Confederate Disaster at Malvern Hill

MILITARY HERITAGE

Curtis 02313

THIRD REICH'S MG 42 MACHINE GUN

ARMORED ASSAULT AT NOMONHAN

NAPOLEON'S ITALIAN VICTORY

ENGLISH PIRATES ON THE SPANISH MAIN

WWII COMMANDOS, ATTILA THE HUN, BOOK AND GAME REVIEWS AND MORE

SEPTEMBER 2013

$5.99US $6.99CAN

09>

0 74470 02313 5

RETAILER: DISPLAY UNTIL OCTOBER 7

MILITARY HERITAGE • SEPTEMBER 2013 Volume 15, No. 2

WWW.TREEFROGTREASURES.COM/FIRSTLEGION

Phone: 1-507-545-2500 Email: sales@treefrogtreasures.com

We ship same or next busines day with FREE domestic shipping on all orders over $50!

Treefrog Treasures is one of the world's largest retailers of hand painted metal historical figures. We are proud to present the latest releases from First Legion's Glory of Rome and Renaissance figure ranges. First Legion is a a premier manufacturer of connoisseur quality historical miniatures, with each 60mm tall figure a masterpiece of sculpting and hand painting. We stock all of First Legion's historical ranges as well as figures from other leading manufacturers, so please visit our website to see all that we have to offer!

Toll Free: 1-866-394-2418

Napoleon's Europe

The Arms and Armies of the Napoleonic Wars

NAP0418-NAP0426
2nd Dutch Lancers of the Imperial Guard

NOR013-NOR025 Waffen-SS Panzer Grenadiers

Waffen SS

All images, content, and text ©2013 Wargaming.net LLP. All rights reserved. WORLD OF TANKS, WORLD OF WARPLANES, WARGAMING.NET and the WORLD OF TANKS, WORLD OF WARPLANES, WARGAMING.NET logos are registered trademarks of Wargaming.net LLP in the United States. All other marks and trademarks or service marks of their respective owners.

MILITARY HERITAGE

September 2013

features

20 THIRST FOR TREASURE

By Steven M. Johnson

English, French, and Dutch pirates preyed on Spanish wealth in the New World for nearly 150 years.

26 ARMORED STRIKE AT NOMONHAN

By Phil Zimmer

In an undeclared war on the Mongolia-Machukuo border in 1939, the Soviets unleashed a combined arms assault on the Japanese that foreshadowed the weapons and tactics of World War II.

34 MOWED DOWN BY THE FIFTIES

By William E. Welsh

Confederate General Robert E. Lee ordered his army to make a costly frontal attack against Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan's wall of artillery at Malvern Hill.

44 NAPOLEON'S STUNNING DEBUT

By Dana Lombardy

Bonaparte's road to glory began in 1796 with a two-week campaign in Italy that announced his arrival on the European stage.

52 ATTILA'S STINGING DEFEAT

By John Walker

When the "scourge of God" and his Huns thundered into Gaul in AD 451, they came up against a force of Romans and Visigoths led by Roman General Aetius that refused to back down.

columns

6 EDITORIAL

8 WEAPONS

14 SOLDIERS

18 INTELLIGENCE

60 BOOKS

66 MILITARIA

68 GAMES

COVER: A German officer and his MP 40 are ready for close combat. For more on German machineguns, see story page 8. Photo courtesy of ullstein bild/The Granger Collection, New York

Military Heritage (ISSN 1524-8666) is published bimonthly by Sovereign Media, 6731 Whittier Ave., Suite A-100, McLean VA 22101-4554 (703) 964-0361. Periodical postage PAID at McLean, VA, and additional mailing offices. Military Heritage, Volume 15, Number 2 © 2013 by Sovereign Media Company, Inc., all rights reserved. Copyrights to stories and illustrations are the property of their creators. The contents of this publication may not be reproduced in whole or in part without consent of the copyright owner. ***Subscription Services, back issues, and Information:*** **1(800) 219-1187** *or* write to Military Heritage **Circulation, Military Heritage, P.O. Box 1644, Williamsport, PA 17703.** Single copies: $5.99, plus $3 for postage. Yearly subscription in U.S.A.: $18.95; Canada and Overseas: $30.95 (U.S.). Editorial Office: Send editorial mail to Military Heritage, 6731 Whittier Ave., Suite A-100, McLean VA 22101-4554. Military Heritage welcomes editorial submissions but assumes no responsibility for the loss or damage of unsolicited material. Material to be returned should be accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. We suggest that you send a self-addressed, stamped envelope for a copy of our author's guidelines. **POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Military Heritage, P.O. Box 1644, Williamsport, PA 17703.**

Released to the Public: Bags of Vintage Buffalo Nickels

Historic 1920-1938 "Buffalos" by the Pound

LOW AS **$49** plus shipping & handling

Actual size is 21.2 mm

FREE Stone Arrowhead with every bag

2013 marks the 100th anniversary of an American Classic: the Buffalo Nickel. To honor this milestone, New York Mint is releasing to the public bags of original U.S. government Buffalo Nickels not seen in circulation for decades. Now they can be acquired for a limited time only—not as individual collector coins, but by weight—**just $49 for a full Quarter-Pound Bag.**

100% Valuable Collector Coins—GUARANTEED!

Every bag will be filled with collectible vintage Buffalos from over 70 years ago, GUARANTEED ONE OF EACH:

- **1920-1929—*"Roaring '20s" Buffalo***
- **1930-1938—*The Buffalo's Last Decade***
- **Mint Marks (P,D, and S)**
- **ALL Collector Grade Very Good Condition**
- **FREE Stone Arrowhead with each bag**

Every vintage Buffalo Nickel you receive will be a coveted collector coin—GUARANTEED! Plus, order a gigantic full Pound bag and you'll also receive a vintage Liberty Head Nickel (1883-1912), a valuable collector classic!

Long-Vanished Buffalos Highly Coveted by Collectors

Millions of these vintage Buffalo Nickels have worn out in circulation or been recalled and destroyed by the government. Today, significant quantities can often only be found in private hoards and estate collections. As a result, these coins are becoming more sought-after each day. In fact, the market price for Buffalo Nickels increased 76% from October 2002 to October 2012.

Supplies Limited—Order Now!

Supplies of vintage Buffalo Nickels are limited as the availability continues to shrink. And the 100th anniversary is certain to drive demand up even further! They make a precious gift for your children, family and friends that will be appreciated for a lifetime.

NOTICE: Due to recent changes in the demand for vintage U.S. coins, this advertised price may change without notice. Call today to avoid disappointment.

30-Day Money-Back Guarantee

You must be 100% satisfied with your bag of Buffalo Nickels or return it within 30 days of receipt for a prompt refund (less s/h).

Order More and SAVE

QUARTER POUND Buffalo Nickels
Plus FREE Stone Arrowhead
$49 + *s/h*

HALF POUND Bag
Plus FREE Stone Arrowhead
$79 + *s/h* **SAVE $19**

ONE FULL POUND Bag
Plus FREE Stone Arrowhead and Liberty Head Nickel
$149 + *s/h* **SAVE $47**

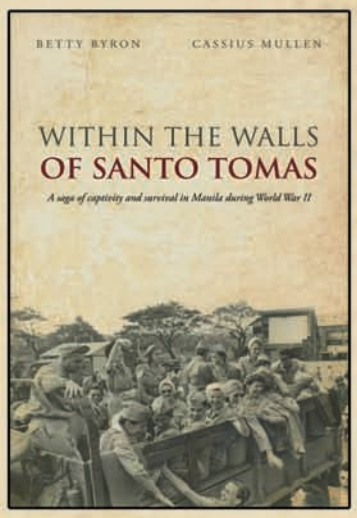
FREE Liberty Head Nickel with One Full Pound

TOLL-FREE 24 HOURS A DAY
1-800-695-2018

Offer Code VBB207-02
Please mention this code when you call.

New York Mint
14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. VBB207-02
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.NewYorkMint.com

Prices and availability subject to change without notice. Past performance is not a predictor of future performance. NOTE: New York Mint® is a private distributor of worldwide government coin and currency issues and privately issued licensed collectibles and is not affiliated with the United States government. Facts and figures deemed accurate as of June 2013. ©2012 New York Mint, LLC.



A NOVEL BASED ON ACTUAL EVENTS

Within the Walls of Santo Tomas brings to life a story of Japanese internment of Americans and Allies in Manila during WWII.

Overcoming adversity and death defying odds - this engaging tale keeps the reader on the edge of their seat, building on true accounts of secret agents, maniacal Japanese doctors, and the brutal commandant. This timeless novel gives the reader an intimate view of the relationships, determination, and survival of American army nurses and civilians during their battle to stay alive and triumph over evil.

Available from Tate Publishing, Amazon, and Barnes & Noble in large paperback and ebook (Kindle and Nook.)

FACEBOOK.COM/WITHINTHEWALLSOFSANTOTOMAS

WWW.READBYRON.COM

The massacre of the Burgundians in 437 became the historical backdrop for the Middle High German epic poem, *The Nibelungenlied.*

WHEN THE HUNS SWEPT THROUGH THE PLAINS of northern Europe in spring 451 on their way to what would become one of the decisive battles of Late Antiquity, the Frankish peoples could do little to resist the swarming bands of horsemen who showed no mercy to anyone in their path.

The Huns had become so powerful under their leader, Attila, that no one group of peoples could stand up to them, much less defeat them in battle.

Unfortunately for Attila, the Western Roman Empire, by then in its death throes, had a resourceful general, Flavius Aetius, who was skilled not only in the art of warfare but also at diplomacy at a time in which your enemy in one campaign might be your ally in the next. Aetius cobbled together an army capable of standing up to the Huns in battle. The Roman general had won many laurels fighting in Gaul by the time Attila embarked on his 451 campaign, and he was all that stood in the way of Attila putting Gaul into his large sack of provincial treasures.

But on previous occasions, when the interests of the Western Roman Empire were threatened, Aetius saw nothing wrong with commissioning the Huns to crush unruly Germanic tribes. As part of the Germanic migrations, the East Germanic tribe of the Burgundians, originally from the Baltic region, crossed the Rhine in the early years of the 5th century and settled in the Roman province of Germana Secunda. Burgundian King Gunther seized control of Worms, Speyer, and Strasbourg on the west bank of the Rhine River. The weak Roman Emperor Honorius, under whose rule the western empire inched closer to its collapse, gave his consent to their occupation as part of a subsequent truce. The Burgundians enjoyed the status of foederati as a result.

Honorius's successor, Valentinian III, became increasingly annoyed in the 430s by Burgundian raids into the neighboring province of Gallia Belgica. Aetius, on behalf of Valentinian, set out to punish the Gunther and his people. At his behest, the Huns attacked the Burgundians in 437, massacring 20,000 souls, burning Worms to the ground, and scattering the survivors southward.

The fashion in which the Huns extinguished the proud Burgundians worked its way deep into the psyche of the hapless Burgundians and their neighbors, the Rhine Franks. So powerful and awful were the images of the Huns' depredations that they became the backdrop for historic legends that coalesced into the Middle High German epic poem, *The Nibelungenlied*. That work was preserved in manuscript in the late 12th or early 13th century. It tells the heroic tale of Siegfried, a dragon slayer, and is set in Gunther's Burgundian court.

The Migration Period for the Germanic Peoples was their heroic age—one in which great triumphs and great disasters—became the subject of songs and poems that survived the centuries. The Nibelungenlied contains both myths from ancient times, most readily seen in the heroic figure of Siegfried, and also from historical peoples and events of the 5th century, such as Gunther and Attila and the destruction of the Burgundian court. It's a distant time we can ponder and scrutinize at our leisure, through both literature and history.

—*William E. Welsh*

Publisher's Note: Newsstand buyers will have noticed the name change on the cover of this issue of *Military Heritage*. We're trying out a new name and logo, but it's the same magazine, with the same great stories, and illustrations. Nothing has changed but the cover design.

MILITARY HERITAGE

VOLUME 15, NUMBER 2

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, Jon Diamond, Steven M. Johnson, Dana Lombardy, Joseph Luster, Christopher Miskimon, Robert Barr Smith, Peter Suciu, John Walker, Phil Zimmer

ADVERTISING OFFICE:

BEN BOYLES
Advertising Manager
benjaminb@sovhomestead.com
(570) 322-7848, ext. 130

MARK HINTZ
Chief Executive Officer

JANINE MILLER
Subscription Customer Services
sovereign@publishersserviceassociates.com

KEN FORNWALT
Data Processing Director

CURTIS CIRCULATION COMPANY
Worldwide Distribution

SOVEREIGN MEDIA COMPANY, INC.
6731 Whittier Ave., Suite A-100
McLean, VA 22101-4554

SUBSCRIPTION, CUSTOMER SERVICE, AND BUSINESS OFFICE
1000 Commerce Park Drive, Suite 300
Williamsport, PA 17701

(800) 219-1187

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

MODERN WAR STUDIES **New in Paperback**

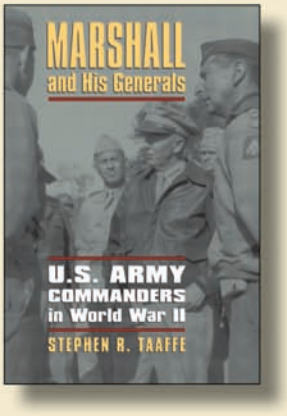
Marshall and His Generals
U.S. Army Commanders in World War II
Stephen R. Taaffe

"Taaffe's penetrating look at the Army's 'one indispensable man' shows how commanders like Omar Bradley, 'Vinegar Joe' Stilwell, Courtney Hodges, and their peers were selected and deployed—and how they kept their jobs."—*Wall Street Journal*

"Rarely does an academic historian offer insight into the past and a tutorial on the art of senior-level command. Taaffe accomplishes both. . . . Essential reading."—*Proccedings*, U.S. Naval Academy

"A well-written and refreshing approach that makes a valuable contribution to the study of senior military leadership in war."—*Army*

440 pages, 9 maps, Paper $24.95



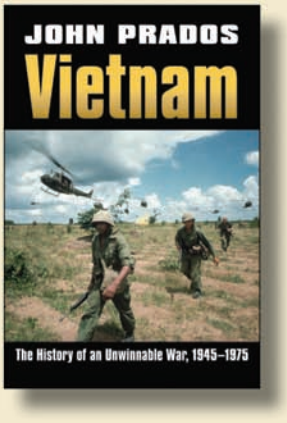
Vietnam
The History of an Unwinnable War, 1945–1975
John Prados

"Ambitiously conceived, robustly argued, and eminently readable, this is a remarkable achievement [and] one of the most significant books published on Vietnam in the last decade."—*Journal of Military History*

"This is the book [on the Vietnam War] we've been waiting for. . . . It definitely establishes itself as the new standard."—*Vietnam*

"If you only had to have one book on the Vietnam War, this is the one."—*The Veteran*

696 pages, 48 photographs, Paper $24.95



University Press of Kansas
Phone 785-864-4155 · Fax 785-864-4586 · www.kansaspress.ku.edu

Airbornecricket.com

For the first time since 1944 the ACME cricket is available again. Manufactured in the same Birmingham factory, on the same presses and using the same dies. For authenticity you will not find better, these are exactly the same as the originals taken into Normandy by the 101st Airborne Division on D-Day, June 6th 1944

- Made in England
- Orig 1944 factory
- Orig 1944 tools
- Signed certificate
- Solid brass
- Authentic box

AVAILABLE ONLINE
airbornecricket.com
info@airbornecricket.com

By Arnold Blumberg

The German MG 42 was noted for its exceptional rapid fire capability, mechanical reliability, and cost effectiveness.

WHETHER FIGHTING IN THE MOUNTAINS OF THE ITALIAN peninsula, assaulting Nazi defensive positions along the vast Russo-German Eastern Front, or clashing with German Army opponents from Normandy to the Elbe River, from 1942 to 1945, Allied soldiers in World War II faced a determined enemy armed with the most effective machine gun produced during that struggle: the Maschinengewehr 42, or the MG 42 for short. This superb, squad-equipped automatic weapon and the tactics the Germans employed in its use dictated in many ways how infantry combat was carried out in Europe during the largest conflict of the 20th century.

The MG 42, possibly the best machine gun ever created, originated as a replacement for the German Army's standard machine gun, the MG 34, which first came into service in 1936. Designed by Louis Stange of the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG (referred to simply as Rheinmetall) located at Sommerda, the MG 34, at the start of World War II, was the Third Reich's preferred general purpose machine gun (GPMG) and was intended to replace the heterogeneous collection of automatic infantry weapons then in service as befitted the new German "one-gun-fits-all" philosophy.

The MG 34, using a 7.92mm round, turned out to be a fine GPMG, meeting all the specifications laid down over the previous decade. Crewed by two or three soldiers, the gun weighed 24.3 pounds; its tripod weighed an additional 52 pounds. Air cooled and recoil operated, it had a cyclic rate of fire of 800 rounds per minute, mandating that the barrel be changed after every 250 rounds. By changing its mounting and fire mechanism, the operator could radically transform its function. With its standard bipod it was a light machine gun, ideal for infantry assaults; mounted on its tripod it served as a sustained fire medium machine gun spewing bullets to a range of 3,829 yards. Between 1939 and 1945, Nazi Germany manufactured over 354,000 of this proven and effective weapon.

For all its qualities as a first-rate GPMC and popularity with its users, the MG 34 did have its problems. In their enthusiasm to make the weapon the finest machine gun possible, the designers had gone over the top by producing a gun that demanded a high-quality finish, the use of scarce raw materials, and higher precision manufacturing than was really needed. Consequently, the manufacturing process was quite time consuming and expensive, so much so that demand due to combat losses and the expansion of the German armed forces could never keep pace with the demands for new production during the war, even after several new manufacturing centers including the main one run by Mauser AG-Werke were established. A simpler, easier to produce GPMG appeared to be the only solution.

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-587-2253-15; Photo: Toni Schneiders

Elite German Fallschirmjagers man a Maschinengewehr 42 in Normandy following the Allied invasion. The MG 42, of which more than 354,000 were made, was often sited in concealed ground and manned by two gunners under the direction of a section leader.

Pickett's Charge Playset

CTS proudly offers you our 540 piece "PICKETT'S CHARGE PLAYSET". If you ever wanted a playset that "has it all," this is it! Over 165 Union troops defend their position on Cemetery Ridge. Advance your 180 plus Confederates across the open field as cannon fire from 12 cannons can be heard overhead. You get 2-6 horse limber and cannons, 2-4 horse limber and caisson, 1 ambulance wagon and 1 US Cavalry wagon, 8 stone walls, 12 pieces of split rail fence, dead horses, trees, flags and much more. It all comes in our new custom printed box with artwork done by renowned Artist Don Troiani and historical image bank (shown right).

CTS 540 piece **"PICKETT'S CHARGE SET"** can be yours for only **$349.95 plus $30.00 S&H**. You save over $350.00 compared to ordering items separately.

BATTLEGROUND PLAYSET

This 160 plus piece playset is the perfect set to get any toy soldier collector started into the European Theater of WWII. Included in the set are over 45 Germans and 50 Allied troops including GI's, French and British. You also get 3 German tanks, 1 German 88mm cannon, 2 Sherman tanks, 1 British Churchill tank, 1 US half track, and 1 US 105mm cannon. Additional accessories include barbed wire, heavy weapons, stone walls, trees, mortar pit, matching gun nest, and much more. This set is a tremendous value for the price.

CTS 160 piece "BATTLEGROUND PLAYSET" can be yours for $159.95 plus $25.00 S&H. You save over $150.00.

Legend of the Alamo Playset

Remember the Alamo with this AWESOME playset including a 14-piece Alamo fort measuring 48" x 48"…Featuring Alamo characters such as Crockett, Travis, Bowie and Santa Anna! Over 200 Mexican soldiers and over 60 American fighters! Many cannons, ladders, stone walls and more! 500 pieces total.

Only **$499.95 plus $55.00 s&h** (3 boxes required)

CTS has over 50 additional playsets and over 2,500 different items for sale. To see these and all the other products we have for sale, send $6.00 for our catalog and color brochure or visit our website at: www.classictoysoldiers.com

Unless otherwise stated, shipping rates are as follows:

$1.00 - $23.99: add $5.99 for shipping **$24.00 - $5.00:** shipping is $9.50 **$50.01 - $100.00:** shipping is $12.00

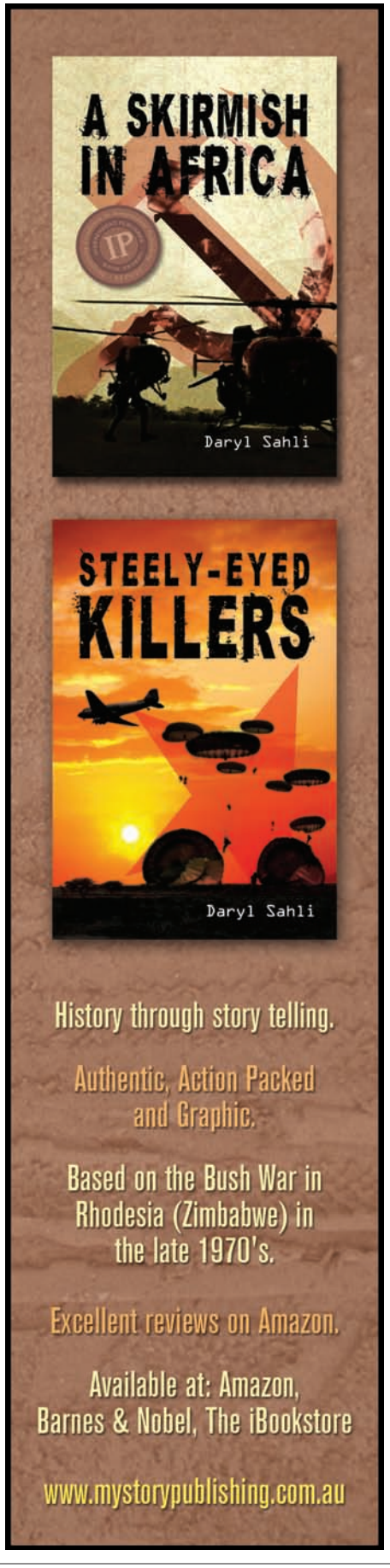
Hours are 9:00 am to 7:00 pm Central Standard Time

Classic Toy Soldiers, Inc.

15148 Mohawk Circle • Leawood, Kansas 66224

DAVID PAYNE, Call: 913-451-9458 • Fax: 913-451-2946 • www.classictoysoldiers.com

Contents and colors may vary from pictured but piece count will remain the same • Personal Checks will be held for 21 days to clear.



The MG 42 was the Third Reich's preferred general purpose machine gun in the second half of World War II.

In 1941, after the Army went back to Mauser AG-Werke requesting the development of a new GPMG to supplement or replace the MG 34, Mauser contracted with the engineering firm of Johannus Grossfuss Metall-und-Locierwaren Fabrik of Dobeln, located in Thuringia, Germany,which had submitted its own machine gun design (the MG 39/41) to Mauser. Metall's design was based on an experimental Polish machine gun Grossfuss had acquired in 1940. This used an innovative roller locking method. The bolt had rollers that, at the time of firing, locked into grooves cut in the receiver walls. Like the MG 34, the muzzle attachment contained an expansion chamber that forced propellant gases to push back the locked barrel and bolt until cams allowed the rollers to move out of their locking grooves. By then the chamber pressures would have fallen to a safe level so the bolt could separate from the barrel and start its rearward travel for the extraction and reloading cycles with the barrel returning to its former position.

The advantage of this locking system was that it contained few moving parts and demanded a minimum of machining during manufacture. It also gave the gun a prodigious rate of fire. Of course, this caused so-called barrel climb, a standard byproduct of fast automatic fire. This problem was dealt with by the attachment of a special muzzle brake used from 1943 to war's end. Using this design as a starting point, Metall assigned the task requested by Mauser to one of its engineers, Doctor Ernst Grunow.

Grunow was not a gunsmith, but he was an expert in the field of stamping, pressing, forming, and shaping metal. As part of his design research Grunow spent six weeks attending a German Army machine gun course to familiarize himself with the intricacies of handling such weapons in combat, as well as learning what the soldiers who were to use these tools of war thought was important. He then designed a machine gun that was compatible with Mauser's operating system and whose parts could be cheaply shaped by stamping and pressing and then assembled by welding and riveting. Grunow's design was 48 inches long, weighed 25 pounds, and used thin steel fittings, which were nevertheless strong but still made the gun's weight easy to carry.

Grunow's novel approach to gun construction immediately produced cost and production benefits. It brought the expense of his new weapon down from $107.30 (for an MG 34) to $88.55 per unit and cut the manufacturing time for each gun down by 35 percent. Grunow's new machine gun made firing safety more secure by employing a nonrotating bolt, which was locked into the barrel extension by two rollers. Further, the movement of the bolt back and forth in the receiver controlled the movement of the belt feed arm, which in turn operated the feed and locking paws to better control the movement of the cartridge belt.

An unexpected bonus of the rework was the increased firing rate of the gun from 800 to 1,200 rounds per minute. This was twice as fast as the American Browning and British Vickers automatic weapons. The unheard of volume of fire gave the new MG 42 its characteristic and distinctive firing report: a "tearing-calico" sound. However, this high rate of fire meant rapid heating of the gun barrel, which was made of lighter weight steel than the barrel of the MG 34 and had polygonal rifling. With the barrel prone to overheating and warping, it became essential that the barrel be changed after the expenditure of 250 rounds.

This problem was easily addressed by creating a long slot on the gun's perforated jacket's right side. The slot, absent the hindrance of a series of perforations, meant that it was only necessary to release the breech end from the receiver, swing it out sideways through the long slot, and withdraw it to the rear. The new barrel was then inserted in the reverse mode, slammed in, and locked. The entire process took an experienced crew from three to seven seconds. The barrel and entire lock assembly could be changed in 25 seconds.

The MG 42 was air cooled, and its short gas recoil facilitated the weapon's rapid firing. There was strong recoil associated with the shooting of the MG 42, and the use of a bipod

National Archives

German troops man an MG 42 along the western bank of the Oder River on the Eastern Front in the final months of World War II. The versatile MG 42 could be used with a tripod as a heavy machine gun remaining in a fixed position or with a bipod as a light machine gun when needed to counterattack an enemy assault.

(the same 2½-pound one employed by the MG 34) was needed. The bipod could be mounted at the front or the center of the gun, depending on the terrain from which it was fired.

