was irony underneath the polite and flowery phrases. Stripped of the rhetoric, Kublai was asking Japan to be a tributary state. The Japanese refused to even give a reply.

Undeterred, the Great Khan sent another mission to Japan that was similarly rebuffed. When the envoys returned to China, they took along two kidnapped Japanese. This was a bit of psychological warfare because the two captives were shown the power and splendor of the Great Khan's court and were released to spread word of it back home.

Another diplomatic embassy was dispatched, and at one point the Japanese finally drafted a reply. In the end, though, it was not delivered. Toward the end of 1270, Kublai Khan sent Zhao Liangbi as his personal representative as a last-ditch attempt to make the Japanese see reason. Zhao had nothing but trouble on the mission and was lucky to escape alive. Briefly arrested, he was basically ignored and made to cool his heels for weeks at a time. He also returned empty handed.

Enough was enough, so Kublai set invasion preparations in motion. Originally the expedition was scheduled to set sail in the seventh lunar month of the year (our August), but there were delays. The invasion was an enormous undertaking worthy of a mighty empire. The fleet numbered 900 ships, an armada that carried perhaps 25,000 Mongol, Chinese, and Korean troops.

The fleet left Masan, a port on the southern coast of Koryo, on October 29, 1274. The fleet had a relatively short way to go; only the 120-mile Tsushima Strait separated Japan from the Korean mainland. The Korean and Chinese sailors with the fleet knew these waters well, so the expedition made steady progress. But Kublai had commanded that the Mongols take two islands, Tsushima and Iki, along the way. These would be the stepping stones of conquest, at the same time allowing the Mongols to keep their lines of communication open.

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Mounted Japanese samurai advance to the attack. Thirteenth-century samurai excelled in archery but in a highly individualistic manner where they sought prestigious targets that would bring them fame and renown

Tsushima is fairly large, about 45 miles long and 10 miles wide, though not as large as the Japanese home islands. The approaching Mongol fleet was spotted, and the *jitodai* (deputy governor or administrator) of Tsushima was quickly informed of the enemy's approach. Jitodai So Sukekuni was in his 60s, a tough and experienced samurai who would do his best to defend his post. His hand was strengthened by an event that was interpreted as a sign from heaven.

Of all the *kami* (gods) of Japan, none was more respected than Hachiman, fearsome god of war. His shrine on Tsushima caught fire just before the Mongols landed, though the flames were extinguished before they could do much damage. Then, a flock of white doves landed on the shrine's ample roof. Doves were considered to be the war god's messengers. The sequence of events was seen as a warning, but not a prediction of disaster.

So Sukekuni had about 80 mounted samurai in his main force, together with some of their retainers. They galloped down to Komoda beach, a flat sandy area on Tsushima's western side, where the Mongols were expected to land. The Japanese were not disappointed. The enemy fleet started loading troops into smaller boats, shuttling them from ship to shore in an unending flow.

The first Mongols stepped ashore about 2 AM on November 5. They established a beachhead and presumably landed horses and equipment. Some evidence exists to suggest the Mongols landed some catapults or trebuchets. There probably were Mongol heavy and light cavalry and Korean and perhaps some Chinese foot soldiers. The initial landing fielded some 1,000 troops.

In this period the Japanese samurai excelled in archery, but in a highly individualistic manner. Mounted samurai would sally forth, bow in hand, looking for worthy targets. The higher the status of the target, the greater the gain in bringing him down. The Mongols and their Korean and Chinese troops cared nothing for such knightly concepts. They advanced in tightly packed, disciplined bodies and launched showers of arrows at the Japanese enemy.

The Mongol catapults or trebuchets were soon brought into action, lobbing deadly stones at the defenders. Saito Sukesada, a prominent Tsushima samurai, was knocked down and wounded by a catapult stone. Rising to his feet, he fought on, at one point killing a Mongol general. But Saito finally died, pierced by three arrows. The individualistic samurai style was ill suited to massed Mongol attacks.

In the meantime, Sukekuni and his men were giving a good account of themselves, slaying scores of Mongols with their own unique brand of archery. They were badly outnumbered, though, and eventually the Mongols started to gain the upper hand. With about half his men dead, Sukekuni realized the end was near. No reinforcements were expected, and to a samurai surren-

der was worse than death.

Gathering together what men he could, Sukekuni led a last charge that drove deep into the Mongol ranks. The *jitodai* and his little band fought ferociously but were soon overrun by hordes of Mongols, Koreans, and Chinese. The old samurai fell as he would have wished, fighting to the last and surrounded by enemies.

The Mongols celebrated their triumph by killing most of the island's inhabitants and sacking and burning every structure within reach. In massacring the population, they were following a principle laid down by the great Genghis Khan himself. If an enemy surrendered without resistance and peacefully submitted to the Mongol yoke, all would be spared. But if there was resistance, all would be ruthlessly slaughtered as a lesson to others.

Just before the end, Sukekuni managed to dispatch two messengers to Dazaifu, the administrative capital of the home island of Kyushu, to warn that the Mongols were at last mounting a full invasion. It was no easy task to escape the island, since the Mongol fleet was at anchor just offshore. Somehow the Japanese messenger boat slipped through and delivered the warning.

After a few days securing Tsushima, the Mongol armada set sail for their next target, the island of Iki. The deputy *jito* of Iki was Taira Kagetaka, who made preparations for the defense as soon as he heard of the Mongol attack on Tsushima. Kagetaka too sent a request for help to Dazaifu, and there was a hope that reinforcements might yet arrive. He prepared to lead his samurai out to meet the foe, taking precautions to leave all women, children, other dependents at Hinotsume Castle for their protection.

The battle for Iki was almost a repeat of the struggle for Tsushima, except it had some cruel twists of its own. Clouds of Mongol arrows descended on the samurai like deadly hail, killing then by the score. At last Kagetaka ordered his surviving soldiers to fall back to Hinotsume castle for a last-ditch stand. They were able to disengage only because the Mongols withdrew to their ships for the night.

Hinotsume Castle sounded like a mighty fortress, but in reality it was a simple wooden stockade with a few watchtowers and some fortified gates. Kagetaka selected his daughter, Katsura-hime, and one samurai to slip past the Mongol lines and bring word of the impending disaster to Kyushu.

Finally one gate was broken into, and the Mongols poured inside the castle. Kagetaka was about to lead a final charge when he and his samurai were confronted with a horrible sight: Japanese women had been gathered together and holes bored through their hands. Ropes had been passed through the bloody wounds until all were physically linked together as a human shield.

Seeing this horrible spectacle, Kagetaka and his men refrained from using their bows. The fighting continued, this time with swords, and at last all of the defenders were overwhelmed. Kagetaka withdrew to the inner part of the castle and committed suicide. His family followed suit. Iki Island soon fell to the invaders.

The Mongols set sail to their main objective: Hakata Bay on Kyushu. When the Mongols wanted to strike fear into the hearts of their enemies, they were capable of great cruelty. Some of the Japanese captives taken at Iki were festooned along the sides of the ships, fastened by the holes that had earlier been cut into their hands. In this way, the victims served as living reminders of the futility of resistance.

Once they landed on the beach, the Mongols planned to strike eastward along the coast toward Hagata and then turn inland to the provincial capital of Dazaifu. Once they had landed in sufficient numbers, they were confident of victory. Nothing in their battles at Tsushima and Iki had given them cause to be fearful of Japanese military prowess.

The Japanese defense was led by two *sugo* (military governors), Shoni Tsunesuke and Shimazu Imazu. They were experienced men, but the Japanese had difficulty adapting to Mongol tactics; simply put, the Japanese samurai were highly individualistic, seeking personal honor and glory through individual combat.

In contrast, the Mongols and the Koreans and Chinese they had brought along with them were highly disciplined, as least by 13th-century standards. The Mongols took the high ground, and once it was secured a Mongol general was stationed there to direct operations. They went into battle in large numbers with masses of men protected by rows of shields, and obeyed commands that were issued by drum or cymbal.

The drums and cymbals seemed to have had a psychological as well as command function. Japanese horses were terrified by the noise and became hard to control. The Mongols moved forward vigorously, their blood-red banners waving over their helmeted heads. Mongol armor often consisted of a kind of leather or iron scale-studded coat, very thick. Japanese swords of this period were not the celebrated weapons they were later, and if a samurai struck or jabbed a Mongol or Korean heavy jerkin or coat a certain way, the sword blade might break.

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Not content with traditional tactics, the Mongols used poison arrows and employed iron and paper-covered bombs, probably launched by catapults or trebuchets. The Japanese did not know what to make of these weapons because the noise and smoke were almost as bad as the actual explosions.

As always, the Japanese defense was plagued by the glory-hungry nature of samurais during this period—always seeking to gain personal merit and individual rewards. For example, one samurai named Takezaki Suenaga rushed headlong into battle with a handful of retainers. He had been specifically told by commander Kagesaki not to join the fighting until the Mongols advanced. It was an order that Suenaga characteristically ignored.

Kagesaki did not want Suenaga to advance because the ground just ahead had mudflats and was treacherous for horses. The headstrong samurai would have to find out for himself. The ground was indeed soft, and while Suenaga and four or five retainers tried to negotiate through the viscous muck they were hit by a storm of Mongol arrows.

Suenaga's flag bearer went down, thrown from his horse when the animal was badly wounded by an arrow. Within minutes Suenaga and his remaining retainers were also wounded. The rash samurai and his followers were saved by a Japanese sortie, but the situation remained fluid.

By dusk the Japanese had been pushed back several miles, and its seemed nothing could withstand the Mongol onslaught. The Japanese decided to make a stand at Mizuki (water

castle), essentially an earthwork with a moat. It was designed to slow an enemy invasion from the beach but had yet to be tested in a real emergency.

If Mizuki was taken, the Mongols would probably seize the regional capital at Dazaifu just beyond. Things looked grave, but just then Liu Fuxiang, one of the Mongol commanders, was shot in the face by an arrow launched by Kagesaki himself. Liu was not killed, but the troops under his command were withdrawn soon after.

The rest of the Mongol forces were still in a position to make life difficult for the Japanese. Night was falling, but the Mongols still had a fairly good beachhead established on Japanese soil. Inexplicably, they did not spend the night on shore but withdrew to their ships.

Expedition commander Hol Don was strangely overcautious for a fierce Mongol warrior. He wanted to break off the fighting and sail back to Koryo (Korea). Ironically, it was a Korean general, Kim Bong Gyong, who showed more mettle than the conquerors of his country. "Our forces are small in number, true," he said, "but they are already on the enemy's land. Let's fight it out."

But the Mongol general prevailed, and the expedition raised anchor and left Japanese shores. Unfortunately, the Mongol ships encountered very rough weather, though apparently not a typhoon. In any event, ships were lost and some thousands—accounts vary—drowned. But it is significant that Hol Don was not punished for his rapid withdrawal. There is circumstantial evidence to suggest the 1274 expedition was more a reconnaissance in force than a full-blown invasion.

The Japanese could hardly believe their eyes when they saw the empty beaches and clear horizon, without a mast or spar in sight. This first Mongol invasion had only lasted a single day, but the Japanese realized they had been lucky. They would start preparations to defend their homeland from a second invasion that was sure to come.

Kublai turned his attention to the subjugation of Song China, but Japan was never far from his thoughts. After the fall of Xiangyang, it was clear that Song China's days were numbered. The old Song emperor died and was succeeded by the boy emperor Huaizong. The real ruler was the Dowager Empress, who in effect capitulated to Kublai's rule.

The Mongols took Hangzhou in 1275. It was probably the richest seaport city in the world at that time, boasting a population of over one million souls. In spite of the Dowager Empress's submission, pockets of resistance stubbornly held out. The end came ironically at sea, where a loyalist Song fleet met a Mongol armada near Yai-shan Island. The Song ships were heavily defeated,

TOP: Six-foot-high defensive walls at Hakata Bay are shown in a period scroll painting. The landward side of the walls, which were constructed in advance of the 1281 invasion, had an earthen embankment that served as a platform from which both mounted samurai and foot archers could launch clouds of deadly arrows. ABOVE: Japanese warriors raid a Mongol ship anchored in Hakata Bay in 1281 in a period scroll painting.

The Art Archive / British Library / Art Resource

and when all hope was lost the Song admiral took the boy emperor and jumped overboard, drowning them both.

Since by then he ruled all of China, the Great Khan could turn his attention to Japan. In a show of diplomatic bravado, he dispatched a special embassy to Kyoto, capital of the Japanese emperor. The Japanese monarch was supposed to come to Kublai to explain the events of 1274. In effect this was another chance at submission, which the Japanese rejected. To underscore the point every man of the Mongol embassy was beheaded.

It took several years of planning and preparation, but by 1281 the great invasion was ready to sail. There were two major components, the Eastern Route Army and the Southern Route Army. Mongol General Hong Da-Gu commanded the 30,000-man Eastern Route forces, which were augmented by General Kim Bang-gyong and his 10,000 Koryo (Korean) troops.

The Southern Route army, a huge force of 100,000 men, was led by Chinese Song General Fan Wenhu. The Southern Route army embarked in China, and the Eastern Route Army departed from Koryo. The 100,000 figure may be an exaggeration, but the Southern Route Army was certainly a powerful force.

A Mongolian helmet.

The Eastern Route Army set sail from Koryo on May 22, 1281, but progress was at a snail's pace. The huge armada did not reach Tsushima until June 9, and Iki until June 14. Details are sketchy, but it seems the occupation of the islands followed the same tragic course as it did in 1274. Hundreds of islanders were slaughtered by the Mongols; at one point, some Japanese civilians hid in caves but were given away by the cries of their children. The refugees were ruthlessly cut down, including the children.

The commanders of the Eastern Route Army, perhaps flush with the success they achieved at Tsushima and Iki, decided to disobey orders and push on. They were supposed to rendezvous with the Southern Route Army on July 2. In retrospect, this was a serious mistake. The Japanese knew the invasion was coming, and only overwhelming force had any chance of success.

The Japanese knew that their best defense was to contain the Mongol forces on the shoreline, thus preventing them from establishing a beachhead. To this end, a series of strong defensive walls were constructed that fronted Hakata Bay. Eventually the segments stretched some 12 miles, and were placed roughly 164 feet, on average, from the sea. The front of the stone walls rose about six feet, and on the other side it sloped down to an earthen embankment up which samurai mounts could be ridden.

The walls were not only defensive, but also offensive. They blocked easy access to the interior, acting as a dam to contain the Mongol flood. They also were platforms and starting points for offensive sorties against the foe. The Mongol Eastern Route Army divided its forces as it approached the Japanese coast. Three hundred ships went eastward to the province of Nagato, on the home island of Honshu. There was some panic on Honshu because some thought that the appearance of the Mongols there meant that Kyushu had already fallen.

Luckily, the Nagato samurai easily repulsed the Mongol raiders, and the panic was nipped in the bud. Beaten, the Mongol force rejoined their comrades back at Hakata Bay on Kyushu. While they were away, the Hakata Bay contingent had failed miserably in trying to land troops there. The walls had done their job well, serving as a platform from which both mounted samurai and foot archers could launch clouds of deadly arrows.

Frustrated in their attempts to establish a beachhead, the Mongols seized Shugo and Noko Islands in the bay. The Japanese decided to take the fight to the enemy by raiding the great Mongol ships that were anchored in the bay. Swarms of smaller Japanese craft attacked the great Mongol vessels like sharks nipping at the flanks of whales. Grappling hooks and ropes allowed the samurai to board, and the melee was bloody.

The samurai may have gained great personal honor on these raids and maybe even collected a few trophy heads, but the Mongol fleet was simply too large to make a decisive difference. To ward off these attacks, many Mongol ships were literally tied together side by side with thick ropes. Once each vessel was secured, wooden planks were laid from ship to ship, bridges to let Mongol soldiers pass freely from point to point in case of attack.

The Japanese had fervently hoped that the *kami*, the gods, would come to their aid. On August 14 a typhoon named *kamikaze,* or "divine wind," struck the area with a terrible fury. Some accounts say the Korean sailors with the fleet, accustomed to these waters, tried to warn the Mongol commanders beforehand, but few took heed.

It was said that at least some Korean troops managed to get back to their ships, which escaped before the main part of the storm arrived. Most ships were not so lucky. Huge wind-lashed waves smashed into hulls, sending them to the bottom, and howling gales masked the sounds of splintering wood and the cries of drowning men. Ironically, so many ships were tied together it was harder for single vessels to escape the heavy seas. Whole groups were driven by the winds to the shore, where they were wrecked in the shallows by jagged rocks.

After the storm abated, the bay and its immediate waters were strewn with wreckage and the bodies of drowned Mongol, Chinese, and Korean soldiers. Hundreds, if not thousands, of waterlogged survivors did manage to reach land only to be slaughtered by samurai and their retainers. It was said that Koreans and Mongols were killed without mercy, but Song Chinese were spared and made slaves.

Mongol losses will never be fully known. Korean accounts indicate that of the 26,989 Koreans that sailed with the Eastern Route Army, 7,592 did not return. Overall estimates place Mongol losses in the 1281 invasion at somewhere between 60 to 90 percent. The Great Khan was unfazed, at least officially, and plans were made to mount a third invasion, but it never took place.

The failed invasions of Japan mark the limit of Mongol expansion. Kublai sent his armies south, hoping to conquer Annam and Vietnam. The climate and terrain were not suitable to Mongol tactics, and these expeditions ended in failure. By the 1290s, the Great Khan was an old man, grossly overweight from rich banquets and plagued by gout and rheumatism. Kublai died in 1294.

As the centuries passed, the legend of the *kamikaze* grew, as did the myth of Japan's invulnerability to invaders. In the later stages of World War II, young suicide pilots, also named *kamikaze,* deliberately crashed their planes into American warships. This time, the magic of the divine winds, man-made or natural, did not work. Ironically, Japan surrendered to the Allies in August 1945, 664 years almost to the day from the failed Mongol invasion. □

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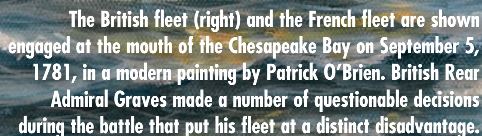
Comte de Grasse outmaneuvered Rear Admiral Graves on September 5, 1781, in a naval battle that sealed the fate of Lord Cornwallis's army at Yorktown.

GRAND CLASH *on the Chesapeake*



The British fleet (right) and the French fleet are shown engaged at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay on September 5, 1781, in a modern painting by Patrick O'Brien. British Rear Admiral Graves made a number of questionable decisions during the battle that put his fleet at a distinct disadvantage.

© Patrick O'Brien

Under sunny skies, favorable winds pushed Captain Mark Robinson and the 74-gun ship of the line *Shrewsbury* on September 5, 1781, toward a stormy encounter with an old enemy. The captain was deep into his third war with the navy of France. An old hand among the Royal Navy's officers, Robinson had been promoted to lieutenant back in 1746. As captain of the *Worcester* in the English Channel three years before, he had enjoyed the service and loyalty of a young acting fourth lieutenant named Horatio Nelson.

Nelson was now serving elsewhere, and Robinson might well have wanted his help on that day. Three or four hours earlier, one of Robinson's superiors, Rear Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, was warmed by the prospect that "the British fleet had a rich and plentiful harvest of glory in view" as they neared Cape Henry, Virginia. From the English decks, the sailors beheld a fleet of French ships of the line, nearly immobilized by contrary winds and tides. September 5 looked like it would be the day that Rear Admiral Thomas Graves would destroy the fleet of François-Joseph-Paul, Comte de Grasse, rescue the redcoats of Lt. Gen. Charles Cornwallis's army from siege by a combined French-Continental army, and perhaps hasten the end of the rebellion of His Majesty's colonies in North America.

By 4 PM, prospects were less rosy for the British. A change in the tide and a few hours' maneuvering saw the French ships ready in line of battle. Surging ahead, the *Shrewsbury* approached the enemy from an awkward oblique angle. When they were within musket shot, at least two French ships raked the *Shrewsbury* with their broadside arrays. In return, Robinson could for the moment only protest with his bow chasers.

In a short time, the *Shrewsbury*'s fore and main topsail yards were shot down. French cannon balls lodged in or punched through masts and yards, shredded the sails, and slashed standing and running rigging. Once on the verge of helping rescue Cornwallis from the troops of General George Washington and his French allies, the *Shrewsbury* now needed help herself.

One of the most important battles of the American Revolution was not fought on American soil, but a few miles out to sea off Cape Henry, Virginia. The Battle of the Virginia Capes, also known as the Battle of the Chesapeake, ended with no ships sunk or captured, and a casualty list rivaling only a minor battle or a large skirmish in a land war. But the results echo as loudly in history as the guns of Trafalgar. For without this naval battle outside the Chesapeake Bay, the British army of Cornwallis would have shrugged off the siege of Yorktown rather than surrendering to General George Washington on October 19, 1781.

The Revolutionary War had ground to a stalemate by 1779. British forces had their successes, such as taking New York City, but the Crown's troops were unable to inflict a decisive defeat on the rebel, who was now getting aid from France. Seeking to force an end to the rebellion, the British opted for a new strategy. An invasion of the southern colonies could cut the rebellious regions in two. London believed that thousands of Loyalists in the Carolinas would rally to the king's colors.

From the captured port of Charleston, South Carolina,

BY DAVID A. NORRIS

Cornwallis marched inland in the autumn of 1780. He found himself beset by patriot guerrilla attacks. At King's Mountain, South Carolina, on October 7, 1781, patriots from the western Carolinas destroyed a Loyalist army also gathered from the back country. Afterward, Loyalist recruits came in small numbers rather than the legions once anticipated.

To support Cornwallis's operations in the South, the British commander in North America, General Sir Henry Clinton, dispatched 1,600 troops from New York to Virginia. Commanded by a new British general, the recent defector Benedict Arnold, they captured Richmond, Virginia, on January 5, 1781, before returning to the coast. There, they occupied Portsmouth, a convenient port giving access to the sea, the Chesapeake Bay, and the rivers of the Virginia interior.

Washington was with the bulk of the Continental Army in the northern states. He now had reinforcements from France. An army under Lt. Gen. Marshal Jean-Baptiste-Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau, had landed at Newport, Rhode Island, in the summer of 1780 to join Washington.

Ships of the French navy under Rear Admiral Charles Rene Dominique Sochet, Chevalier Destouches were also based at Newport. Early in 1781, a storm temporarily scattered the British blockaders off Newport. Destouches dashed off to Virginia to relieve the pressure on the patriots and harass British ships that were attacking the French merchant trade.

Little came of this February 1781 operation. Winter storms were more dangerous than the enemy. A British 74-gun ship was wrecked and another dismasted. Destouches reached the Chesapeake, but the British ships sailed up the Elizabeth River into shallow water where the larger French ships could not pursue. After snapping up one British frigate, the *Romulus,* the French sailed back to Newport.

In March, Destouches tried, with a larger fleet and some troops, to reinforce the French-Continental forces already in Virginia. A British fleet under Rear Admiral Mariot Arbuthnot, commander of the Royal Navy's North American Station, followed them from New York after learning of Destouches' plans.

The Granger Collection, New York

In the Battle of Cape Henry, on March 16, 1781, the French came out ahead in a tactical sense because of the rough weather. With their ships pushed by the heavy winds down toward their lee sides, which faced the enemy, the British could not risk opening their lower gun ports. The French ships, though, were pushed so the lower guns on their windward sides pointed upward and could be used to good advantage. They heavily damaged three of Arbuthnot's ships of the line. However, Arbuthnot won a strategic victory as the smaller French fleet turned around for Newport.

Far from the sea, the war on land had taken a fateful turn. Cornwallis's redcoats defeated Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Greene and a patriot army at Guilford Courthouse near Greensboro, North Carolina, on March 15, 1781. But Cornwallis had won a pyrrhic victory that left his army dangerously weakened and isolated in hostile territory. The British headed for the coast, reaching Wilmington, North Carolina, on April 7. Leaving Wilmington on April 25, Cornwallis joined Arnold's and other British troops at Petersburg, Virginia, on May 20.

In Virginia, the Chesapeake Bay gave easy access to the sea and the potential protection of the Royal Navy. About 12 miles wide, the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay is bracketed by Cape Charles to the north and Cape Henry to the south. Cape Henry partly shelters an indentation in the coast called Lynn Haven Bay, between modern-day Norfolk on the west and Virginia Beach to the east. In 1781, and now, the main shipping channels pass between Cape Henry and a shoal called the Middle Ground.

Finding Portsmouth an unhealthy location, the British settled at a place called Yorktown. On the Virginia Peninsula, a neck of land between the York and James Rivers, Yorktown is about 10 miles southeast of Williamsburg, the old capital of Virginia. Jamestown, settled in 1607, was just south of Williamsburg but was essentially abandoned by 1781. Yorktown seemed healthier than the coast, and across the river at Gloucester was accommodation for the navy.

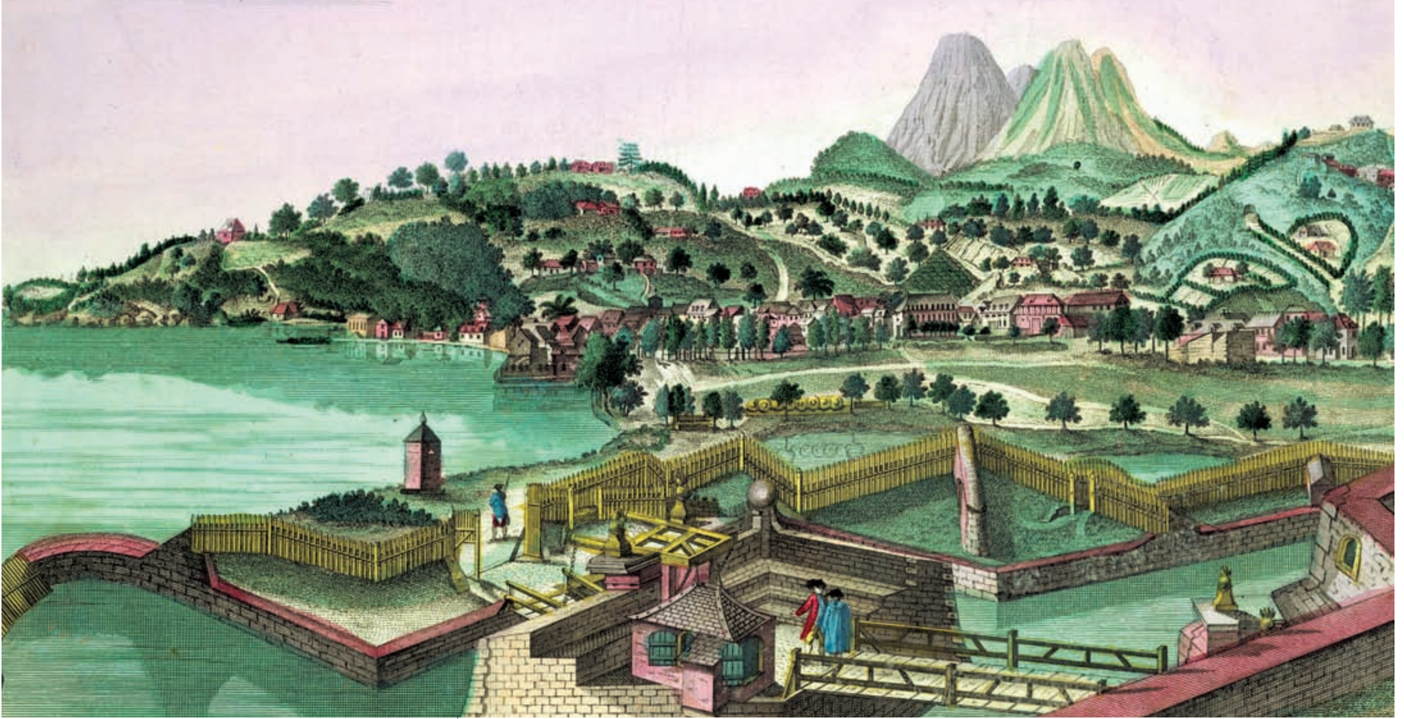
Despite the geopolitical considerations of the war raging on the North American continent, much European attention focused on the Caribbean. Although the island outposts of the major powers were tiny compared to the rebellious Thirteen Colonies, the Caribbean islands yielded tremendous profits from sugar plantations.

In the spring of 1781, France sent a large fleet of 23 ships of the line commanded by de Grasse across the Atlantic. Destined first for the Caribbean, they departed from the port of Brest on March 22. With them were 150 merchant ships and transports. To prevent delays, the slowest vessels were taken under tow by the ships of the line.

Bypassing the war to the north, the great French convoy arrived off Martinique on April 28. The next day, de Grasse fought the Battle of Fort Royal against a smaller British fleet under Admiral Samuel Hood. No ships were sunk, and the French cut through the British blockade to relieve Martinique.

Command changes soon shook up the naval situation in the New World. At Newport, Destouches was replaced by Vice Admiral Jacques Melchior Saint Laurent, Comte de Barras. Among the British, Arbuthnot returned to England, and Rear Admiral Thomas Graves was placed in charge of the ships in New York. In the Caribbean, the capable but ailing Admiral George Brydges Rodney went home on leave. Hood filled Rodney's shoes as commander of the navy's Leeward Islands Station.

After taking the British island of Tobago, de Grasse sailed to Cape-Français on San Domingue (now Cap-Haitien in modern-day Haiti). There, on July 6 he met the *Concorde,*



The Granger Collection, New York

ABOVE: De Grasse's French fleet defeated a smaller British fleet under Rear Admiral Samuel Hood at the Battle of Fort Royal fought April 29, 1781, in the waters off Martinique. The fort is depicted in a period engraving. OPPOSITE: French naval forces fought determined in 1781 to support French-Continental troops fighting the British in Virginia. At the Battle of Cape Henry on March 16, Rear Admiral Charles Rene Destouches' French fleet won a tactical victory but was compelled to return to Newport, Rhode Island.

a French frigate bearing messages from Washington and Rochambeau. Although setbacks afflicted Cornwallis in North Carolina, the revolutionary cause was desperate. New York City was firmly in British hands, and the combined French-Continental forces around the city could not recapture it. Virginia was now coming back under British control, cutting off the northern and southern colonies from each other. The patriots were short of money and supplies, and even Rochambeau's army was pinched for funds. Rochambeau appealed to de Grasse for emergency aid. The French Navy had to arrive in strength to counter the Royal Navy, and France needed more soldiers in America. A vast amount of money was urgently required. Rochambeau had only enough money to pay his troops until August.

Rochambeau's appeal to de Grasse left the details to the admiral. De Grasse had two options before him. One was to attack the British main stronghold of New York City. If this succeeded, the British would have to withdraw their forces in Virginia to respond.

The other option was for de Grasse to swoop down on the Chesapeake Bay and cut off the British forces in Virginia from the sea. It was this second option that bore the greatest promise of success, and de Grasse seized the opportunity. One factor prodding the French commander was probably the passenger list of the *Concorde*. On board were 25 American pilots familiar with the shoals and channels of the Chesapeake Bay.

At this crucial moment, de Grasse showed remarkable insight and planning. By delaying the departure of merchant convoys for France, he was able to assemble 28 ships of the line. He managed to borrow more than 3,300 troops, promising the governor of San Domingue to return them by November. The French admiral turned to his Spanish allies in Cuba for aid. They did not consider sending direct help to Virginia but agreed to patrol the coast of San Domingue against the British. In Havana, the Spanish governor and prominent citizens helped raise the money de Grasse needed.

On August 5, the French expedition sailed for the Chesapeake. De Grasse was aboard his flagship, the 110-gun *Ville de Paris*. With him was the Marquess St. Simon in command of the French soldiers. By August 24, they were off Charleston. Luck was with them; they snapped up several small British ships that might have given away their location and direction. On one of them was Francis Rawdon-Hastings, Lord Rawdon, a British commander en route to England after resigning due to poor health. The convoy went on to the Chesapeake and anchored in Lynn Haven Bay on August 30.

Learning that de Grasse was in motion, Washington's troops slipped away from their positions around New York City and started marching to Virginia. On August 25, Count de Barras sailed from Newport en route to Virginia. His eight ships of the line escorted 18 transports loaded with 1,000 French troops and siege artillery intended for use at Yorktown.

Before Rodney left for England, he drafted orders for Hood to sail to the Chesapeake. Partly, the move would get the bulk of the British Caribbean fleet out of harm's way for the hurricane season. The "Great Hurricane" of October 1780 had cost the British two ships of the line and 10 smaller vessels destroyed. Already in 1781, a hurricane sweeping over Jamaica on August 1 dismasted two frigates and destroyed a third, the *Pelican*. Captain Cuthbert Collingwood, commander of the *Pelican*, survived the wreck to serve as one of Nelson's admirals at Trafalgar in 1805.

But Rodney also expected de Grasse to dispatch part of his force to Virginia and wanted Hood on hand to stop them. Three ships of the line went with Rodney to England, and two more were ordered to guard Jamaica. So when Hood sailed from Antigua on August 10, he had only 14 ships of the line.

Unlike the good fortune found by de Grasse on his voyage to Virginia, Hood had quite a bit of bad luck. Two frigates he sent with messages for Graves in New York were lost. But Hood's ships, which benefitted from copper-plated hulls which minimized shipworm damage and drag from aquatic growth, made such good time that they outsailed the French and reached the Chesapeake Bay on August 25. They were five days ahead of de Grasse and finding the bay empty, they sailed on toward New York. At that point, Graves had recently learned that de Barras had left Newport, so he was about to set sail for Virginia. At the moment, New York station had only five sail

of the line plus a 50-gun two-decker available.

On August 31, Hood and Graves combined their ships off New York. Although Hood had far more ships with him, Graves outranked him and so took command of the combined force of 19 sail of the line, the 50-gun ship, six frigates, and a fire ship.

One day before Graves and Hood made their rendezvous, de Grasse reached the Chesapeake and anchored in Lynn Haven Bay. As they arrived, a small boat approached one of the French ships. One man in the boat hailed them and asked for Lord Rodney. A French sailor answered back in fine English. Learning that the men on the boat were Loyalists from Virginia, the French invited the men on board. The colonial Tories were taken aback when they saw that the foot soldiers on the ship wore coats of white instead of red. Brought below, where the officers were eating dinner, the visitors learned that they were prisoners. Fresh, sweet Virginia melons intended for Admiral Rodney, brought from the boat, ended up on the dining tables of the French officers.

St. Simon and his troops boarded about 40 ships' boats. About 1,900 French sailors and officers were detached from the ships to convey the infantry up the James River to join troops already there under the Marquis de Lafayette. From Yorktown, a bold move from Cornwallis and his 8,000 troops might have smashed either the reinforcements or Lafayette's smaller main force, but the British remained inside their fortifications and did not interfere with the transfer of St. Simon.

De Grasse also detached several frigates and four ships of the line. They bottled up the British in the York River and guarded the James River in case Cornwallis tried to break out of Yorktown and escape back to North Carolina.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

ABOVE: Comte Francois-Joseph-Paul de Grasse. BELOW: Rear Admiral Thomas Graves (left), Rear Admiral Samuel Hood (right).

Both: Wikipedia Commons

Washington was on his way south with another 4,000 French troops and 2,000 patriots. On September 5, he reached the head of the Elk River, a tributary that flowed into the Chesapeake Bay in northern Maryland. He wrote to prominent men in the region pleading for the loan of boats to ferry part of the army over the Elk. The rest of the force marched around the river and continued overland.

On the morning of the same day Washington reached the Elk River, lookouts aboard a French frigate in the Chesapeake sighted sails in the distance. At first, they hoped it was de Barras coming in from Newport, but soon they realized that they saw the approach of a British fleet.

De Grasse ordered his ships readied for battle. He had 24 ships of the line available, but he was still missing the 1,900 men from the boats sent with St. Simon. Even with about 10 percent of each crew on detached duty, they would have about 18,100 men and 1,822 guns. Graves was far outnumbered and outgunned, with 11,311 men and 1,408 cannon.

Admiral Graves approached Cape Henry without knowing where the French were. British cruisers prowling off the Delaware River from the north had not seen them, and Admiral Graves had not yet made contact with his captains watching the Chesapeake. As the British neared Cape Henry, the 74-gun *Alfred* was in the lead, as part of the six ships of the division under Admiral Hood. At 9:30 AM, the frigate *Solebay* signaled that the French fleet was in sight to the southwest. Mild winds from the northeast favored the British, steadily pushing them toward the enemy under fair skies.

At 11 AM, Graves ordered the fleet into line of battle. "On account of the close but confused manner in which their ships were anchored," a trait a British observer scoffed at as "customary with the French nation," it appeared that de Grasse had no more than about 15 sail of the line.

All morning contrary winds and tides pinned the French in Lynn Haven Bay. At noon, with the ebb tide, French sailors took axes and chopped their anchor cables. After marking the anchor positions with buoys, they steered to meet Graves's ships. Their fleet moved out in a straggling procession that hardly passed for a line of battle. A few ships in the lead quickly made it into the open ocean, but those farther behind had to tack several times to get out of the bay and lagged far behind. Four vessels, the *Pluton, Marseillais, Bourgogne,* and *Diadème,* were close together in the forefront. Following behind after a gap in the line were the *Réfléchi* and then the *Auguste,* the 80-gun flagship of Rear Admiral Louis-Antoine, Comte de Bougainville, commander of the lead section of the fleet. There were more gaps in the line. Winds pushed the center with the *Ville de Paris*, de Grasse's flagship, to windward, and the rear division was even farther out of alignment.