The MG 42 could also be used with a heavy-duty tripod, the Lafette 42, to create a powerful sustained firing platform. The Lafette weighed 45 pounds and incorporated a telescopic sight to allow closer shot groupings over longer distances ranging from 200 to 2,200 yards. The tripod also gave the MG 42 some small measure of antiaircraft capability. The shoulder stock was made of wood with a deep curved butt and another significant curve at the front to allow the gunner, using his left hand, to pull the weapon into his shoulder for better fire control. Some of the MG 42 accessories included an enlarged trigger guard for a gunner wearing thick gloves and a device with a periscope sight to allow firing from behind parapets when the gun was mounted on a tripod.

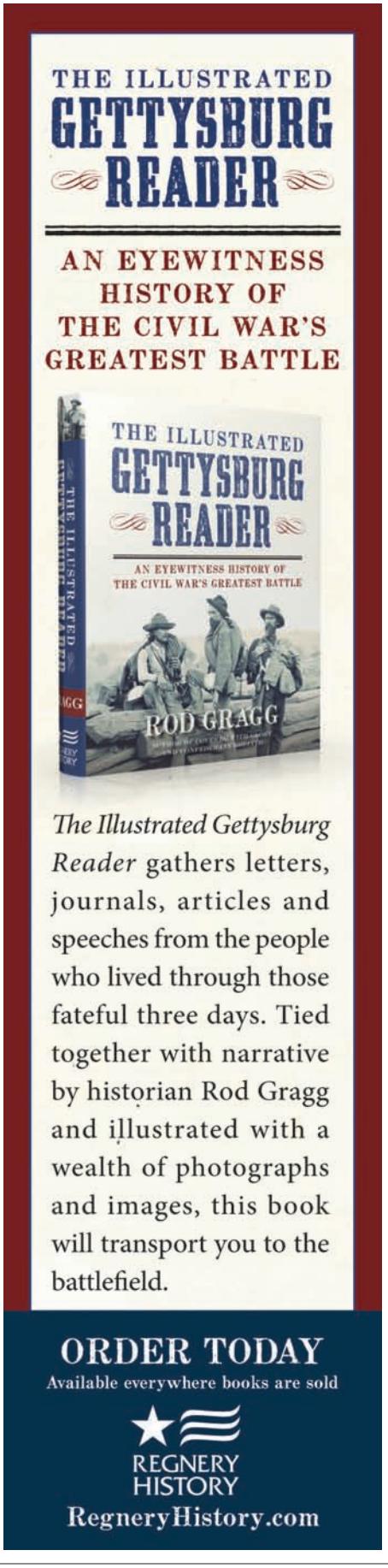
The MG 42 fired a 7.92mm round. With a muzzle velocity of 2,480 feet per second the MG 42's effective range was nearly 1,100 yards. The gun used a 50-round flexible metal belt feed, or, alternatively, a 75-round snail drum magazine. A full 50-round belt of ammo would be depleted in a 2½-second burst; the 75 round drum in 3½ seconds. To permit longer fire bursts, MG 42 crews normally linked together several 50 round belts. Ammunition boxes (weighing 22 pounds each) held five separate belts totaling 250 rounds per box. A good crew could shoot 250 rounds in 12½ seconds of continuous fire, or 20-30 seconds by firing quick bursts.

The authorized crew for each MG 42 was six men, who had these duties:

Crewman No. 1 was a junior NCO who acted as the gunner. His primary personal weapon was a pistol.
Crewman No. 2 was a loader who assisted the gunner by feeding the gun ammunition. He carried a pistol.
Crewman No. 3 carried spare machine gun barrels and ammunition and acted as the gun team's spotter.
Crewman No. 4 transported the tripod and was armed with an MP 40 submachine gun.
Crewman No. 5 carried entrenching tools, additional ammunition, and a bolt-action Karabiner 98k rifle.
Crewman No. 6 brought along gun-cleaning materials, more ammunition, and was armed with a Karabiner 98k rifle.

As the war progressed and critical manpower shortages affected the German armed forces, machine gun detachments merged into ordinary infantry squads. These squads were made up of nine men each—three to four to a platoon. Each three-man section of the squad (gunner, loader, and spotter) operated one machine gun. Due to its light weight and ease of firing, it was not uncommon for a single German soldier to manage an MG 42 in combat.

As good as the MG 42 was, there were still



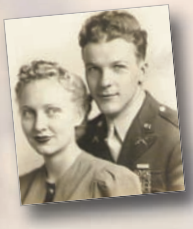
Unforgettable

The Biography of Capt. Thomas J. Flynn

By Alice M. Flynn

WWII hero 1st Lt. Tom Flynn of the 28th Infantry Division survived insurmountable odds during the Battle of the Bulge, the Hurtgen Forest and four Nazi POW camps, only to return home to his beautiful, young wife with *Unforgettable* memories that would haunt him for the rest of his life.

Winner of four book awards in 2012



"...it was amazing! My eyes teared up when Tom was freed from the POW camp in Germany! ...it captures the heart..."
– D. Andersen

"...remarkable job of historical inquiry and personal biography... This book is well researched and very engaging, an intimate portrait that stands as an example of how biographies should be written."

– John C. McManus University of Missouri History professor, author of *Alamo in the Ardennes*

available on amazon.com

UnforgettableVeteran.com

complaints about its performance. First, unlike the MG 34, it could not fire single shots. Another complaint that arose due to the high rate of fire was that during prolonged firing the gun tended to veer away from the target due to the vibration and even push its operator backward. Once the gun was set on its tripod these problems vanished, and the MG 42 became the perfect sustained fire support weapon.

What's more, the tremendous rate of fire coming from the MG 42 was considered by some to be a waste of ammunition. To counter that argument, others said that since a soldier, in the Germans' experience, only fired at an enemy he could see and time (only seconds) was fleeting, the more bullets directed at the enemy the greater chance for a kill.

During the war a number of companies produced the MG 42, although never in the numbers needed to keep up with the ever increasing demand. These included Gustloff-Werke in Suhl, Mauser AG-Werke in Borsigwald, Steyr in Vienna, Grossfuss in Dobeln, and Maget in Among them, 129 MG 42s were made each day from 1942 through 1945. More than 400,000 units were produced (17,915 in 1942,116,725 in 1943, 211,806 in 1944, and 61,877 in 1945).

Of course, even the best weapon has to be used appropriately for its battlefield capabilities to be fully realized. Fortunately for the Germans, and unfortunately for their opponents during World War II, the German Army formulated an effective machine gun doctrine and tactics.

Unlike their American, British, Commonwealth, and Soviet adversaries, the Germans in World War II employed machine guns as their major infantry support weapons. The Allies used automatic weapons to support rifle-armed infantry. The German Army reversed the process, using infantry to support machine guns in combat. As a result, the standard German Army infantry company of 150 men in 1944 contained 15 MG 42s needing only 30 to 50 men to crew the lot. By contrast, only two light machine guns were assigned to each American foot company.

Generally, German machine gun doctrine, both for defense and attack, stressed five basic points: surprise, fire and movement, coordination of firepower, conservation of ammunition, and alternate positions. In defense, the MG 42 was usually employed with its tripod to act as a heavy machine gun. When German troops were surprised by an enemy attack, the weapon was often removed from the tripod and used as a light machine gun to counterattack the enemy assault.

Acting as a heavy automatic weapon, the MG 42 was usually sited in concealed ground and manned by two gunners under the direction of a section leader. Reverse slopes were the preferred covered positions. The guns were only placed in their final fire position at the last moment before combat began. In attack and defense, MG 42s were set up in areas where they could lay down enfilade and crossfire against any advancing enemy.

During offensive operations, MG 42s acting as heavy machine guns covered the deployment of friendly infantry from echeloned positions sited on commanding terrain. In preparing for the attack of friendly forces, the MG 42, firing from behind the friendly troops, aimed to smother enemy centers of resistance and deliver fire against opposing counterattacks. As advancing German soldiers moved forward, the supporting machine guns, acting as heavy weapons, followed from position to position in their wake.

In either attack or defense, the German rifleman's prime responsibility was to support the squad-operated machine gun. When the MG 42 crew moved, the riflemen covered them with fire. When the MG 42 set up, the riflemen dug foxholes for the machine gun crew while watching for the approach of enemy forces. When the MG 42 opened fire, several riflemen were detailed to carry ammunition to the gun. Since the MG 42 was light enough to be operated and carried by one man, the bearer could keep pace with advancing comrades. Its ability to be set up and in action in a matter of seconds made the MG 42 invaluable in the attack.

On the defensive, MG 42s were shifted back and forth between different positions to confuse the enemy. The Germans called this tactic *Stelungswechsel* (change of position) and was a vital part of their overall machine gun doctrine. Three firing pits for the gun were usually dug at various places along the front line: one to cover the expected avenue of an enemy advance; another on the left or right flank to support a neighboring squad; and yet another—called the *Schweige* MG (ambush position)—about 50 yards behind the main German line. These tactics made the Germans, as one American officer during the early stages of the Normandy Campaign stated, "masters at making one man appear to be a whole squad by moving rapidly from one concealed position to another."

When firing the MG 42, controlled bursts of seven to 10 rounds were recommended, with 15 well-aimed bursts let off in a minute. This not only conserved ammunition, thus allowing for more sustained firing, but made for more accurate shooting and prevented jamming.

German paratroopers relied heavily on the MG 42 in the latter stages of World War II.

After the invasion of Crete in the spring of 1941, Hitler decided not to employ the German paratroopers in future air drops because of the high casualties they sustained. Afterward, they became an elite force defending the ever-shrinking perimeter of the Third Reich.

In Italy, for example, they were tasked with defending wide fronts of rough terrain and became masters at effectively employing the MG 42. Nowhere was this more evident than in the long struggle for the town of Cassino and the surrounding hills. Monte Cassino would become the 1st Parachute Division's fortress from February to May 1944. Using their MG 42s defensively, the paratroopers warded off numerous Allied ground assaults through the ruins of Cassino and the heights surrounding that stricken town. Often, a mandatory retreat was immediately followed by a spirited German parachutist counterattack covered by the rapid and deadly fire of the MG 42.

The U.S. Army was impressed by the MG 42's performance and the psychological effect it had on American fighting men. U.S. Army training films and lectures tried to downplay the potency of the MG 42 and the bite it had in combat. They emphasized that the gun, although able to fire rapidly, was not able to cover much ground and if U.S. soldiers stayed well apart the machine guns would not be able to do much damage.

The films and talks went on to suggest that the best tactic for handling the beast was to charge it during the eight to 10 seconds or so it took for the crew to change the barrel. As can be imagined, U.S. soldiers who had prior experience under the fire of MG 42s did not follow this advice, preferring to hit the dirt on hearing the MG 42's unmistakable report and hug the ground while awaiting friendly artillery or tank support to deal with the MG 42. U.S. infantrymen with combat experience did not carry out many frontal assaults on MG 42 positions as such attempts were deemed suicidal.

In 1943, the U.S. Army attemped to copy the MG 42. The design, called the T24 machine gun, was hampered by the introduction of provisions for it to fire the U.S. .30-06 cartridge. The gun's performance was disappointing, and the project was abandoned.

Whether called the "linoleum ripper" by Soviet soldiers, the "Spandau" by the British, "Hitler's zipper" by the Americans, or Hitlersage ("Hitler's saw") or "Bonesaw" by its German users, the MG 42 machine gun proved its combat worth on every European battlefield. Its ominous and terrifying "ripping cloth report" announced to all the presence of the best machine gun available. □

Kamabee Keep

U.S. WW2 M9 Bazooka

Full size steel non firing display of the venerable 2.36" cal. Bazooka. Made from steel, this is a great display piece. Breaks down into two pieces like the original. Reproduction, no rocket. Very Limited ... **$350**

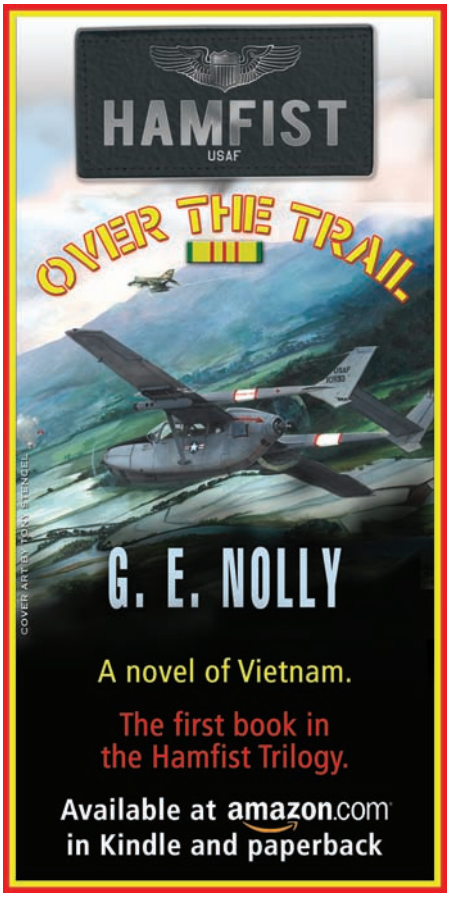
Phone: 570.434.8000
www.kamabeekeep.com
PO Box 403, New Milford, Pa 18834
Fax: 570.434.8020 | E-mail: kbee1@nep.net
Major credit cards, check, money orders accepted.
Call ahead for shipping/handling quote.

U.S. D-Day 'Cricket' Signal

Issued to U.S. and allied Paratroopers for detecting friend from foe. Brass and steel, U.S. embossed. New made. Further made famous by the movie 'The Longest Day'. **$8 each or 4 for $25**

Austrian WW1 Helmet
Perhaps the best of the WW1 Axis helmets with it's strong steel shell, shorter brim, lugs and adjustable chin strap. Excellent reproduction with markings. **$68**

French Napoleonic Flag
Flag of the 1st Regiment Grenadier Gaurds as it would have gone into battle at Waterloo. Flamboyant and dignified in the French style, this flag is 3x3' with gold fringe and vibrant colors. Almost impossible to obtain anywhere. Fabric is double layered for clarity of print. The opposite side lists the battle honors from Marengo to Moscow. Limited availability. **$85**



By Robert Barr Smith

British Private Henry Tandey held his fire on a group of Germans in World War I. One of them was Adolf Hitler.

PRIVATE HENRY TANDEY HAD A CLEAR SHOT AT THE GERMAN SOLDIER. He was so close that he could look his enemy in the eyes. Tandey could not have missed. But the man was wounded; one account of that far away day in 1918 says that the German was lying bleeding on the ground. In any case, the German soldier made no move to resist; he simply stared at the Englishman. Tandey eased off the trigger of his Enfield and did not fire. "I took aim," said Tandey later, "but couldn't shoot a wounded man. So I let him go."

Maybe he shouldn't have.

The German soldier went on his way, and Tandey went his. No doubt the Englishman forgot all about the man he had spared, because Tandey still had a war to fight. And not long afterward, Tandey got the welcome news that he had been awarded his nation's highest medal for gallantry, the Victoria Cross (VC). He would receive his cross at Buckingham Palace in December 1919, at the hands of King George V himself.

Tandey won the VC near a French town called Marcoing, which lay about seven kilometers southwest of Cambrai, on September 28, 1918, when his company was held up by heavy German machine-gun fire. Tandey crawled forward, leading a Lewis Gun team, and knocked out the German position. He then pushed on to the Schelde Canal, a broad embanked stream. Some small British elements had crossed the canal on a set of lock gates and a wrecked railway bridge, but more troops were needed quickly on the other bank.

However, as German resistance stiffened, the canal obstructed his unit's advance, and Tandey reached the bank of the canal to find an impassable break in the planking of a bridge spanning 50 yards of water. Tandey worked under heavy fire to cover the gap in the bridge with planks and open the way for the rest of his unit to cross.

In ferocious fighting later the same day, Tandey and eight other men were cut off behind German lines. Vastly outnumbered, Tandey still led his handful in a wild bayonet charge that smashed into the Germans and drove them back against the rest of Tandey's unit, which took 37 prisoners. Wounded twice, Tandey went on to lead his men in a search of dugouts, winkling out and capturing more than 20 additional Germans. Only then would Tandey stand down and get his wounds dressed. Badly hurt, for the third time in the war, he was on his way to a hospital in England.

Tandey was born in 1891, in Leamington, Warwickshire. The son of a stonemason who had also soldiered for Britain, he became a professional soldier, a tough, long-service infantryman who survived four years of bitter war in Belgium and France. Nicknamed "Napper," Tandey was not a large man, standing less than five feet, six inches, and

Courtesy of The Green Howards Museum

Holding the Menin Cross Roads, a painting by Italian artist Fortunino Matania, shows British private Henry Tandey carrying a wounded comrade. German Chancellor Adolf Hitler told British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain that Tandey had spared his life when he was a soldier in World War I.

Wikipedia

Tandey, who served in the Green Howards Regiment, was a recipient of the Victoria Cross.

weighing just under 120 pounds. But what he lacked in stature, Napper Tandey made up in grit and high courage.

Back in 1910, he had enlisted in Alexandra, Princess of Wale's Own Yorkshire Regiment, commonly known as the Green Howards. Beginning life as the 19th Regiment of Foot, the Green Howards were a famous outfit named for the color of their uniform facings and the name of their first colonel. It distinguished them from another famous regiment commanded by a different Howard, which wore buff-colored facings. During the war, that regiment would win its own fame simply as the Buffs, the East Kent Regiment.

Tandey had served with the 2nd Battalion of the Green Howards in South Africa and on the island of Guernsey before the war. He was a tough, able soldier, and by the time of his exploit at Marcoing he had already been five times "mentioned in despatches," a peculiarly British means of honoring high achievement under fire. He had also won the Distinguished Conduct Medal while commanding a bombing party. On that occasion, he rushed a German post with just two soldiers to help him, killing several of the enemy and capturing 20 more.

Tandey also held the Military Medal for heroism under fire. This decoration he won at a place called Havricourt in the fall of 1918, where he carried a wounded man to safety under heavy fire and organized a party to bring in still more wounded. Then, again in command of a bombing party, he met and broke a strong German attack, driving the enemy back, as his citation read, "in confusion."

He had been wounded on the bloody Somme in 1916 and shipped back to England to recover. Once on his feet again, he joined the 9th Battalion of the Green Howards, with which he was again shot up at Passchendaele in the fall of 1917. After some time in the hospital in England, it was back to France, this time with the 12th Battalion of the regiment. When the 12th Battalion was disbanded in July 1918, Tandey was attached to the 5th Battalion of the Duke of Wellington's (West Riding) Regiment, and it was with this outfit that he won his VC.

After the war, Tandey soldiered on with the 2nd Battalion of the Duke of Wellington's, serving in Gibraltar, Turkey, and Egypt. In 1920 he was one of 50 VC holders who served as a guard of honor inside Westminster Abbey during the ceremonial burial of Britain's Unknown Soldier.

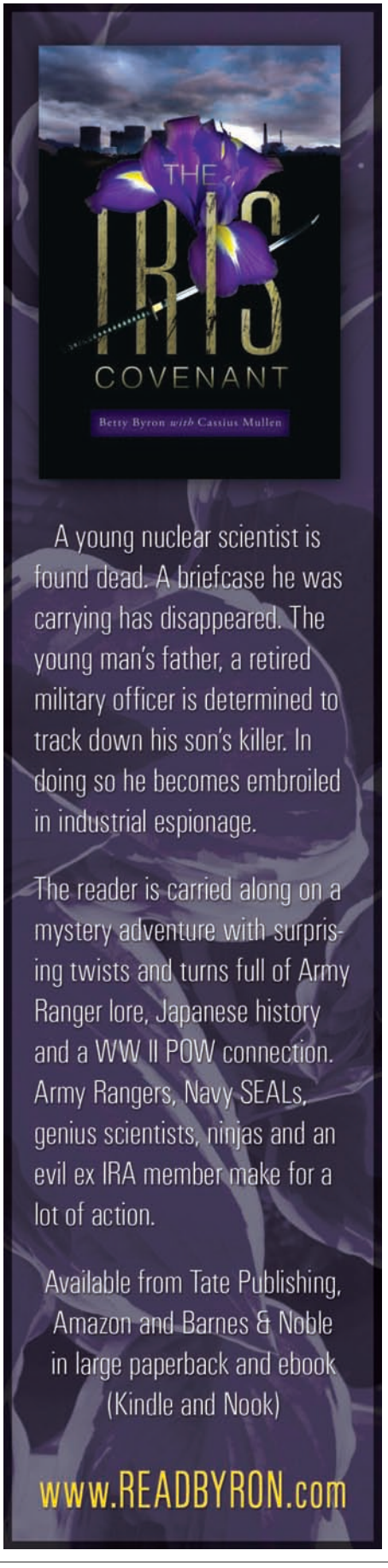
In January 1926, he was discharged as a sergeant, at that time the most heavily decorated enlisted man in the British Army. He spent the next 38 years in his home town of Leamington, where he married and worked as a "commissionaire" or security man for Standard Motor Company. A modest, quiet man, he talked little about the war.

With his fighting days well behind him, Tandey's war should have been over. But it wasn't. About the time of the award of his VC, a painting appeared, a graphic image of war by Italian artist and illustrator Fortunino Matania. Matania had included Tandey in his painting of soldiers at the Menin Cross Roads in 1914, not far from the battered Flemish town of Ypres. Tandey is facing the viewer, carrying a wounded soldier on his back, and the painting also shows other men of the Green Howards and a wounded German prisoner.

Matania's vivid painting became something far more than a picture, all because of the man who acquired a copy of it. For in 1938, then British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain made his futile attempt to guarantee "peace in our time." Flying to Germany to meet Hitler in the Alps, he was entertained at the Eagle's Nest, perched on the Kehlstein Rock high above the town of Berchtesgaden. And there, displayed on a wall of that ostentatious aerie, was a copy of Matania's painting. It was a curious choice of art for Hitler since it showed only British troops, but Hitler soon explained.

Hitler pointed to Tandey, commenting to Chamberlain, "That man came so near to killing me that I thought I should never see Germany again, providence saved me from such devilishly accurate fire as those English boys were aiming at us."

Then Hitler went a step further. I want you to pass on my best wishes and thanks to the soldier in that painting, he said, and Chamberlain replied that he would contact the man when he returned to England. The prime minster was as good as his word. Only then did Tandey find out that the pitiful wounded man he had spared, the bedraggled German corporal in the Bavarian 16th Reserve Infantry Regiment, was now the chancellor of Germany, on



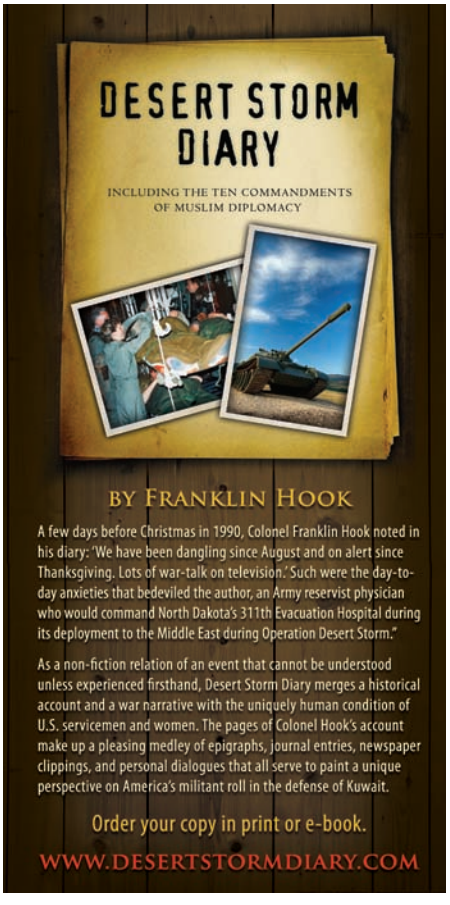
SHIPINDEX.ORG

authoritative, accurate, and comprehensive vessel research

› ShipIndex.org puts nearly 3 million references at your fingertips.

› With ShipIndex.org, you can find vessel images, ship histories, passenger and crew lists, vessel data, and much more. Search over 300 sources, including books, magazines, databases, and websites, all at once.

Use coupon code MHER0913 for discount rates
Expires 31 December 2013



his way to becoming the ogre of Europe.

Tandey's relatives remembered the telephone call from Chamberlain. When Tandey returned from talking to the prime minister, he related the tale of Chamberlain seeing the painting. The prime minister told him, he said, that Hitler had pointed to Tandey's picture and said, "That's the man who nearly shot me."

Now Hitler probably would have known the name of the British soldier who spared his life. For the copy of the Matania painting on his wall at the Adlerhorst had come to Berchtesgaden from the British Army about 1937. Colonel M. Earle, an officer of the Grenadier Guards, had furnished the copy through a most unlikely intermediary, a German doctor then resident in Siam.

Earle had commanded the first battalion of the Grenadiers, and his unit had been in the line next to the Green Howards during the bitter fighting around the Menin Cross Roads. Badly wounded and captured at the end of October 1914, he was treated by a young German doctor named Schwend, whom Earle believed had saved his life. Schwend contacted Colonel Earle in the mid-1930s through a British lawyer also living in Bangkok, and he and Earle carried on a continuing correspondence.

In his letters to Earle the doctor remembered the terrible losses his unit suffered from the murderous British rifle fire in the Ypres area. "There is no doubt," the doctor wrote to the colonel, "that at the beginning of the war the British army was greatly under estimated....You will find in all the personal and official reports of our Division what a bad shock to our morale it was for our troops to find out in the very first days that the enemy was *really superior* to us in fighting experience.... We had the most severe losses for days and days, and most of our men had not seen the enemy.... I have seen some of those young volunteers crying in despair that they were shot down from 'nowhere,' and that they had not seen an Englishman."

And in passing, Schwend also commented that Hitler's unit had been fighting in the German line directly opposite the Green Howards.

Earle, feeling a deep sense of obligation to the German who had fought for his life near the Menin Cross Roads, pondered the Matania painting. "It occurred to me," he wrote in the *Green Howards Gazette,* "that if I could obtain a copy for Dr. Schwend it might compensate him for not having been able to see the Green Howards in the flesh 22 years ago."

Earle sent the copy of the painting to Schwend, who thanked him profusely in a letter dated January 8, 1937. The colonel and the doctor would later stand together by the Menin

National Archives

Adolf Hitler as a corporal in the Bavarian 16th Reserve Infantry Regiment. "I was sorry to God I let him go," Tandey said.

Gate, on which are inscribed the names of 56,000 British dead, listening to a bugler play the last post in the gathering dusk.