The British noticed that several French ships were isolated far ahead of possible help. Graves could have signaled a general chase, letting each of his ships sail individually and choose a target among the enemy. If this maneuver worked, they could have fallen upon and overwhelmed several of the foremost vessels of the French before the others could come to their aid. After the battle, Hood claimed that this would have been the correct choice. Instead, Graves took a more cautious approach, and the British ships were held tightly in line of battle.

Capital ships of Europe's navies usually fought in a long, single line of battle, and hence were known as ships of the line. This way, the ships presented their broadsides to the enemy and thereby brought the maximum number of guns into action. Holding to the line of battle was not actually required of British admirals, but at this time they generally did.

Graves may well have been overly cautious in not ordering a general chase at noon, but he had good reasons for not doing so. It was not guaranteed that the wind would bring his fastest ships down on the isolated French van before the enemy drew its line together and the British fleet was outnumbered. It was risky for the smaller fleet in an engagement to break up its line of battle. Not only were there five more enemy ships of the line, the French ships on average were bigger and carried more guns (and of heavier caliber) than their English counterparts.

With the wind continuing against them, the French consumed a great deal of time to tack past the Middle Ground shoals and clear Cape Henry. About 2 PM, most were in a rough line

heading almost due east, although the rear vessels still lagged behind.

Graves's ships were in line nearly parallel to de Grasse but heading in the opposite direction, toward the bay. By 2 PM, the foremost British ships neared the shoal water of the Middle Ground. The van of the French fleet was about three miles due south of the flagship *London*, roughly the center of the British formation.

Directed by Graves, the signal "wear together" was hoisted aloft from the *London*. This order meant his ships would turn around and sail in the opposite direction. Together, the ships turned from heading west to south and continued to turn counterclockwise until they were sailing pointed east. Wearing together was a complicated maneuver, and the time it consumed allowed the French to tighten their formation. Graves's signal reversed the order of the line of battle. Hood's ships were then in the rear. In the lead now were six vessels under Rear Admiral Francis Samuel Drake, a relative of the famous Elizabethan sea dog Sir Francis Drake.

Now fourth in the line of battle, Drake's 70-gun flagship *Princessa* was the oldest ship present that day. Built about 1730 for the Spanish navy, she fell to the British during the War of Jenkins' Ear in 1740.

Ahead of Drake were the *Intrepid* and *Alcide*. In the lead was the 74-gun *Shrewsbury,* commanded by Robinson. Two spots in line behind Drake and the *Princessa,* sailors aboard the 74-gun *Terrible* had all the pumps running at full capacity. After twice running ashore during her time in America, the *Terrible* was plagued with leaks. A collision with the *Alcide* several months before aggravated the damage. Somewhere during this series of misfortunes, her foremast was sprung. The cracked and split wood required careful handling to keep the mast from going overboard.

Originally, the half crippled *Terrible* was assigned to the rear division of the line. Because Graves's signal reversed the original order of battle, the *Terrible* was now sixth in line. Observers aboard British and French ships watched as the *Terrible* started dropping out of line. Drake sharply rebuked the *Terrible* by firing three shots across her stern, and she was steered back into her place.

To use every possible asset, Graves ordered the captain of his single fireship, the eight-gun *Salamander,* to prime the vessel. This involved removing the combustibles from storage and setting a powder train. With luck, the crew could draw near an enemy ship, set their craft on fire, and escape in a boat while the burning fireship drifted down upon the foe.

Graves was on the same tack as the French but at a considerable distance from them. To close the gap between the fleets, the admiral signaled for the lead ship to turn to the starboard. Probably Graves intended for all the ships to turn simultaneously with the *Shrewsbury,* bringing the entire line closer to the French but keeping their bows parallel. But he kept the signal for line of battle flying as well. Interpreting these signals, his captains steered to starboard, one by one, keeping to a new single line of battle headed by the lead ship. Instead of drawing near the enemy in a parallel line, they would strike them at such a sharp angle that only the leading vessels would be close enough for effective combat.

By 4 PM, the leading ships of the two fleets were within range. The 74-gun *Montagu,* eighth in the British line, opened fire about 4:05 PM. Its guns bore on the fifth and sixth ships in the French line, which proved to be the *Réfléchi* and the *Auguste.* Admiral Howe felt that the ships in the center, such as the *Montagu,* opened fire at a "most improper distance." Improper or not, some of the first British cannonballs tore into the *Réfléchi,* killing her commander, Captain M. de Boades.

Leading his division into battle, Louis-Antoine, Comte de Bougainville drew on the experience of a long and notable career. He had retired from the navy in 1780. Expecting a quiet life on his estate with his new wife, he was soon called back into service by King Louis XVI.

Captain Robinson and the *Shrewsbury* soon came into action against the French. At close range, the *Shrewsbury* was exposed to broadsides from several French ships. Twenty minutes after the crew's first shot, at 4:45 PM by their reckoning, the *Shrewsbury*'s foretop yard crashed down to the deck, followed by the main and mizzen topyards. Three minutes later, Robinson fell, shot in the thigh. Evidently the captain was quickly borne below deck for the surgeon to treat him. At 5:10 PM, a clerk tersely noted, "Captain Robinson lost his left Leg."

Dozens of the *Shrewsbury*'s men were hit. French fire ripped sails and riggings and dismounted one gun and then another. By 5:15 PM, the vessel "had not a Brace, Bowling [bowline] or hardly a Fore or Main Shroud Standing," according to the Captain's Journal of the *Shrewsbury*." Following behind them, the *Intrepid*'s officers saw the *Shrewsbury* had lost her fore and main top-

The British fleet (right) trades broadsides with the French fleet during the height of battle. Confusion with signals plagued the British throughout the battle and prevented them from firing with maximum effect.

sail yards. Steering closer, Captain Anthony James Pye Molloy hailed and asked them to cease fire so he could take their place in the battle. Ten minutes later, the *Shrewsbury* was still in the fighting alongside the enemy when its first lieutenant was shot dead.

At 5:30, the *Intrepid* passed the *Shrewsbury* and sheltered her from enemy fire, Molloy's guns "keeping her fire well up & closing with the Enemy's van," as stated in the Captain's Journal of the *Shrewsbury.* The *Shrewsbury* ceased fire, no longer able to keep her place. In 15 minutes she drifted three cable lengths from the line of battle, her crew busy fixing the masts and repairing the rigging.

Carrying only 64 guns, the *Intrepid* confronted two enemy 74s, the *Pluton* and the *Marseillais,* and took fire from others. Steering to the rescue of Robinson's ship cost the *Intrepid* heavily: 21 dead and 35 wounded. Shots punched through the hull and pierced or lodged in the masts and spars, including "two very dangerous ones" in the fore topmast. But the *Intrepid* inflicted heavy damage on the two French 74s, and they fell out of the line.

Admiral Graves kept the line of battle signal aloft, locking his ships into a single inflexible row. A line of battle was determined by an imaginary line drawn from the van to the commander's flagship. As the *London* was barely within extreme long range of the French, this meant that the half of the British fleet following the flagship would be fixed at an even greater distance from the action.

Confusion with the signals plagued the British. Even in the best of circumstances, and even with using repeater frigates, signals were often hard or impossible to read due to battle smoke or the action of the winds on the flags. Aboard the *London,* the line of battle signal was lowered at 4:11, and the signal to engage close went up. Graves felt the ships were starting to bunch together and raised the line ahead signal again at 4:22 PM, and again lowered it at 4:27 PM.

Raising the contradictory signals for the ships to stay in line of battle and to closely engage the enemy, Admiral Graves assumed that his captains would understand he meant for them to maneuver so as to bring their line of battle close to the French and parallel with them. Signals and fighting instructions were a complicated matter, and mistakes in interpreting or executing them could lead to court-martials. Graves had not had time to meet with his captains and explain his views of tactics. Therefore, his commanders could not know how much discretion he allowed his officers to deviate from his signals.

Adding to the uncertainty, the North American and West Indian stations did not use identical signal books. Hood strongly criticized Graves in post-battle writings, but on the day of battle he never broke from the line, strictly following the signals from the flagship.

Admiral Bougainville was in the thick of the battle aboard the *Auguste.* Among the dead and wounded was the second officer. One shot severed the foretop bowline, which endangered the working of the ship. A sailor who climbed aloft to repair the line was shot dead, and a second man who took up the job was also killed. When no volunteers came forward for a third try, Bougainville shouted to the sailors that he would give the coins in his purse to the man who fixed the bowline. A sailor quickly climbed up and made the repair, then called down to the deck to turn down the reward, saying that he didn't perform the task for money.

During the battle the *Auguste* took 54 cannon shots in her hull, and 70 shots pierced her sails. Nine men were killed, including her first lieutenant. Among the 54 wounded was an Ensign Hoguenhausen. He was one of several Swedish officers serving in the French navy during the battle, seeking action and potential advancement at a time when Sweden was neutral and at peace.

Aboard the *Terrible,* the heavy recoil of her guns shook her hull. The shock of the guns further strained the hull planking, and the pumps had even more water to expel from the ship.

Far back in the British line, two places behind the *London,* the 74-gun *Resolution* was the most distant ship from the van to receive fire. Even at that distance, French shot killed three men and wounded 16 and did enough damage to keep the carpenter and boatswain busy after the battle. Her captain, Lord Robert Manners, had a very narrow escape. "The peak of my hat was shot off by a ball," he wrote his brother. "I felt a slight inconvenience from it for a few moments, but no injury."

The fickle winds shifted, pushing one way and then another. De Grasse's center and rear struggled to reach the focus of the action. It was the avant-garde of both lines, under Bougainville and Drake, that took the brunt of the fighting. So, although outnumbered to begin with, Graves fought the battle with only two thirds of his ships. Many of de Grasse's ships also took no part in the battle.

Farther toward the end of the British line, Admiral Hood's ships never caught up with the fighting. The master's log of the *Centaur* noted that they "found the Enemys Shot go over us." Aboard the *Invincible,* the crew saw the *London* fire a broadside, but it could "easily observe the Shott fall Considerably short therefore we persisted in not firing a single Gun." The *Monarch* did fire several shots, but they splashed into the sea so far short of the French that the gunners stopped wasting their ammunition. The fireship *Salamander* took no active part in the battle.

Sunset darkened the seas about 6:30 PM, and the firing faded away. All of the combatants' ships were still afloat. However, four of the French vessels were out of action. Six of Graves' ships—almost one third of his fleet—were also unfit for combat. One damage report after another noted that many of the masts and spars were "wounded" by enemy shot and needed immediate repair.

British losses were 90 dead and 246 wounded. The butcher's bill was by far the heaviest on the two ships in the lead. Of 532 men on board at the start of the action, 66 men fell on the *Shrewsbury*, 14 dead and 52 wounded. With Captain Robinson recovering from losing his leg and the first lieutenant dead, command fell to the second lieutenant. In the hours after the battle, she made a signal of distress. With "all her masts and yards so shattered," the *Shrewsbury* was unable to keep her place in line of battle. Three guns were dismounted. Five shot had punched into the hull below the waterline. With all pumps working into the night, the ship still took in about 14 inches of water every four hours.

The *Intrepid* was in little better shape than the S*hrewsbury.* Her masts were standing but were in fragile shape from being shot through in several places. A damage report noted, "Sails and rigging very much cut particularly the topsails—All the boats damaged."

Losses were lighter in ships toward the center of the line, and seven of the 19 Royal Navy vessels had no casualties at all.

Most accounts place the French losses of dead and wounded combined at about 230. Captain de Boades of the *Réfléchi* was dead, and five other captains were wounded. Many of the names of the dead of de Grasse's fleet are inscribed on the Yorktown French Memorial with soldiers of France who died during the final campaign of the Revolutionary War.

On September 6, the fleets lingered within sight of each other, but no action took place. Afterward, the British and French hovered near each other for nearly a week, maneuvering and watching one another. De Grasse was most concerned with getting back to the Chesapeake to support the land operations. Graves's fleet was not in shape for battle. The *Shrewsbury* and the *Intrepid* were wrecked by enemy fire and needed considerable repair. Two other ships, the *Ajax* and the *Terrible,* had heavy battle damage to aggravate the havoc already wreaked upon them by teredo worms.

While the French ships were away from Lynn Haven Bay, the British frigate *Iris* slipped into

A period engraving of the British surrender at Yorktown shows the French fleet at right. The British fleet returned to the Chesapeake on October 24 only to find that Lord Charles Cornwallis had surrendered his army five days earlier. The British fleet avenged its loss at the Battle of the Saintes the following year.

the site of their anchorage on September 8. Originally, the *Iris* was the American frigate *Hancock,* but the ship had been captured and taken into the Royal Navy in 1777. In the bay, the surface was dotted with buoys marking the locations of the French anchors dropped in their haste to get to sea. After cutting some of the buoys from the cables, the *Iris* rejoined the fleet.

Far out to sea, a break in the standoff came on the night of October 9. The main topmast of the *Intrepid* snapped and fell overboard. With the British fleet halted to wait for the *Intrepid* to make repairs, the French got away.

Aboard the *Terrible*, the crew fought a losing battle with the sea. At best the pumps could only just keep up with the water seeping into the hull. Pumps and men alike were wearing out from the constant labor. A board of officers from around the fleet agreed that the hull was leaking so badly that the ship would never make it to the American coast. Captain Finch divided his crew and supplies among the fleet. Left to her fate, the *Terrible* was set afire on the night of September 11.

Steering back to Lynn Haven Bay on September 12, Graves found that de Grasse had returned ahead of him. Reinforced by de Barras, the French had 36 ships of the line, exactly twice Graves's total. The siege artillery brought on the French transports was soon put in place to bombard the redcoats trapped in Yorktown.

Adding to Graves's woes, the *Iris* had returned to Lynn Haven Bay with another frigate, the *Richmond,* to finish cutting the French anchor buoys. De Grasse's return trapped the frigates. In a sharply fought little battle, the *Iris* and the *Richmond* held out against several ships of the line for 1½ hours. The French fired more than 200 rounds before the smaller British ships struck their colors. Respectful of the valor of the British captains, de Grasse returned them their swords.

Admiral Graves had no choice but to return to New York for repairs and to gather reinforcements. While there, the admiral used his influence to get Captain Robinson of the *Shrewsbury* a special pension.

General Clinton ordered the fleet to return to relieve Cornwallis. It took almost one month to get the augmented fleet to sea. Graves departed on October 12 with 7,000 more troops. His fleet grew to 25 ships of the line with the arrival of three from England and two from the West Indies. They arrived off Cape Henry on October 24. But Graves was too late. Loyalist refugees picked up by the fleet reported that six weeks after the battle at sea the British army at Yorktown surrendered to General Washington on October 19, 1781.

For a fleet action with only moderate damage, the Battle of the Virginia Capes had earthshaking consequences. The successful French defense of the Chesapeake meant that Cornwallis's situation was hopeless. Even with Cornwallis's surrender, thousands of redcoats still held much American territory including the major ports of New York and Charleston. However, with the largest field army in the war zone lost, it was clear that a continuation of the war would require a massive effort. To the British public and the elite running the government, it looked like war was not worth the cost in blood and treasure needed to keep in line a collection of rebellious and only marginally profitable colonies. Fighting simmered along in the Atlantic colonies for nearly two more years, but London was ready to end the war.

Although the American Revolution was practically over after the Virginia Capes and Yorktown, the long-running naval war between France and Britain continued. Less than a year after the disappointing battle off the Chesapeake, the Royal Navy got ample revenge against its old adversaries. At the Battle of the Saints, fought off Dominica on April 12, 1782, Admiral de Grasse and his three-decker flagship *Ville de Paris* ended up as prisoners of a British force commanded by Admiral Rodney. The contending fleets included most of the ships and men involved at the Virginia Capes.

Although the Royal Navy's officers felt redeemed by the Battle of the Saints, in a sense the spectacular naval clash made little difference in history. Whatever de Grasse's mistakes were in 1782, his fleet had already assured America's break from British rule. The following year, diplomats drafted and signed the Treaty of Paris. In 1783, the United States was a free and independent country. □

Elite British troops launched a series of daring assaults in mid-June 1982 against Argentine outposts protecting Port Stanley in the final phase of the Falklands War.

BLOODY SHOWDOWN

A rocky, jumbled mass of boulders known as Mount Harriet just west of the city of Stanley in the Falkland Islands had no claim to fame before the night of June 11-12, 1982, but it achieved renown after a harrowing engagement that occurred between British and Argentine forces that night.

After nightfall, British Royal Marines crept cautiously uphill against defending Argentine soldiers. When Corporal Steven Newland learned his platoon was pinned down by a sniper farther up the hill, he decided to do something about it. Newland and a mate, Chris Shepherd, crawled forward to flank the sniper. As they moved, incoming fire spattered on the rocks around them. Newland had good cover so he kept going. Shepherd had no such protection and was forced to lie prone.

Crawling through the rocks, Newland found the sniper, but the Argentine was not alone. A whole squad was lying in wait, 10 men with rifles and a machine gun. One of them would shoot occasionally. Newland thought the enemy squad was hoping the British would try to rush the sniper only to be cut down by the machine gun and supporting riflemen. He resolved to do something but realized then Shepherd was not there; he was alone. Nevertheless, Newland took action.

The young corporal put a fresh magazine in his rifle, turned the safety off, and drew two grenades from their pouches. He hurled the grenades at the enemy machine-gun position. One landed right on the machine gun and the other among the enemy soldiers. Newland ducked behind a rock and waited until he heard two explosions. "As soon as they'd gone off I went in and anything that moved got three rounds.… I don't know how many I shot but they got a whole mag," he wrote. He reloaded and was about to see if anyone was still alive when a squad mate called on the radio and told him they were going to fire two 66mm rockets into the position. Newland quickly took cover.

The rockets slammed into the enemy location, and Newland collected any prisoners to prevent them from escaping. He took a different path back and saw an Argentine he had shot earlier. The man had fallen but apparently was only wounded. As Newland came close, the enemy soldier fired a burst, striking the corporal in both legs. He felt the bullets hitting his legs and went into a rage. Before the soldier could finish him, Newland had shot the man 15 times in the head.

The final battles of the Falklands War were often confused, swirling melees of desperate close combat. The British force, trying to liberate the islands from an Argentine seizure, did not have a particular advantage in numbers or firepower. What made the difference was the level of training, élan, and discipline that has hallmarked the British soldier throughout the 20th century. This was the factor that brought British armor to success in the South Atlantic.

The argument between Argentina and Great Britain for possession of the islands came to a head in 1982. Argentina, under new rule after a coup d'état, perceived a number of British actions as signals that their desire to keep the islands was fading. The Home Office decided the Falkland Islanders were no longer guaranteed automatic British citizenship under the 1981 Nationality Act. The government was also withdrawing the artic protection vessel *Endurance* from the area without replacement. Also, the United Kingdom announced it was considering scrapping or selling much of its surface fleet. Together, these occurrences seemed to indicate the United Kingdom was withdrawing from the region and with a reduced fleet, would be unable to defend the Falklands anyway. An Argentine task force sailed to take the Falklands on March 28, 1982, quickly seizing control. Great Britain decided to retake the islands and responded with a fleet and amphibious force. By May 21, British troops were ashore and fighting their way toward Stanley, the Falklands' largest settlement.

On June 10, British troops were in place to assault the Argentine defenses surrounding Port Stanley. The defenders placed a mix of marines and army troops on various hills west of the town. They were supported by artillery and equipped with heavy machine guns and antiaircraft weapons. A smaller number of troops were deployed around the peninsula Stanley occupied to guard against amphibious and special forces attacks.

The British arrayed their forces on a line of hills west of the Argentine positions, effectively trapping them around Stanley. From a prisoner, the British obtained a map outlining the Argentine defenses. Thirty 105mm guns of the Royal Artillery were painstakingly moved within range and 500 rounds per gun stockpiled. On the night of June 10, British 3 Commando Brigade, composed of the 40,42, and 45 Royal Marine Commandos and reinforced by 2 and 3 Parachute Regiments, would attack from the west. On the following night, 5 Infantry Brigade, made up of the 2 Scots Guards, 1 Welsh Guards, and 1st Battalion, 7th Gurkha Rifles would attack toward Stanley from the southwest, a more obvious route for attack given the terrain.

RIGHT: A column of 45 Royal Marine Commando marches toward Port Stanley. The British did not have a particular advantage in numbers or firepower, but their training and discipline enabled them to triumph in the challenging environment. ABOVE: Argentine soldiers man trenches shortly after their invasion of the Falkland Islands on April 2, 1982.

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AT STANLEY

BY CHRISTOPHER MISKIMON

All: Imperial War Museum

ABOVE: By June 10, British troops were in place on a line of hills west of the Argentine defenses surrounding Port Stanley. No. 3 Parachute Regiment, shown disembarking from a landing craft at San Carlos, attacked from the west. BELOW: British artillerymen load a 105mm gun on Sapper Hill located two kilometers west of Port Stanley. RIGHT: Harriers from the HMS *Intrepid* carried out ground strikes during the battle for Mount Tumbledown.

The Argentine commander, Brig. Gen. Mario B. Menendez, expected the British to come from the southwestern route. The Argentine high command wanted him to attack, but given that the army was made up largely of conscripts Menendez wisely chose to stay on the defensive. There were about 9,000 Argentine troops around Stanley. Of these, 5,000 were actual combat troops. Menendez placed the 3rd, 6th, and 25th Regiments along the coast. Inland, the 5th Marines were dug in on Sapper Hill, Mount Wilson, and Mount Tumbledown. The 4th Regiment was centered on Mount Harriet and Two Sisters. These points of high ground covered the approaches from the southwest. Guarding the west and northwest lines was the 7th Regiment on Wireless Ridge and Mount Longdon. These troops were exposed to the cold and wet, while the support troops in Stanley lived more comfortably. Their logistical system functioned poorly; many rear-echelon troops made money selling rations and comfort items to the infantry when the transportation network failed to deliver them.

While both sides prepared for the coming fight, the British kept up a constant harassment of the Argentine positions. Royal Navy warships joined the Royal Artillery in nighttime bombardments throughout their enemy's positions, causing few casualties but taking a psychological toll. Each night British patrols crept among Argentine units, collecting intelligence and ambushing any Argentine soldiers who dared move in the darkness. Still, morale held and the conscripts remained in their positions.

The British artillery and aircraft kept up a steady pounding. Ships offshore continued nightly firing, but the Argentines considered naval gunfire less effective than field artillery.

Argentine troops on Mount Harriet watched British helicopters deliver howitzers to their firing points. Once in place, the guns began daytime firing, something the defenders previously had not faced.

In the air, Harrier jets conducted air strikes that terrified the Argentine conscripts. They were hastily issued newly acquired Soviet SAM-7 shoulder-fired antiaircraft missiles to counter the threat. The troops immediately put these new weapons to use but had little success since there was no time to train them. An Argentine officer on the Two Sisters hill recalled watching two Harriers attack on June 5. Both escaped because the SAM-7 operators had not sighted properly. Four days later a corporal fired on another Harrier, but the missile landed next to one of their own fighting positions. The officer noted the sergeant in charge of the SAMs seemed under "psychological difficulty," so he took charge of the section himself. While he hoped the Harriers would make another attack, the officer noticed that his troops seemed shaky. "I hope there will not be great failings when we really have to fight," he wrote.

In the days before the Battle of Stanley, 17 Argentine soldiers were killed by artillery and air attacks. Many wounded were sent for treatment aboard converted hospital ships berthed in Stanley Harbor. A sailor aboard one of them recalled most of the wounds were caused by artillery fire. The number of wounded failed to dent Argentine morale, which was still good. Though there was deprivation for the troops in the hills, they felt ready for the British onslaught. The Argentines were dug in behind minefields, and they were prepared to use artillery and machine guns in the open terrain in front of their positions. Menendez issued a statement urging his troops to destroy the British, avenge the sacrifice of their fallen, and beat the enemy so they "will never again have the impertinence to invade our land." To the

west, the British arranged to make Menendez's words ring hollow.

On June 11, the British attacks began. The first was an attempt to kill Menendez. It was believed he held a conference in Stanley's town hall each morning. That day a Wessex helicopter three miles north of the building fired two AS-12 missiles in the hopes of decapitating the enemy leadership. The first missile malfunctioned; the second sailed past the target and struck the nearby police station. Luckily there were no casualties; a message warning the locals to stay away did not reach them. After nightfall the first phase of the ground assault began. Mount Longdon would be attacked first by 3 Parachute, a short time later 45 Commando would strike Two Sisters, and 42 Commando would take Mount Harriet.

Mount Longdon is a mile-long, east-west hill with steep slopes averaging 300 feet above the surrounding ground. The area was occupied by the Argentine 7th Regiment, which held most of the line on the northern side stretching back toward Stanley. Company B sat atop Mount Longdon along with a platoon of attached engineers. A number of .50-caliber machine guns completed the defense. The Argentine position formed the northwestern corner of the entire Stanley defense, with two platoons oriented north and one west, engineers in reserve.

The British plan called for one company of 3 Parachute to seize a hill 500 yards north of Mount Longdon and use it as a base of fire while a second company attacked from the west and rolled up the enemy by moving eastward. To do this they had to cross five miles of open ground against defenses they were only partly able to discern. Nevertheless, by 9:15 PM the two attacking companies were at their starting point, a stream a half mile from the foot of the hill. There would be no artillery preparation; they would close the distance in silence. Luckily, Argentine radar capable of detecting troops on the ground was not operating. An officer ordered it turned off that night, concerned its emissions would draw artillery fire. British attacks were expected to happen in daylight or just before dawn.

Company A moved to occupy the hill while Company B attacked Mount Longdon itself. They got halfway to their objectives before an unlucky British soldier stepped on a land mine. The explosion brought heavy fire as the British rushed to close the remaining distance. Company A found its hilltop objective well covered by enemy machine guns and mortars, and it was driven off. Company B quickly became pinned down in several gulleys on the west slope of the hill. For several hours the fight raged as the parachute troops slowly moved forward in tiny rushes and bursts of fire. The Argentines handled their machine guns well, taking a fearful toll on the British. Argentine mortars fired constantly until British artillery bombarded the eastern end of the hill, silencing them permanently. At one point the parachute troops fell back and directed the artillery to walk their fire back to the west, softening the enemy positions for another assault.

Color Sergeant Brian Faulkner, a medic, hurried forward with extra weapons and ammunition before returning to his medical duties. When a man became wounded, his mates gave first aid and stuck his rifle into the dirt to mark him for the medics. Faulkner helped a corporal who had lost one leg and part of another. Even in the dark he could see the paratrooper's paleness from blood loss. Despite his injuries, the man was focused on his mission. "Get the map … it marks all the positions."

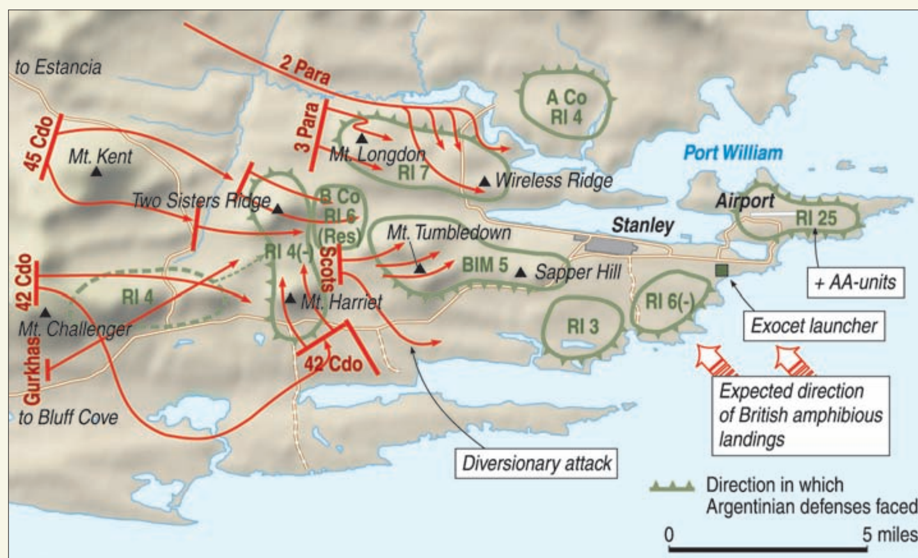
Lance Corporal Dominic Gray was hit in the head while evacuating wounded. He simply wrapped a dressing on the wound and continued, taking more injured men away to treatment. Only when the battle ended did the young man agree to evacuation. Another British soldier, pinned and unable to move, lay down next to a dead Argentine and made tea.

With Argentine machine-gun fire pinning many of the paratroopers down, Sergeant Ian Mckay saw his platoon commander killed and decided to do something. He called to his soldiers to follow and moved up the hill. All three men who went with him were hit, leaving him alone. McKay went on anyway and silenced several enemy machine-gun nests with a few grenades. In the process, he was killed by enemy fire. His bravery allowed the attack to continue at the cost of his life. McKay would be awarded a posthumous Victoria Cross, the only one given for the fighting near Stanley.

Warrant Officer John Weeks moved ahead with Company B, clearing positions with the lead elements. He went into a bunker someone else had already cleared. Inside was a body covered by a blanket. Weeks found it odd. Who would cover a body with a blanket in the middle of a fight? He gave his submachine gun to a corporal and told him to stand watch. When Weeks pulled the blanket away, the Argentine underneath tried to throw a phosphorous grenade. The corporal shot him.

The rest of the night was a blur for the warrant officer. He stripped bodies of ammunition to provide for troops still fighting. He also watched Captain William McCracken fire a 66mm rocket

RIGHT: General Leopoldo Galtieri (left), military dictator of Argentina, and General Mario B. Menendez. BELOW: The British had to methodically reduce Argentine positions on a series of hills west of Port Stanley to liberate the city.



at a particularly stubborn enemy defensive position and also direct artillery fire as close as 25 meters away.

McCracken was a forward observer attached to Company B. He and his signaller crept forward with the infantry calling in barrages, helping the advance. Argentine troops fired on them as they radioed for artillery fire. The artillery silenced a machine gun and several snipers.

Unable to occupy the hill to the north, Company A joined in the attack on Mount Longdon around dawn. The stiff resistance slackened, and the Argentine defense simply collapsed. The British quickly occupied the entire hill and dug in. Throughout the morning, Argentine artillery pounded the parachute troops, but they stubbornly held on. The fighting for Mount Longdon was the heaviest combat of the battle for Stanley. The parachute troops suffered 19 dead and 35 wounded in 10 hours of fighting. Precise Argentine casualties are not known, but at least 29 were killed and 50 captured. Although it was the worst of the fighting, other battles raged that night on nearby hills.

Two Sisters was the second objective of the British assault. Two miles long with twin peaks that give the feature its name, the west peak was 700 feet above the surrounding ground, the east peak a little lower. Each was defended by a company of Argentine soldiers. The west hill had 170 men dug in with mortars and machine guns. The east feature had perhaps 120 troops. Overall, it was an impressive defensive position a mile southwest of Mount Longdon.

British 45 Commando was assigned the mission of taking the hills. The plan was for X Company to take the western hill, emplace heavy weapons, and then support two more companies as they attacked from the north. Those companies would seize the saddle (the low point between the two hills), turn east, and take the eastern hilltop. As it happened, X Company was two hours late getting into position, badly overloaded with extra weapons and ammunition. This meant the two attacks had to go in together rather than one supporting the other.

Captain Ian Gardiner commanded the 150 men of X Company. He spent hours getting his marines reorganized for the attack after they were scattered during the night movement. Their heavy MILAN wire-guided missiles and ammunition made the rough terrain even harder to cross. Much to his relief, his colonel understood the predicament and calmly told him to carry on. Gardiner ordered his troop commanders (a troop is the Royal Marines' platoon equivalent) to finish their preparations. When everyone was ready, they would go together. Ten minutes later the entire company was ready to move.

The soldiers stepped off with 1 Troop in the lead, 3 Troop following, and 2 Troop in reserve. Unlike Mount Longdon, the going was somewhat better. The leading troop made it halfway up the hill before encountering resistance. Two well-sighted enemy machine guns opened fire. Whenever the marines tried to move up a gully the machine guns chattered or an Argentine soldier fired on them. The rest of the company could not move without taking heavy fire, so Gardiner pulled 1 Troop back a short distance and called for fire support. Unfortunately, since the advance had begun late, the artillery was now busy elsewhere. Supporting mortars ceased fire after eight rounds; their baseplates had disappeared into the soft ground. Gardiner ordered his men to use the MILAN missiles, which proved effective.

Even without support, the attack had to continue, so 2 Troop advanced. To Gardiner, it seemed they were moving through the rubble of

BELOW: Argentine troops take cover during a Harrier strike on their position near Port Stanley. The soldiers had little luck against the Harriers with Russian-made SAM-7 shoulder-fired antiaircraft missiles. OPPOSITE: The Scorpion light tank was one of the few military vehicles the British had that was capable of operating in the rough terrain of the Falkland Islands. The tanks not only furnished much-needed firepower but also diverted attention from British infantry attempting to infiltrate Argentine lines.

a town. Rocks and boulders were strewn everywhere. They made it to the top only to have Argentine artillery pelt them. This wounded one man, X Company's only casualty of the night. Two Argentine machine guns were quickly knocked out, leaving the marines in control of the hill. The company dug in, awaiting daylight. A few snipers remained, but the British decided to wait for dawn before eradicating them.

On the eastern hill, Y and Z Companies were making their attacks. Second Lieutenant Augusto La Madrid of Argentine B Company, 6th Regiment was on this hill. He watched the fighting at Mount Longdon through binoculars. As he did, a British heavy weapon began firing at Longdon from 400 meters away. La Madrid moved one of his machine guns from its primary position and directed its crew to fire on the enemy.

After this, the British attacked his position on Two Sisters. The Royal Marines flanked the Argentines; La Madrid had no idea what was happening until they were behind him. A .50-caliber machine gun exchanged fire with the marines for a long time. Afterward, La Madrid heard someone shouting orders in English. Orders came to fall back to a position behind Two Sisters. The British marines took the hill tops but advanced no farther, content with shooting at the Argentines. La Madrid received another order to fall back to Mount Tumbledown because the Argentine artillery back in Stanley was about to bombard Two Sisters. This left the British in possession of the entire position.

The battle for Two Sisters was quicker and less bloody than that for Mount Longdon. The Royal Marines lost four dead and 10 wounded. Their opponents lost 420 killed and another 54 taken prisoner with an unknown number of wounded. The Argentine commanding Two Sisters was cashiered after the conflict for his poor handling of the battle. For the British, there was one more action left this night.

More than 300 Argentine soldiers were positioned on Mount Harriet, a mile-long ridge situated one mile south of Two Sisters.

British 42 Commando had spent many days dug in on nearby Mount Kent, and its leaders had used the time wisely, concocting a daring plan to bypass the western defenses. Instead of a frontal assault, two companies would infiltrate through an Argentine minefield, move south of the hill, and flank the Argentines from the south-southeast.

The initial part of the plan went well. A force of 250 marines marched four miles through the darkness, avoided the mines, and reached the starting point for the attack without being discovered. Moving silently, Company K, the leading British force, reached the Argentine reserve force positions before it was detected. A single shot in the darkness set off the battle. For more than an hour the marines fought the conscripts of a reserve infantry platoon and a mortar platoon. In the process, the marines lost about a half dozen men.

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THE DIVERSION CAPTURED ARGENTINE ATTENTION AS A BRISK FIREFIGHT DEVELOPED. HEAVY ARTILLERY AND MACHINE-GUN FIRE FELL ON THE PLATOON. SOME FIGHTING WAS CLOSE ENOUGH FOR GRENADES TO BE THROWN.

Meanwhile, the second British unit, Company L, attacked from the south as Company K wheeled left and attacked the Argentine positions from the rear. Soon the Argentines manning the trenches of Headquarters Defense Platoon, Argentine 3rd Brigade were overrun. The battle, which had lasted about four hours, left the Argentine defenses in a shambles. The Argentines surrendered.

At the same time, Corporal Newland of Company K was making his own attack. Wounded in both legs, he sat down and tried to use his field dressing to stop the bleeding. Realizing no one knew where he was, Newland started walking down the hill. He eventually ran into L Company and was challenged by a sentry. He identified himself and was brought in. Newland waited in the cold and rain for six hours before a helicopter took him to the hospital ship *Uganda*.

As on the other hills, the battle was winding down by dawn. A lone Argentine sniper held out a while, wounding several men. He was finally killed when the British fired a missile into his position. A few Argentines managed to slip away, but about 250 were taken prisoner and 10 were killed. The British lost one man and suffered 10 others injured. All the British troops were warned to be ready to advance again, but this was wishful thinking and no order ever came. The first phase of the Battle of Stanley was over.

The night of June 11-12 was difficult for the British infantry and disastrous for the Argentines. The entire outer belt of the Stanley defenses was in British hands. Of the 850 Argentine troops previously manning those defenses, 50 were dead and 420 captured. The remainder retreated toward Stanley. British losses amounted to half that many dead and 65 wounded.