Some time after Earle sent his gift to the doctor, the photo made its way to Berchtesgaden, to the Adlerhorst high on Kehlstein Rock. One of Hitler's adjutants wrote to Earle in thanks. This officer—called in one source Captain Weidman—was surely Captain Fritz Wiedemann, Hitler's superior officer in World War I. Wiedemann served as Hitler's Army adjutant from 1937 on—der Führer had one from each service—until Wiedemann was fired four years later for disagreeing with Hitler once too often. This is what Wiedemann wrote, here in translation: "I beg to acknowledge your friendly gift ... sent to Berlin through the good offices of Dr. Schwend. The Führer is naturally very interested in things connected with his own war experiences, and he was obviously moved when I showed him the picture and explained the thought which you had in causing it to be sent to him. He has directed me to send you his best thanks for your friendly gift which is so rich in memories."

Surely a painting of British troops would not arouse such excitement in Hitler for its own sake. Nor would he have been so pleased to have a copy unless it meant something very special to him. There was plenty of excellent and graphic war art available, paintings and photographs showing German troops in action, copies of which Hitler could have easily had in Germany, simply for the asking. And if the

story of his comment to Neville Chamberlain is true, the German chancellor recognized Tandey as a man who had spared his life.

The story of Tandey and Hitler first appeared in the British tabloid newspaper *Sunday Graphic* in December 1940, and has been the subject of some controversy since. Inevitably, there have been questions raised whether the battlefield meeting of Tandey and Hitler ever happened at all. There appears to be some evidence that Hitler was on leave when his unit and Tandey's fought in the Marcoing sector. Moreover, at least one knowledgeable writer tells that Hitler's unit was not close to Marcoing at the time Tandey won his VC.

It has also been suggested that the meeting, if in fact it occurred, might well have happened during the Ypres fighting in 1914, for that is the time portrayed in the Matania painting that Hitler admired. Tandey might indeed have spared Hitler during the Battle of First Ypres, for he later told journalists that he had on occasion held his fire to spare wounded German soldiers before the Marcoing fighting in 1918.

One writer speculates that the whole legend may be "purely a Hitler-based story," since Hitler held the British soldier in high esteem. He might also have wanted to butter up the British prime minister with flattering remarks about the British Army. And Hitler might have transposed the British soldier who spared his life into Tandey, intentionally or otherwise. Maybe so.

And certainly skepticism is natural, for the element of coincidence in this story is almost too good to be true. But not quite. While many German records of World War I were later destroyed in the bombings of World War II, there is no dispute that both Tandey's battalion of the Green Howards and Hitler's unit—the 16th Bavarian Reserve Infantry Regiment—were present in the fighting around Ypres in 1914 and Hitler was wounded in that area. Moreover, Dr. Schwend remembered that the 16th Bavarians fought opposite the Green Howards at the Menin Cross Roads and were in action there on October 29.

It is also significant that Tandey believed the story—for the rest of his days he was haunted by the thought that his merciful gesture might have cost the world untold misery and millions of wanton murders. This compassionate man could not forget what might have been avoided had he squeezed his trigger and shot down that wounded German.

Tandey was living in Coventry during the Luftwaffe's terrible attack on the city in November 1940. His own home was destroyed by German bombs, curiously leaving intact only a memorial clock given to him by the Old Contemptibles Association, a group of veterans of the First British Expeditionary Force that served during August-November 1914. On that same dreadful night the Luftwaffe destroyed Coventry Cathedral.

Tandey saw firsthand the resulting destruction, misery, and death and he worked with others to help pull survivors from the rubble of the city. He is said to have told a journalist at about that time, "If only I had known what he would turn out to be. When I saw all the people, women and children he had killed and wounded I was sorry to God I let him go."

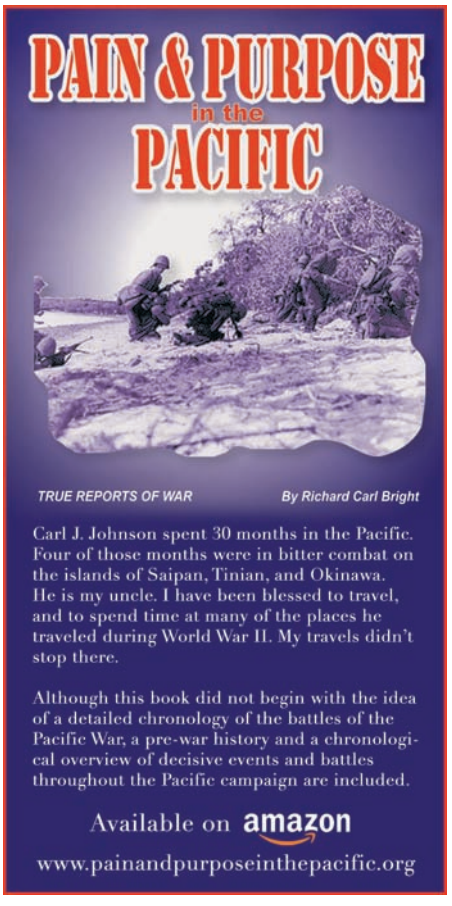
Henry Tandey would return to duty during World War II as a recruiting sergeant after doctors rejected him for active service on the basis of his old wounds. On the 60th anniversary of the Battle of the Somme, he shared the reviewing stand during a Leamington parade honoring the men who had fought along that bloody river. A little more than a year later, he passed away in Coventry at the age of 86. Although Tandey had specified that his funeral was to be private, it was nevertheless attended by the mayors of both Leamington and Coventry.

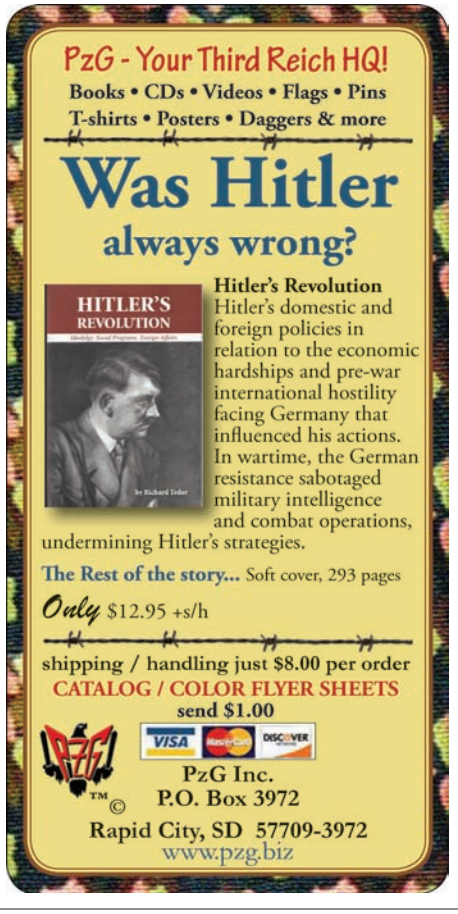
Tandey lies today in Marcoing's British Cemetery. He was cremated and wished to have his ashes scattered across the Marcoing battlefield. But because of French restrictions prohibiting such things, his ashes were put to rest among the remains of British soldiers who were killed in action and buried in the Marcoing British Cemetery.

In later days his decorations were sold by his widow for a hefty 27,000 pounds, but it is pleasant to relate that they were later acquired and presented to the Green Howards by a patriot and great friend of the regiment, Sir Ernest Harrison, OBE. Tandey's medals reside today in the regimental museum in the city of Richmond, Yorkshire. He is also commemorated in an unusual way, one which he probably would have liked. There is a Tandey Bar in the Royal Hotel, Royal Leamington Spa, and for years there was a VC Lounge in Leamington's Regent Hotel, where Tandey had worked before his enlistment in 1910.

For many years Tandey's old regiment, the Green Howards, was one of the few units unaffected by the perpetual reorganizations and amalgamations imposed by British governments. And then, in 2004, during still another reorganization, the Green Howards became part of the new Yorkshire Regiment, sharing that distinction not only with The Prince of Wales' Own Regiment of Yorkshire, but also with the Duke of Wellington's Regiment.

The new outfit shares the gallantry of Private Henry Tandey. He will not be forgotten. □





By Jon Diamond

Dudley Clarke's British Commandos carried out complex operations that were crucial to toppling the Axis powers in World War II.

AFTER THE BRITISH EXPEDITIONARY FORCE'S (BEF) DEBACLE AT Dunkirk in northern France in May 1940, the new prime minister, Winston Churchill, needed a novel type of fighting force to strike back at Nazi Europe. Britain needed to project to the remaining free nations, especially the "isolationist" United States with its pro-surrender faction, that the island nation was determined to fight on. This meant not only deterring a suspected Nazi invasion by successfully defending the airspace over the island against the vaunted Luftwaffe, but also by engaging in offensive actions on the Continent and in Norway, no matter how small the attacking force or operation might be.

Also, Britain would be fighting Italy across North Africa. General Archibald Wavell, C-in-C Middle East, needed to devise a way to convince the overwhelmingly superior Italian forces in Libya, Abyssinia, and Italian Somaliland that they were, in fact, pitted against a substantial Commonwealth army.

A South African named Dudley Clarke came up with the answer to the problems facing Churchill and Wavell. Clarke was born on April 27, 1899. He attended Charterhouse, one of the major English public schools, and subsequently entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich in May 1916, at the age of 17. Six months later, he was commissioned in the Royal Artillery but could not serve in France because he was underage. Instead, he transferred to the Royal Flying Corps (RFC) and was a pilot in Egypt for the remainder of the conflict.

After the war he returned to the artillery, but he proudly wore his RFC wings against regulation. From 1919 to 1930, he traveled extensively throughout the Middle East and served in the Territorial Army in Sussex. After three years with the Transjordan Frontier Force, he attended the Staff College at Camberly, in 1933-1934, becoming a protégé of its commandant and future Chief of the Imperial General Staff (CIGS), General John Dill.

After Camberley, Clarke served in the coastal defense at Aden, and in 1936 was transferred to Palestine, where he functioned as the chief of the operations staff initially for Dill, the C-in-C Palestine, and then for Wavell. Before the start of the war, Major Clarke was stationed at the War Office in London.

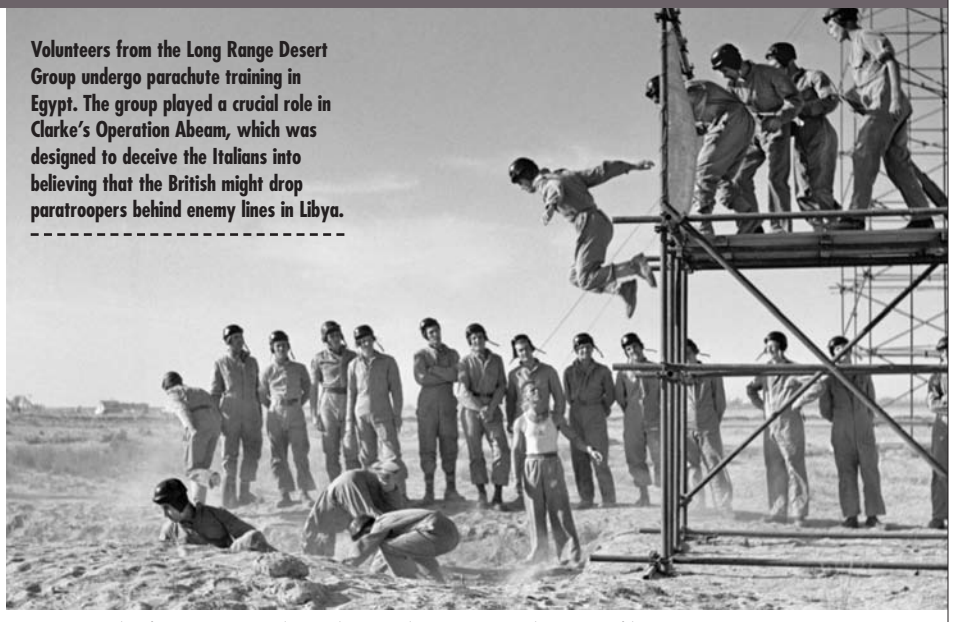
During the early days of the war, Clarke served with Wavell again, reconnoitering overland supply routes astride the Red Sea. In the spring of 1940, he went to Norway twice, formulated anti-invasion plans in Ireland in the event of a German assault, and was in Calais during the BEF's forlorn attempt to hold that port before the Dunkirk evacuation.

The day after Dunkirk ended, as one of Dill's military assistants Clarke devised the conceptual frame-

BOTH: Imperial War Museum

RIGHT: British commandos train for close-quarters combat. They excelled at tricking the enemy into acting in a manner to assist Allied plans. ABOVE: Brig. Gen. Dudley Clarke devised the conceptual framework for the British Commandos.

Imperial War Museum



Volunteers from the Long Range Desert Group undergo parachute training in Egypt. The group played a crucial role in Clarke's Operation Abeam, which was designed to deceive the Italians into believing that the British might drop paratroopers behind enemy lines in Libya.

work for the British Commandos, which he believed should become the offensive organization of a weapon-depleted British Army. Clarke recalled British military history and his own past to address the military challenges facing Great Britain. He recalled the guerrilla warfare against Napoleon in Spain and the term "Commando" from the Boer War. The Boers, using guerrilla tactics against the British, called operational units Commandos. The Boer Commandos were able to prevent a quick and decisive victory by an army vastly superior to theirs in numbers and arms. Clarke also reflected on his service during the Arab Revolt in Palestine in 1936, when a handful of poorly armed Arab fanatics had been able to negate the strength of more than an army corps of regular troops. Clarke envisioned a force that could operate without artillery, baggage trains, and other supply paraphernalia against an enemy with forces arrayed against Great Britain from Scandinavia to the Pyrenees. On the last day of the Dunkirk evacuation, June 4, 1940, Clarke sat down in his London quarters and began formulating his ideas.

His ideas were first submitted to his superior, Dill, on June 5, and were then forwarded to the prime minister the next day. On Clarke's recommendation, Churchill issued orders for the establishment of elite units capable of harassing the Germans. "Enterprises must be prepared with specially trained troops of the hunter class who can develop a reign of terror down the enemy coast," wrote Churchill. "I look to the Chiefs of Staff to propose measures for a ceaseless offensive against the whole German-occupied coastline, leaving a trail of German corpses behind."

On June 8, Churchill's assent was rapidly passed on to Clarke with the caveat of celerity. The prime minister wanted the military to mount a raid across the English Channel at the earliest possible time. Later that afternoon, Section MO9 of the War Office was created with Clarke being promoted to colonel to implement his scheme for Commando-style raiding.

The only conditions laid down by the prime minister to Clarke were that no unit should be diverted from its most essential task, the defense of Britain, which might soon face invasion. Thus, Clarke was basically given a free hand to form the Commandos. When Clarke first went to seek the cooperation of the Admiralty, he was cordially received by the assistant chief of the naval staff, who was delighted that the Army was ready to go back into action and said that the Navy would furnish any resources needed for the effort.

To demonstrate the pitiful state of arms in Britain, on the first Commando raid carried out on the night of June 23-24 against the Boulogne-Le Touquet area, the expedition had half of the 40 Tommy guns then remaining in the country. Ironically, Dudley Clarke, who accompanied the expedition as an observer, was the only soldier injured when a German bullet struck him in the ear, almost severing it. Thus, the conjurer of the Commandos was its first casualty.

Following Churchill's chiding, MO9 lost no time in thinking up another raid. On the night of July 14-15, a raid was mounted against the German garrison on the island of Guernsey. This raid produced no German casualties and was deemed unimpressive. When he heard of the attack's lackluster performance, Churchill said that he didn't want any more operations that failed to produce results. Two days later Admiral of the Fleet Roger Keyes became director of combined operations, in effect superseding Clarke's role.

For five months after his wounding in the Boulogne-Le Torquet raid, Clarke was engrossed in Commando affairs—until he was summoned by Wavell. In November 1940, Wavell, still the C-in-C Middle East, decided to reunite with his protégé and brought Clarke from England to Cairo. On November 13, 1940, Wavell advised London by personal signal that he intended to form a special section of intelligence whose primary mission would be deception of the enemy. For that purpose, he requested that there be assigned to that responsibility an officer, now a lieutenant colonel, who had served under him in Palestine in the 1930s, and in whom he had, in his own words, "recognized an original, unorthodox outlook on soldiering," coupled with "originality, ingenuity, and [a] somewhat impish sense of humor."

Clarke's work has been referred to as a one-man show. Wavell's regular chief of intelligence confessed after the war that he had no clear understanding of Clarke's job during the early months of the Desert War.

On December 19, 1940, Clarke arrived and reported to Wavell for duty. As the war developed, British soldiers and policy makers settled down to organize deception seriously. Wavell concluded that trickery would have to be used as a substitute for strength until real strength could be built up again. From an alternative viewpoint, Clarke wrote in his draft memoirs, which were never completed or published, "The secret war was waged rather to conserve than to destroy; the stakes were the lives of the frontline troops, and the organization which fought it was able to count its gains from the number of casualties it could avert."

In December 1940, Clarke would be personal intelligence officer for special duties to the C-in-C Middle East. The post entailed not only the planning and conduct of deception activities, but also the organization and operation of a Middle Eastern equivalent of M19, the element of military intelligence at the War Office responsible for assisting British soldiers to evade capture and for securing information from prisoners of war in enemy hands and assisting them to escape.

Clarke ran M19 for the Middle East and subsequently the whole Mediterranean from January 5, 1941, until August 1944. Being less secret than deception, it served throughout the war as a cover for Clarke's primary task. Clarke's first assignment with deception was to

Continued on page 70

THIRST *for* TREASURE

ENGLISH, FRENCH, AND DUTCH PIRATES PREYED ON SPANISH WEALTH IN THE NEW WORLD FOR NEARLY 150 YEARS. BY STEVEN M. JOHNSON

THE ENGLISH SOLDIERS stepped out of their pinnaces into the foaming surf on the island of Hispaniola. As they strode through the water toward the sandy beach, they made every effort not to get their firelock muskets and pistols wet.

The soldiers, under the command of Captain Christopher Carleille, had been dispatched from galleons in a fleet commanded by Francis Drake, whose mission was to wreak havoc throughout the Spanish Main. Drake's instructions to Carleille were to march 20 miles through the jungle and attack the Spanish settlement of Santo Domingo. Drake's thinking, which turned out to be true, was that the defenders of the town would expect an attack by sea, not land.

Library of Congress

Sir Henry Morgan, depicted in a period engraving, plundered the Spanish Main.

Early on the morning on January 1, 1586, the English foot soldiers assaulted the town from the west. They struck in two columns directed at separate gates leading into the town. Meanwhile, cannon balls fired from the English galleons whistled overhead and crashed into the town's fragile buildings. Outnumbered five to one, the Spanish garrison had little chance of holding off Elizabeth I's pirate force led by the wily Drake.

When Drake saw the flag with the cross of St. George raised over the city, he ordered his ships to sail into Santo Domingo's inner harbor. Once Spanish resistance had been quashed, Drake's men rampaged through the city, looting from the town's residents whatever valuables they had and burning buildings at will.

A Spanish emissary asked Drake what tribute they must pay to stop the destruction. Drake's reply was that it would take one million ducats to compel him and his men to depart. Knowing they could not come up with that amount, the Spanish nevertheless set about gathering whatever wealth they could gather as a counteroffer.

Drake's attack on Santo Domingo was typical of the hit-and-run tactics of English privateers on the Spanish Main. The term "main" in its strictest sense referred to the northern coastline of the South American mainland, but by the mid-16th century the term also meant "sea" and was being used in reference to any part of the Caribbean basin. During the period from 1568 to 1713, English, French, and Dutch pirates attacked Spanish settlements and hunted Spanish treasure ships throughout the Spanish Main. The pirate activity was carried out during periods of open war as well as periods of undeclared war between Spain and her enemies.

Spain amassed huge quantities of gold and silver through its conquest of the Aztecs, Mayas, and Incas in Latin America, as well as through the mining of gold and silver in the areas inhabited by those native peoples. The wealth was transported to Spain by two treasure fleets. One of these was the New Spain fleet, and the other was the Tierre Firme fleet. The New Spain Fleet transported silver from the Mexican mines to Spain, whereas the Tierre Firme fleet transported Venezuelan gold and Peruvian silver. This wealth made Spain the most powerful nation in the world, which put the Spanish at odds with the English, French, and Dutch, who also were intent on building their own world empires and crippling the Spanish Empire.

In the late 16th century, England increasingly turned to privateers to attack Spanish treasure ships and cities to help finance its own empire. The English privateers were issued a letter of marque by Queen Elizabeth I, which gave them permission to attack Spanish ships and required them to share a portion of their spoils with the crown. The Treaty of Tordeesillas, which was signed between Portugal and Spain in 1494, established a longitudinal boundary dividing the New World possessions of the two countries. The Spanish regarded the English privateers as interlopers and refused to consider that they

English pirates approach a Spanish galleon in a painting by premier pirate illustrator Howard Pyle. In the late 16th century, England increasingly turned to privateers to attack Spanish treasure ships and cities to help finance its own empire.

Library of Congress

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

ABOVE: A period engraving gives a bird's-eye view of Sir Francis Drake's fleet attacking Santo Domingo in 1586. Because Spanish treasure fleets often were too powerful to attack, the pirates focused on raiding coastal towns. RIGHT: Spanish Admiral Don Alvaro de Bazan (top), Sir John Hawkins (middle), and Sir Francis Drake (bottom). OPPOSITE: Sir Francis Drake's pirates prepare to ambush a Spanish mule train transporting Peruvian silver across the Panamanian isthmus in 1573. Because of the size of the treasure, they had to leave most of it behind.

were anything but pirates, particularly when operating beyond the line in the area that Spain claimed. The Spanish refuted the legal protections claimed by English privateers, vowing to promptly execute Elizabeth's "sea dogs" when captured.

Spain did not allow any trading between foreign nations and its Caribbean and Latin American colonies. This did not stop merchant John Hawkins of Plymouth, England, from conducting enough illegal trading during two expeditions—one in 1562 and the other in 1565—in the Spanish Main. Queen Elizabeth ignored protests by the Spanish ambassador as Hawkins, who was the first of the English interlopers, prepared for his third expedition in 1567.

For his third voyage, Hawkins recruited more than 400 Englishmen to serve in a fleet of six ships that departed for the Caribbean basin. Accompanying Hawkins was his cousin, Francis Drake, who captained one of the smaller vessels in the fleet. In June 1568, Hawkins landed 200 men on the island of Rio de la Hacha in Colombia. They took the island after a brief battle with the Spanish garrison. A slave led the English to the inhabitants' buried treasure on the interior of the island.

In 1568 there was a surge in English, French, and Dutch pirate attacks. Because the Spanish treasure fleets were too powerful to attack, the pirates focused on raiding coastal towns, seizing isolated ships, and even robbing the overland mule train that transferred the Peruvian silver across the Panamanian isthmus.

Elizabeth issued in 1570 a "letter of reprisal," which was a peacetime version of a letter of marque, to Drake. Beginning in 1570, the Elizabethan sea dog undertook three small expeditions to the Spanish Main. The first two were inconsequential; however, the third expedition in 1572 was more productive. For that expedition, Francis Drake assembled 73 pirates who sailed aboard two ships from Plymouth to the Spanish Main.

On July 28, 1572, Drake and his pirates descended at dawn on the lightly protected town of Nombre de Dios in Panama. The purpose of the raid was to snatch whatever treasure might be stored at the port awaiting transport to Spain. Drake was wounded in the leg during a fight with local militia. Because of tactical shortcomings and intelligence failures, the raid was a total fiasco.

After the setback at Nombre de Dios, Drake sailed along the coast of Colombia during which time he captured a handful of small vessels as prizes. None of these satisfied the treasure-hungry privateer, and he therefore decided in January 1573 to return to Nombre de Dios and attempt to intercept a mule train bearing silver from Potosí. Each year the Spanish shipped the silver by sea to Panama City, located on the west coast of the Panamanian isthmus, where it was then loaded on pack animals and transported to Nombre de Dios on the east coast for eventual transport by the Tierra Firme fleet to Spain.

After a failed attempt at intercepting the treasure train, Drake formed a pact with French pirate Guillaume Le Testu in which the two agreed to work together and split the treasure. In April, Drake, Le Testu, and 40 pirates successfully captured the treasure train, which was transporting 15 tons of silver and a small amount of gold overland. Unfortunately for the French, Le Testu was so badly wounded that he had to be left behind. When the Spanish eventually came upon him, they executed him on the spot. Because the silver weighed too much for Drake and the surviving pirates to take with them, they buried it. Although Drake was unable to recover the silver, he was able to return to England with enough gold to turn a modest profit.

Four years later, Drake returned to the New World. This time he sailed south along the South American coast, navigating the treacherous waters of the Strait of Magellan. Once on the west coast of South America, Drake began raiding Spanish ports. One of his most impressive exploits as a privateer occurred when he overtook and captured the gold-filled Spanish treasure galleon *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* (nicknamed *Cacafuego*). Rather than return by way of Cape Horn, Drake proceeded west and completed the first circumnavigation of the globe by an English captain.

Upon his return to England in 1580, Queen Elizabeth knighted Drake for his exploits. The Spanish ambassador demanded that the captured treasure be returned or there would be grave consequences for the future of England, but Elizabeth had made so much money from this expedition that she was able to pay off England's national debt.

The major force that Drake assembled for his next expedition in 1585 comprised 21 ships, including two of Queen Elizabeth's most pow-

erful galleons, a crew of 1,000 men, and 12 companies of soldiers totaling about 800 men.

After Drake's capture of Santo Domingo in 1586, the Spanish residents told Drake they could not come close to his ransom price of one million ducats. During their month's stay, the English pirates burned Catholic churches, tore down buildings, and hanged two priests in retaliation for the murder of a messenger who was a runaway slave, known as a "maroon." By using plates from the cathedral, jewelry belonging to the townspeople, and the savings of merchants, the people of Santo Domingo managed to scrape together 25,000 ducats to give to Drake and his pirates. Realizing he had squeezed Santo Domingo for all it was worth, Drake sailed away in the direction of Cartagena.

Drake used the fleet as a pinning force as the marines and pirates landed and stormed Cartagena, a port for the Tierra Firme fleet, from its weak landward side. Drake demanded 600,000 ducats from the inhabitants, but accepted 110,000 after his men started dying from malaria and yellow fever. Drake's men also captured a Spanish mule train carrying a huge sum in gold and silver from Panama City that was meant to be kept in Cartagena's fortress vaults. A Spanish rescue fleet arrived several days after the departure of Drake's fleet to the jeers of Cartagena's population. Drake had lost 750 men from disease and decided to return to England before he lost his entire force.

Philip II was furious at Drake's pillaging of his colonies and ordered Admiral Don Alvaro de Bazan, known as the "Never Defeated," to build a huge invasion armada at Cadiz to invade England. Queen Elizabeth named Drake as her "Admiral of the Seas" and sent him in 1587 with 30 ships to Cadiz, where he burned and destroyed 37 ships that had been preparing for the planned invasion of England. Drake went on to destroy a Spanish castle overlooking Lisbon and captured Philip II's personal ship, *San Felipe,* loaded with treasures from the Orient and 400 slaves, who were freed.