Back in Stanley, three civilians died when their shelter was hit by an errant shell from a British warship. An RAF bombing raid on Stanley Airfield caused little damage and no casualties. That night a group of Argentine troops using a makeshift launch ramp fired an Exocet missile at the frigate *Glamorgan*, striking the ship's stern and killing 13 sailors. It was the last chance they would get to fire at a British warship.

Rather than immediately continue the attack, the British decided to pause for a day and resume the offensive on the night of Sunday, June 13. The artillery was down to just a few rounds, and it would take a day to restock to a bare minimum of 300 rounds per gun. During the day Argentine Skyhawk aircraft made several ineffective attacks. The final Argentine air attack of the war

ABOVE: British forces used folds in the landscape for cover in the bleak terrain during the attack on Port Stanley. Here soldiers of the 2nd Battalion of the Scots Guards take cover below Goat Ridge as an Argentine shell ignites a British phosphorous grenade. OPPOSITE: British soldiers lead Argentine prisoners through the streets of Port Stanley following the Argentine surrender on June 14, 1982. For the Argentines, who had miscalculated British resolve, the war was a shameful defeat.

was by a pair of bombers. They dropped their loads around Mount Kent but did no damage. One bomber was shot down by a missile from the destroyer *Exeter*.

After nightfall the final moves of the Falklands War took place. The British objectives were three hills: Wireless Ridge, Mount Tumbledown, and Mount William. The soldiers of 5 Infantry Brigade went into action. Tumbledown would be attacked first by 2 Scots Guards. Afterward, 1/7 Gurkhas would seize Mount William. Simultaneously with the Tumbledown attack, 2 Parachute would take Wireless Ridge. Tumbledown and Mount William were protected by the Argentine 5th Marine Battalion. Wireless Ridge was defended by 500 troops of the 12th Regiment, which fought at Mount Longdon. These hills were vital to the defense of Stanley, and without them it would be difficult to defend Argentina's last bastion in the Falkland Islands.

Yet another rock-strewn ridge, Tumbledown was the first objective. The ridge is narrow, 1½-miles long, with peaks 750 feet high. It was a key point in the defense as it overlooked open ground. Mount William was almost a feature of Tumbledown, just south of the ridge's eastern end. The 5th Marines' Company N sat on Tumbledown and Mount William. Company M sat on Sapper Hill about halfway back to Stanley, while Company O formed the battalion reserve. It was moved to a new position southwest of Mount William in expectation of a British attack from that direction. Battalion Commander Carlos Robacio and Lt. Cmdr. Antonio Pernias, his operations officer, also reinforced Company N and moved their heavy mortars, believing the British had located them. The tactic worked because the British artillery struck empty positions.

The British planned to launch a diversionary attack from the southwest, just where the Argentines had placed Company O. This would be carried out by 30 Scots Guardsmen assembled from excess personnel. The ad-hoc group was supported by engineers to clear mines and four light tanks from 4 Troop of the Blues and Royals. While this diversion held the enemy's attention, Company G Scots Guards would quietly infiltrate the west end of Tumbledown.

The diversion captured Argentine attention as a brisk firefight developed. Heavy artillery and machine-gun fire fell upon the platoon. Some fighting was close enough for grenades to be thrown. One of the British tanks, avoiding a crater on the trail, struck a mine and had to be abandoned. The rest of the troop lined up on the trail unable to move for fear of more mines. Only one tank could bring its weapons to bear effectively. The platoon commander, Lieutenant Mark Coreth, lost his tank to the mine. He braved artillery fire and led one tank and then another to the front firing position by mounting a tank's hull and directing it forward. The tanks kept firing until the entire force pulled back, believing its mission complete. Mortar and artillery fire landed nearby, and two men were wounded when they struck another mine. Although the attack did not draw any Argentine reserves, Pernias was convinced this was the British main effort.

On the west end of Tumbledown, G Company's silent assault paid off. It occupied one-third of the ridge without enemy notice. The next unit, designated Left Flank Company, passed through G Company to take the next third of the ridge. For 30 minutes they advanced unopposed, but when the British neared the halfway point of the ridge heavy fire crashed down upon them. They were pinned down for almost three hours.

The Left Flank commander, Major John Kiszley, recalled having to lie next to his signaller due to the worsening cold. The young man asked the officer what people would think if they were killed and found lying together like that. It made Kiszley wonder how many of his men would succumb to the cold if they stayed where they were. He ordered one of his platoons to collect rocket launchers and machine guns and move up on the left flank. They unleashed a heavy barrage, and Kiszley led his other two platoons in an attack. They reached the top of the ridge only to find it was a false crest because another peak lay beyond it. With artillery support they advanced 800 yards.

On the Argentine side, Sub-Lieutenant Carlos Vasquez's platoon was facing the British at the center of the ridge. He ran to help a wounded soldier, leaving his rifle behind. As he administered aid, a British submachine gun started firing outside the foxhole. Drawing his pistol and a grenade, Vasquez ran back to his position. Nearby British soldiers fired at him, and he fired back, but no one was hit. A star shell went off overhead, so he pretended to be hit and fell down. The British stepped over him and moved on. After they passed, he ran to the command post. British soldiers seemed to be everywhere, so he ducked into his hole and called for mortars on his own position, hoping to hurt the enemy more than his own troops. The fire pushed the British back. Vasquez was authorized to withdraw but elected to stay and fight.

Another attack came, this time with British machine guns on high ground above the Argentines. Vasquez yelled orders along his line but was forced to stop when this attracted enemy fire. He again called in fire on his own position,

but this time the British stayed and started firing again after it lifted. Vasquez saw British troops taking his platoon's foxholes one by one, attacking from numerous directions and overwhelming the Argentines. This went on until about 7 AM when only two foxholes were left. He watched four British soldiers throw a phosphorous grenade into one. A man was wounded and the other shot down as he ran out. The lieutenant called for help on his radio but was told nothing was available. He looked up and saw British soldiers only seven feet away, pointing their weapons. "That was the end for me," he said.

When he reached the final crest, Kiszley saw the lights of Stanley in the distance. He had a bullet lodged in his compass, which saved his life. A private nearby had taken a bullet in the chest, but it was stopped by one of his magazines. Only six men were with Kiszley at their last objective. Suddenly, a burst of machine-gun fire wounded three of them. Kiszley started giving first aid and told a soldier named Mackenzie to stand guard. The young guardsman told the officer he was out of ammunition and had been since the last hilltop. Kiszley asked the man why he had come. The young man replied, "You asked me to, sir." The major gave the private his rifle and said, "You brave bastard!" MacKenzie gave a big grin and stood sentry.

Major Simon Price's Right Flank Company took over at that point. The Right Flank Company used the same methods as Left Flank Company. One platoon would flank to provide fire support while the others used rockets and grenades to destroy fighting positions. Platoon Commander Lieutenant Robert Lawrence led his men forward, firing as they went. An enemy machine gun fired back, and the platoon was pinned down. Lawrence crawled forward with a phosphorous grenade, his men covering him. He got close enough to throw the grenade, but the pin wouldn't come out. Frustrated, he crawled back, and a corporal held the grenade while he pulled the pin out by brute force. Crawling back to the machine-gun nest, he hid behind a rock with bullets ricocheting off it and threw his grenade. After it exploded he screamed to his men to advance, and every man did. Afterward, they bounded against snipers almost as if they were on a range back in Wales. One man would fire; another would jump up and run a short distance, take cover, and start firing while the next man moved up. As Right Flank Company finished its fight on Tumbledown, Lawrence was hit in the head and evacuated for treatment. He lost the use of his left arm and part of his left leg. His bravery earned him a Military Cross.

It took 11 hours to capture Tumbledown, long enough to upset the British timetable and delay the Gurkha advance against Mount William. The Scots Guards had suffered seven killed and 40 wounded while the Argentines lost around 30 killed, an unknown number of wounded, and 14 captured.

The last major obstacle was Wireless Ridge, a mile north of Tumbledown. The feature is actually two parallel east-west ridges, the southern ridge taller at 300 feet. Three platoons of Argentines held the north ridge, while the southern ridge was occupied by a few support troops along with some mortars. They would face attack by 2 Parachute, supported by four light tanks as well as field artillery and naval gunfire.

A subsidiary attack by the SAS against Stanley Harbor was spotted by a searchlight and fired on. The assault was forced to withdraw with three wounded. Much like the diversion at Tumbledown, this event made many Argentines think they had repulsed a major attack. The actual ground attack had extensive fire support; 6,600 artillery and naval shells were fired. The four tanks used cannons and machine guns until they ran out of ammunition. The mortars of 3 Parachute were attached to 2 Parachute's mortars to increase its firepower to 16 tubes. A machine-gun platoon supporting the attack fired more than 40,000 rounds. Three of its machine guns were almost burned out by the volume of fire.

Imperial War Museum

The bombardment began at 12:15 AM, as Companies A and B left their start lines. A half hour later Company D set off from a line farther west. As they advanced, Argentine mortar fire fell, causing an unfortunate para to take cover in what turned out to be a latrine pit. Still, the British pushed forward and started clearing trenches as Argentine 155mm rounds burst in the air overhead. Several soldiers fell into icy ponds that dotted the area and had to be rescued. Meanwhile, the tankers used their night vision equipment to pinpoint enemy positions.

In the hazy light of the star shells, Argentine soldiers were seen fleeing the ridges. A few were hit and fell, but most ran toward Stanley. Quickly the tanks and heavy weapons of the infantry set up on the northern ridgeline and fired over the heads of the advancing paras as they took the southern feature. Soon, the entire terrain feature was in British hands, although the Argentines responded with considerable artillery and small arms fire. More strange occurrences pointed to the vagaries of luck under fire. One British officer was hit by a bullet that sailed between two grenades on his belt and lodged in a rifle magazine. A private heard Argentines shouting as they prepared a counterattack. He heard one yell, "Grenado!" Deciding that was a good idea, he threw one of his own toward the voices in the dark, which were silent afterward.

The counterattacks the Argentines made during the Wireless Ridge fighting were the most energetic of the war. An ad-hoc force of 70 armored car crewmen was beaten back by the para-

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NAPOLEON'S TRIUMPH OVER PRUSSIA

In the double battle of Jena and Auerstedt fought October 14, 1806, against the Prussians, Napoleon proved yet again his ability to turn near defeat into a stunning triumph.

BY ARNOLD BLUMBERG

AT 4 AM on October 14, 1806, 37-year-old Jean Lannes, Marshal of France in Napoleon Bonaparte's Grande Armee and commander of that host's V Corps, received his final instructions verbally from the emperor. The early part of the night had been clear with a slight frost, but toward dawn there descended a mist so thick that it was impossible to see more than a few yards distant. Two hours later daylight was scarcely perceptible as Lannes and his officers shifted their men from their cramped positions atop the Landgrafenberg Heights and deployed them into assault columns and firing lines covered by swarms of light infantry serving as skirmishers.

As the French line infantrymen hastened to widen their front and assume their assault formations, Napoleon, riding among Lannes's soldiers on the front lines, addressed them in groups and individually, stoking their martial enthusiasm for the coming fight. He told them that the enemy was cut off and was struggling, not for victory, but for mere existence. His words were received by the troops with wild cheers and cries of "En avant!"

Thus, the V Corps and other corps in Napoleon's Grande Armee prepared during the predawn light to meet the Prussian Army, the army of Frederick the Great, reputed to be the best in Europe, in a titanic struggle.

Despite his stunning triumph at the Battle of Austerlitz on December 2, 1805, which resulted in the breakup of the Third Coalition against him, Napoleon could not coax Russia into making peace. France's implacable foe England, secure in its absolute control of the sea, waited in the wings seeking the opportunity to use its money to form yet another anti-French alliance. That chance materialized in 1806.

The linchpin of any future attempt to overthrow Napoleon's control of Western Europe had to be Prussia. As 1806 progressed, that kingdom edged closer to joining Russia and England in a crusade against Imperial France as a result of the latter's attempt to squeeze every advantage out of its recent trouncing of the Third Coalition.

During the last critical months of 1805, there had been a real possibility that Prussia's King Frederick-William III would throw his 225,000-man army into the fight against Napoleon. After Austerlitz, with Austria prostrate and Russia at a safe distance, Napoleon took possession of Prussia's prized principalities of Cleves, Ansbach, and Neuchatel. In return, Prussia received the British possession of Hanover. To make matters worse for the Hohenzollern realm, Napoleon reordered Germany, creating a French-controlled Confederation of the Rhine, further isolating and humiliating Prussia. The final straw came when Napoleon, to make peace with England and without the slightest notice to or regard for Prussia, offered to give back Hanover to England. On August 10, the Prussian Army was mobilized, Saxony was occupied to keep that state out of the Confederation of the Rhine, and the government accelerated its search for allies. It was not until September 15 that the French understood the seriousness of the situation and began their own preparations for war.

As the Prussian high command plotted the best course to defeat Napoleon in the upcoming campaign, a glaring weakness appeared. The Prussian Royal Army's lack of a centralized command system was of great concern. Namely, the Prussians did not have a skilled staff to coordinate the movement of men and supplies in a rapid and orderly manner designed to cope with the fast-paced operations at which the armies of Napoleonic France were so adept. Further, there was no unified command and control by which to direct the Prussian Army's activities. Instead, the command structure was made up of a group of discordant elderly senior officers in constant rivalry with each other. As a result, the army would perform on a spur of the moment basis marked by spasmodic maneuvers much of the time and unable to keep up with the ever changing operational realities on the ground. This led to much of the confusion and indecisiveness so marked by the actions of the army high command during the war.

However, at the outset the high command agreed that Napoleon's Grande Armee was spread over a wide area in central Germany. A surprise attack on it, so as to beat it in detail before it could concentrate, was the most logical course. Even this common sense approach was severely handicapped by the lack of a comprehensive prewar contingency plan to conduct operations against France. As one staff officer lamented at the time, "What we ought to do I know right well; what we shall do only the gods know."

It took a month of bickering between the top Prussian generals to finally arrive at a force structure with which to initiate the war. Eventually three field armies were mobilized. The first, under the 71-year-old Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, was assembled near Berlin and numbered 75,000 men. The second was commanded by Prince Friedrich Ludwig von Hohenlohe, aged 60 years, initially

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A French dragoon holds aloft a Prussian flag captured at Jena in a painting by French military artist Edouard Detaille. The Prussians proved no match for the superior tactics used by Napoleon's Grande Armee at Jena-Auerstadt.

42,000 strong (including the 18,000-man Saxon Army) mustered at Dresden. The third, jointly led by the relatively young General Ernest Philipp Ruchel, at 52, and the 64-year-old fire brand Lt. Gen. Gebhard Leberecht Blucher, was posted in the Mulhausen-Gottingen area with 29,000 soldiers. A 13,000-man reserve under Eugen of Wurttenburg was at Magdeburg, ready to merge with Brunswick at either Leipzig or Naumburg. Off to the east, at Posen (in modern Poland) was a field force of 25,000 led by 68-year-old Prussian Lt. Gen. Anton Wilhelm von Lestocq.

Five operational plans were put forth and hotly debated before the decision was made to adopt the one suggested by Brunswick. This sensible scheme called for the Prussians to await the arrival of the Russian army (120,000 strong) then gathering on the River Bug. It further mandated that if Napoleon took the offensive before the Prussians and the czar's forces combined, the Prussian Army would retreat to the River Elbe, or in the extreme case to the Oder, to join up with the Russians.

Having finally arrived at a plan of action and a chaotic start to its implementation, the whole design had to be scrapped when on October 5 the Prussian commanders were informed that the French were already on the move with the intention of invading Saxony. Forced by their enemy assuming the initiative, the Prussians reacted by ordering their forces to mass west of the River Saale to threaten the French left flank as the latter advanced.

As the Prussians mobilized their rusty, outdated war machine and wavered indecisively as to how to fight a war against Napoleon, the French emperor was already on the move. Determined to preempt his new opponent, the emperor devised a campaign that would see him concentrate his Grande Armee in the area of Wurzburg and Bamberg, then advance northeast toward Leipzig and then Berlin. The advantages of this plan were that the French Army in September was already well placed for such a move and that it would drive a salient between the Prussians and the Russians forming to the east. The disadvantages involved passage through the rough terrain of the Thuringerwald Forest over its three available passes; but once through those choke points, the Rivers Saale and Elster would protect the French flanks.

While Napoleon, as he wrote his brother Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland, planned to "leap into the center of Prussia with my army, marching directly on Berlin," Louis was to amass 30,000 troops and threaten Prussian territory from Wesel on the River Rhine as a diversion. In the meantime, the Army of Italy was reinforced to keep an eye on Austria, while 26,000 men were mobilized in and around Paris to counter any British advance across the English Channel.

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ABOVE: Jean Lannes, Marshal of France (left) and Prussian Prince Louis Ferdinand. OPPOSITE: Prussian Prince Louis Ferdinand is shown being cut down in a saber duel with Quartermaster Guindet of the French 10th Hussar Regiment.

The French campaign swung into action on October 8. Preceded by light cavalry, three powerful columns entered Saxony heading for the three Thuringerwald defiles. On the left, Marshal Jean Lannes's V Army Corps, followed by Marshal Pierre Francois Charles Augereau's VII Corps, totaling 41,000 men, set out from the city of Schweinfurt and headed for Saalfeld. In the center, Marshal Joachim Murat's three-division cavalry corps and Marshal Jean-Baptiste Jules Bernadotte and his I Corps, acting as the advance guard, were trailed by Marshal Louis Nicholas Davout's III Corps, General Louis Michel Antoine Sachu's 4th Dragoon Division, and the Imperial Guard Corps (totaling 70,000 troops), with Napoleon and his headquarters bringing up the rear, all moving toward Naumburg. On the right, emerging from the town of Bayreuth, tramped Marshal Nicolas Jean de Dieu Soult's IV Corps, followed by Marshal Michel Ney and his VI Corps, and then the Bavarian Corps. These 50,000 men were aiming for Hof and then Gera on the River Elster.

On the same day the French made their opening move of the campaign, the Prussian forces were situated as follows: the Duke of Weimar, commanding the advance guard, was scouting toward Schweinfurt; General Ruchel was at Eisenach; Brunswick and the main army were covering the Gotha-Erfurt area; and Hohenlohe's command was scattered over a wide area west of the River Saale. Hohenlohe foolishly placed several large detachments, including Prince Louis of Prussia, near Saalfeld and a corps led by General Bolesas Friedrich Emanuel Tauenzien at Schleiz southeast of Saalfeld, essentially isolated east of the Saale. Finally, Wurttemberg moved from Magdeburg to Halle. At this point the Prussians still had no clear plan of action, and what the Prussians came to call "Die Katastrophe von 1806" was about to befall them.

Confident that the enemy was not holding all three exits to the passes through the Thuringenwald, Napoleon sent his army into the forest. The first real opposition was encountered October 9 when Bernadotte and Murat ran into Tauenzien's 9,000 men (6,000 Prussians and 3,000 Saxons) isolated at the village of Shleiz. A brief but sharp action soon cleared the enemy from the French line of advance, and within 72 hours of the start of its movement the Grande Armee was safely through the Thuringerwald.

Upon hearing of Tauenzien's reverse, Brunswick and Hohenlohe played with the idea of crossing to the east bank of the Saale to come to Tauenzien's aid near the village of Auma. However, this scheme was dropped when Tauenzien elected to remain on the west shore of the river.

On the morning of October 10, Marshal Lannes, riding with the van of the left French column, neared the town of Saalfeld. Defending the place was a mixed Prussian and Saxon division, the advance guard of Hohenlohe's army, 10 squadrons of cavalry, 10 infantry battalions, and 44 pieces of artillery (about 8,300 men) of Prince Louis. Formally known as Ferdinand Ludwig Christian, Prince of Prussia,

Prince Louis was a nephew of the late King Frederick the Great, a combat veteran of the French Revolutionary Wars, and a fervent supporter of the war against France. On October 9, under the conviction that he was to protect from Lannes's advance Hohenlohe and Brunswick's proposed crossing to the east side of the Saale, he occupied Saalfeld, reaching that place the next day. Then, late on the morning of October 10, the 34-year-old warrior was ordered to abandon his exposed position, but the instructions arrived after the fight for Saalfeld had been joined.

The prince formed his detachment into three lines, one behind the other, in a flat unobstructed valley facing wooded slopes from which the French would have to debouche if they were to attack his position. To the Prussians' rear was the River Saale with the bridges at Saalfeld and Schwarza (the latter more than two miles north of Saalfeld) the only means of escaping over the river. The prince knew that any enemy force leaving those woods would have to move in column to clear the timber-strewn area leading down to the valley. The open plain that his command stood on not only gave it a clear field of fire, but provided suitable ground over which to launch effective counterattacks before the enemy could deploy into line of battle.

Upon viewing the Prussian deployment, Lannes determined to assail the enemy's right flank over hilly ground but hidden from the enemy's view. He used General Louis Grabriel Suchet's 1st Infantry Division, V Corps, and the corps' attached cavalry brigade to deliver the intended blow.

Before the main assault, to avoid his attack columns being struck by the Prussians as they advanced down into the valley from the wooded slopes, the marshal spread a line of skirmishers, supported by cavalry and artillery, along much of the enemy front. This advance guard tied down the Prussian main line, preventing it from either advancing against the French as they deployed for the assault or reinforcing their right flank (the objective of the French attack) and cutting Prince Louis's detachment off from its escape route over the Saale at Schwarza. The Prussians experienced substantial frustration and danger in the open with their backs to the river over the next two hours, from 11 AM to 1 PM. "Enemy skirmishers, themselves under perfect cover could easily pick out any one of us, without it possible to return fire on invisible men," wrote Captain Mumpfling, a Saxon officer serving with Prince Louis's command.

As the prince's troops stood helplessly under the withering fire of the French skirmishers, Louis was forced to thin out his already slender line by detaching several battalions and artillery batteries to occupy Schwarza and the hills commanding that place, leaving only two infantry battalions and 12 pieces of artillery to hold Saalfeld. He was also instructed not to attack the enemy but to stand fast since Hohenlohe's army was coming to the Saale to join him, but the brave and enterprising young general soon disregarded his superior's orders.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

THERE WAS NOW NO THOUGHT OF FACING NAPOLEON IN PITCHED BATTLE; BRUSWICK WAS DETERMINED TO AVOID THAT POSSIBILITY NO MATTER WHAT. THE PRUSSIANS' SMUG CONFIDENCE OF SEPTEMBER HAD GIVEN WAY TO NEAR PANIC IN OCTOBER.

Stung by the unrelenting enemy skirmish fire coming from the orchards, gardens, and sunken roads surrounding the villages facing him, Louis initiated an attack against his tormentors at 1 PM. With six battalions (four in the first line, two in the second), and without any artillery support or reconnaissance to determine his opponent's exact numbers or dispositions, he rashly made a frontal assault. The Prussian lunge was immediately struck on its right by fire from clouds of French skirmishers in hidden locations. The enemy shooting caused the Prussian line to waver, stop, and deliver several ineffective musket volleys. Then it was hit on its right by two infantry battalions, forcing a withdrawal of the entire line. After a short pursuit the French were in turn made to retire after being counterattacked by the reformed Prussians.

As the initial clash died down, at 2 PM Lannes pushed forward his own attack force, about 14,000 men. This first rush caught his opponent on his left and resulted in not only forcing him to retreat but the capture of 15 enemy artillery pieces. An hour later the French concluded the action with an avalanche of infantry and cavalry columns descending upon the front and right of the now weakened and disorganized Prussians. Seeing his infantry falling back while being cut to pieces by enemy musketry and sabered by French cavalry, Prince Louis gathered the few friendly horsemen available and charged into the melee to help cover the retreat of his command. It was during this desperate act that the prince was cut down and killed in hand-to-hand combat by Quartermaster Guindet of the French 10th Hussar Regiment.

As the main Prussian line dissolved and fled to the west bank of the Saale, the French stormed and took the village of Saalfeld. By the end of the engagement, Lannes had established bridgeheads across the river and had killed, wounded, or captured 3,000 Prussians and taken 27 artillery pieces. Fifth Corps losses from all causes were reported as only 172 soldiers.

Their loss at Saalfeld, the first major combat of the war, along with the death of Prince Louis,

greatly demoralized the Prussian Army. It appeared that the enemy was going to break through toward Leipzig, thus threatening Prussian communications. Reacting to this almost certain possibility, Hohenlohe ordered a retreat of his forces west of the Saale toward Jena, while Brunswick's army concentrated at the city of Weimar.

As the Prussians drew back west and north of the River Saale, Napoleon at first surmised from reports that they were going to concentrate just south of Leipzig. Sensing an opportunity to catch the enemy and attack them piecemeal as they began to assemble near Leipzig, Napoleon directed his Grande Armee to that point. On October 11, the emperor received intelligence from his corps commanders that the Prussian Army was not congregating around Leipzig to protect its communications with that town, but that its main body was still situated farther to the west and that Brunswick would offer battle near the city of Erfurt.

Responding to this clarified picture of his opponent's intentions, Napoleon ordered the Grande Armee to wheel to the left to confront the foe and prevent his escape to the River Elbe and a junction with the Russians. Accordingly, Lannes's and Augereau's corps became the new advance guard for the army and made for the Saale crossing places at the towns of Jena and Kahla, while Davout, Bernadotte, and Murat's commands occupied the area around Naumburg, which was situated southwest of Leipzig, ready to support the army's advance guard. Soult was detached to the east bank of the Saale to watch the north and east just in case the enemy made an appearance in that direction, while Ney's corps was sent trailing after Lannes's troops.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, was mortally wounded leading one of a series of senseless frontal assaults by the Prussians at Auerstadt.

Napoleon's intent at this moment was to pass over the Saale on October 14, move on Weimar, and attack Brunswick in the vicinity of Erfurt on October 16. He calculated that the Prussian commander had two options. One option was to accept battle before Erfurt. If that occurred, the French V, VI, and VII Corps would fix the enemy frontally while the I and III Corps swept down from the north against the foe's left and rear. Another option was to attempt to flee toward Halle (where the Prussian reserve was still located), then to Magdeburg, and then to the relative safety of the right bank of the Elbe. To counter this second option, the majority of the Grande Armee would pursue through Jena, while Davout and Bernadotte headed the Prussians off from the Elbe, thus forcing them to fight.

As the French planned their next moves, the Prussians were on the march. On October 11, Brunswick retired on Jena, evacuating that place the next day but not before his reluctant Saxon allies panicked on the approach of Lannes from the southwest. It took 24 hours to bring the Saxons back under control. On October 13, with both their options and the space for maneuver narrowing, a council of war was convened by King Frederick William. It was decided to head east to the Elbe by way of Leipzig-Auerstedt-Halle. There was now no thought of facing Napoleon in pitched battle; Brunswick was determined to avoid that possibility no matter what. The Prussians' smug confidence of September had given way to near panic in October.

As the morning of October 13 wore on, information coming to Napoleon convinced him that his opponent was about to move east over the Saale. He wrote to his cavalry leader Murat at 9 AM stating: "At last the veil is lifted. The enemy begins his retreat toward Magdeburg." By mid-afternoon, the emperor was on his way to Jena when he got word from Lannes, then positioned on the west bank of the Saale near the Landgrafenberg Heights just short of Jena, that about 50,000 Prussian soldiers were at or near Jena. Sensing Brunswick meant to attack Lannes at any moment (Hohenlohe in fact intended to do so that morning but cancelled the venture when he was informed of the planned Prussian retreat to Leipzig), Napoleon determined to preempt him by making an attack on the Prussians first. Meanwhile, Napoleon, erroneously thinking that Lannes, with only about 25,000 men, was facing the main Prussian army (in fact only the Prussian right wing was present), ordered the marshal to reinforce the Landgrafenberg bridgehead and take control of its high ground while he ordered reinforcements to come to V Corps' aid. He estimated that by late afternoon on October 14, he would have 145,000 men to fight his battle at Jena.

While Napoleon, on October 13, assumed he was facing the entire Prussian Army before Jena, the reality was far different. The larger portion, 60,000 troops, of Brunswick's command had that morning been marching away from Jena toward Auerstedt. The enemy had divided its forces into two armies, and both were likely to make contact with different parts of the Grande Armee (the IV,V,VI, VII, Murat's cavalry, and the Imperial Guard Corps outside Jena, and the I and III Corps near Auerstedt, 10 miles to the north) on October 14.

The French emperor was not the only one who misunderstood what he was facing on October 13. Hohenlohe thought that the enemy forces on the Landgrafenberg were a flank guard covering the main French forces heading for Leipzig. Both commanders were surprised by the events of October 14.

On the morning of October 14, the battlefield at Jena was shrouded in fog, which hampered Napoleon's final reconnaissance. Nevertheless, by dawn 46,000 French troops supported by 70 cannons were massed on the Landgrafenberg Heights and in the neighboring valleys ready to advance. The Prussian force they confronted numbered about 38,000 men and 120 artillery pieces. Many of the Prussian battalions were understrength from straggling and desertion. All were hungry, and morale was at low ebb due to the obvious fear and indecision that had taken hold in the army's high command.

The Battle of Jena began at 6 AM as the corps of Lannes, Soult, and Augereau drove off Tauenzien's advance guard to enlarge the French Landgrafenberg bridgehead on the west bank of the Saale and make room for the fast-approaching French reinforcements. As the infantry divisions of Suchet (on the right) and General Honore Theodore-Maxime Gazan (on the left), accompanied by 28 guns, crashed into Tauenzien's battalions, a confused close-quarter battle in the fog ensued. Suchet made good headway, while Gazan was repulsed. Soon a Prussian counterattack was thrown back by devastating point-blank French artillery fire. Tauenzien, although things were not going that badly for him, fell back to the village of Vierehnheiligen. He then violently counterattacked the rapidly pursing enemy with 5,000 recently rallied friendly troops, not only forcing the French to retreat, but also splitting them in

two north and south of Vierehnheiligen. Fortunately for Lannes, Tauenzien did not press his advantage but turned about and marched off to the west.

The Prussian retrograde was in part due to both the threat Soult presented to the Prussian left and Augereau's advance on the right. Fearing his route of retreat toward Weimar was threatened, Tauenzien pulled back to the northwest to link up with Hohenlohe's main body. The time was 10 AM, and due to unnecessary timidity by his opponent Napoleon had secured the needed ground in which to deploy the ever increasing numbers of his Grande Armee. Having pushed back his foe, Napoleon ordered a pause in the center and on the left to properly position the newly arriving units.

However, fierce combat continued on the French right between Soult and Prussian Lt. Gen. Friedrich Jacob von Holtzendorff's 5,000-man brigade coming west from Dornburg. Shortly after 10 PM, Holtzendorff's skirmishers engaged Soult's 1st Division, commanded by General Louis-Vincent-Joseph le Bond Saint Hilaire, while the bulk of the Prussians formed their infantry, cavalry, and 22 guns for an attack. However, Saint Hilaire did not wait to be assaulted. He sallied from his hidden position on a reverse slope and caught his adversary on his left flank. Forced to retire, Holtzendorff's men at first made an orderly retreat covered by their cavalry. However, French riders broke through the Prussian mounted screen and destroyed one of the withdrawing Prussian infantry columns, capturing 400 men and six guns. Undaunted, the Prussian general rallied his men behind the village of Nerkwitz for another effort against the French. However, a second enemy infantry strike against his left combined with a frontal attack by French horsemen routed his command, which fled to Apolda, seven miles north of Jena. Thus the second phase of the battle petered out near 11 PM. Saint Hilaire did not have the opportunity to pursue his beaten foe, instead being called upon to respond to a crisis developing in the French center.

By 9 AM, Prince Hohenlohe realized that he was not just facing an attack by an enemy flank detachment and that he had to shore up his defenses with additional troops. To that end he sent word to Ruchel at Weimar to join him. Tauenzien was instructed to withdraw his survivors to the rear of Hohenlohe's position to reorganize, while three full Saxon brigades were stationed on the road to Weimar to keep that avenue free of the enemy. Next, Hohenlohe pushed eastward most of his remaining Prussian infantry along with a further Saxon brigade, under Lt. Gen. Julius von Grawert, to retake the French staging area on the plateau near the Landgrafenberg Heights. The third act of the Battle of Jena was about to open.

Grawert's force approached the French in piecemeal fashion, the Saxon steering for the west bank of the Muhilbach stream followed by cavalry and horse artillery, and the Prussian infantry bringing up the rear. By late morning, 11 infantry battalions were facing Lannes's corps. The Saxons supported the right while the cavalry came up. Then, unexpectedly, fighting erupted to the south of Vierzehnheiligen.

The action at Vierzehnheiligen was initiated by the advance guard (two light cavalry regiments and five infantry battalions) belonging to Marshal Ney's VI Corps. Impatient to get into action, Ney, who had spent the morning near Jena waiting for the rest of his corps to appear, without orders moved the only troops he had—the advance guard—forward to the sound of the battle. Unseen by all parties due to the fog, Ney's detachment inserted itself between Lannes's left and Augereau's right and made straight for a powerful enemy artillery battery. At first the newcomers' boldness paid handsome dividends as the Prussian infantry opposing them collapsed even before first contact was made with the French, the battery's gunners fled, and the 45 Prussian cavalry squadrons that were about to launch a charge on Lannes's troops around Vierzehn-

Marshal Michel Ney led a portion of his French VI Corps into action prematurely without orders at Jena. Napoleon is shown directing two cavalry regiments to reinforce his impetuous subordinate, whose detachment faced possible destruction.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

ABOVE: Napoleon's troops are shown attacking the Prussians at Jena. Napoleon's artillery crushed the Prussian flanks, and subsequent French cavalry attacks caused panic among already shaken troops, compelling Prince Hohenlohe to order a general retreat. OPPOSITE: Napoleon's Grande Armee enters Berlin in triumph in Charles Meynier's period painting. The upshot of his double victory was that Prussia became a French vassal for six years.

heiligen hurriedly retreated.

Ney and his men did not have much time to celebrate their astonishing success. Having outdistanced any possible support from Lannes and Augereau on either flank, Ney was vulnerable to a counterattack by the now recovered Prussian cavalry, which duly moved forward to do just that. The marshal placed his infantry in battalion squares with his cavalry in support to withstand the enemy onslaught. Regardless, Ney was now completely cut off from the rest of the army and facing annihilation.

Seeing the dire plight of his subordinate, Napoleon sent forward two cavalry regiments, the only remaining mounted reserve he had (Murat had not yet reached the field), to help ward off the enemy cavalry. In addition, the emperor directed Lannes to press forward through Vierzehnheiligen to link up with Ney's isolated force while Augereau formed a battle line just to the rear of Ney. Although these moves relieved the pressure on Ney, they resulted in reverses for the French. Lannes's move brought him into contact with the attacking battalions of Grawert, who repulsed the French advance. And without Lannes's support, Ney was made to fall back.

With momentum on his side and with the real possibility of reclaiming the ground lost that morning, Hohenlohe was urged by his staff to storm Vierzehnheiligen. Instead, he halted Grawert's movement to await the arrival of Ruchel's corps from Weimar. For the next two hours Grawert's 20,000 men stood within easy range of the French-occupied village all the while being peppered by French fire, causing heavy Prussian losses.

As the morning wore on, Lannes attempted to break the impasse by launching a flank attack against Hohenlohe's left in combination with a frontal charge. At first successful, it was thrown back by newly arrived Saxon cavalry. Meanwhile, Hohenlohe's right was assailed by Ney and part of Lannes's corps which managed to strike the road to Weimar and cut off the three Saxon brigades guarding that route from the center of Hohenlohe's main battle line. Reacting to this deepening crisis, the Prussian commander committed his last units to fill the gap between his right and center.

With about 96,000 men either committed to the fray or in ready reserve, at 1 PM Napoleon ordered a general advance against the enemy. The Prussian left was to be hit by Saint Hilaire's division, the right by Augereau , while the center was assaulted by Ney and Lannes with Murat's cavalry in support.

As the French steamroller moved forward, it penetrated gaps in the enemy line; Prussian fire slackened, and Hohenlohe ordered a retirement that was harassed by French artillery fire. At first the Prussian retreat was orderly, but as Murat's horsemen thundered forward in pursuit the retreat disintegrated into a rout with part of the beaten army going toward Weimar to the west, the rest to the north. Tauenzien fell back in good order, keeping Soult at arm's length.

Marching east along the Weimar Road to join the rest of Hohenlohe's army during the mid-afternoon, Ruchel's 15,000-man corps encountered the oncoming French. First the former moved into a defensive position but then decided to retreat. As it did so the effects of French cannon fire from a horse artillery battery and the appearance of French infantry caused Ruchel's men to panic. Then a devastating charge by Murat's cavalry squadrons broke all Prussian cohesion, making them flee toward Weimar. losing 4,000 prisoners in the process.

By 4 PM the Battle of Jena was over. The Prussian Army had suffered 10,000 killed and wounded and 15,000 taken prisoner, while the French endured 5,000 killed, wounded, and missing. While Napoleon was savoring his latest battlefield victory, he received the astonishing news that Marshal Davout, with his corps of 26,000 soldiers, had engaged and beaten the main Prussian army numbering 60,000 men and 230 guns at Auerstedt that same day.