In August 1588, the Spanish Armada of 130 ships loaded with soldiers and supplies headed for the long-planned invasion of England. Drake's English fleet used fire ships to scatter the Spanish fleet and then sank five more ships through superior gunnery in the Battle of Gravelines. The Spanish Armada was then battered by an unrelenting storm that sank 51 ships and forced the beaching of 10 more ships on the west coast of the British Isles. More than 20,000 of Spain's best troops went down with the doomed ships.

The direct result of this defeat was that English pirates began raiding the Spanish Main's shipping at will with little opposition from Spanish forces. The New World colonies shipped little treasure to Spain between 1588 and 1591 because of the raids. Between 1588 and 1603, 100 to 200 privateer expeditions set out from England each year, capturing between 150,000 to 300,000 pounds in Spanish treasure annually.

In 1595, Queen Elizabeth summoned Drake and his former commander, John Hawkins, to lead an expedition of 27 ships and 2,500 marines and pirates to raid the Spanish Main and to recover the 2½ million ducats that a crippled galleon had brought to San Juan during a storm. Hawkins died from dysentery at San Juan just as the English fleet began trading cannon salvos with the El Morro fortress defending the town. A shot from the fort barely missed Drake and splattered the blood and brains of two of his officers over the cabin of his ship as they were sitting down to eat. Drake then lost several hundred marines and pirates in two failed assaults on El Morro. To boost their morale, Drake told his men that they would have easy pickings in Cartagena.

When Drake's force reached Cartagena it found that the residents had been forewarned and had evacuated the town, leaving nothing of value or anything edible behind. More than 800 marines and pirates were ambushed by Spanish conquistadors and Native American archers and forced to retreat as they tried to take an overland route to attack Panama City from Nombre de Dios. Drake, by then broken in spirit, died from disease on board his ship as his defeated fleet returned empty handed to England in 1596. England mourned his death, while Spain celebrated it. Spain

Huens, Jean-Leon (1921-82) / National Geographic Creative / The Bridgeman Art Library

The Granger Collection, New York

sent lesser armadas annually against England for a three-year period beginning in 1596, but all were defeated by stormy weather at a great cost in ships and lives.

Inspired by Drake's incredible successes and riches won by raiding the Spanish Main, pirate communities, which became known as the "Brethren of the Coast," sprang up along the coast of Hispaniola and on the island of Tortuga after 1603. These pirates, called buccaneers, attracted the dregs of the English, Irish, Dutch, French, Danish, and Flemish societies. They operated under the protection of the English government. Buccaneer communities also took in runaway slaves and fugitive indentured servants. They used a wide variety of weapons, including cutlasses, axes, swords, firelock muskets, and pistols of various calibers.

The Spanish tried unsuccessfully on a number of occasions to destroy pirate communities. When attacked, the pirates would fall back into the dense jungle of an island's interior and ambush the Spanish. The pirates built Fort de Rocher in 1640 to defend their colony on Tortuga and as a place to store their captured Spanish treasure. The Spanish failed on several occasions in the early 1600s to capture the fort.

The English Civil War brought the Parliamentarians to power under the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell. The Anglo-Spanish War (1654 to 1660) broke out when the Spanish captured Fort de Rocher in 1654 with 700 soldiers and a battery of artillery. The Spanish breached the fortification walls with their artillery. The pirates agreed to surrender and opened the gates to the Spanish, who stormed into the fort and butchered most of the 330 pirates along with the townspeople.

Oliver Cromwell saw the attack and massacre by the Spanish at Fort de Rocher against the mostly English pirates as an attack on England and as an opportunity to gain one of Spain's most lucrative colonies. Cromwell ordered a fleet of 34 ships, 6,000 soldiers, and 7,000 marines and pirates to put Santo Domingo under siege and to claim Hispaniola as an English colony in 1655. This expedition was part of Cromwell's grandiose plan to dominate the Caribbean and to employ English privateers to capture Spanish treasure ships.

More than 13,000 English soldiers, marines, and pirates landed 30 miles from the city of Santo Domingo and marched through the jungle to attack the city from its landward side. After four days of marching, the English army was ambushed by 2,400 Spanish soldiers, militia, and vaquero cavalry armed with lances. Discipline in Cromwell's New Model Army broke down as 3,000 English troops in the vanguard were cut down in a crossfire of musket balls and grapeshot followed by charges by the vaquero cavalry, who rode down and impaled the fleeing Englishmen on their lances.

After the English force was reembarked onto the ships, the fleet failed to subdue the Spanish fortifications through bombardment and left to evict the Spanish from Jamaica instead. The naval commander, William Penn, took over command of the entire operation from Robert Venables after the disaster at Santo Domingo.

On the way to Jamaica, 1,500 English troops died from malaria and 1,500 more troops were drowned when four ships went down in a storm. Jamaica had only 1,500 Spanish settlers and no fortifications. Around 600 Spanish militiamen were routed by the 7,000 English soldiers and pirates that had descended on Jamaica.

In 1655, Port Royal became the new English pirate base, with a harbor that could hold 500 ships. The English established a licensing office in Port Royal, where ship owners could get a privateering license to conduct their depredations against the Spanish with the government's approval. By the late 1600s, there were thousands of pirates based at Port Royal, which meant they had the numbers to launch major attacks throughout the Caribbean basin.

In 1660, England's war with Spain ended, and King Charles II was restored as King of England after the death of Cromwell. Sir John Modyford was appointed governor of Jamaica with orders to halt the pirate attacks against the Spanish. Modyford, who regularly received a cut of the captured Spanish treasure, found excuses to allow the pirates to continue raiding Spanish ships and settlements. King Charles sent a number of letters to Modyford ordering him to force all of the pirates back to port. Modyford sent letters back to King Charles in which he claimed that the pirates in Jamaica had stopped their attacks, but in truth he continued to approve expeditions against the Span-

ish because he couldn't control the pirates.

Modyford dispatched Henry Morgan in 1667 to lead his first major pirate expedition against the Spanish. The Welsh pirate took a force of 700 buccaneers and 12 ships and attacked Puerto del Principe, Cuba, where he captured 500 Spanish hostages. The residents of Puerto del Principe were tipped off by a prisoner, who had escaped when Morgan landed in southern Cuba to recruit 200 French pirates with two ships to join his expedition.

When Morgan's force reached Puerto de Principe, it marched toward the city through thick jungle that bypassed a Spanish ambush on the main trail. Once the pirates reached the city, they found close to 1,000 Spanish militiamen in battle formation. The pirates fought a four-hour battle with the militia. The buccaneers' superior marksmanship and discipline eventually routed the Spanish militia.

While the battle was raging, most of the inhabitants hid with their valuables in the interior. A few inhabitants were caught and divulged the whereabouts of others who were hiding and the location of various valuables, but only 50,000 pieces of eight were gathered. This amount didn't come close to paying off the debts for the expedition, so the buccaneers decided that they would attack Porto Bello, Panama, which was considered the Spanish center of trade in the New World. The French abandoned the expedition when one of their men was murdered during an argument with an English pirate.

When Morgan's force came across a canoe carrying six emaciated buccaneers who had escaped from a Porto Bello dungeon, he swore vengeance. The pirate fleet anchored at Boca del Toro, and Morgan and 500 of his men transferred to 23 large canoes in which they planned to sneak up on Porto Bello in a night attack. Once they landed, the pirates broke into a blockhouse manned by five soldiers. The buccaneers made the mistake of calling out for the men to surrender or be cut down. The Spaniards opened fire and shot a couple of pirates before they were rushed and run through by swords. The firing alerted the other Spanish fortifications that an attack was under way.

The pirates quickly charged across the beach past the walls of Santiago Castle and into Porto Bello and started killing every person they could find. After securing Porto Bello, the pirates charged through the shallow surf to take the half-completed Geronimo Castle, whose five defenders surrendered after taking only a few badly aimed shots. At that point, the pirates turned back toward Santiago Castle using captured priests and nuns as human shields. The fighting was desperate with swords, firelock pistols, and cutlasses until the entire Spanish garrison lay dead.

Morgan lost 18 dead and 34 wounded in the battle for Santiago Castle. San Felipe Castle subsequently surrendered after they had repulsed a pirate assault. The Spanish sent a militia force of 800 men from Panama City to attack Morgan's men, but the militia was no match for the violent pirates, who made short work of this force and sent them back in defeat.

Morgan's men terrorized the people of Porto Bello until they had gathered 250,000 pieces of eight ($12.5 million in today's money). Each man received an equivalent of $12,000 as his share. Morgan returned to Port Royal with evidence in a letter written by the Spanish governor of his government's intention to invade Jamaica.

In December 1670, Morgan with 2,000 pirates and a fleet of 40 ships headed for Panama to take the Spanish gold and silver warehouses at Panama City. They attacked the Pacific port from the landward side after securing a Caribbean port. On January 6, 1671, a force of 400 pirates disembarked to assault Fort San Lorenzo at the mouth of the Chagres River, which was defended by 360 Spanish soldiers. The pirates were cut down by grapeshot and musket fire as they charged across the beach toward the fort. A second attack also was turned back with heavy losses.

Library of Congress

ABOVE: Piracy eventually became a liability for England, and the Royal Navy was dispatched to kill pirates such as Edward Teach, better known as Blackbeard. OPPOSITE: Sir Henry Morgan is shown leading his forces in the 1668 assault on the Spanish colony at Puerto Principe, Cuba. Morgan's pirates prevailed in a four-hour battle with Spanish militia.

After the sun set, the pirates crept along a gully to get close enough to the fort to throw in grenades and firepots, which set the fort ablaze. More than 150 Spanish soldiers deserted at that point as the more than 200 other troops prepared to defend the ruins of their smoldering fort. In the predawn hours, the buccaneers assaulted the ruined fort and fought a desperate hand-to-hand battle with cutlasses, swords, pistols, and musket butts. The entire Spanish force was killed or wounded at the cost of 30 buccaneers dead and 76 wounded.

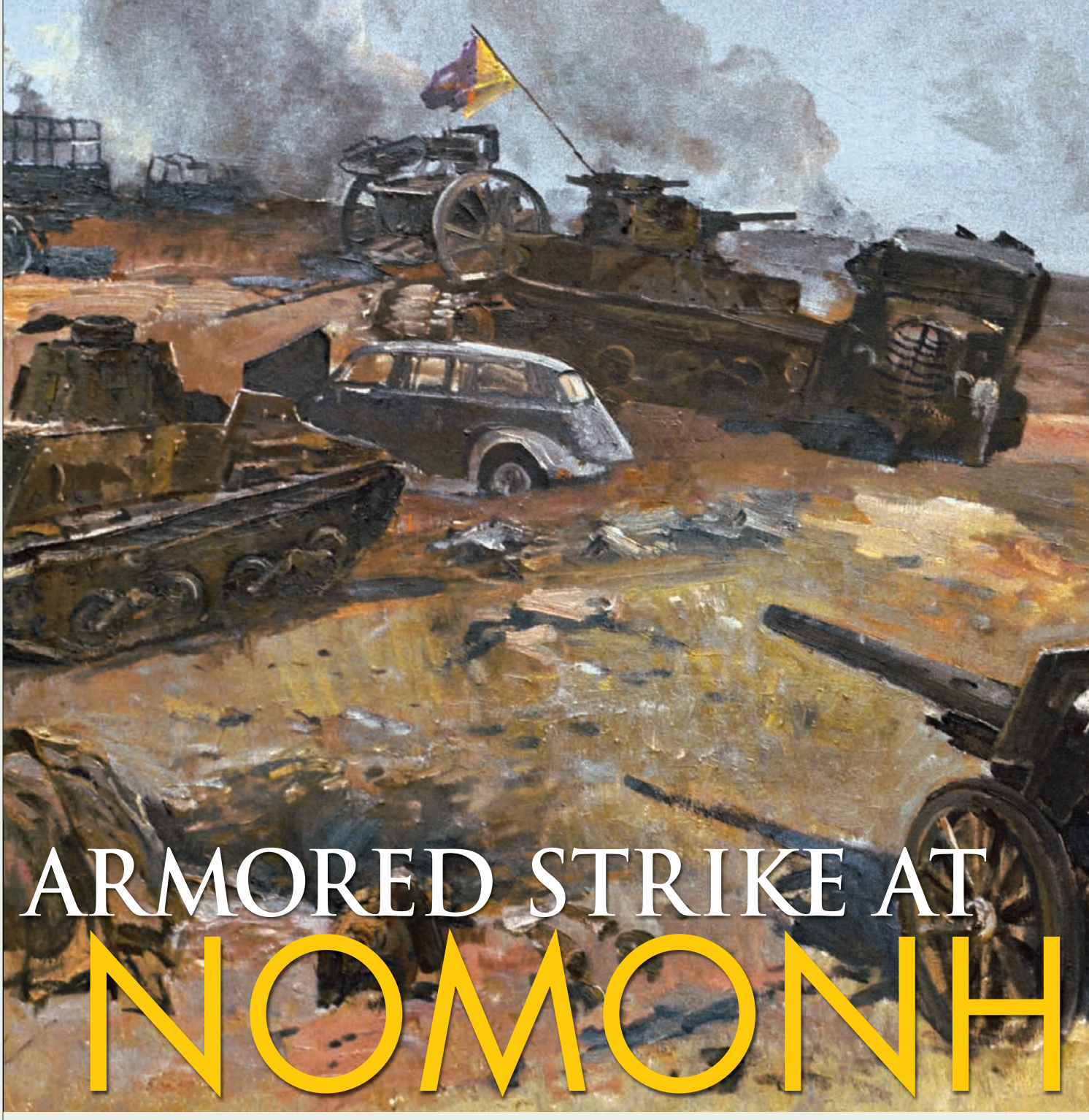
Afterward, Morgan picked 1,400 of his best men and sent them up the Chagres River in 36 large canoes toward Panama City, while the rest of his men guarded the fleet and rebuilt the fort. Morgan's expeditionary force traveled as far as it could by canoe and then marched overland for seven days through the jungle. More than 200 pirates died from fever, dysentery, and occasional ambushes by the Spanish and Native Americans during their journey through the jungle.

On January 27, 1671, Morgan's expeditionary force came to a great plain filled with cattle in front of Panama City. The famished pirates slaughtered and ate the beef that night. At dawn on January 28, Morgan's army awoke to see more than 2,000 Spanish militiamen in battle formation with 300 cavalry on each flank. Undaunted, 1,200 pirates formed a solid line two and three ranks deep and advanced against the Spanish army.

The Spanish cavalry charged from both ends of the line. More than 100 of their number were shot down or forced to retreat by accurate musket fire from the pirate line. To disrupt the pirate formations, local Indians stampeded cattle toward the rear of the pirate army. The pirates in the rear ranks turned and fired their muskets, which forced the cattle and Indians back. The Spanish militiamen advanced and exchanged a volley with the pirates before throwing down their muskets and running away in terror.

The pirates killed many Spanish troops as they tried to run away. More than 500 Spanish and only 15 pirates died in the battle. The pirates burned Panama City, forcing its residents to flee into the jungle. Much to Morgan's disappointment, most of the gold and silver had been taken away by Spanish ships before the pirates' arrival.

Continued on page 69



ARMORED STRIKE AT NOMONH

GENERAL GEORGI ZHUKOV had arrived at the Mongolia-Manchuria border in the early morning hours of June 5, 1939, after a grueling three-day trip from Moscow. He insisted on immediately questioning the Soviet defenders and touring the site of the recent border clashes with Japanese troops. Peering through his field glasses at the small figures scurrying about on the east bank of the Halha River and after tossing out sharply worded questions, Zhukov came to the belief that this was not another mere border clash with the Japanese. For years, Japanese troops had been probing the nearly 3,000-mile-long border that separated the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Soviet-protected Mongolia from the Japanese protectorate of Manchukuo, which was created shortly after the Japanese invaded Manchuria in 1931.

The energetic Zhukov filed a report at the end of his first day, saying this looked to be the beginning of a major escalation by the Japanese and the forces of Manchukuo. The Soviet 57th Corps did not appear up to the task of stopping the Japanese in Zhukov's assessment. He recommended a temporary holding action to protect the bridgehead on the east bank of the Halha River, which was called Khalkhin Gol by the Soviets, until substantial reinforcements could be mustered for a counteroffensive.

One day after submitting his report to Moscow, the Soviet high command responded by naming the 42-year-old Zhukov to head the military effort, succeeding former General

Japanese vehicles knocked out by the Soviet Army litter the bleak landscape along the Khalkhin Gol River in Mongolia. Japan's attempt to annex land adjacent to conquered Manchuria in 1939 resulted in an undeclared war with Russia.

AN

IN AN UNDECLARED WAR ON THE MONGOLIA-MANCHUKUO BORDER IN 1939, THE SOVIETS UNLEASHED A COMBINED ARMS ASSAULT ON THE JAPANESE THAT FORESHADOWED THE WEAPONS AND TACTICS OF WORLD WAR II. **BY PHIL ZIMMER**

Nikolai Feklenko. The Soviets had tired of the Japanese incursions and were determined to make a point in the East as war clouds continued to build over Western Europe.

Both sides were about to square off in a decisive struggle that became known as the Nomonhan Incident, which lasted several months with upward of 50,000 killed or wounded. More than 3,000 miles from Moscow, the small undeclared war went largely unnoticed in the West, but it was to have a profound influence on the coming world war. The defeat at Nomonhan caused the Japanese to turn southward toward the oil-rich East Indies and prompted the Imperial Japanese Navy to consider a preemptive strike on the U.S. Navy at Pearl Harbor. The use of combined arms and overwhelming force under Zhukov was later to play a significant role in the eventual Soviet repulse of the Nazi thrusts at Moscow and Stalingrad.

In reviewing the situation at Nomonhan, Zhukov realized that he had some skin in the game. Stalin's purge of the Red Army had just come to an end, with its leadership cadre, including Commander in Chief Marshal Mikhail Tukhachevsky and more than half of its senior commanders were executed. This void opened opportunities for younger, talented, and savvy men like Zhukov if they could prove themselves and survive the rough and tumble atmosphere created by the bloody purges.

The bright, ambitious Zhukov, the son of peasants born some 60 miles east of Moscow, was determined to succeed. Once his June 5 report was filed, the Soviets provided substantial reinforcements to the young commander, including the 36th Mechanized Infantry Division; 7th, 8th, and 9th Mechanized Brigades; 11th Tank Brigade; and the 8th Cavalry Division. In addition, Zhukov's newly named First Army Group received a heavy artillery regiment and a tactical air wing with more than 100 planes and a group of 21 experienced pilots, who had won combat citations while fighting in Spain.

The Soviets were aided by the fact that their military buildup occurred at Tamsag Bulak, 80 to 90 miles west of the Halha River and away from Japanese aerial observation. However, the nearest Soviet rail line was at Borzya, some 400 miles west of the Halha River. Japanese self-confidence and racist stereotypes of their Soviet opponents also played a role. Their railhead was only 50 miles away, and they believed that the Soviets simply could not concentrate a large combined armed force so far from their nearest railhead. Supplies would have to be transported by truck over dirt roads or over flat, open territory, making the convoys vulnerable to air attack if matters escalated. Japanese commanders also rejected the idea that the Soviets could adapt themselves to defeat Japanese tactics, which had proven so successful earlier in Korea, Manchuria, and China.

In short, the Japanese did not believe the Soviets would rise to the challenge over such a small sliver of territory in such a faraway place. While the Japanese claimed the border to the Halha River, which flows northwest into Lake Buir Nor, the Soviets contended the border ran through the mud-brick hamlet of Nomonhan, some 10 miles east of the river. At its widest point, the disputed backwater area was less than 12 miles wide and approximately 30 miles long.

Japanese-Soviet antagonism ran deep, dating back even before the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905 as the two powers struggled for years to assert dominance over parts of China, Korea, and Manchuria. After their defeat in the Russo-Japanese War, the Russian czars were forced to recognize Japan's interests in Korea, and they ceded the Liaoutung Peninsula, renamed Kwantung by the Japanese. Kwantung contained the port of Dairen and the important naval base of Port Arthur. A few years later the Japanese established a special force, the Kwantung Army, to administer the area. The army was to later spearhead Japanese expansion on the Asian mainland.

For its part, the Russian bear managed to paw Outer Mongolia from China in 1911, making it a protectorate called the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR). World War I and the subsequent Russian Revolution caused considerable internal strife as the Bolsheviks took power in Russia. The resulting power vacuum and a weak China enabled the Japanese to take Manchuria. The poorly defined borders created additional uncertainty. In June 1937, Japanese forces fired on Soviet gunboats, killing 37 sailors in the Amur River that flowed between the USSR and Manchukuo. Border problems arose again in the summer of 1938 where the poorly defined borders of Korea, Manchukuo, and the Soviet Union met. The skirmishes at Changkufeng Hill pro-

akg-images / RIA Novosti

Both: National Archives

ABOVE: Japanese light armor and infantry advance in an attack near Nomonhan that initially caught Soviet and Mongolian forces by surprise. BELOW: Japanese troops cross the Halha River into Mongolian territory on a pontoon bridge. OPPOSITE: Troops of the Mongolian People's Republic stubbornly resisted Japanese attacks in the early phase of the fighting.

vided a reminder to Stalin that the Imperial Japanese Army still threatened his eastern flank as matters heated up in Europe.

Although the reports differ considerably, the initial conflict at Nomonhan began on May 11, 1939, when a Japanese-backed force of provincial Manchukuo cavalry clashed with a Mongolian-Soviet patrol north of the Holsten River that flows westward to the Halha River. Japan's Kwantung Army, which operated with some autonomy from Tokyo, decided to take matters into its own hands despite the fact that its eight divisions faced 30 Soviet divisions along the mutual border running from Lake Baikal to Vladivostok on the Pacific. Matters continued to escalate, and the next day a flight of Japanese light bombers attacked an MPR border post on the west bank of the Halha River, indisputably within the borders of the Soviet-backed country. MPR troops then crossed the fast-flowing 100- to 150-meter-wide Halha River and took up new positions between the river and Nomonhan as combat resumed.

The Japanese saw this as a direct challenge to the Kwantung Army's 23rd Division, an undermanned and poorly supported unit assigned to the backwater area. The 23rd had thinly armored tankettes armed only with a machine gun, and 40 percent of its 60 artillery pieces were Type 38 short-range 75mm guns dating back to 1907. The artillery regiment had a dozen 120mm howitzers, and most of the artillery was horse drawn. In addition, each infantry regiment had four rapid-fire 37mm guns and four 75mm mountain guns, but the division lacked high-velocity, low-trajectory guns appropriate to the terrain and necessary to handle oncoming tanks.

On May 20, Japanese aerial reconnaissance discovered the Soviet buildup near Tamsag Bulak. The Japanese pulled together a force of 2,000 men to attack the enemy troops that had crossed the Halha River, starting with a two-pronged drive 40 miles south from Kanchuerhmiao along the east bank of the Halha. Four infantry companies and additional troops from Manchukuo were to push west from Nomonhan to help pin and destroy an approximately 400-man force of Soviet-MPR troops. That should have worked, except the Japanese failed to consider the possibility that the Soviet units spotted at Tamsag Bulak would be committed.

The Japanese had substantially greater numbers, and they surprised the Soviet-Mongolian forces near Nomonhan. The Mongolian cavalry was routed and forced back, causing the Soviets to pullback as well toward the Halha River. As they neared the river, the fighting intensified and Soviet artillery and armored cars forced the Japanese forces to dig in on a low hill several miles east of the Halha. Because of faulty radio equipment, a 220-man Japanese unit under Lt. Col. Azuma was not kept apprised of the changing picture near the bridgehead. He continued south, unaware that the main Japanese force had been deflected and forced to dig in well away from the river crossing. Azuma's force was spotted, and additional Soviet artillery was brought east across the Halha to further protect the bridgehead.

The main Japanese force was now bogged down, dug in and under fire some two to three miles away, while Azuma's lightly armed force was trapped by heavy fire. Azuma was nearly surrounded, with enemy infantry and cavalry attacking while heavy bombardment came from both sides of the Halha River. His cavalry dismounted and struggled to dig defensive positions in the sand. He could retreat northward, but doing so without orders would be a criminal offense punishable by death under the Japanese system. The artillery barrage continued and destroyed Azuma's remaining trucks and the unit's small reserve of ammunition. Only four men in his command managed to escape that night with the rest killed or captured. The main Japanese unit was not able to make progress, and three nights later it pulled back to Kanchuerhmiao. Japanese casualties neared 500, with one-fourth attributed to the main unit.

Although the Soviets had forced the enemy from the field, little mention of that fact was made at the time by either side. The Kwantung Army continued to assure Tokyo that it planned to avoid prolonged conflict, telling superiors that the Soviets would not be able to deploy large ground forces around Nomonhan. The Japanese forces, however, did request river-crossing equipment and craft, which should have alerted Tokyo that their army might be planning forays west across the Halha River into mutually recognized Mongolian territory. Moscow was growing suspicious of Japanese

actions, and Zhukov was pulled from his duties as deputy commander of the Belarusian Military District in Minsk and sent east to investigate the disputed border area.

With Zhukov now on the scene, the Soviet buildup continued at Tamsag Bulak. On the other side, Japanese confidence was high, and the Imperial forces remained largely unaware of either the size of the buildup or the change in the enemy's command with the arrival of Zhukov. The Soviet-MPR bridgehead east of the Halha was gradually expanded during the first half of June with no response from the Japanese. Soviet strafing raids east of the river did cause concern at Japanese headquarters. The Japanese decided to respond in kind to the air attacks to send a strong message to the Soviets, a decision that dramatically escalated the situation. Japan's 7th Division was to be pressed into service to assist the relatively new and understrength 23rd Division. The 23rd was to be reinforced with 180 planes, a strong strike force of two regiments of medium and light tanks, an artillery regiment, and an infantry regiment. Japanese strength would grow to some 15,000 men, 120 artillery and antitank guns, 70 tanks, and 180 aircraft.

The Japanese remained exceptionally confident—so much so that they cut back the aerial reconnaissance west of the Halha so as not to alert the enemy. They were unaware that they were now facing a Soviet force of some 12,500 men, 109 artillery and antitank guns, 186 tanks, 266 armored cars, and more than 100 planes. Although the Japanese may have had a modest advantage in some categories, it was more than offset by the Soviets' six-to-one armor advantage, which proved crucial in the relatively flat, open terrain.