In keeping with the emperor's orders received at 4 AM on October 14, Davout moved his corps west from Naumberg toward Apolda. A dense predawn fog hid the fact that the I and III Corps were heading into the bivouac area at Auerstedt

that Brunswick had established for his army during the night of October 13. Learning that Davout was approaching his encampment, instead of attacking his enemy to clear a direct path east to Leipzig, Brunswick directed his command to move west to the Hassenhaussen Heights and then northeast to avoid contact with Davout. This maneuver was to be shielded by a mixed cavalry and infantry force under Lt. Gen. Friedrich Wilhelm Carl von Schmettau.

At 7 AM on October 14, Davout, accompanying the III Corps division under Charles Etienne Gudin, was nearing the hamlet of Poppel. There Gudin took the precaution of forming his advance guard into squares. It was good that he did since he soon ran into an enemy cavalry detachment which he rapidly dispersed with musket fire. Advancing to the Liss Bach stream, Gudin halted intending to wait for the other III Corps infantry divisions (Generals Charles Antoine Louis Alexis Morand and Louis Friant) to close up. Morand and Friant were well to the east of Gudin and would take hours to reach him.

While Gudin suspended his forward movement, the Prussians, moving toward him from the south, assembled about 10,000 men (nine infantry battalions, 16 cavalry squadrons, and 24 guns) to attack Gudin's 5,000 troops. Happily for the French, the initial enemy assault was uncoordinated with General Gebhard Blucher rushing his horsemen, unsupported, into Gudin's battalion squares and being easily repulsed. By the time the Prussian attack was renewed with infantry, Friant's division arrived at about 9:30 AM and deployed on Gudin's right. At the same time as Friant's timely arrival, the III Corps' 12-pounder artillery battery and its light cavalry brigade also appeared, the former massed to the north of Hassenhaussen. Sensing the enemy was going to attack his right flank, Davout pulled Gudin out of the village and stationed most of it to the north. One of Gudin's regiments was placed south of the village.

When the Prussians attacked close to 10 AM, with Schemettau on the left, Lt. Gen. Leopold Alexander von Wartensleben on the right, and Lt. Gen. William the Prince of Orange's division behind them in support, the effort was met with varying fortunes. Schemettau's men were mauled by the crossfire of the two French divisions. But von Wartensleben, attacking the lone French regiment to the south of Hassenhaussen, routed it easily, thus creating a serious threat to Davout's left flank.

Regrouping behind the village, Davout retook it with a savage counterattack. Although stabilized for the moment, the French situation was getting more desperate by the minute since Morand was three miles away to the east and Bernadotte's corps, which was supposed to be working in conjunction with Davout, was nowhere to be seen.

Fortunately for Davout, his opponent, instead of swinging around his exposed southern margin (30 Prussian cavalry squadrons were massed to do just that), disregarded his advantage and made four fruitless frontal attacks against Hassenhaussen. During one of these, the Duke of Brunswick, while leading a contingent of grenadiers in the assault, was shot through both eyes and mortally wounded. About the same time, Schemattau was put out of action by a battle wound. King Frederick William III failed to appoint a new commander-in-chief, which led to mounting confusion on the part of the remaining senior officers, preventing the implementation of a cohesive plan of action with which to continue the fight.

Around 11 AM, both sides received reinforcements. Prince William of Orange advanced for Brunswick, and Morand for Davout. Orange split his brigade between both Prussian flanks, and Morand's entire division took up positions on the French left. From there, Morand repulsed the horde of enemy cavalry south of Hassenhaussen that should have rounded the French left at least an hour before Morand's arrival. Morand then secured that flank by extending his line to the River Saale.

Shortly after Morand sent the enemy horsemen packing, Davout seized the initiative and

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JENA AND AUERSTEDT CLINCHED NAPOLEON'S ULTIMATE CONQUEST OF PRUSSIA AND TRANSFORMED THE ONCE POWERFUL HOHENZOLLERN STATE INTO A FRENCH VASSAL FOR THE NEXT SIX YEARS.

attacked, crushing Wartensleben's men and then throwing back a counterattack by Orange, thus destroying the Prussian right. An effort to restore that part of the Prussian front with the remaining 14 infantry battalions, five cavalry squadrons, and three artillery batteries (about 9,000 men and 20 cannons) was never attempted.

Seeing his adversary's growing paralysis, Davout set in motion a general assault on the weakening Prussian battle line. He threw his three infantry divisions at the foe in a crescent-shaped formation and a murderous fight ensued. One French officer described the resulting carnage as "inflicted at pistol point range with liberal use of the bayonet by both sides; the Germans giving as good as they received." The more numerous Prussian artillery caused great loss among the French, but the latter kept advancing, driving the Prussians to the area between the River Ilm and

Continued on page 66

By Christopher Miskimon

A series of miscalculations led to the Korean War, the Cold War arms race, and pushed the world to the brink of nuclear war.

DURING THE EARLY SPRING OF 1949, NORTH KOREAN RULER KIM Il Sung visited Moscow. His nation's first economic plan had ended in failure after two years; the plight of the country was desperate. Kim had only half the population of neighboring South Korea and each month many North Koreans packed their meager belongings and trudged south in the hope of a better life. As he met with Soviet strongman Joseph Stalin, the mustachioed Georgian asked comrade Kim how things were going in his tiny eastern nation. The Korean dictator told him "the southerners are making trouble all the time." He complained that South Korean troops frequently raided across the border, sparking frequent skirmishes. Of course, Kim neglected to mention his troops did the same thing just as often. Stalin became angry at learning this and began asking if Kim needed weapons. He admonished the North Korean leader to "strike the southerners in the teeth. Strike them, strike them."

This conversation set into motion one of the first hot conflicts of the Cold War. On the other side of the world, the United States decided it would not arm South Korea or support it short of a major invasion by the North. While South Korea's troops had barely a week's worth of ammunition on hand, the Soviets were shipping tanks, artillery, and fighters to their communist brothers on the northern half of the peninsula. American decision makers wanted defense cuts and the estimation that places such as Korea were safe from attack reinforced that view.

These North Korean tanks were destroyed by American aircraft during the first major conflict of the Cold War.

In the end, it seemed both sides miscalculated. The United States did not see the invasion coming and had to scramble to stop it. The North Koreans and their Soviet backers underestimated American resolve to oppose them. The stalemate continues to this day and the war taught the Americans a valuable lesson. They could not rely on nuclear weapons as the sole deterrent to war and had to have a strong conventional force ready. Instead of an easy victory for communism, the Soviets and their clients would heretofore have to deal with a rebuilt American Army, a Navy of nearly 400 ships, and a massive air force for decades to come.

As bad as the Korean War was, it could have been worse. The conflict was just one episode in the two decades when the Cold War formed from the chaos of World War II. It was a period of turmoil as a new order of sorts gradually coalesced from what had existed before. Author Michael Burleigh's new book ***Small Wars, Faraway Places: Global Insurrection and the Making of the Modern World, 1945-1965*** (Viking

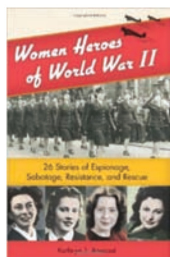
Press/Penguin Group, New York, 2013, 587 pp., maps, notes, bibliography, index, $36.00, hardcover) dives into this tumultuous period and dissects all the tiny yet significant details that make it at once fascinating to study and terrifying to consider how it could have turned out.

Rather than try to cover the Cold War in its entirety, the author chooses to concentrate on its first two decades, what he refers to as a transitional period when power passed from the former empires based in Europe to the United States. During this time new nations were born and old ones crumbled, became divided, or were conquered from without or within. Some of these transitions were successful while others were unmitigated catastrophes. Rather than try to cover every conflict, focus is placed on a smaller number of significant wars that typified the era.

Along the way effort is made to show the contrasts of these actions. For example, the United Stated was able to figure out that the insurgency in Algeria, while leftist in bent, was not part of the feared worldwide communist offensive and so did not come to France's aid with troops, planes, and bombs. In the same decade they failed to see the same thing in Vietnam and became heavily involved. While there were reasons for this failure, it had consequences for America in the following decades.

The author's choice to focus on essentially the first half of the Cold War is appropriate and works well for the intent of his work. The period to 1965 was more uncertain in many ways; afterward, the Cold War, while still very dangerous, became to some extent more stable and manageable, though it may not have seemed so at the time. He combines views from the people fighting the war on the ground to policy makers at the highest levels of government. There are also hints at how study of these wars may—or may not—have lessons to tell about current world conflicts, some of which have origins in the very period covered in the book. It is well written, thoroughly researched, and has enough detail to please any student of the Cold War.

Women Heroes of World War I: 16 Remarkable Resisters, Soldiers, Spies, and Medics (Kathryn J. Atwood, Chicago Review Press, Chicago, IL, 2014, 256 pp., photographs, glossary, notes, bibliography, index, $19.95, softcover)

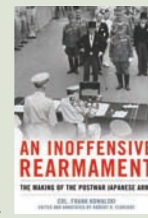


This is the latest in the Chicago Review Press's

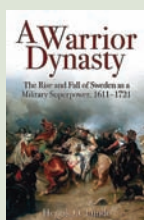
SHORT BURSTS

USS Constellation on the Dismal Coast: Willie Leonard's Journal 1859-61 (Edited by C. Herbert Gilliland, University of South Carolina Press, $39.95, hardcover). In 1859 a young sailor embarked on a 20-month cruise aboard the USS *Constellation* on anti-slavery duty off the coast of Africa. His journal provides detail and insight into the ship's mission, in which it set a record for numbers of slave ships captured.

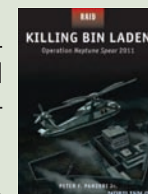
Home Squadron: The U.S. Navy on the North Atlantic Station (James C. Renfrow, Naval Institute Press, $54.95, hardcover). Before 1874 the American Navy was a collection of individual ships rather than a fleet. From then on the nation shifted to a force of modern warships able to act in concert as a true battle fleet.



An Inoffensive Rearmament: The Making of the Postwar Japanese Army (Colonel Frank Kowalski, Naval Institute Press, $37.95, hardcover.) The author was an American officer on occupation duty in postwar Japan. In 1950, with war in Korea breaking out, he was tasked to quietly begin recreating a Japanese national army.



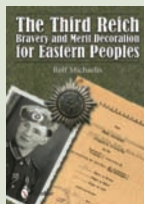
A Warrior Dynasty: The Rise and Fall of Sweden as a Military Superpower 1611-1721 (Henrik O. Lunde, Casemate Publishing, $32.95, hardcover). For a century Sweden was a great power in Europe until manpower and financial shortages brought it low. During that time the Swedes fought and defeated numerous enemies across the Continent.



Killing Bin Laden—Operation Neptune Spear 2011(Peter Panzeri, Osprey Publishing, $18.95, softcover). This book is part of Osprey's Raid series, recounting famous military forays. This volume concentrates on the special operations mission that resulted in the death of Osama Bin Laden.

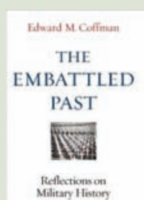
China's Battle for Korea: The 1951 Spring Offensives (Xiaobing Li, Indiana University Press, $45.00, softcover). The largest Chinese offensive of the Korean War began in April 1951 and lasted five weeks. This book examines the battle from the Chinese perspective.

In Hospital and Camp: The Civil War Through the Eyes of its Doctors and Nurses (Harold Elk Straubing, Stackpole Books, $19.95, softcover). This book reveals how medicine was practiced during the Civil War both inside hospitals and in field conditions.



The Third Reich Bravery and Merit Decoration for Eastern Peoples (Rolf Michaelis, Schiffer Publishing, $19.99, hardcover). This is a study of an almost unknown award issued by the Nazis to Slavic volunteers serving in specially raised units. Some of these troops fought on the front lines while others performed security duties.

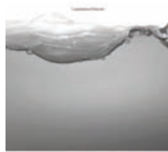
Reporting Under Fire: 16 Daring Women Correspondents and Photojournalists (Kerrie Hollihan, Chicago Review Press, $19.95, hardcover). Just as women have struggled to join the ranks of the world's militaries, so have they pushed into the news media covering warfare. This book, aimed at a young adult audience, focuses on female reporters from World War I to the present.



The Embattled Past: Reflections on Military History (Edward M. Coffman, University Press of Kentucky, $40.00, hardcover). The author is a well-respected professor specializing in military history. This book collects of a number of his essays on both the world wars and related topics.

series “Women of Action,” chronicling the exploits of women in various fields of endeavor, including warfare. Focusing on World War I, each chapter is a short history on a different woman and her part in the Great War. Many wars have had famous female participant such as Joan of Arc or Molly Pitcher, but beyond the select few, many other women who served are now all but forgotten.

The Russian military has long been more accepting of female soldiers and several of them are covered here, such as Maria Bochkareva, who obtained permission from Czar Nicholas II to join the army. Her dedication to the cause of Mother Russia led to promotion and command of the “Women’s Battalion of Death,” an all-female unit where half the women were educated professionals. Maria believed her unit would fight better if they emulated men, so she ordered them to shave their heads, smoke, and swear. Many left after a few days but the remainder became hardened believers in the value of service to their country.



Torpedo: Inventing the Military-Industrial Complex in the United States and Great Britain (Katherine C. Epstein, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2014, 305 pp., photographs, notes, index, $45.00, hardcover)

The concept of the military-industrial complex is generally considered a device of the Cold War. This book puts forward a theory that it actually started almost a century earlier in the waning decades of the 1800s. Instead of nuclear weapons and jet fighters, the weapon that began the union of government and arms makers was the naval torpedo.

This new weapon threatened to upset the naval status quo by making the great powers’ advanced warships vulnerable to a small, relatively cheap device that could easily proliferate across the globe to even poor nations. At the same time, developing, manufacturing, and improving the torpedo was an expensive process that required engineers, scientists, and industrialists to cooperate with ministers and naval officers.

Before the torpedo militaries would either buy finished weapons from manufacturers or develop their own designs at government-run armories and arsenals. With the advent of this new shipkiller, the American and British administrations began to invest in private-sector research and development. This was a necessary decision to cope with the increasing costs of technologically advanced weapons as the industrial age matured in the late 19th century. As a result, inventions that came about through torpedo research initiated legal battles when inventors tried to market their designs abroad. To stop this, governments began claiming that the dispersal of such new technology violated national security needs, something that still occurs today.

Telling this tale requires a complex weave of detailed technical information, political maneuvering, and legal dueling. The author manages to pull it all together. Her arguments are sound and shed light on a facet of military history that heretofore has been neglected and unknown.

The Fights on the Little Big Horn: Unveiling the Mysteries of Custer’s Last Stand (Gordon Harper, Casemate Publishing, Havertown, PA, 2014, 408 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $32.95, hardcover)

The story of Custer’s last stand has been refought and retold in so many books and articles over the last 138 years it seems unlikely anything new could be written about it. There is such an enormous body of work on this one short engagement and its aftermath one could spend a lifetime sifting through it. That is pre-

simulation games *By Joseph Luster*

WARS AND BATTLES ATTEMPTS TO COVER ALL THE WARS WHILE THE LATEST *TOTAL WAR* ZEROES IN ON A MORE SPECIFIC POINT IN TIME.

Wars and Battles

Video games have covered quite a bit of war history over the years, from the obvious battles to the more obscure contentions that have taken place all across the globe. With little exception, however, these wars are tackled on an individual

basis, and that’s where *Wars and Battles* comes into play. Rather than honing in on one or two famous showdowns, Paris-based developer Kermorio/Battle Factory’s game aims to cover all the wars, like some kind of time-traveling photojournalist with an unwavering resolve.

PUBLISHER
BATTLE FACTORY

DEVELOPER
KERMORIO

SYSTEM(S)
IOS, PC, ANDROID

AVAILABLE
NOW

Wars and Battles explores its subject matter in the form of a simulation/strategy game, roping in designers experienced in both tabletop wargames and video games, resulting in a concoction that should have something to offer both experienced strategists and more casual players. It’s billed as “a sophisticated game with easy gameplay,” so there’s something there for everyone, or at least that’s the idea.

It’s good news either way, especially consider-

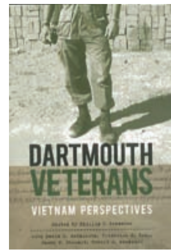
ing the fact that there’s also a war in there for everyone. *Wars and Battles*’ grand ambition is to be a portal to history, with the base game acting as somewhat of a virtual timeline that can be added to as more of the world’s wars are explored. It all starts with the Battle of Normandy in 1944, and six more battles are slated to launch in 2015. After Normandy, the next moments in time in the works include Austerlitz 1805, Gettysburg 1863, Kharkov 1943, Market Garden 1944, The Korean War 1950-51, and October War 1973.

Gameplay in *Wars and Battles* is turn-based, and those who play on iOS or Android devices will be able to take advantage of the ease of using a touchscreen to make moves. Like any strategy game worth its salt, realism is taken into consideration along with general playability, and every one of the hundreds of units sports over 130 characteristics, from life points to movement capacity per terrain, supply consumption, ability to perform strategic movements and engage in pursuits, and more. While this means players will want to put a great deal of consideration into every move, there are also sub-step choices called Impulses that have been incorporated to ensure things continue moving at a brisk enough pace. Impulses allow players to activate a limited num-

cisely what the author of this book did. Visiting the battlefield as a young man, he became intrigued and began researching it, collecting whatever he could find. There are many controversies, legends, and conflicting tales surrounding the demise of the 7th Cavalry that June day in 1876; Mr. Harper spent decades sifting through them all.

While no book of reasonable length could include everything on the Little Big Horn, this book provides an excellent overview, combining accounts from both Native American and white perspectives. It also includes information from more recent forensic investigations of the battlefield and the light they shed on the engagement. Several chapters also cover the aftermath of the fight and burial of the slain. A set of maps in the back of the book help the reader to follow the action in detail.

Dartmouth Veterans: Vietnam Perspectives



(Edited by Phillip C. Schaefer, Dartmouth College Press, Hanover, NH, 2014, 370 pp., photographs, index, $29.95, softcover)

While many think of universities as refuges from military service during the 1960s, many young men graduated from them and proceeded directly onto active duty. For many of them, Vietnam

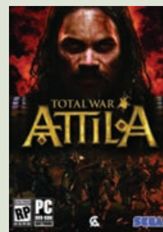
ber of units to move and/or launch attacks, intensifying the game and increasing the level of back and forth between opponents.

In addition to a single-player mode that pits players against an AI enemy, multiplayer will have them taking on friends and others online, or even playing along with them. For example, in the Normandy campaign you can play as the American army, while a friend plays as the British against one or two opponents taking on the role of the German forces. Gameplay is asynchronous, as tends to be the case with this type of game, but there's also a Blitz Mode in the works. Blitz Mode will take the battle into real-time, with each player given a limited amount of time to choose their next move and the units in play, making for a much more frantic experience.