The Japanese plan of attack was rather straightforward. The main body of the 23rd Division would seize the Fui Heights, a pancake-shaped raised area located on the east bank of the Halha some 11 miles north of the confluence of the Halha and Holsten Rivers, where much of the fighting would occur. The 23rd Division and related units would cross the Halha near the Fui Heights on a freshly built pontoon bridge and move southward along the west bank of the Halha toward the Soviet bridge. At the same time, another force under Lt. Gen. Yasuoka Masaomi would move south along the east side of the Halha to engage the Soviet and MPR units and pin them between the two advancing forces near the Soviet-built bridge located near the confluence of the two rivers.

The Japanese planned to neutralize Soviet airpower with a preemptive strike at the Soviet base near Tamsag Bulak, located well inside the MPR. The Kwantung Army kept this component of the plan secret from Tokyo, concerned that higher ups would not approve. The general staff in Tokyo did learn of the planned air attack and went on record opposing it, but the semi-independent Kwantung Army actually elected to move the air attack two days forward to June 27. The Japanese surprise air attack caught a group of newly arrived Soviet airmen flat-footed. Returning pilots claimed 98 Soviet planes destroyed and 51 damaged, while the Japanese reportedly lost only one bomber, two fighters, and a scout plane. In short, the Japanese had achieved air supremacy over the Halha at the start of the Kwantung Army's July offensive.

The Kwantung Army was ecstatic over the results of the air attack, but it received a severe rebuke from Tokyo. The Kwanting commanders resented the desk jockeys at the general staff and continued to believe in a need to maintain its dignity and maintain the border against what it perceived to be Soviet incursions. The Japanese plans went forward, and on July 1 the Japanese took the Fui Heights east of the Halha. Then, on the moonless night of July 2-3, the Japanese managed to build a pontoon bridge on the Halha River across from the Fui Heights. By early morning, the 26th Regiment and the 71st and 72nd Infantry Regiments began the slow crossing on the

akg-images / RIA Novosti

narrow bridge. The heavy armored vehicles had to remain behind, but the 18 37mm antitank guns, 12 75mm mountain guns, eight 75mm field guns, and four 120mm howitzers made it across undetected with all the infantry by nightfall.

The Soviets were now vulnerable with the enemy moving southward undetected on the west bank toward their bridgehead while facing a Japanese tank and infantry force on the east bank. Again the Japanese caught the Soviets by surprise when Yasuoka's tanks attacked in the early morning hours of July 3, with guns blazing amid a passing thunderstorm. The startled Soviet 149th Infantry Regiment scattered before the tanks.

Zhukov, still apparently unaware of the Japanese presence on the west bank of the Halha, ordered his 11th Tank Brigade and related units north toward a hill called Bain Tsagan, located on the west bank. In the early morning hours of July 3, the Japanese, with their rapid-firing 37mm antitank guns and armor-piercing shells, mauled the Soviets. Zhukov, now realizing that a large Japanese force had crossed the Halha and was threatening his position, ordered the remainder of the 11th Tank Brigade, 7th Brigade, 24th Regiment, and an armored battalion of the 8th Mongolian Cavalry Division against the southward-moving Japanese force.

The Soviet armor had little infantry support, enabling the Japanese infantry to swarm over the Soviet vehicles, prying open hatch covers and destroying many of the tanks with gasoline bombs. Successive Soviet attacks were dealt with by the Japanese, who quickly found that the Russian gasoline tank engines could be taken out by gunners and gasoline bombs. However, by that afternoon unrelenting Soviet counterattacks and ranged-in artillery forced the Japanese to begin digging defensive positions on the west bank of the Halha just south of Bain Tsagan.

Zhukov then massed more than 450 tanks and armored cars in the area against a Japanese force

National Archives

ABOVE: The Japanese Type 89 medium tank with its 57mm cannon and thin armor was a poor match against the Soviet BT 5 and BT 7 tanks. RIGHT: Soviet General Georgi Zhukov used combined arms, overwhelming force, and deception to defeat Japanese forces invading Soviet-protected Mongolia in summer 1939. Zhukov's victory ensured that the Soviet Union would not have to fight on two fronts in World War II. OPPOSITE: Once he had received substantial reinforcements from Moscow, Zhukov's First Army Group switched over to the offensive.

that had left its armored vehicles behind before crossing the shaky pontoon bridge over the Halha. The only hope then lay with Yasuoka's force, which had proceeded southward on the east side of the Halha. If that force succeeded, it would relieve pressure on Komatsubara's embattled unit on the west bank. Yasuoka's initial efforts were successful in crushing the first lines of Soviet artillery, but successive lines of Soviet infantry, tanks, and artillery slowed them and inflicted heavy losses. The Japanese Type 89 medium tank with its low-velocity 57mm cannon and relatively thin 17mm armor proved a poor match against the Soviet antitank guns and BT 5/7 tanks and armored cars. And the Soviets had another trick up their sleeves east of the Halha in the form of Japanese-produced piano wire coiled nearly invisibly as part of the defensive works. The wire entangled the gears and wheels of the Japanese light tanks like butterflies in a web, enabling Soviet artillery to zero in and finish off the tanks.

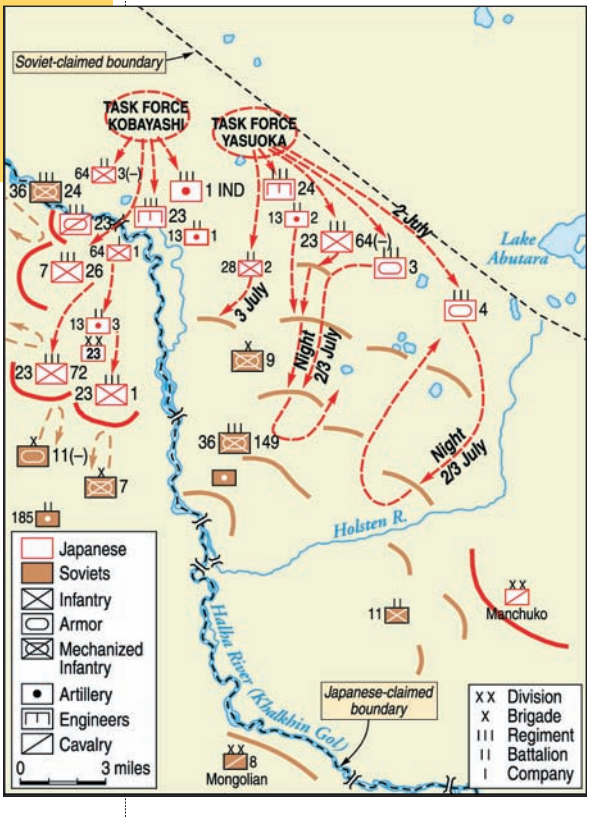
Making matters worse for the Japanese, Yasuoka's infantry units were not able to catch up with the tanks, so the two forces fought separately and less effectively. By evening, his forces slowed, with the infantry dug in well short of the Soviet bridgehead. At that time, only 50 percent of the Japanese tanks were operable and able to withdraw to the initial jumping off point. Additional Soviet aircraft had also appeared over the combat zone, engaging the Japanese in fierce struggles for air supremacy.

The Japanese commanders now realized they were indeed in an untenable position, with their forces divided on both sides of the river and with a more powerful than imagined enemy force between them. The Japanese commander realized his forces had no additional bridge-building materials on hand, making it imperative that his forces west of the Halha be withdrawn immediately. Most of the forces made it back north and across the Halha that night and reestablished themselves by the morning of July 4 on the Fui Heights. The covering Japanese unit managed to make the crossing the following night before destroying the pontoon bridge.

The Kwantung Army made the fateful decision to pull its two tank regiments from the combat zone. The Soviets had actually suffered heavier tank losses, but they had begun with a significant numerical advantage in armor and were able to continue delivering improved tanks to the battlefield.

In both the May 28 and the early June battles, the Japanese lacked sufficient military intelligence, and they had seriously underestimated the enemy's strength and determination. Hubris and their racist sense of inherent superiority over the Soviets and their MPR allies played a role as well. Most could not contemplate the idea that Soviet firepower could overcome the Japanese fighting spirit. The events also gave the Soviets reason to pause. The movement of some 10,000 enemy troops over the Halha River had gone undetected despite heightened awareness, and the Soviets might have been able to pin and destroy the units west of the Halha had they moved faster.

Zhukov was no fool. In fact, he proved to be a quick learner throughout his career. In those two days at Nomonhan, Zhukov learned to use large tank formations as an independent attack force, rather than simply as support for infantry. This was far different from conventional views, and the concept would be proven again and on a much larger scale by the German panzer divisions early in World War II. The Soviets had learned the importance of hatch covers that could be locked from the inside, frustrating enemy infantry attempts to put tanks out of commission by opening the hatches. They also found that gasoline-powered tanks, with their exposed ventilation grills and exhaust manifolds, could be easily set afire. The combat at Bain Tsagan clearly showed the



Map © 2013 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN

importance of overwhelming force and close integration of tanks, motorized infantry, artillery, and air power in defeating an enemy. The need for improved aerial reconnaissance was also apparent. These were important lessons for Zhukov and the Red Army as World War II loomed.

Moscow now agreed to send additional reinforcements to Zhukov. Thousands of men and machines were sent east, requiring additional trucks and transports to shuttle the men and equipment from the railhead at Borzya to the front lines. The effort resulted in a continuous 800-mile, five-day, round-trip shuttle that put both men and machines to the test.

The Soviets by now had managed to build seven bridges across the Halha and Holsten Rivers to support their operations, including one invisible bridge built with its surface some 10-12 inches below the water level so it would not be seen by Japanese pilots. Between July 8-12, Japanese probing continued making gradual progress against the Soviets although they suffered substantial losses to superior Soviet artillery. The fighting became especially fierce in the early morning hours of July 12 as the Japanese forces pushed to within 1,500 yards of the primary Soviet bridgehead over the Halha. As the day wore on, Soviet counterattacks with two infantry battalions and some 150 armored vehicles coupled with strong artillery support managed to push the Japanese back to their starting point. The Soviet artillery especially had taken its toll and the Japanese decided to suspend their night attacks that had resulted in 85 deaths and three times that in wounded personnel in one regiment alone.

The officers of the Kwantung Army were determined to save face and push the invaders back to the west side of the Halha. Other divisions were stripped of their heavy artillery, and the 3rd Heavy Field Artillery Brigade was shipped from Japan to Nomonhan. That brigade came equipped with 16 relatively modern 150mm howitzers and 16 100mm artillery pieces, all pulled by tractors rather than horses like the artillery in the 23rd Division. Army officials hoped to mount a large-scale artillery duel, force the enemy back to the west bank, and then withdraw after saving face.

The Soviets were not standing pat, and reinforcements and supplies continued to pour into Zhukov's First Army Group, including two additional artillery regiments and literally tons of artillery shells.

The Japanese fired the next salvos in the conflict with a sustained barrage on July 23. The Soviets rose to the challenge, with artillery rounds falling on the Japanese positions from artillery located on both sides of the Halha. The Soviets wrested air supremacy from the Japanese, their fighters strafing enemy positions and shooting down two Japanese balloons used for artillery spotting. The intense artillery duel went on for two days with the Soviets demonstrating that they had plentiful ammunition, better artillery, and more of it. The heavy Soviet guns were deployed out of range of the Japanese guns, and the Russian 152mm artillery was deadly beyond 15,000 yards.

The Kwantung Army ended its ill-fated artillery attack on July 25, and the general staff in Tokyo began pursuing a diplomatic resolution. That, in turn, irritated the Kwantung Army, which wanted to fight on to save face. The army's General Isogai was called to Tokyo and told point blank that the Kwantung Army was to maintain its defensive position east of the Soviet positions while the government worked to resolve matters through diplomacy.

Amazingly, the Kwantung Army chose to ignore the directive, but it was the Soviets under Zhukov who were to take the next step, based in part on events in both the West and the East. German demands on Poland were heating things up in the West, and both the Germans and the British were attempting to obtain an alliance with the Soviets. In addition, Richard Sorge, the Soviet super spy in Japan, confirmed that the Japanese high command wanted a diplomatic resolution to the problems at Nomonhan.

In light of these developments, Soviet Premier Josef Stalin decided to order massive combat operations against the Japanese. Zhukov's First Army Group was further strengthened by two infantry divisions, the 6th Tank Brigade, 212th Airborne Brigade, additional smaller units, and two Mongolian cavalry divisions. Zhukov's air support also was considerably strengthened. The Japanese

akg-images / RIA Novosti

remained unaware of the additional buildup. They had only one and a half divisions in place.

Zhukov kept up his aerial reconnaissance and scouting efforts to gather information on the opposing forces. He planned to lead his central force in a frontal assault against the main Japanese positions several miles east of the Halha. Zhukov's northern and southern forces—with the bulk of the Soviet armor—would turn the enemy's flanks, creating an envelopment of the Japanese. Overwhelming force and tactical surprise would be keys to the plan.

During World War II the Soviets were to become masters of *maskirovka*—or military deception—but Zhukov was to prove his near mastery of the concept even at this early stage. Trucks carrying men and matériel on the long journey from the staging area at Tamsag Bulak traveled only at night with their vehicles' lights blacked out. Aware that the Japanese were tapping their telephone lines and intercepting their radio messages, the Soviets sent a series of easily deciphered messages concerning the building of defensive positions and preparations for a long winter campaign. Well before the attack, the Soviets nightly broadcasted the recorded sounds of tank and aircraft engines along with construction sounds. The Japanese became accustomed to the broadcasts and were unconcerned by the actual noise as the Soviets moved their tanks and equipment into position on the night of the attack.

akg-images / RIA Novosti

Zhukov cleverly directed a series of minor attacks on August 7-8 to expand his bridgehead east of the Halha by some three miles. He made sure these were contained by the Kwantung Army, further lulling the enemy into believing that the Soviets were relatively weak and poorly led. Under the cover of darkness on the night of August 19-20, the major force of his First Army Group crossed to the east bank of the Halha into the expanded Soviet enclave. Massive amounts of artillery on both sides of the river were available to support the assault.

The attack began with Soviet bombers pounding the Japanese lines just before 6 AM on August 20, followed by nearly three full hours of heavy artillery fire before the bombers attacked again. "The shock and vibration of incoming bombs and artillery rounds" caused Japanese "radio-telegraph keys to chatter so uncontrollably that the frontline troops could not communicate with the rear, compounding their confusion and helplessness," reported one observer.

At 9 AM, Soviet infantry and armor began moving forward with artillery supporting their efforts. An early morning fog along the river assisted the advancing troops, and the damaged communications lines prevented the Japanese artillery from participating until a bit after 10 AM when many of the forward positions had already been overrun. Japanese resistance had stiffened by noon, and combat raged over a 40-mile front. The southern Soviet force, consisting of MPR Cavalry, armor, and mechanized infantry, pushed the southern Japanese force northward and inward by eight miles during the first day's fighting. The northern Soviet force, consisting of two MPR cavalry units, supporting armor, and mechanized infantry, pushed the northern flank back two miles to the Fui Heights. Zhukov's central force pushed some 750 yards forward against resistance so fierce that the Japanese dared not move troops to reinforce the flanks.

Over the next two days, the southern Soviet force broke through the Japanese lines and then proceeded to encircle and eliminate the enemy in small pockets. Once the heavy Japanese weapons were eliminated, Soviet artillery and armor tightened the ring further with flame-throwing tanks and infantry. By August 23, the southern thrust had reached Nomonhan where it could block a possible Japanese retreat.

Japanese airpower tangled with Soviet planes, which had a two to one advantage. The Soviets had recently brought forward updated I-16 fighter planes with thicker armor plating and a strengthened windshield that could withstand the 7.7mm machine-gun fire of the Japanese Type-97 fighters. The Japanese upgunned some of their planes, but this was quickly offset once the Soviets discovered that the enemy's fighters had unprotected fuel tanks and began filling the sky with burning Japanese planes.

On the night of August 22, the Japanese planned a counterattack against the Soviet forces that were crushing their southern flank. The 26th and 28th Regiments of the 7th Division and the 71st and 72nd Regiments were pressed into action. Only the 28th was at full strength, although its men had marched 25 miles to the front just a day earlier. The units were deployed on the night of August 23, and many units did not reach their assigned positions by the next morning. Those that did arrive scurried into position before fully reconnoitering the enemy positions.

Using the early morning fog to mask its movements on August 24, the 72nd Regiment made for a distant stand of scrub pines only to discover rather late in the going that the pines consisted of a well-camouflaged force of Soviet tanks. The Japanese, in fact, had stumbled into a massive Soviet tank force equipped with prototype models of the superb T-34 tank with its high-velocity 76mm gun and thick sloping armor. Later models of that versatile and well-designed tank were to cause nightmares for Nazi forces in World War II. The Soviets also had updated models of the BT-7 tanks, which were now equipped with diesel rather than gasoline engines and had protection over grills and exhaust manifolds to help protect them from Japanese fire.

The attacking Japanese southern force suffered nearly 50 percent casualties and was ordered to withdraw shortly after sunset. The Japanese forces on the northern end of the line at Fui Heights had sustained three days of hammering by the Soviets, but the 800 well-entrenched men inflicted heavy losses on the advancing Soviets while disrupting Zhukov's time table for the entire operation.

The ambitious Zhukov was not pleased. He got on the horn, fired the commander of the northern force, and then fired his replacement as well before sending up a member of his own staff to lead the faltering force. That night a renewed Soviet attack led by flame-throwing tanks and supported by heavy artillery managed to quash the remaining Japanese artillery on the heights. Supplies of ammunition and food were cut off as the encircling Soviets tightened the ring over the next two days. On the night of August 24-25, the remaining Japanese withdrew from Fui Heights without orders. The Soviets counted more than 600 Japanese bodies when they occupied the heights the next morning.

Zhukov's northern force moved on, pushing south and east toward Nomonhan. Within a day the northern and southern forces had linked up near Nomonhan. The encircled Japanese fought on, with many of their howitzers seizing up from heated overuse. The

artillery units were destroyed by tank and heavy artillery fire or overrun by Soviet forces. By August 27, a Japanese relief force of two infantry regiments and an artillery regiment reached the northeast portion of the Soviet ring. The 5,000-man force could not break through, and it retired four miles east of the Soviet-claimed border at Nomonhan. Over the course of the next two days, Soviet planes, artillery, and armor continued to destroy remaining pockets of Japanese resistance within the solid ring created by Zhukov's forces. A few hundred lucky Japanese managed to escape to relative safety east of Nomonhan.

Zhukov declared the disputed territory to be enemy free on August 31. The fighting had been the worst modern Japanese defeat up to that time with the Sixth Army losing between 18,000 and 23,000 men killed or wounded between May and September. The Kwantung Army lost nearly 150 aircraft and many of its tanks and artillery. The Soviets lost more than 25,600 killed or wounded according to a fairly recent Russian report. While the Soviets suffered more deaths and injuries, their repeated overpowering attacks forced the enemy from the field.

The Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, signed on August 23, 1939, also helped to weaken the hawks in the Kwantung Army. Close military cooperation with the Germans against the Soviets—as the militants had long advocated—was no longer a realistic possibility. Following the disaster at Nomonhan, the Kwantung Army had submitted an aggressive plan for an escalation of the war, but authorities in Tokyo were determined to finally bring the Kwantung Army under control. General Nakajima of the headquarters staff flew from Tokyo to direct the Japanese forces to hold their positions and to ensure a quick, diplomatic resolution. Once on the ground, he was unbelievably swayed by the Kwantung Army's arguments and had to be sent back again by Tokyo to convince the Kwantung Army that enough was enough. The imperial order was to be obeyed. General headquarters then cleaned house, relieving some of the Kwantung command and transferring other officers so that diplomatic efforts could move forward.

While the world was focused on the September 1, 1939, German invasion of Poland, the Japanese and the Soviets quietly worked on an agreement signed September 15. Both sides recognized their troop positions as the temporary border. It approximated the earlier Soviet-MPR border claim with a joint commission to later formalize the boundary. Prisoners were exchanged and both the new Kwantung Army leaders and the Red Army leaders closely followed the agreement, bringing the war to a close.

Stalin waited until the agreement was concluded, and then on September 17—when he was sure he did not face the prospect of a two-front war—sent the Red Army across the Polish border per his earlier agreement with Hitler on the partition of Poland.

The Nomonhan Incident provided quite a learning curve for all involved. The Japanese came away with a black eye and a healthy respect for the Soviet military, which many in the international community had viewed as weak and lethargic in the wake of Stalin's extensive purges. Japanese attention was turned southward toward the oil-rich East Indies and subsequently to the only major force that might hamper Japan's expansionistic plans—the U.S. Navy and its base at Pearl Harbor. Japanese officials knew that U.S. industrial strength was much greater than the Soviet Union's, and it superseded Japan's strength by a factor of 10 to one. Japanese militants believed that a surprise attack would provide time for the Japanese to seize the resource-rich areas to the south and then build a strong defensive perimeter enabling them to negotiate a settlement with an America focused primarily on Europe.

The Japanese elected to move southward, rebuffing German overtures to strike the Soviet Union in the Far East as the war progressed. Maj. Gen. Eugene Ort, the German ambassador to Japan, reported in late 1941 that Nomonhan had left a lasting impression on the Japanese, who "considered participation in the war against the Soviet Union too risky and too unprofitable."

akg-images/RIA Novosti

ABOVE: Soviet machine-gun teams were crucial to Zhukov's victory. Soviet armor and infantry eventually broke through the Japanese line and systematically encircled and eliminated enemy forces. OPPOSITE: Zhukov massed 450 tanks to drive Japanese forces back beyond the Halha River.

Soviet master spy Richard Sorge remained active in Tokyo. Later, his reliable reports assured Stalin that he could safely transport thousands of Siberian troops westward to deal with the German onslaught after the beginning of Operation Barbarossa, especially around Moscow and later Stalingrad. Zhukov and the winter-hardened Siberian troops used the combined arms tactics and *maskirovka* (deception) that had proven so successful at Nomonhan, but on a much larger scale with much more at stake.

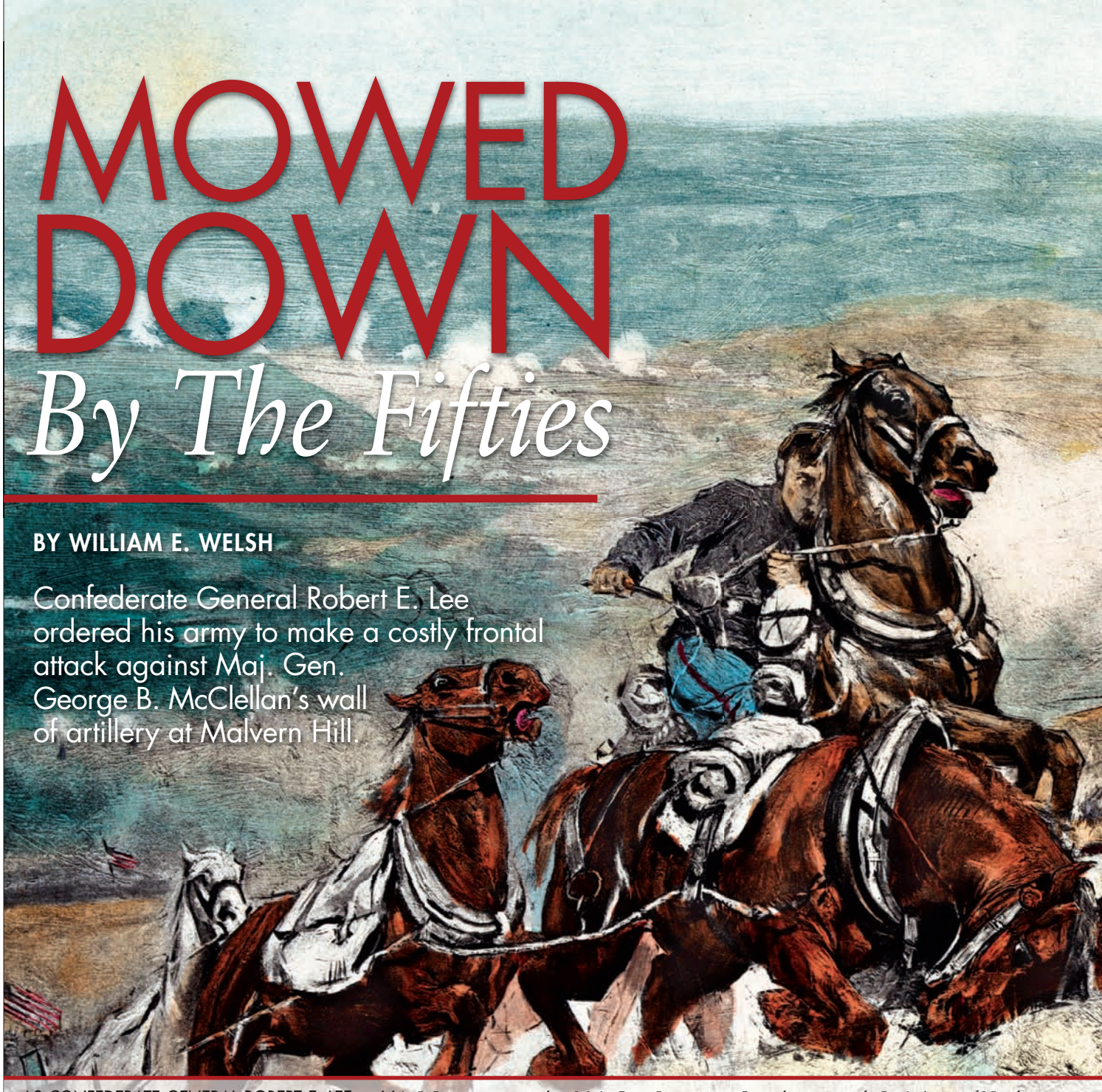
The Soviet archives have been opened in recent years, and many military analysts now assert that the Soviet Union simply could not have survived a two-front war. Even in 1941, Maj. Gen. Arkady Kozakovtsev, then head of the Red Army in the Far East, reported quietly to a trusted confidant that the Soviet cause was hopeless "if the Japanese enter the war [against the Soviet Union] on Hitler's side."

The Soviet Union, in fact, was the only major power in World War II that did not have to contend with an energy-draining and resource-depleting two-front war. The early success at Nomonhan meant the Soviets could later focus solely on the Nazis at the front gate, using the hard-fought lessons learned in the East to help the Allies subdue and defeat Nazi Germany. □

MOWED DOWN *By The Fifties*

BY WILLIAM E. WELSH

Confederate General Robert E. Lee ordered his army to make a costly frontal attack against Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan's wall of artillery at Malvern Hill.



AS CONFEDERATE GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE and his I Corps commander, Maj. Gen. James Longstreet, rode together on horseback along the dust-choked Quaker Road from Glendale to Malvern Hill on the morning of July 1, 1862, they stopped to confer with Maj. Gen. Daniel Harvey Hill, whose division was moving up to the front line in preparation for an assault on the enemy position.

As the gray ranks marched past them, Harvey Hill leaned forward to share a piece of information about the terrain where they were to engage once again Maj. Gen. George McClellan's Army of the Potomac. A member of Hill's staff, the Reverend L.W. Allen, who had been raised in the area, was familiar with the ground where the Yankees planned to make a stand. Allen had told his commander that Malvern Hill was well suited for defense, and McClellan's military engineers would know how to fortify the position.

"If General McClellan is there in strength, we had better let him alone," Hill said.

The soft-spoken Lee made a mental note of the information, but Longstreet dismissed it, saying, "Don't get scared now that we have got him whipped."

Over the past week, Lee's Army of Northern Virginia had fought a series of battles that had driven McClellan away from the outskirts of Richmond and forced him to fall back to within a day's march of his new supply base at Harrison's Landing on the James River. Longstreet, whose troops had been bloodied in those battles, was optimistic that one more fight was more than the Federals could take. Hill had a more cautious attitude.

Hill didn't appreciate the South Carolinian's dismissive attitude, but he and Longstreet were on good terms, and so he decided not to argue the matter. Lee and his staff had only

Federal artillery crews in action on the crest of Malvern Hill. Six batteries had a clear field of fire on Confederate troops charging up the hill.

© Bettmann/Corbis

National Archives

Confederates overrun a Federal battery at Frayser's Farm on June 30. Lee and his generals hoped they would be able to rout the retreating enemy at Malvern Hill.

one map of the area, and it was a poor one, so the information was important, even if Longstreet chose to ignore it. Hill hoped that Lee would not ignore it.

Following the defeat of the Federal army at the Battle of Bull Run on July 21, 1861, President Abraham Lincoln replaced Brig. Gen. Irvin McDowell with Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan, who had achieved minor victories over Confederate forces in the mountainous terrain of western Virginia. Early the following year, McClellan completed his plans to transport the Army of the Potomac by ship to the Union-held Fort Monroe at the tip of the Virginia Peninsula between the York and James Rivers east of Richmond. Little Mac's strategy was to outflank General Joseph Johnston's Confederate forces along their Rappahannock River lines and fight one or more battles at the gates of Richmond that just might end the war.

The Federals set sail from Alexandria, Virginia, on March 17. On April 4, the Federal army began what would become a slow and tedious advance up the peninsula. After nearly six weeks, McClellan had advanced far enough toward Richmond to warrant shifting his supply base in mid-May to White House Landing on the Pamunkey River, a tributary of the York. On May 31, the two sides clashed in a desperate battle at Seven Pines in which Johnston sought to hurl back the Federals to prevent them from besieging Richmond.

Although tactically a draw, the battle was a strategic victory for the Confederates in that McClellan took a defensive posture, ordering his forces to entrench. During the fighting, Johnston was struck in the right shoulder by a bullet and then immediately by a piece of shrapnel in the chest. With Johnston out of the fight indefinitely, Confederate President Jefferson Davis turned to Robert E. Lee to continue the offensive against Little Mac. Two days after Seven Pines, Davis appointed Lee commander of the Confederate forces defending Richmond. Lee named those forces the Army of Northern Virginia.

McClellan would soon come to doubt himself. He mistakenly believed that the Confederate forces greatly outnumbered his. It was a gross miscalculation, and one that would contribute to the unraveling of his entire strategy over the coming weeks.

Lee decided to wait until Maj. Gen. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson concluded his campaign against Federal forces in the Shenandoah Valley before launching a major counterattack against McClellan. Jackson's troops began their journey by rail to Richmond on June 23, and the following day Lee issued orders to his top generals, briefing them on his plans for an offensive against Little Mac.

Lee counterattacked on June 26 at Mechanicsville. In the days that followed, the Federals were driven back in a series of bloody battles, one of which occurred at Frayser's Farm, also known as Glendale, on June 30. The Federals fought the Confederates to a standstill, but McClellan ordered his army to continue its retreat that night. Brig. Gen. Fitz John Porter, commanding the Union V Corps, was the first to arrive at the army's next position atop Malvern Hill.

The Confederates awoke the morning of July 1 to find that the Federals had abandoned Glendale. During the past five days, the Confederates had forced McClellan to retreat as much as 20 miles. It was a significant achievement, but Lee wouldn't be satisfied until he had delivered a fatal blow to the Army of the Potomac.

The morning after the Battle of Frayser's Farm, Lee huddled with his lieutenants over a crude map showing the primary roads on the Virginia Peninsula. It was a shortcoming of the Confederate high command that Lee didn't have a more precise map showing more of the secondary roads on the peninsula.

Lee traced his finger along Quaker Road, also known as Willis Church Road, and told those present—Maj. Gen. Ambrose Powell Hill, Maj. Gen. John Magruder, Harvey Hill, Jackson, and Longstreet—that they were to march down Quaker Road and get into position to attack the Yankees one more time. Lee's map did not show Carter's Mill Road, which paralleled Quaker Road to the west. His staff officers discovered the road later in the morning and used it to speed the arrival of part of the army to its proper positions.

After the meeting, Lee sent members of his staff to convey his orders to those not present, including Maj. Gen. Theophilus Holmes, who was on the River Road to the southwest and Brig. Gen. Benjamin Huger, who was on the Charles City Road to the west and, it turned out, unaware that morning that the Federals

had abandoned Glendale.

Lee believed that the Federals were weary from marching long distances and fighting rearguard actions over the past five days. He hoped that the fight that was brewing that day would be different from the others and that this time he would win a decisive battle that would result in the destruction of McClellan's army.

Because Longstreet's and A.P. Hill's soldiers were exhausted from the previous day's battle in which they bore the brunt of the fighting, Lee directed that they were to serve as the reserve. The main attack was to be made by Jackson and Magruder, whose commands were to be reinforced with additional troops. Huger's division would join Magruder's command, while D.H. Hill would join Jackson's command. Further orders would be issued once Lee was able to make a personal reconnaissance of the field.

McClellan had not been present on the field to direct his forces at Glendale. Nor would he be present when the fighting eventually got under way at Malvern Hill. On June 30, he had ridden to Haxall's Landing on the James River, which was closer to the fighting than Harrison's Landing. At Haxall's Landing, he boarded the gunboat *Galena* and sailed to observe a mission to bombard some of Holmes's Rebels on the River Road.

It was clear by that time to McClellan's staff that the general had completely lost his nerve during the past week and no longer had the stomach to command his army. Fortunately for McClellan, his corps commanders were well trained and experienced, and they cooperated with each other on the battlefield.

McClellan spent the night of July 30 aboard the *Galena* but rode to Malvern Hill the following morning to inspect Porter's deployment of the army for the battle that was sure to occur that day. His greatest concern was that Lee would get behind his army and outflank him. The distance between his army and Haxall's Landing, because of the James River's course, was the greatest to the east. On that side, the Federals would have to cover a two-mile stretch of low-lying ground. McClellan advised Porter to place three corps facing east and use the other two corps to cover the north and west. The deployment made sense considering that the forward slope of Malvern Hill was narrow and only so many troops could be packed into that space. After his inspection, McClellan rode back to the *Galena*.

Porter had about 85,000 troops under his command. To secure Malvern Hill, he borrowed Brig. Gen. Darius Couch's First Division of Brig. Gen. Erasmus Keyes's IV Corps. Brig. Gen. George Morrell's First Division of Porter's V Corps was positioned on the west side of Malvern Hill, while Couch's division was deployed on the east side of the hill. Facing west and covering the River Road was Brig. Gen. George Sykes's Second Division of the V Corps, which was supported by 37 guns packed tightly together to prevent a Confederate advance along the River Road. Brig. Gen. George McCall's Third Division of the V Corps was stationed on the rear of the hill as a reserve. The reserve was further strengthened by four brigades detached from Brig. Gen. Edwin Sumner's II Corps and Brig. Gen. Samuel Heintzelman's III Corps, as well as a battery of heavy artillery that belonged to McClellan's siege train.

Facing east and deployed between Western Run and Turkey Island Creek from north to south were the rest of the corps of Heintzelman and Sumner, and also Brig. Gen. William Franklin's VI Corps. Brig. Gen. John Peck's Second Division of Keyes's IV Corps was situated between Turkey Island Creek and the James River.

Porter was assisted in his deployments by Brig. Gen. Andrew Humphreys, the chief topographical engineer of the army and a member of McClellan's staff. The initial Confederate attack was expected from the north and perhaps also from the west. Facing north, the Federals were arrayed three brigades deep on each side of Malvern Hill. Together, Morrell and Couch had 17,800 men.

National Archives

Library of Congress

TOP: Confederate Maj. Gen. John B. Magruder. BOTTOM: Federal Brig. Gen. Fitz John Porter.

The two Federal infantry divisions facing north on Malvern Hill were supported by six batteries totaling 36 guns, with an equal number of guns on each side of the Quaker Road as it bisected the hill between the Crew and West houses. It was a formidable position, as Harvey Hill had told Lee.

"There was a splendid field of battle on a high plateau where the greater part of our troops and artillery were placed," Humphreys wrote. If confidence came from numbers, the morale of those assembled must have been high that morning. The array of Federal power was a "magnificent sight," said Humphreys.

Malvern Hill was not a rounded knoll but an elevated plateau that rose about 150 feet above river level. The strength of the position for the Federals was that the cultivated fields of the two farms on its forward slope furnished a splendid field of fire. The plateau was about three-quarters of a mile wide, and a mile and a half long.

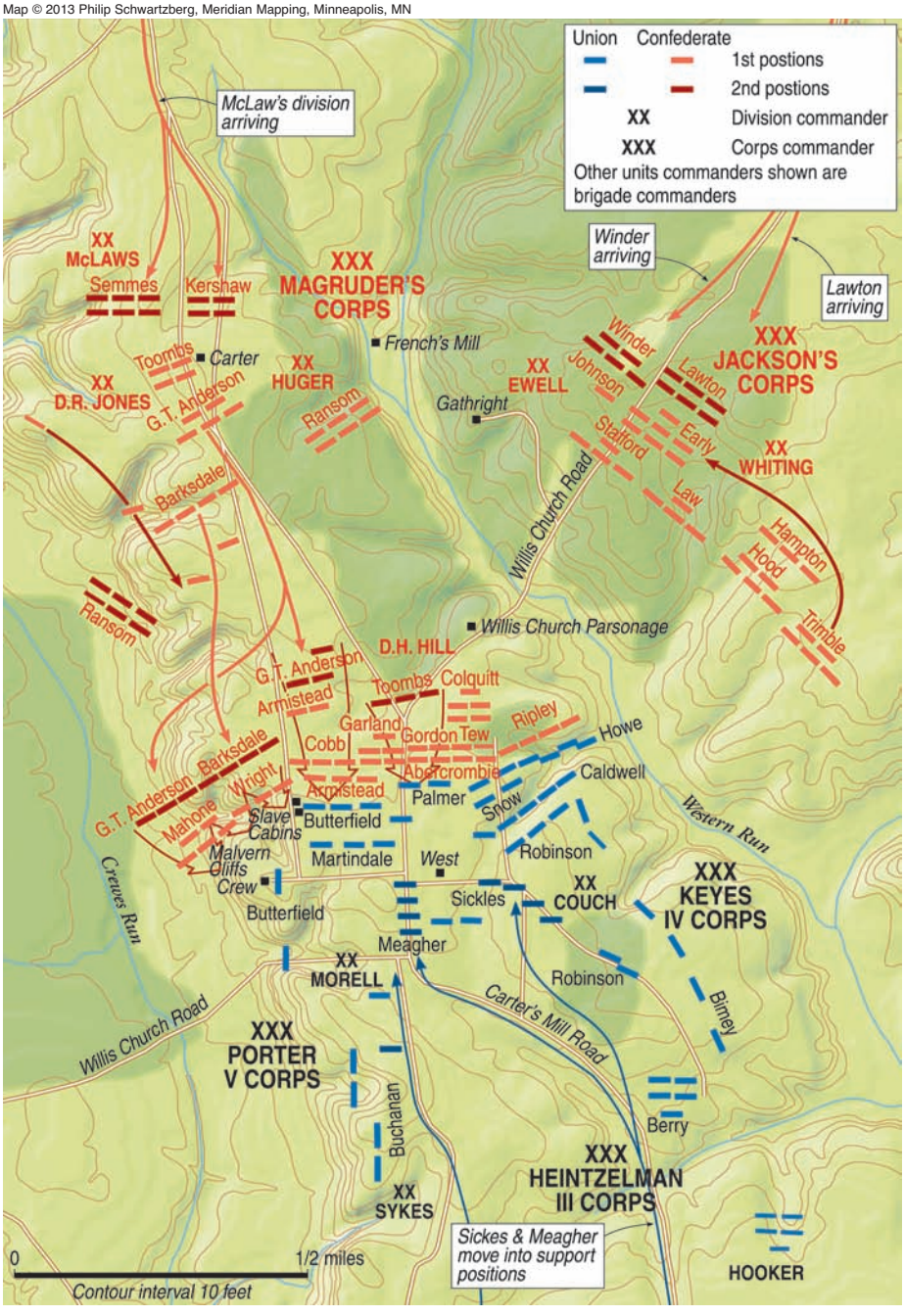
Flowing in a meandering fashion southeast past the north slope of Malvern Hill was Western Run, a tributary to Turkey Island Creek, which emptied into the James River. The stream banks throughout the area were all heavily wooded, and crossing the streams was difficult for large units except at bridges or fords. While the east slope of Malvern Hill gradually dipped down to the creek, a portion of the west slope was a rock cliff that precluded any assault by infantry.

Opposite Malvern Hill was an unnamed plateau about the same height as Malvern Hill. The Carter and Poindexter farms north of Malvern Hill would serve as staging areas for the Confederate attack. Behind Western Run on its east bank was the Poindexter farm where Jackson's command would deploy. Any Confederate troops marching along the Quaker Road and directed to deploy on the Carter farm situated on the Confederate right would have to cross Western Run. However, those that arrived on the Confederate right via Carter's Mill Road would avoid having to cross Western Run.

On the Carter farm, Magruder's command was to form up for an attack. Between the two plateaus was a dip in the landscape about 500 yards long that the Confederates would have to cross to reach the base of Malvern Hill. The Federal artillery atop Malvern Hill had sufficient range to not only target any infantry moving across the base of the hill but also to reach the farms beyond, where the Confederates would deploy for battle.

In his morning briefing, Lee instructed Jackson to take the road first and Magruder and Huger to follow him. Longstreet and A.P. Hill were to follow at the rear of the column. Any reconnaissance by the higher command would be handled as the troops were being deployed and not earlier. The reason for this was that "we were on a hot trail," wrote Brig. Gen. Cadmus Wilcox.

Map © 2013 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN



ABOVE: The Federals atop Malvern Hill easily repulsed a series of uncoordinated attacks by the Confederates throughout the afternoon and evening of July 1. Federal morale remained high despite McClellan's unexplained absence at Frayser's farm and Malvern Hill. OPPOSITE: Brig. Gen. Fitz John Porter packed the top of Malvern Hill with troops to prevent a Confederate breakthrough.

No sooner had the march begun than problems occurred. The inability of some of Lee's commanders, particularly Magruder and Huger, to promptly get their troops marching on the correct road would disrupt Lee's plans for a timely pursuit of the Federals that day. Magruder, who had not looked closely at Lee's map during the briefing, decided to depend on local guides to lead his division to its position. More than one road in the region was named Quaker Road, and the guides led Magruder's column west on the Long Bridge Road toward a small side road that also bore that name.

Lee was feeling sick that morning, and he had asked Longstreet to help him lead the army that day and substitute for him if necessary. Longstreet saw Magruder's division marching east rather than south and sent a member of his staff after Magruder to inform him of his mistake. When Magruder did not turn around, Longstreet rode after him.

By the time Longstreet reached Magruder's column, it had arrived at the intersection of the Long Bridge Road and the wrong Quaker Road. Longstreet was unable to convince Magruder of his mistake, but when one of Lee's staff officers arrived with orders for Magruder to countermarch, Magruder obliged. Lee's staff officer informed Magruder that he did not need to march all the way back to Glendale but instead could take Carter's Mill Road to his pre-attack position. The mix-up delayed the arrival of Magruder's command at the battlefront by three hours.

Huger also had trouble getting his men into position that morning. Because he was unaware on July 1 that the Battle of Frayser's Farm was over, he had ordered two of his brigades—those of Brig. Gen. Lewis Armistead and Brig. Gen. Ambrose Wright—to march south and attack the Federals at Glendale in the flank. When Armistead learned that there was no enemy to attack that morning at Glendale, he asked Lee for fresh orders.

At the conclusion of Lee's conference with his lieutenants, a member of Lee's staff rode to Huger's headquarters on the Charles City Road to the north to inform him of the army commander's plans for the day. Huger, a West Point graduate who was two years older than Lee, had extensive experience in ordnance matters, but his talent for leading infantry left much to be desired. His experience in the old army perhaps contributed to his reluctance to allow anyone other than himself to give orders to his troops. That arrogance would contribute to the problems Lee faced getting his troops into position for the attack on Malvern Hill.

Since Magruder was not going to be able to deploy as quickly as Lee had hoped, Lee ordered Armistead and Wright to move by the Quaker Road and deploy on the right of the Confederate line of battle where they would lead off the attack on the Confederate right. The two brigadiers led their combined 2,500 men to the location specified and took up a position behind a ridge to await the arrival of artillery to contest the Federal guns.

Meanwhile, Jackson's command, which comprised four divisions, began arriving on the Poindexter farm about 11 AM. For the coming battle, Jackson's command had been supplemented with two new divisions. One of the attached divisions was led by Harvey Hill, and the other was led by Brig. Gen. William H.C. Whiting.

Whiting's men marched at the head of Jackson's column and were the first to arrive at the Poindexter farm, where they took up a position on the extreme left of the army. Maj. Gen.

Richard Ewell's division took up a position straddling the Quaker Road behind Western Run. When Harvey Hill's division arrived in the early afternoon, it halted in the woods behind the Willis Church parsonage behind Western Run. Harvey Hill's division was positioned in the center of the Confederate line, a place that Lee originally had hoped that Huger would deploy. Jackson's other division, led by Brig. Gen. Charles Winder, brought up the rear. Not including Harvey Hill's division in the center, Jackson had 20,000 troops in three divisions on the Confederate left flank to hurl at Porter.

By 12:30 PM, Armistead and Wright had their troops in position and were conducting their own reconnaissance of the Federal position on Malvern Hill. They saw a white house with several barns around it at the top of the hill and some other buildings on the forward slope toward them, which were the slave cabins. This was the Crew farm. As for the Federal artillery, the guns were nearly hub to hub. Behind them were several lines of infantry. The guns had a clean sweep of the open ground across which the Rebels would have to charge to reach them. Harvey Hill, who was making the same observation farther east, saw the same menacing forces.

"If the first line was carried," wrote Harvey Hill, "another and another still more difficult remained in the rear."

The Federal line "seemed almost impregnable," said Major Joseph Brent, one of Magruder's staff officers, who rode ahead of Magruder's column to observe the Federal position.

At 1 PM, the Federal guns facing north toward the Confederate main line began a random but steady bombardment of Confederate forces opposite them. As the shells crashed around them, graybacks in the open hugged the ground, while those in the woods sought protection behind trees. "The fire was a terrible one, and the men withstood it well," wrote Armistead.

Lee had chosen to make his headquarters at a blacksmith shop opposite the Willis Church parsonage. That morning, Lee had told Longstreet to make a personal reconnaissance of the enemy position from the right side of the Confederate line of battle, while he undertook a reconnaissance of the left side. They met back at the blacksmith shop at noon to discuss final plans for the attack. Both had seen the need to establish strong artillery positions to counter the Federal artillery arrayed against them and knock out as many Federal guns as possible before the infantry assault began.

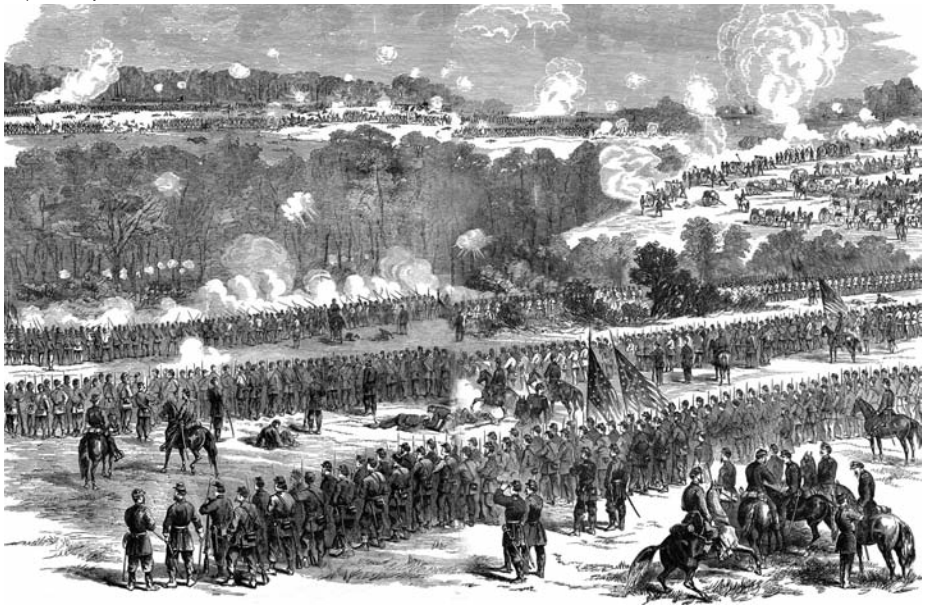
Lee gave verbal orders to his chief of staff, Colonel Robert Chilton, which were to be crafted into a general order and distributed to the division commanders and also to Armistead. Lee's plan was to establish a "grand battery" on each flank that together would provide a converging fire on the Federal guns. If the bombardment was successful, then the infantry should advance. If not, an alternate plan of attack might be developed, Lee said.

The order, as penned by Chilton, read as follows. "Batteries have been established to act upon the enemy's line. If it is broken as is probable, Armistead, who can witness the effect of the fire, has been ordered to charge with a yell. Do the same."

The order as written left much to be desired. It not only made the presumption that the Confederate counterbattery fire was likely to succeed, but also left the authority for deciding whether the attack should go forward in the hands of a brigadier general. Moreover, the decision to make the signal for the attack a yell was absurd, as it would be nearly impossible for other commanders to know whether the yells they were hearing were from Armistead's brigade. To make matters worse, Chilton failed to put a time on the order to indicate when it had been issued.

Jackson's command had 10 batteries, and some of those had lumbered along the Quaker Road with the divisions of Whiting and Ewell, which had arrived at the front by early afternoon. Unfortunately for Jackson and the army as a whole, his chief of artillery, Colonel Stapleton Crutchfield, was ill that day and no replacement had been designated for him. Therefore, no officer was on duty to call up the batteries and show them where to deploy.

Harpers Weekly



Harvey Hill, whose troops were likely to go forward into battle as they were positioned on Armistead's left flank, had no artillery at all. Hill had sent his artillery many miles to the rear for an overhaul under an order previously given to him. It seemed only logical that he should be given replacement batteries from the army's reserve, but no one could locate Brig. Gen. William Pendleton, who commanded the reserve artillery. Without Pendleton's permission, it would be impossible to obtain any of the 14 batteries in the reserve.

The responsibility for obtaining guns for service in the left grand battery eventually fell to Jackson. Stonewall rode from the Poindexter farm out to the Quaker Road in search of his division's batteries. He was able to locate three batteries—Staunton Artillery, Rockbridge Artillery, and Rowan Battery—and ordered them to drive their guns onto the Poindexter farm.

As for the right grand battery, it would have the advantage of more individual batteries, but that factor was negated by the matter of each going into action at different times. The batteries that unlimbered on the ridge in front of Armistead came from four different commands. Two batteries each came from Magruder's and Huger's divisions, one from A.P. Hill's division, and one from the artillery reserve. Seeing the need for as much artillery support as possible, Powell Hill, who was on the north end of the Carter farm near the Long Bridge Road, sent forward his best battery, Captain William Pegram's Purcell Battery. On his own initiative, Captain Greenlee Davidson, commanding the Letcher Battery which belonged to the reserve artillery, put his battery into action in support of Magruder.

The availability of batteries on the Confederate right was never in question. In addition to the

six that either went into action or that attempted to go into action but were driven off by the Federal guns, there were another six batteries nearby that stayed idle. Ultimately, the responsibility for the failure of these batteries would rest with Magruder, who had as many as 16 batteries under his direct control that day, and six more were attached to Huger's division, giving Magruder a total of 22 batteries, each with four to six guns. While it would have been impossible to fit all of those on the ridge opposite the Crew house, it certainly could have accommodated more than one battery at a time.

The Confederate batteries began answering the Federal guns at about 2 PM. The guns of the left grand battery opened up first. The leadership crisis on the Confederate right delayed the deployment of the guns of the right grand battery. When the Federal artillery officers saw the Confederate guns unlimber on the Poindexter farm, they immediately switched their harassing fire to the Rebel artillery crews.

It was testimony to their skill and battlefield experience that the Southern artillery crews on the left flank could stand up under such fire. Their initial performance was impressive. They quickly found the range of the enemy targets and put out hot counterbattery fire. The shells from the Rebel guns produced considerable casualties among the Federal artillery crews and compelled some Yankee officers to pull back their exposed infantry. The duel between the left grand battery and the Federal guns atop Malvern Hill reached its peak about 2:30 PM.

Since they lacked any support from the right grand battery, the guns on the Confederate left initially took the full brunt of the Federal batteries atop Malvern Hill. Solid shot from Yankee smoothbore and rifled artillery sailed over Western Run and landed directly on the three Rebel batteries that had moved into position. The Federal artillery fire smashed gun carriages, and it killed and wounded horses and men. The Confederate left grand battery, despite the valor of the gunners, was of the "most farcical nature," wrote Harvey Hill.

The Staunton Artillery was the last battery to retire on the Confederate left. Its commander, Captain William Balthis, who was struck by seven shell fragments during the artillery exchange, urged his men to stand up to the storm of Federal shells as long as possible. When his battery ran out of ammunition, he gave the order to withdraw.