Kermorio tried to generate some crowd-funding support for *Wars and Battles* via Kickstarter back in July 2013, but unfortunately it wasn't a success. Thankfully the team was able to rally together to complete the game, and it looks like one worth keeping an eye on and trying for anyone who fancies themselves a strategy enthusiast.

And hey, if it proves successful and, most importantly, FUN, the team is eager to follow up their take on history with some more outlandish settings. Sci-fi and heroic fantasy are on the list of things they'd like to attempt in the future, and it would certainly be interesting to see how that kind of follow-up would play hot on the heels of something more strictly reality-based.

Total War: ATTILA



PUBLISHER
SEGA

DEVELOPER
THE CREATIVE ASSEMBLY

SYSTEM(S)
PC

AVAILABLE
2015

The Creative Assembly's *Total War* series now has a legacy spanning nearly 15 years of computer strategy. What started in 2000 with *Shogun: Total War* gradually expanded to include a variety of eras—as well as a variety of spin-offs and player-created mods—building to the most recent release, September 2013's *Total War: Rome II*. The next entry was announced this fall, and it's looking to throw an apocalyptic atmosphere into the mix with *Total War: ATTILA*.

As one would expect, *Total War: ATTILA* concerns the Scourge of God, Attila the Hun. With the Dark Ages approaching, *ATTILA* shines the spotlight on the warrior king with the introduction of new gameplay mechanics and features that fans have been requesting for a while. Among those features are family trees and skill trees, as well as improvements to a bunch of the core aspects of the *Total War* series. There will be new strategic aspects to consider, like advanced street-fighting, civilians, complete settlement destruction, and dynamic fire that can put an entire city in danger during battle.

We'll see how well *Total War: ATTILA* builds atop an already strong foundation when it hits PC and Mac in 2015.

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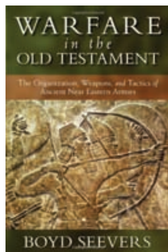
was their destination. Dartmouth College in New Hampshire has collected the experiences of a number of their Vietnam veteran alumni and published them in this new volume. Each chapter relates the experiences of a different person. There are a number of books on Vietnam that use this format, which will be familiar to many students of that war. This is not a criticism; this style works.

All branches of the military are represented in this work and many interesting stories are told. One U.S. soldier working with Vietnamese troops saw several of them decorated by an American general for capturing a group of Viet Cong. Within weeks almost all of them were dead or wounded, prompting the Vietnamese to shun decorations. Another Army officer, a lawyer with the Judge Advocate General, found himself guarding a building with a shotgun during the 1968 Tet fighting. All these accounts are varied but many veterans, Vietnam and otherwise, will find experiences familiar to their own.



Warfare in the Old Testament: The Organization, Weapons and Tactics of Ancient Near Eastern Armies (Boyd Seevers, Kregel Academic, Grand Rapids, MI, 2013, 328 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $34.99, hardcover)

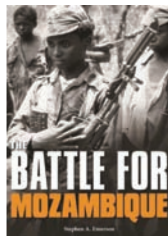
Religious studies often avoid warfare even though it is frequently mentioned in the Bible. This new work by a biblical scholar instead focuses on it, attempting to show the armies of the ancient world in the area of the Eastern Mediterranean in a new light. The author shows how six distinct peoples—the Israelites, Egyptians, Philistines, Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians—organized their hosts for war. Each is alotted one or more chapters to give the reader a vivid portrait of what it may have been like to serve in their respective forces during this crucial period of human history.

Coverage is given to organization, weapons, and tactics using the available historical and biblical evidence. The author also discusses how each army is mentioned and related to in the Bible using references to chapter and verse where possible. For those interested in ancient history and the Bible, there is a scripture index in the back so warfare-related passages can be found in the book more easily.

No Turning Back: A Guide to the 1864 Overland Campaign, from the Wilderness to Cold Harbor, May 4-June 13, 1864 (Robert M. Dunkerly, Donald C. Pfanz, and David R. Ruth, Savas Beatie Publishing, El Dorado Hills, CA, 2014, 168 pp., maps, illustrations, $12.95, softcover)

In May 1864 Union General Ulysses Grant took his Army south deep into Virginia, intending to pummel the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia into final submission. Those Confederates met him at the Battle of the Wilderness and stopped his army momentarily. Before, Union armies had fallen back after a defeat. This time, with Grant at their head, the Union troops maneuvered and kept advancing. He was determined to bring the Civil War to a conclusion.

Over the next month, the two armies ground against each other often in bad weather and with ever increasing casualties. This guidebook allows the reader to follow the course of this campaign across Virginia on a self-guided driving tour. Extensive historical information is included to give an idea of the events at each significant point. Both driving directions and coordinates are given so the tech-savvy can find exact locations on their GPS devices.



The Battle for Mozambique: The Frelimo-Renamo Struggle, 1977-1992 (Stephen A. Emerson, Casemate Publishing, Havertown, PA, 2014, 288 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $35.00, softcover)

Until recently, the conflicts in Africa during the Cold War-era have been largely overlooked, particularly in the United States. Lately more effort has been made to bring English-language works on these wars to readers, and this new book is part of that effort. The wars involving Angola and South Africa receive more overall attention, but this insurgency in Mozambique was significant in its own right. It lasted 15 years and by its end at least one million Africans were dead.

Like most wars on the African continent during this period it was also complex. The Renamo rebels began as a movement against Zimbabwean guerrillas operating in Mozambique and evolved into an independent nationalist force. Like other groups of the period, for a time they had the clandestine support of South Africa. The author uses accounts of participants from generals and politicians down to frontline soldiers and sailors to tell the story of this unknown war from the perspectives of those who lived through it. □

Stanley

Continued from page 51

chute troops, resulting in six enemy soldiers killed. A company of Argentine infantry also made an attempt. Their commander, Major Guillermo Berazay, watched the British attack unfold. He was ordered to a start point where some armored car crews would guide him in. When they arrived, no crewmen were there. He reported this and was told to move up the hill. Berazay went forward to place his machine guns, but British troops opened fire. He ordered his infantry up. They advanced into machine-gun and rocket fire, which stopped them cold. Many Argentine troops panicked and fled. The 20 men remaining got up and advanced again, making it to a hilltop. After they were fired on by machine guns, grenades began falling. One Argentine was wounded by a fragmentation grenade only to have a phosphorous grenade set his clothes on fire. The counterattack was soon over, a brave effort but insufficient to turn the tide. Wireless Ridge was lost, along with 14 British casualties (11 wounded and three dead), 100 Argentines killed, and dozens captured.

With the capture of Wireless Ridge, the Battle of Stanley was effectively over. The Gurkhas moved on Mount William but found it abandoned; Sapper Hill was taken without a shot fired. Retreating Argentines were struck with artillery as they fled to Stanley. A Spanish-speaking British captain went on the radio offering a cease-fire to discuss surrender. Within a few hours, it was over. Argentine soldiers lay down their arms and awaited repatriation. Jubilant British troops and Falkland civilians broke out bottles and celebrated the victory.

The war had been a close-run thing. The British suffered from logistical shortcomings at the end of a long supply line. The Argentine Army was a good force compared to many other armies. It simply was not up to fighting the British military, a professional force with better training and discipline. The two forces were similarly equipped, with the Argentines holding advantages in a few key areas. However, superior British morale held and eventually broke their opponents' will to fight.

For the Argentines, the war was a shameful defeat. Much of the military leadership was removed. Officers over the rank of major were lucky not to be court-martialed. The nation's leaders had miscalculated and paid a dreadful price. Within days, President Leopoldo Gattieri was removed from office. The victory bolstered national pride in the United Kingdom. The British Lion could still bite. □

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Can We Afford an Israeli-Palestinian Peace?

Reaching a peace accord in the midst of today's Middle East turmoil could hand a victory to global jihad and a horror to the rest of the world.

Hamas, as well as terror groups ISIS, al Qaeda and Hizbollah, are waging a global jihad—seeking to conquer Arab lands, attack the West and establish an Islamist caliphate. Their numbers and conquests are growing. Though Israel recently repulsed Hamas militarily, the jihadi group's popularity among Palestinians has skyrocketed. Indeed, Hamas threatens to soon seize the Palestinian West Bank, as it did Gaza in 2007. Is this the time for an Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement?

What are the facts?

Israel, backed by the U.S., has made bold, ground-breaking land-for-peace offers to the Palestinians: In 2000 and in 2007 Israel offered about 95% of the land captured by Israel in 1967 and a Palestinian capital in Jerusalem. In 2005, Israel also unilaterally withdrew from Gaza, leaving it under Palestinian control. Despite these Israeli overtures, so-called "moderate" Palestinians have rejected all offers and walked out of subsequent peace negotiations.

Of course, the Palestinian terror group, Hamas flatly rejects even the *idea* of peace with Israel. Though Hamas won a majority in Palestinian parliamentary elections in 2005, it violently conquered Gaza in 2007 and has since ruled the territory with an Islamist iron fist. Hamas jihadis have fired more than 14,000 rockets at Israeli civilians and started outright wars in 2008, 2012 and 2014. Hamas's charter implacably commits the group to "obliterate" the state of Israel, "fight Jews and kill them" and "raise the banner of Allah" over every inch of Muslim lands. Hamas's charter also specifically rejects "so-called peaceful solutions."

Today, the situation in the Middle East has deteriorated dramatically, with the burgeoning strength and brutality of Islamist terrorists from Hamas, ISIS, al Qaeda and Hizbollah. But the greatest obstacle to peace between Israel and the Palestinians is the continued belligerence of Hamas. Israel soundly defeated Hamas in the latest Gaza war, eliminating dozens of the group's terror tunnels, hundreds of its fighters and thousands of its rockets. Ironically, Hamas is viewed by the Palestinian people as heroic, and its support has soared to 87%, according to recent polls. Polls also indicate that Ismail Haniya, the Islamist group's former prime minister, would handily defeat all opponents, including 79-year-old Palestinian president Mahmoud Abbas, were elections to be held. What's more, Hamas brags that even after its devastating loss during the most recent war with Israel, it is already producing more rockets for future attacks on Israel.

There is also no question that Abbas—now serving the tenth year of a four-year term as president—is losing power over the corrupt Palestinian Authority. Under an agreement Abbas struck with Hamas in April 2014 to form a unity government, general elections are to be held in October 2014. While it's doubtful these elections will be held, it's highly likely that Hamas, if unchecked, will again resort to violence to take control of the West Bank. Indeed most analysts agree that the only thing preventing Hamas's takeover of the West Bank is the security assistance Israel provides to the Palestinian Authority.

> Hamas threatens to soon seize the Palestinian West Bank, as it did Gaza in 2007.

No nation on earth is more threatened by the Islamist jihad than Israel, which is now almost completely encircled by terrorists—ISIS and al Qaeda on Israel's Syria border, Hizbollah on its Lebanon border, and Hamas on its border with Gaza. Now Hamas threatens to seize the Palestinian West Bank, which would complete Israel's encirclement, as well as create a nightmare for Jordan and Egypt.

While recent U.S. and Israeli efforts to fashion a peace agreement with "moderate" Palestinian factions have been well intentioned, it's clear that Mahmoud Abbas has neither the authority nor a sincere wish to make a deal. Above all, Abbas refuses to acknowledge the right of Jews to have a state in Israel. Clearly, with Hamas on the threshold of taking control of the West Bank, any attempts to forge a peace with Abbas seem futile and frightening—for Israel, the U.S. and most Middle East nations. We know that Hamas can wreak havoc on Israel from Gaza even with relatively primitive missiles, but we can only imagine with horror the damage Hamas could cause if it were in control of territory on the edge of Israel's entire eastern flank, just yards from the holy city of Jerusalem, Israel's capital, and a few miles from Ben Gurion International Airport.

What's more, a peace deal with the Palestinians would be worthless were Hamas to take over. Rather this would represent a major new victory for global jihad.

New U.S. military actions against ISIS will be helpful in degrading that terror group's murderous capability. But the U.S. and Israel, as well as European and moderate Arab nations, must also support efforts of West Bank Palestinians to gain political integrity, develop economically and defeat Hamas. In any case, with the region's unprecedented instability and Hamas's ascendancy, this is not the time to press for a potentially disastrous Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement.

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Gerardo Joffe, President

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Weapons

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Rifle that used the larger shell after the start of the war. On July 2, 1861, Brig. Gen. J.W. Ripley, the chief of the U.S. Army Ordnance Department, ordered 300 of the Ordnance Rifles. In a contract between the U.S. Army and Phoenix signed July 24, 1861, the government agreed to pay $330 for each gun.

Phoenix ran the foundry seven days a week and holidays to produce guns as fast as it was able, but because it was small it was only able initially to produce about 25 cannons a month. Phoenix delivered its first shipment of guns, which consisted of 111 3-inch Rifles, on November 23, 1861. After the 300 were delivered, the Ordnance Department placed additional orders. In 1863, Phoenix raised the price to $350 per cannon. The U.S. Army purchased a total of 870 of the Ordnance Rifles during the war.

A dispute arose during the second year of the Civil War between Griffen and Samuel Reeves of Phoenix. The animosity reached such a point that Griffen resigned. Whether it involved changes that Reeves wanted to make to the welding process for the 3-inch Rifle is unclear. What is well documented is that Reeves applied for and received his own patent for a 3-inch Rifle on December 9, 1862. As a side note, Griffen and Reeves would reconcile their differences after the war, and Griffen would rejoin the company.

Reeves' patent application reveals much about both Griffen's process for making the 3-inch Rifles that were produced in the first two years of the war and about Reeves' refined process for the 3-inch Rifles that were made throughout the remainder of the war.

In his patent of 1862, Reeves describes Griffen's process and explains his improved process. Of Griffen's process, he writes that it "consists of wrapping narrow bars of iron (boiler plate, as one source calls it) spirally around a series of longitudinal bars, each layer breaking joints with that which preceded it in winding. Thus made, the pile, after being heated to a welding heat, was passed between rollers and reduced to a smaller diameter."

Reeves claims the process often resulted in defective tubes because "the rollers have an uncontrollable tendency to pull the bars forward and away from the mandrel, causing the joints to open frequently."

Of his improved process, Reeves writes, "I form a pile or fagot in a cylindrical shape, composed as follows: the center is a solid or hollow bar of iron or steel. It may be a welded tube or two half tubes.... Upon this tube or bar, I fasten sheets or plates of iron, the width of which is the length of the desired pile." At that point, the pile was heated to a welding temperature in a furnace and then taken to a rolling mill and formed into cylinders.

The 3-inch Rifle was not designed for close action like the M1857 Napoleon, and therefore could not equal the bronze smoothbore when it came to repelling infantry charges at close quarters. It excelled in long-range fire against enemy troop formations and artillery. The 3-inch Rifle also was devastating when used in a duel between opposing batteries. Not surprisingly, its lightweight barrel made it the preferred choice for horse artillery units because it could be pulled faster than other field artillery.

In addition to its excellent range and accuracy, the 3-inch Rifle also was an extremely safe gun as shown by the tests done on Griffen's gun at Fort Monroe. The only time a 3-inch Rifle burst during the war occurred on the first day of the Battle of the Wilderness. On May 5, 1864, the barrel of a 3-inch rifle in Captain R. Bruce Ricketts' Battery F, 1st Pennsylvania Light Artillery burst when its crew was firing double canister in an effort to repel the assault of Confederate Lt. Gen. A.P. Hill's III Corps against Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock's II Corps along the Orange Plank Road.

The South had great difficulties finding the materials necessary to manufacture its own rifled cannon and sought whenever possible to capture 3-inch Rifles in battle, which they then integrated into their batteries.That was, of course, an unreliable procurement method. Therefore, the Confederate government produced facsimiles at the Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond, Va., and at the privately owned Noble Brothers & Co. iron works in Rome, Georgia. Even so, the ammunition the Confederates used for the 3-inch Rifle was often unreliable, thus reducing the effectiveness of the guns.

At Gettysburg, 141 of the approximately 360 guns, or 40 percent, of the cannon fielded by the Army of the Potomac were rifled guns, and nearly all of the rifled guns were 3-inch rifles. Whether engaged in counterbattery fire or long-range shelling of enemy troops and equipment, the 3-inch Rifle was a ubiquitous part of the artillery arm of the largest Union armies. For the Confederates, a captured Union 3-inch gun was, without a doubt, a valuable war prize. The 3-inch Rifle was a key factor in some of the greatest clashes of the Civil War, for example, at Antietam and Fredericksburg, where it gave the Union Army a decisive edge over Confederate artillery. □

Napoleon

Continued from page 59

the Liss Bach stream. There the French were charged by large numbers of enemy cavalry, but these were turned back by steady French musket fire from quickly formed squares. Dispirited by their inability to break the enemy's squares, the Prussian troopers, soon followed by their equally demoralized and bloodied infantry cohorts, were forced back toward Auerstedt. Meanwhile, on the French right Friant, after a severe battle to take Poppel, finally captured the place along with 1,000 prisoners.

By noon, with both Prussian flanks about to collapse, the king ordered a retreat with the intention of joining Hohenlohe and Ruchel, whose forces he believed were intact. The final blow fell when Morand unlimbered an artillery battery, which raked the flank and rear of what remained of von Wartensleben's command. The French guns' devastating effect caused Wartensleben's men to stream off the field in confusion to the west and north. In a vain attempt to cover the retreat of the rest of Brunswick's shattered army, Blucher placed a rear guard in the path of the pursuing French. This was brushed away as the pursuers curled around both of Blucher's flanks, sending his detachment running.

Davout continued his chase after the Prussians until 4:30 PM, when he ordered a halt due to the complete exhaustion of his men. The Prussians suffered 10,000 dead and injured, 3,000 taken prisoner, and 115 guns captured. The price paid by the III Corps amounted to 258 officers and 6,794 enlisted men dead or wounded.

After Auerstedt, Napoleon showered praise on Davout for his performance. That was not the case with Bernadotte, who had failed to come to Davout's aid on October 14 despite the latter's repeated plea for help and the emperor's previous instructions to him to move in concert with III Corps. Bernadotte narrowly missed being court-martialed for his inexcusable conduct, most probably caused by sheer professional jealousy.

The twin battles of Jena-Auerstedt brought about the almost total destruction of Prussia's field armies with the loss of over 28,000 dead and wounded and another 25,000 captured along with 200 artillery pieces. There would be additional battles fought and sieges conducted during the French rampage through Prussia over the next six weeks, all French victories—but Jena and Auerstedt clinched Napoleon's ultimate conquest of Prussia and transformed the once powerful Hohenzollern state into a French vassal for the next six years. □

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By Peter Metler, Health Writer

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