Beginning at about 2:30 PM, the first batteries on the Confederate right flank attempted to go into action. The Federal artillery crews, particularly those in front of the Crew house, turned their guns on the new threat. The Federal artillery fire against the right grand battery was so fierce that no battery could stay in action for long. Davidson, commanding the Letcher Battery, discovered that his battery could stay in action by having the crews load the guns behind the crest of the hill. Once loaded, the men ran the guns to the crest, fired them, and ran them back down the hill to reload. Eventually, Davidson also gave up the mismatched contest. After 3:30 PM, other batteries on the Confederate right tried periodically to go into action, but they were driven away almost immediately.

The performance of the Federal artillery atop Malvern Hill was flawless and would be remembered by the Confederates long after the battle was over. Federal gunboats participated in the bombardment in the early afternoon, but their rounds fell indiscriminately on both blue and gray soldiers. Porter was furious over this and sent orders via the signal corps for the ships to cease their fire.

The balance of Huger's division, which consisted of Brig. Gen. William Mahone's Virginia brigade and Brig. Gen. Robert Ransom's North Carolina brigade, arrived on the Carter farm at about 3:30 PM. Huger chose not to lead them to the front, but instead remained at the junction of the Long Bridge Road and Carter's Mill Road, sulking about how Lee had circumvented him by issuing orders directly to his troops. When Brent finally located him, Huger acted in a truculent manner. Brent told the South Carolinian that Magruder wished to align his units with Huger's division when it arrived and asked Huger where his men were deployed. "[Some of my troops have been moved] without my knowledge by orders independent of me, and I have no further information enabling me to answer your inquiries," said Huger.

While Huger bickered with Brent, Armistead and Wright had watched Yankee skirmishers from Griffin's brigade of Morrell's division walk slowly down the slope of Malvern Hill toward their position. Their purpose was to try to shoot some of the artillerymen manning the Confederate guns. To counter the threat, Armistead decided to launch a limited attack to drive away the skirmishers.

For the mission, Armistead called up his three best regiments, the 14th Virginia, 38th Virginia, and 53rd Virginia. The soldiers in his brigade had been waiting in the woods behind the ridge where the Rebel artillery had gone into action. When the three regiments were in position, Armistead put his hat atop his sword and waved it in a circle as a signal for them to advance. At about 3:30 PM, the gray infantry swept over the ridge with their weapons at the trail arms position. Once over the hill they charged the Federal skirmishers, who, realizing they were heavily outnumbered, quickly fell back toward their main line. During the charge, "We encountered a red hot storm of every missile," wrote Colonel Harrison Tomlin of the 53rd Virginia.

Armistead's men advanced about 500 yards, farther than Armistead had intended, before halting to take cover in a shallow depression at the base of Malvern Hill. Armistead had only deployed them to drive the skirmishers off, but the colonels leading the three regiments thought he meant for them to charge the main Federal position.

Unfortunately for the Confederates, they quickly became the primary target of the Federal artillery. Armistead, realizing that they would be chewed up badly if ordered to retreat, decided to leave them in position until the general assault began, at which point they could join it. The three regiments would subsequently remain in position for nearly two hours under heavy fire. "We held our position through all the storm of canister and shell," wrote Colonel Edward Claxton Edmonds of the 38th Virginia.

While the Virginians were hunkered down at the base of Malvern Hill, Lee was once again in the saddle. He rode with an escort beyond the Confederate left to reconnoiter the Federal position on the east side of Malvern Hill and determine whether it might be carried by a flank attack. If he felt it was feasible, he would order Longstreet and Powell Hill to strike the Federals in the flank either that evening or perhaps the following day. What he found was the bulk of the Federal army in a strong position. The ground was also marshy where Western Run joined Turkey Island Creek. Lee's reconnaissance put an end to any thought of turning the Union right flank.

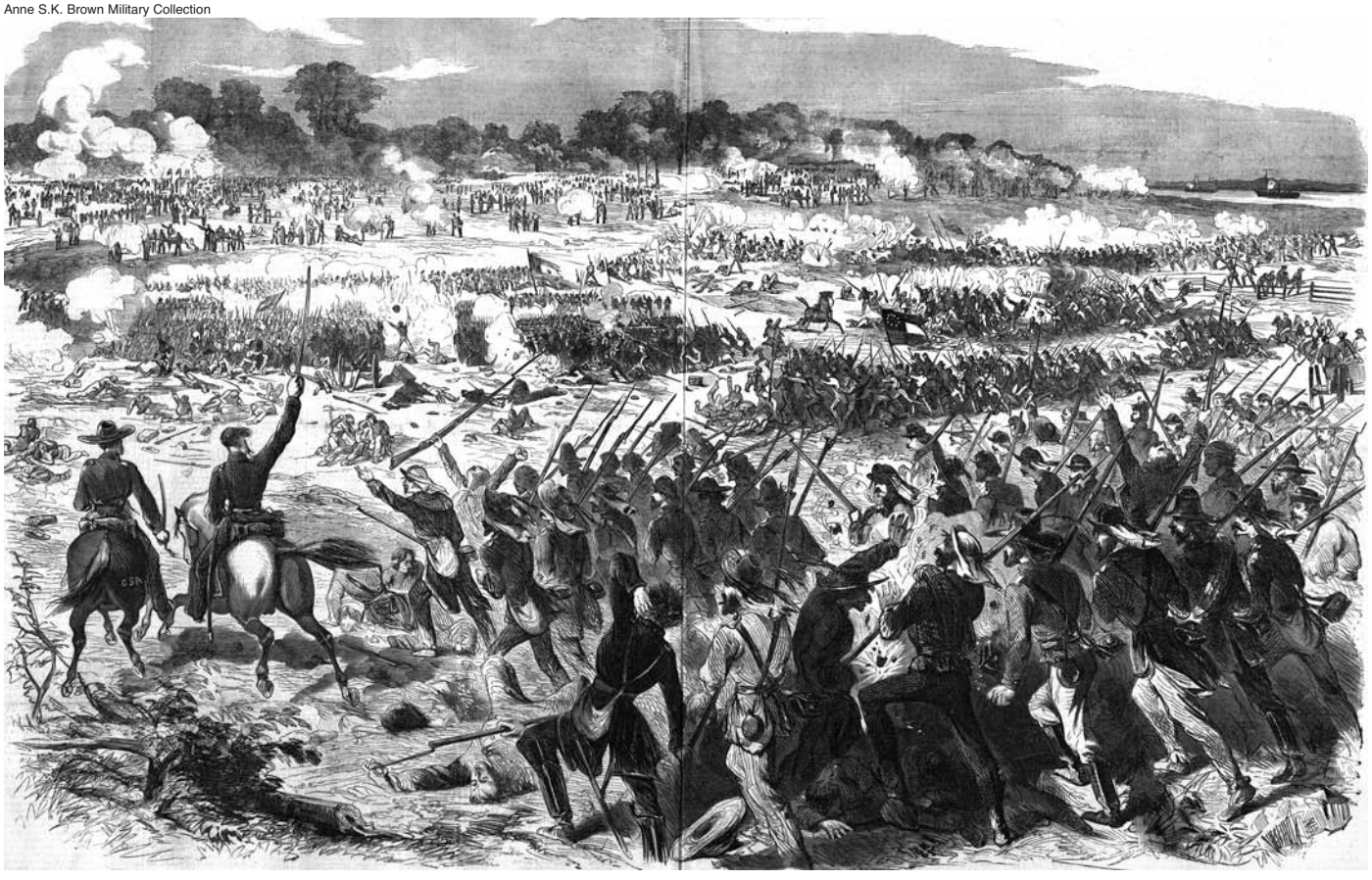
By 4 PM, the general mood among the high-ranking officers on the Confederate left, including Jackson, Harvey Hill, and Whiting, was that there would be no major attack on the Federal position that day because it was too strong.

All present had just borne witness to the skill of the Federal gunners, and it was probably clear to them that the Federals were eager for revenge following their series of humiliating retreats over the previous week.

Magruder arrived at the front about 4 PM by way of the Carter's Mill Road in advance of his troops and made his own assessment of the situation.

A tall and handsome West Point graduate who

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection



Confederate troops assaulting Malvern Hill quickly became pinned down. Their commanders knew it was suicide to proceed, but they had orders to continue the attack.

spoke with a slight lisp, Magruder had served in the Mexican War as an artillery officer and had performed so well that he was brevetted three times during that conflict. After the war, he had served as commandant of the artillery school at Fort Leavenworth, where he had shown a taste and flair for pomp and ceremony, thus earning the sobriquet "Prince John."

Magruder's first post in the Confederacy was as a colonel in command of the small group of Confederate forces deployed on the Virginia Peninsula. Setting up headquarters at Yorktown, his orders were to contain Federal forces advancing west from Union-held Fort Monroe at the tip of the peninsula. In April 1862, while defending the Warwick Line against McClellan's forces in the opening act of the Peninsula Campaign, Magruder showed a knack for defensive warfare and for military theatrics by moving his small force in such a manner as to deceive the Federals that his force was much larger. For his achievements, he was appointed brigadier general in June and four months later promoted to major general.

During what would become known as the Seven Days Campaign, Lee slowly began to see shortcomings in the 53-year-old Magruder's aptitude for offensive operations. Still, Magruder was one of his highest ranking generals, and Lee had enough residual faith in him after the action at Glendale to give him a major role in the fighting at Malvern Hill.

When Magruder saw how far Armistead's men had advanced, he mistakenly interpreted it as a small success. When Lee returned from his reconnaissance of the Federal right flank, he received a dispatch from Magruder informing him that Huger's troops had achieved a promising success that Magruder planned to exploit if possible.

Lee also received word from Whiting that some of the Federal troops on Malvern Hill were moving back, which Whiting misinterpreted as the beginning of a general withdrawal. Whiting's erroneous observation was probably derived from his seeing some of the Federal infantry taking cover during the brief bombardment by the Confederate left grand battery.

Although Lee might have been contemplating calling off the attack due to the fact that the artillery had failed to achieve any noticeable success, he took these reports as good omens. Hoping that Magruder could expand on whatever success had been achieved by Armistead on the other end of the battlefield, Lee sent a dispatch to Magruder with the following order: "General Lee expects you to advance rapidly. He says it is reported the enemy is getting off. Press forward your whole command."

Magruder was prepared to hurl six brigades at the Federal lines in his initial assault. His plan called for using the four brigades of Huger's division and two brigades from Brig. Gen. David R. Jones's division. But when Magruder sent orders to Huger's other two brigadiers, Mahone and Ransom, Ransom refused to move unless Huger ordered him to do so. Since Huger was nowhere near the front, this proved impossible.

When Magruder rode back to the Carter farm to bring forward Jones's division, he came upon his own division at the front of the column of troops. Magruder's division comprised the brigades of Brig. Gen. Howell Cobb and Brig. Gen. William Barksdale. Prince John ordered them to prepare to assault the Federal position. He also gathered Mahone's Virginia brigade. Unlike Ransom, Mahone was more than willing to put this troops in the fight with or without Huger's permission.

At 4:45 PM, Magruder sent one of his aides to Wright with orders to charge the Federal guns by advancing to the right of Armistead's already committed troops. Shortly afterward, Magruder

sent Mahone to follow Wright to add weight to his attack. Meanwhile, he sent Cobb forward on the same path as Armistead's three regiments had taken. Barksdale's Mississippians were farther back and went forward in a later wave. Magruder's first wave had only half the number of men he had originally intended.

Some of the brigades Magruder ordered into battle that day became pinned down immediately by the Federal guns. Others pushed forward unsupported on either flank, which was the case with Wright's brigade in the first wave. "At every step my brave men fell around me, but the survivors pressed on until we had reached a hollow about 300 yards from the enemy's batteries on the right," wrote Wright. Bluecoats from the 4th Michigan of Griffin's brigade tried to get around Wright's left flank and cut him off, but Wright saw the threat and ordered the 3rd Georgia on the brigade's left flank to change front and engage the Federals. For nearly an hour, Wright's brigade fought Federal infantry in the vicinity of the slave cabins on the Crew farm. During that time, it suffered heavy casualties from canister fired by a battery of Napoleon smoothbores led by Lieutenant Adelbert Ames of Battery A, 5th U.S. Artillery.

When Wright's Regiment went forward, the Confederates of Armistead's brigade, who had been pinned down by the Federal artillery, rose up and with a cheer resumed their advance up Malvern Hill. They made a valiant attempt to reach the Federal line to no avail. "Six times was the attempt made to charge the [Federal] batteries by the regiments of Armistead's brigade, and as many times did they fail for want of support on the left," Colonel Edward Claxton Edmonds of the 38th Virginia wrote in his report. The carnage among the 38th Virginia exemplified the severe casualties suffered by the men who charged into the teeth of the Federal guns. Before the day was over, eight color bearers of the 38th were either killed or wounded trying to carry the regiment's colors forward.

The lack of support noted by Edmonds was soon to be corrected. By 2 PM, Harvey Hill had received Lee's order penned by Chilton. When the Confederate artillery bombardment proved to be a resounding failure an hour later, Hill sent a note to Jackson, under whose command he had been placed, asking Stonewall whether his five brigades should participate in a subsequent charge against the daunting Federal position. Jackson's response was that Hill was obligated to follow Lee's orders since they had not been rescinded.

Nevertheless, it seemed madness to proceed. Hill and his subordinates were thinking about where they would camp for the night when several brigades to their right emerged from the woods and with a shout began advancing rapidly up the long slope of Malvern Hill. "Bring up your brigades as soon as possible and join it," Hill said to his brigade commanders.

The first wave of Hill's attack consisted of two brigades: Brig. Gen. Samuel Garland's North Carolinians and Colonel John Gordon's Alabamians. The two brigades emerged from the woods at 5:30 PM in one long line with Gordon on the left and Garland on the right.

Garland's Tarheels had to cover about 900 yards of open ground over neatly mowed fields to reach the Federal batteries. About halfway to their objective, the artillery and musket fire was so severe that the Rebels halted, dropped to the ground, and began firing from the prone position, which was contrary to Garland's orders. "I sent my acting aide-de-camp ... to inform Maj. Gen. Hill that unless I was reinforced quickly I could effect nothing, and could not hold the position then occupied," wrote Garland.

Couch's division was deployed facing northeast a few hundred yards in advance of the West House, and its soldiers were able to fire into Gordon's flank as he advanced toward the crest of the hill. Couch had deployed two of his brigades in one line with another behind it in reserve. To engage the left front rank of Couch's division, which was held by Brig. Gen. Innis Palmer's Third Brigade, Hill ordered Colonel C.C. Tew to attack Palmer. Tew had inherited command of Brig. Gen. George B. Anderson's brigade when the Anderson was wounded in a skirmish leading his men across Western Run. Advancing on Tew's left was Brig. Gen. Roswell Ripley's brigade. Hill ordered his last brigade led by Colonel Alfred Colquitt to follow Gordon.

The advance of the 8,200 Confederates in Hill's division worried Couch. He asked Porter for assistance, and the V Corps commander sent word to Sumner that he needed two of Sumner's brigades immediately. Sumner, commanding the II Corps, sent Brig. Gen. John Caldwell's brigade of Brig. Gen. Israel Richardson's division at the double quick from the rear of Malvern Hill. Caldwell's Federals went into the fight on the far right of Couch's line. Heintzelman, who was conferring with Sumner when the request for support came, volunteered to send Dan Sickles's brigade from his corps into the fight as well. Sickles's five New York regiments formed up in a lane that ran behind the West House, where they could easily reinforce Couch's position.

Some of Gordon's men came within 200 yards of the Federal guns, but Brig. Gen. John Abercrombie's Second Brigade of Couch's division, which had been in reserve, shifted east to block Gordon's assault and support the artillery crews. On Hill's left flank, the Georgians and North Carolinians of Ripley's brigade reached the level ground at the crest of the hill, but they also received double canister from level gun barrels that prevented them from advancing further.

To Ripley's right, Tew's brigade also received heavy destructive fire from the menacing enemy cannon. "Our men charged gallantly at them," wrote William Calder of the 2nd North Carolina of Tew's brigade, noting, "The enemy mowed us down by the fifties."

Time and time again, Hill's men rose up from the prone position and attempted another charge, but each time they were repulsed. "We murdered them by the hundreds, but they again formed and came up to be slaughtered," wrote Lieutenant George Hagar of the 10th Massachusetts of Palmer's brigade.

Despite the approach of night, Magruder continued to gather troops to reinforce his attack. He rode back to the Carter farm, where he found Jones's and McLaws's divisions approaching the front. Together they had four brigades, all of which would go into the fight.

Prince John wasn't the only one looking for more troops to lead up the hill. Harvey Hill, who watched as wounded streamed to the rear, also cast around for more troops to reinforce whatever success his division was having on the slopes of Malvern Hill. Finding the four Georgia regiments belonging to the brigade of Brig. Gen. Robert Toombs of Jones's division without their commander, Hill led them forward to support his division, even though they belonged to Magruder's command. Meanwhile, Magruder put Jones's other brigade, led by Col. George T. Anderson, into action on the far right of the Confederate line in support of Mahone and Wright.

The piecemeal insertion of these Confederate brigades into the fight continued when McLaws's division arrived at the front. One of Magruder's aides broke up McLaws's division, sending the brigade of Joseph Kershaw's South Carolinians to support Hill and dispatching the brigade of Brig. Gen. Paul Semmes to support Magruder's command.

As more Confederates joined the assault on Malvern Hill, Federal artillery reserve commander Colonel Henry Hunt ordered the 1st Connecticut Heavy Artillery to fire its 32-pounder siege guns at the sea of gray infantry trying to take Malvern Hill. The big guns cut 10-foot swaths through the charging ranks with a single shell. Hunt also saw to the steady replacement of field batteries on the front line as they ran out of ammunition and were withdrawn.

Library of Congress

***Harper's Weekly* illustrator Alfred Waud sketched the view from the Federal lines at Malvern Hill. The attack of Confederate Maj. Gen. D.H. Hill's division forced Brig. Gen. Fitz John Porter to call for reinforcements.**

By 7:30 PM, Harvey Hill had broken off his attack against the Federal right atop Malvern Hill, leaving two brigades from Magruder's command—those of Kershaw and Toombs—to carry on a desultory exchange of fire with the bluecoats of Couch's division. Jackson had watched Harvey Hill's division as it was mauled by the Federal artillery and infantry. Stonewall's troops had waited to be ordered forward, but Stonewall had no intention of hurling them against Couch's reinforced division.

When Jackson saw Trimble preparing to lead his brigade against the Federal right, he inquired as to Trimble's intent. "What are you doing, General Trimble," asked Jackson. "I am going to charge those batteries, sir," replied Trimble. "I guess you had better not try it. General Hill has just tried it with his whole division and been repulsed. I guess you had better not try it, sir," Jackson said.

The Confederate units near the crest of the hill made one last attempt to capture the Federal guns in front of them before darkness prevented further fighting. Wright's brigade had clung precariously to its position near the slave cabins of the Crew farm for nearly two hours when it rose up from the hollow where it had sought protection from the hailstorm of canister and went over the crest of the rise toward the guns on Morrell's left flank. Screaming the rebel yell they ran headlong into a line of Federal infantry that had been waiting below the guns for just such a charge. "Upon them we rushed with such impetuosity that the enemy broke in great disorder and fled," wrote Wright. But the delay bought enough time for the Federal artillery to complete a withdrawal that was already under way to the Crew house to prevent the guns from being outflanked by other Confederate regiments advancing obliquely on Morrell's left.

Similarly, Kershaw's South Carolinians made a last assault astride the Quaker Road toward the Federal guns that were about 200 yards in front of the West house. They nearly overran Captain John Edwards's Battery B, 3rd U.S. Artillery, but once again Yankee infantry held them up long enough for the guns to be withdrawn.

By 8:30 PM, some of the Confederates moving up the hill had begun accidentally firing into the backs of fellow Southern soldiers in front of them. The Federal gun crews continued to load and fire into the gloaming until it was apparent that the Confederates had finally broken off their attack. When the guns fell silent, a steady chorus of cheers rose from the top of the hill as Federal troops celebrated their triumph that day. For the Confederates, it must have been a deeply disheartening moment as they reflected on the disaster that had befallen them and listened to the pitiful cries of their wounded comrades.

There was no shortage of blame and recrimination among the Confederate high command in the aftermath of the battle. Lee asked Magruder why he had chosen to send the troops under his command to certain death for no gain, given the clear advantage the Federals had in artillery. Magruder's reply was that Lee had twice ordered him to attack, and for that reason he had no other choice.

Ultimately, the responsibility for the debacle belonged to Lee. He had issued vague orders and relied on faulty intelligence from more than one source. Lee's complaint, which was a recurring theme throughout the Seven Days Campaign, was that his subordinates failed to carry out his orders in a timely manner. Following the battle, Magruder, Holmes, and Huger were all transferred out of the Army of Northern Virginia.

Lee's army at Malvern Hill suffered roughly 5,500 casualties, while McClellan's suffered about 3,200 casualties. Once the battle was over, McClellan ordered his army to retreat again under cover of darkness. It pulled back to Harrison's Landing, where it entrenched and was able to rely on a flotilla of gunboats for additional firepower.

Lee instructed cavalry commander General Jeb Stuart to probe the Federal defenses at Harrison's Landing, and Stuart reported that he could find no weaknesses in McClellan's position. Porter had managed to preserve the Army of the Potomac's reputation at Malvern Hill. McClellan managed to keep his army at Harrison's Landing for six weeks while he pleaded with Washington for more troops and mulled another advance on Richmond. On August 3, McClellan received orders to return his army by ship to Alexandria, Virginia. Despite his protests, McClellan's army was to unite with Maj. Gen. John Pope's newly constituted Army of Virginia. In less than a month, Pope would meet with disaster at the hands of Lee and his lieutenants. □

NAPOLEON'S

A key element of Napoleon Bonaparte's plan in the 1796 campaign on the Italian front during the French Revolutionary Wars was to divide the opposing Austro-Sardinian army. A rousing French cavalry charge at Dego, which scattered an enemy relief column, ensured that result.

STUNNING DEBUT

BONAPARTE'S ROAD TO GLORY BEGAN IN 1796 WITH A TWO-WEEK CAMPAIGN IN ITALY THAT ANNOUNCED HIS ARRIVAL ON THE EUROPEAN STAGE. **BY DANA LOMBARDY**

BARTHÉLEMY SCHÉRER, COMMANDER of the French Army, gazed at the new military orders from Paris in disbelief. The grandoise strategy, detailing an advance on three fronts with the armies uniting in Tyrol for a concentrated thrust at Vienna, were far beyond the capabilities of the starving southern army he commanded along the French Riveria against the combined forces of Austria and Sardinia. Disgusted at the situation before him, he asked to be relieved. He also suggested that the member of the Topgraphical Bureau who drafted the strategy, the 26-year-old upstart Corsican, General Napoleon Bonaparte, be sent to carry them out. And that is exactly what happened. On February 23, 1796, Schérer was relieved of command and replaced with Bonaparte.

In 1792, Revolutionary France went to war with Austria and Prussia. Following the execution of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette in January 1793, Great Britain, Spain, the Dutch Republic, and several minor Italian states joined what became known as the First Coalition. Its mission was to restore the French monarchy and destroy the French Republic before its ideas of liberty, equality, brotherhood among men, and violence spread to other nations.

Napoleon had missed the greatest fame and glory achieved by revolutionary France in 1794. French victories that year wrecked the First Coalition. Holland became the Batavian Republic in January of 1795 and an ally of France. Prussia made peace in April 1795, and Spain did likewise in July. By the summer 1795, Britain, Austria, and Sardinia were the only major powers still at war with France.

The Directory's strategy for 1796 did not have an overall plan other than to invade enemy territory. The unpaid, underfed, and nearly mutinous soldiers of France were susceptible to a military-led revolt. A successful war of aggression could enable the revolutionary armies to feed, clothe, and pay themselves off of the enemy.

On paper, Bonaparte's Army of Italy had 116,000 men. In reality, effective strength was about 61,000, and more than two-thirds of these troops were spread out nearly 200 miles along the Mediterranean coast from the French city of Marseilles to the small town of Voltri, nine miles from the important port of Genoa, Italy.

The French forces were dispersed to feed themselves off the local countryside and to protect their vulnerable coastline and coastal roads against British and Sardinian naval raids. As soon as he arrived, Napoleon moved the army's headquarters forward 42 miles from Nice to Albenga and went on rounds of personal inspections, which allowed Bonaparte to assess the capabilities of his army.

On March 28, he wrote to the Directory that the "administrative situation of the army is bad, but no longer desperate…. From now on the army will eat good bread and will have meat, and it has already had considerable advances on its back pay.... I shall march in a short while."

The Army of Italy had 11 divisions. Four of these were for coastal defense administratively controlled from Nice. Under Bonaparte's direct control at the front were seven divisions: André Masséna's advance guard that included Amédée Laharpe's and Jean-Baptiste Meynier's divisions, Charles Augereau's division, Jean Sérurier's division, Henry-Christian-Michel Stengel's cavalry division, and two small divisions under Pierre-Dominique Garnier and François Macquard.

Stengel's cavalry protected the army's rear along the coast, while Garnier and Macquard held defensive positions on the far left that linked up with the Army of the Alps. That left four divisions with 37,600 men for Napoleon's offensive, a force about 70 percent the size of the enemy they faced.

The paintings reproduced here are from historical artist Keith Rocco's latest limited edition book, *Napoleon's First Italian Campaign, 1796-1797*. Published by Military History Press, the book covers Napoleon's command of the French revolutionary government's Army of Italy. With text by Colonel Ramsay Phipps, unpublished since the 1930s, the book features over 200 illustrations, including maps, artifacts, drawings, and 58 original paintings by Rocco. With over 260 pages, the coffee table book is bound in red leather with gilt stamping.

All images © Keith Rocco

Opposing the Army of Italy were two separate allied armies. After De Vins resigned due to illness in 1794, an experienced 56-year-old Austrian general, Baron Michelangelo Alessandro Colli-Marchi, took command of the 25,000-man Sardinian Army in the Ligurian Alps of northern Italy. Colli's troops were spread out guarding mountain passes, including the key town of Ceva. If the French broke through the mountains in this area, they could march on the Sardinian capital of Turin around 50 miles away.

An Austrian army, supported by Neapolitan cavalry, deployed 30,000 troops under the command of 70-year-old Jean-Pierre de Beaulieu, a veteran of the Seven Years' War and battles against revolutionary France from 1792. Beaulieu took command in March 1796, the same month that Bonaparte arrived.

Beaulieu and Colli were friends who in theory were equal in command responsibility. In reality, Beaulieu's views prevailed. Both men noted Napoleon's arrival in March and anticipated a French offensive. Colli's chief of staff wrote: "General Bonaparte is not known for any striking feat, but he is understood to be a profound theorist and a man of talent." The Austrian commanders also had good intelligence on the condition of the Army of Italy and thought it incapable of a sustained attack in the near future.

Bonaparte's energy, intellect, and self-confidence propelled him to the command of one of France's five field armies by the age of 26. In just two months, he would win a major victory where all others before him had failed.

Colli's force of 25,000 was spread over 55 miles of mountainous terrain, watching Garnier's and Macquard's divisions and the Army of the Alps in the west and guarding the route to Turin by occupying numerous passes through the Ligurian Alps.

Beaulieu's army of 30,000 was spread out even more, from its supply depots and line of communication from Milan through Alessandria to a few miles outside the seaport of Genoa, also maintaining contact with Colli near the key mountain pass at Dego. Beaulieu was eager to occupy Genoa to establish direct contact with the British fleet. It would take time to concentrate his widely dispersed troops for this attack, but he felt he had time to conduct a limited operation against an isolated French unit at Voltri near Genoa.

Beaulieu was convinced that Masséna would be forced to march to the aid of the French troops in Voltri. He hoped that such a move would seriously weaken the French position in Savona and that an Austrian column would be able to capture that coastal town behind Masséna's anticipated move and trap his command.

Occupying Voltri was supposed to pressure Genoa into providing the French with money and provisions. However, it achieved little in obtaining supplies and only left the French Army badly extended and vulnerable to attack. Before Napoleon could start his offensive, 3,200 Austrians under Baron Carl Philipp Sebottendorf, supported by 4,000 more under Baron Filippo Pittoni, hit 5,000 French under Jean-Baptiste Cervoni at Voltri on April 10. After a few hundred casualties, the French retreated the next morning.

Bonaparte was described as momentarily furious when he learned that French troops had been pushed out of Voltri. On the other hand, Philippe-Paul de Ségur, an aide to Napoleon, wrote in his memoirs that Bonaparte received news of the Austrian attack calmly and said he knew how to make them regret it.

Regardless of Napoleon's emotional state, the Austrian attack at Voltri was an opportunity for the French. Nearly 25 percent of Beaulieu's 30,000 troops were engaged at Voltri and therefore too far away to quickly reinforce the Austrians under Count Eugène-Guillaume-Alexis Mercy d'Argenteau guarding the passes around Dego.

Argenteau was supposed to strike Savona when Masséna left the area to rescue Voltri. Instead, before the battle Napoleon ordered a fighting retreat from Voltri to Savona if required. This proved unnecessary as the French troops were not pursued by Beaulieu's attacking force. After Beaulieu's success at Voltri, he started moving his troops to reinforce Argenteau via Acqui. It would prove to be too little, too late.

Beaulieu's plan to trap Masséna's force between Savona and Voltri came unraveled. There was no pursuit after the Austrian victory at Voltri, so the encirclement was now totally left up to Argenteau.

Argenteau's 9,000 troops were spread out 20 miles between Dego and Acqui (and 6,000 assembling another 20 miles away around Alessandria), but he attempted to follow Beaulieu's orders. Before dawn on April 11, he marched a column of 3,700 men through Montenotte toward Savona. The Habsburg Hungarian and Croat troops made contact with the French just before the latter's defensive complex of redoubts called Monte Negino.

Argenteau's soldiers attacked a key French redoubt three times, exposing themselves to fire

as they moved up single file along a narrow crest. The French, under Antoine-Guillaume Rampon, were outnumbered but held on stubbornly. An Austrian report written after the battle noted that most of their officers were killed or wounded leading the attacks on the French redoubts. Although casualties were actually light (fewer than 100 for the French, slightly more for the Hungarians and Croats), Argenteau's men were exhausted from nearly 12 hours of marching and fighting over difficult mountainous terrain.

Argenteau pulled his column back as darkness fell and arrayed his men in several lines on Monte Pra where they slept with their weapons. The Austrians were unaware that on that same night of April 12, nearly 26,000 French soldiers in Laharpe's, Meynier's, and Augereau's divisions were marching toward Dego as Bonaparte's offensive began.

Napoleon's grand offensive plan was to attack between the two enemy armies, splitting them apart. He could then concentrate against Colli's Sardinians and, if all went well, decisively defeat them before Beaulieu could join Colli to prevent such a disaster.

A lesser commander might have delayed or even canceled a planned offensive to deal with the two Austrian attacks. Instead, while the sound of distant gunfire could be heard, Napoleon conferred with his generals in Savona to make final arrangements for the movement of three divisions scheduled for that night. This conference occurred after receiving reports that confirmed the Austrians were not pushing on after their victory at Voltri and had been stopped at Monte Negino.

Although Bonaparte left no detailed written plan for his 1796 offensive, it clearly followed the strategy he outlined in July 1795 and in January 1796 when he was working in the Topographical Bureau. It borrowed ideas from Bourcet's 1744 invasion plan of Piedmont and included months of personal inspection of the operational area by the young general when he served in the Army of Italy.

When Laharpe's division hit Argenteau's Hungarians and Croats on the morning of April 12, they appeared out of the morning fog " like a cresting wave." The Habsburg commander tried to stand, but he was outnumbered to his front and then another column of Masséna's men appeared in his rear. The Austrian forces fled rather than be surrounded. It was not much of a battle, but Montenotte was an essential first step in separating Colli's and Beaulieu's armies.

Unfortunately for the French, Augereau's division, with a brigade from Meynier's division in the lead, was behind schedule. The night march along a narrow 15-mile trail over a high pass failed to catch up with Masséna by nightfall on April 12.

The Ligurian Alps dividing Piedmont and Liguria posed a tactical nightmare for commanders during the protracted campaigning in the region. A French patrol at the mercy of subfreezing temperatures conducts a patrol during the years of stalemate before Bonaparte arrived.

The stage was set for two days of confused combat and missed opportunities that could have wrecked Napoleon's well-coordinated and initially confident orders.

The fighting on April 12 had seen the French victorious, and Bonaparte issued an order of the day that exaggerated enemy losses and had other inaccuracies—but was probably good for morale.

Argenteau sent a report to Beaulieu about his retreat and losing nearly 700 men, noting that Dego was "in the greatest danger." Argenteau saw the French threat in separating the two armies by taking Dego, but Beaulieu could not reach Argenteau with reinforcements quickly. There were only four allied battalions in Dego (the three French divisions approaching counted more than 30), but Argenteau felt his troops were too exhausted and disorganized to do any more than cover Acqui. Rather than march to aid Dego, he awaited orders and more troops.

Argenteau appealed to Colli for help, but despite learning about the French offensive on the afternoon of April 12, the commander of the Sardinian Army reacted without urgency. Into the area commanded by Marchese Giovanni Provera, Colli sent a combined grenadier battalion to occupy the heights at Cosseria and personally led four more battalions of these elite troops to

ABOVE: During intense fighting on April 11, 1796, at the mountaintop redoubt of Monte Negino, French Corporal Rouach climbed onto a parapet shouting, "Cowards! I'll show you how a good soldier should die!" This rallied the wavering French troops in the face of a determined Austrian assault. OPPOSITE: The French division of General Amédée Laharpe rolls over the Austrian position at Mount Pra during the Battle of Montenotte fought April 12, 1796. Montenotte, a minor affair, was a key first step in Bonaparte's plan to separate the Austro-Sardinian army.

Monte Zemlo to await the next French effort. These positions blocked the route into Piedmont but did little to support the Austrian and Sardinian troops in Dego.

Napoleon's orders for April 13 had high expectations: Masséna to push beyond Dego, Laharpe to advance to Cairo, and Augereau to capture Millesimo and the positions that approached Ceva. Sérurier's division, until now held in the Tanaro River Valley area, was to start its move forward so it could add its weight to the eventual attack on Ceva.

There was a serious logistical reason for the junction with Sérurier. The furthest advanced French troops were already suffering from food shortages and needed to draw upon the supply magazine at Bardinetto, but that road was blocked by the Sardinians at Millesimo. One of Augereau's brigades under Jean-Baptiste Rusca pushed forward to open that road.

Mistakes by Napoleon's subordinates and hard fighting by his enemies would nearly derail his offensive campaign after an initially successful first day.

The Sardinian grenadiers reached the castle of Cosseria near Millesimo on April 13. just before Augereau's division encircled it. After calling for its surrender and being rebuffed, the French made three separate attacks. The final assault began around 4:00 PM and nearly succeeded. The Sardinians, low on ammunition, resorted to throwing rocks at the attackers. Stunned by the fierce defense and loss of several key officers, the French fell back.

The French lost between 600 and 1,000 men in the attacks against Cosseria. A local man who provided lodging for Augereau later wrote that he found the general holding his hands on his forehead, repeating the words: "This blessed castle will force us to turn back to the Riviera." Colli's single battalion of Sardinian grenadiers had helped Provera's 4,000 men stop a division of 8,500 French.

Masséna, waiting for Laharpe's troops, decided not to attack Dego on April 13, believing (incorrectly) that it was strongly defended. If Colli and Beaulieu acted quickly, the two Austrian commanders might recover from their perilous situation.

Bonaparte would not give them that chance. Noting that the Sardinians at Cosseria were almost out of ammunition, he thought they would surrender the next day, which they did. He ordered big fires to be lit that night approaching Millesimo from the Bormida valley to make Colli think that Sérurier's division was closer than it was. Napoleon also rode to Masséna to urge the attack on Dego for April 14.

Masséna's reconnaissance of Dego on April 13 revealed its defensive weaknesses. Now with Laharpe's men available, the French employed the tactic that had worked at Montenotte on the morning of April 12: a frontal assault to distract the enemy accompanied by turning movements. Pressured from all sides, the allied defense in Dego crumbled just as Argenteau began arriving with reinforcements.

The victorious French overcame Dego by sheer weight of numbers (Masséna's 9,500 to 3,000 Austrians under Baron Mathias Rukavina or Roccavina) and then collided with the relief column, throwing it into disorder. A brief pursuit ensued until darkness, including French cavalry that harassed Argenteau's withdrawal. The French captured at least four colors and from 1,500 to more than 4,000 prisoners, depending upon the report.

Convinced that Beaulieu's forces were not in a position to cause him any more problems, Bonaparte met with his generals at Cairo at 10 PM on April 14. He ordered Laharpe's division back to Cairo to prepare to join Augereau and Sérurier against Colli.

Discipline broke down among the victorious French at Dego, and they became as disorganized as the retreating Austrians. According to one of the French brigade commanders, "The lack of regularity in the food supply produced many marauders." There were also numerous incidents of looting and wanton destruction.

The French disintegration meant that there was a lack of military vigilance with few or poorly manned outposts. The Austrians might have been struggling with the new pace of operations dictated by Bonaparte, but they did not lack courage or determination. And they

would hit back with a vengeance on April 15 at Dego.

Baron Josef Philipp Vukassovich, one of Argenteau's better generals, recognized the opportunity and quickly led five battalions of about 3,000 men back toward Dego. A captured French officer told Vukassovich that there were 20,000 enemy troops in the area, but Vukassovich decided to press on.

Like Laharpe at Montenotte, the Austrians appeared out of the morning fog, and the surprised French attempted to form a defense. Several French officers were cut down, which precipitated a retreat. Hundreds of French soldiers were captured as well as cannon that were now put back into service by Vukassovich's grenadiers acting as artillerymen. Except for the castle in Dego, the Austrians again held the town.

When the seriousness of the situation became apparent to Napoleon, he ordered Laharpe to countermarch his division to Dego. Masséna arrived about four hours after the Austrian attack—his absence for so long a few writers attributed to a woman, or looting. Whether Masséna was derelict in his duties that morning or simply elsewhere on reconnaissance or inspection, when he arrived he quickly proceeded to gather 8,000 men to retake Dego.

Concerned about being enveloped in Dego and with no sign of help from Beaulieu, Vukassovich began withdrawing—constantly harassed by the cautiously pursuing French. His gallant attack made Bonaparte more careful for the next few days, but by the end of April 15 Vukassovich returned to the area of Acqui with only a few of the troops he had led into Dego that morning. By not supporting Vukassovich, Beaulieu missed his best opportunity to thwart Napoleon's offensive.

Four days into his first offensive, Bonaparte had successfully wedged his four divisions between the two allied armies. Operations had not developed perfectly, however, and it required Napoleon's repeated attention at various points along the front to maintain the initiative he seized on April 12. Compared to Colli and Beaulieu attempting to direct their forces from the rear, Napoleon's style of personal, relentless leadership was a paradigm shift in warfare.

After regrouping and obtaining sustenance for his troops from local authorities and reconnaissance to make sure that no substantial Austrian forces were within striking distance on April 16, Napoleon prepared for the attack at Ceva (although he left Laharpe's division in the Dego-Montenotte area as a precaution).

Colli had retreated from Monte Zemlo to the fortified town of Ceva and the network of defenses around it. Bonaparte knew about the formidable positions from the memoirs of de Maillebois, but now he could actually see them.

Colli did not expect the French to attack such a strong position, and, suspecting that Bonaparte would attempt a maneuver against his vulnerable right, he marched away with eight battalions the night of April 15. That still left around 13,000 Sardinians to defend Ceva, and they defeated all attempts on April 16 by Augereau's 7,500 troops to probe (French version) or attack (Sardinian opinion) their redoubts.

Despite the successful defense at Ceva on April 16 and the heroic stand at Cosseria on April 13, morale among the senior Sardinian officers was low. Now on his way back after learning of the French attack at Ceva, Colli received a report from his commanders that they thought it wise to retire. The hostess of the house where Colli stayed that night wrote in her journal: "Fear and indecision were the result of the council of war." Colli wrote the order to abandon Ceva.

Augereau occupied the abandoned entrenchments at Ceva the next day, and Bonaparte ordered an immediate pursuit, ignoring the small garrison left behind in the town's citadel. There would be no costly French assaults as had occurred at Cosseria, and no siege. The French marched off, leaving the few Sardinian troops in their rear. As there were virtually no supplies reaching the French troops, there was nothing for the Sardinians to intercept or cut off.

Colli's next strong defensive line was at San Michele (also called La Bicocca), where he positioned 8,000 men and 15 guns. An assault on April 19 by 11,500 troops under Augereau and Sérurier was stalled until a group of skirmishers following retreating Sardinian pickets was able to cross at an

unguarded aqueduct and a French brigade got across the river to cause panic among the defenders.

As at Dego, the victors immediately began to pillage. This time it was Sérurier's division that was punished for its lack of discipline, being thrown out of San Michele by a counterattack organized by Colli. Lack of food was the bane of the French Army of Italy, and halting the offensive ran the risk of seeing it disintegrate into a rabble. The people of the mountainous region could barely support themselves, let alone nearly 40,000 hungry French soldiers and their horses.

Napoleon held a meeting with his generals at Ceva to prepare to retake San Michele. But the French spent April 20 mostly resting the troops, finding food, and restoring discipline and order.

Despite his victory at San Michele, Colli emptied supply magazines and destroyed bridges preparing for further retreat. Until Beaulieu's army could reach him, Colli wanted to preserve his army. During the night of April 20-21, the Sardinians pulled back toward the large magazines at Mondovì.

Bonaparte arrived that night to scout San Michele for the next day's action. He found a ford that enabled his troops to cross the river despite the destroyed bridge and discovered that the Piedmontese had gone, leaving their campfires burning. Napoleon ordered an immediate pursuit, catching Colli's rear guard late the next morning. Very quickly, Colli's army was retreating in confusion.

Napoleon, accompanied by his friend Saliceti, made a triumphal entry into Mondovì on April 21. That night, King Victor Amadeus III met with his ministers in Turin and sent envoys to meet the French government representative in Genoa. A letter was also sent to Colli asking

ABOVE: It was Napoleon's relentless pursuit that changed the pace of warfare and gave the Austrian commanders little time to react. By the time French troops reached the important supply magazines at Mondovì (shown here) 10 days after the start of the 1796 campaign, the Sardinian king was willing to seek an armistice. LEFT: A Sardinian battalion of elite grenadiers held off three separate attacks by French General Pierre Augereau's division on their position in the ruins of a medieval castle at Cosseria on April 13, 1796. When the grenadiers ran low on ammunition, they hurled rocks at the French.

him to open negotiations with Bonaparte for an armistice.

Napoleon received Colli's letter on April 23, but he continued his movements toward Turin and replied that evening that only the Directory could negotiate peace. However, if two of the three fortresses of Cuneo, Alessandria, and Tortona were turned over to the French, he would suspend hostilities. To make sure that Beaulieu's forces would not link up with Colli's demoralized army, Augereau seized Alba, and Masséna occupied Cherasco.

With help from Beaulieu unlikely and his demoralized and weakened army just miles from Turin, King Amadeus accepted Bonaparte's terms on April 26. It was just 15 days since the French offensive began on April 12.

Bonaparte had accomplished in two weeks what none of the commanders fighting in this area of Italy had been able to achieve in the 1740s or from 1792-1795. To some historians, it was the weakness and betrayal of the Sardinian king that gave Napoleon his victory. However, French soldiers were often beaten by their hard-fighting adversaries in the 1796 campaign, and the Austrian commanders were dedicated professionals who did not quit easily.

The primary reason for the end of the Italian stalemate in 1796 was Napoleon Bonaparte. He simply outthought, outplanned, outreacted, and outgeneraled his opponents.

Napoleon signed an armistice with Sardinia on April 28, which violated the Directory's orders that he take no diplomatic action. However, when his brother Joseph reached Paris with letters and reports announcing the army's success along with 21 captured Austrian and Sardinian colors and much loot, the Directory ignored Bonaparte's insubordination and showed gratitude for the victory France badly needed in the spring 1796.

In keeping with his new style of military operations, Napoleon did not rest on his laurels. He provisioned his army at the expense of Sardinia, reorganized it into a more effective force, received reinforcements from the nearby French Army of the Alps, and by May 5, only a week after signing the armistice with Sardinia, was already chasing Beaulieu across northern Italy.

After nearly another year of fighting, Napoleon forced the Austrians to sign an armistice in April 1797. □

WHEN THE "SCOURGE OF GOD" AND HIS HUNS THUNDERED INTO GAUL IN AD 451, THEY CAME UP AGAINST A FORCE OF ROMANS AND VISIGOTHS LED BY ROMAN GENERAL AETIUS THAT REFUSED TO BACK DOWN. **BY JOHN WALKER**

ATTILA'S STINGING DEFEAT

IN AD 451, ATTILA THE HUN, by then known to terrified Western Christians as the "scourge of God," crossed the Rhine River in command of a multi-ethnic army. Attila's army comprised thousands of his own fearsome Hun horse archers backed by Ostrogoths, Gepids, and other Germanic tribal auxiliaries, marching in three massive columns through Belgic Gaul. Their goal was to plunder the rich, nominally Roman province of Aquitaine Gaul beyond the Loire River.

By that time, Attila already had carried out several bloody incursions against the Eastern Roman Empire and had turned his attentions toward the west. If Attila overran the relatively weakly defended province of Gaul, now home in great part to settlements of Franks and Visigoths, all of Western Europe would be ripe for conquest. There remained in Western Europe only one individual—the *magister militum*, or commander-in-chief of all Roman forces—who possessed the considerable strategic, political, and tactical acumen needed to find a way to halt, or at least blunt, this historic first Hun invasion of the Western Roman Empire. That man was the brilliant, fiercely loyal, and vastly experienced general and politician Flavius Aetius, known to history as the "last of the true Romans."

Library of Congress

Attila, depicted in a 15th-century Germanic portrait, sought to rule the known world.

Flavius Aetius, elected consul on three different occasions, was often referred to as "the man behind the throne" as he toiled tirelessly in his position as the most trusted adviser to Emperor Valentinian III and the emperor's mother and regent, Galla Placidia. He spent three decades leading Roman forces into battle along Rome's northwest frontier against Franks, Goths, and other barbarians in an effort to forestall the seemingly inevitable collapse of the once proud, but now teetering, Western Roman Empire as it crumbled under the weight of persistent Germanic migrations. The imperial capital of Rome, indeed, was but a shadow of its former self; after Rome was sacked by Visigoths in AD 410, the capital was moved first to Milan and finally to Ravenna on the Adriatic Sea.

By the mid-5th century, the glory days of Augustus and the mighty Roman legions of antiquity—heavy columns of highly trained infantrymen whose iron discipline outmatched any opponent they faced—were a distant memory. The Roman Army was now made up almost entirely of lightly armed and armored Germanic conscripts and mercenaries, known as Gallo-Romans, and was unable to maintain control of Rome's tenuous borders. Aetius's only remaining army, consisting of the forces at that time deployed in Italy and Gaul, was far too small and inexperienced to have any chance against the pagan Attila's coalition.

Yet, as Attila's columns began looting and burning city after city after crossing the Rhine, including Rheims, Mainz, Strasbourg, Worms, and Triers, the astute Aetius managed to rapidly piece together his own sizable, formidable coalition army, tactfully bringing together various tribes that were historically opposed to Roman domination—Visigoths, Alans, Salian Franks, and Burgundians—to join forces with

Attila's fanatical cavalry charges the enemy in Alphonse de Neuville's 19th-century illustration, *The Huns at the Battle of Chalons.*

Eon Images

Bridgman Art Library

As they swept into Gaul, the Huns sacked and burned towns and villages, and they raped and murdered people of all ages and occupations.

the Romans against their common enemy. The task before them was a great one as the dreaded Hun ruler had not yet tasted defeat in two decades of empire building. The Visigoths and Salian Franks would be defending their own homes, which they had no intention of allowing the Huns to despoil.

Attila had been encouraged to attack Roman Gaul as a result of the machinations of Gaiseric, the king of the Vandals. The arrival of the Visigoths in Hispania (present-day Spain) at an earlier point had compelled Gaiseric in AD 428 to lead his entire nation of 80,000 souls into North Africa. Driven from Hispania, Gaiseric had become an arch enemy of Theodoric I and his Visigoths. Gaiseric repeatedly encouraged Attila to invade Gaul and destroy the Visigoths. Ironically, once Attila had launched his historic campaign and the actual Battle of Chalons took place, Gaiseric and his Vandals played no part.

After leaving a swath of devastation behind them in Belgic Gaul, the Huns wheeled to the south and converged on Aurelianum (present-day Orleans). Aurelianum was a city of critical importance to any army then or since as it guarded an important crossing of the Loire River and was one of the primary gateways for an invading army approaching from the north to gain access to Aquitaine Gaul. Aetius's united army, the strongest contingent of which was by far the Visigothic infantry and cavalry forces serving under King Theodoric I, arrived in full force at Aurelianum on June 14, AD 451.

Realizing his horse archers were at a disadvantage within the city's confines and not wanting to give battle before uniting his separated columns, Attila rapidly withdrew his forces about 100 miles to the northeast, shadowed closely by Aetius's army. Attila consolidated his entire force inside a fortified circle of wagons known as a *laager,* which was likely further strengthened by the digging of an outer circle of entrenchments, and awaited battle. On the afternoon of June 19, the day before the Battle of Chalons erupted in earnest, Attila's large rear guard, a force of 15,000 Gepid archers and foot soldiers, fought a bloody battle with Aetius's vanguard, a force of Frankish warriors. In heavy fighting, some 15,000 casualties were suffered by the two sides combined.

On June 20, AD 451, on a vast plain in a region known as the Catalaunian Plains, which lay between the cities of Troyes and Chalons-sur-Marne in what is now the Champagne region of modern-day France, the two coalition armies met. One of these armies was entirely Christian, and the other was predominantly pagan. Both numbered at least 50,000, and they were composed of infantry, light and heavy cavalry, and archers. It would take all of Aetius's considerable skills as a battlefield tactician and perhaps a bit of good fortune to find a way to defeat the mighty Huns' imposing coalition. Although Aetius did not know it, Attila feared that he might not prevail in the coming conflagration.

At its zenith in the 2nd century AD, the Roman Empire held sway over as many as 60 million people—one fifth of the world's population—in Europe, Asia, and Africa, reaching up to northern Britain, across Western Europe along the Rhine and Danube Rivers, and down through Syria, Egypt, and North Africa. In AD 313, Emperor Constantine issued an edict approving religious tolerance, and after he converted to Christianity the empire was soon Christian as well. Wanting to create a "new Rome," the emperor moved the capital east to Byzantium, and by the end of the 4th century that region had become the Eastern Roman Empire. While the empire's eastern half flourished, the western half disintegrated and didn't survive the 5th century, staggering under unremitting migrations of Germanic tribes, such as the Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, Franks, and Saxons. In AD 476, the last Western emperor was unseated and the imperial regalia shipped east to Constantinople.

The Huns, about a generation before the birth of Attila, first fought their way into recorded history in the decade of AD 370 when

reports began reaching Roman soldiers guarding the Danube frontier of the appearance of a savage race of people in the region north of the Black Sea. These Asiatic, nomadic steppe dwellers were led by fierce warriors on horseback, while their families and their possessions followed in covered wagons.

The Huns had moved slowly westward across the Asian steppes, sowing terror and destruction before arriving on the edges of Europe; this wasn't an organized migration but rather travels by separate small bands of Huns led by different chieftains to maximize grazing lands for their horses. The Huns laid waste to entire regions, and massacred the respective inhabitants of those regions reasoning that they would be leaving in their path no population capable of resistance to fall upon their supply lines or interfere with their withdrawals.

After first attacking and absorbing the Alans, another Asiatic tribe who lived on the plains between the Don and Volga Rivers, the Huns then encountered and displaced the Goths, first the Greuthungi, later known as the Ostrogoths, who inhabited the lands between the Don and Dnieper Rivers, and then the Tervengi, later known as the Visigoths, who lived between the Dnieper and the Danube Rivers.

Pressing hard against the Roman frontier, 40,000 Visigothic men, women, and children in AD 376 insisted they had nowhere to go and asked to be allowed to cross the Danube into Roman territory. Short on manpower, Emperor Flavius Valens granted their request; the Visigoths, he reasoned, could be used as a buffer against future threats from other Goths or the Huns, and their young men could be conscripted into the Roman Army or employed as mercenaries.

By early AD 377 the Visigoth refugee encampment was in danger of slipping out of Roman control due to the actions of greedy, incompetent, and arrogant local Roman officials. Using troops drawn from understrength garrisons along the Danube, the Romans began escorting the Visigoths 50 miles south to Marcianople in Thracia; in their absence, a new host of 40,000 Ostrogoths crossed the Danube and rapidly moved south to join the Visigoths outside Marcianople. After renewed hostilities arose between the refugees and haughty Roman authorities and soldiers, the combined Gothic forces wiped out the Roman transport army and began a two-year revolt.

After the Gothic commander, Fritigern, reinforced his army with 2,000 Hun mercenaries in August AD 378, he engineered one of the worst defeats ever inflicted on a Roman army at the Battle of Adrianople, during which Emperor Valens and at least half his 30,000-man army were slain. The battle was a major turning point and marked the eclipse of the traditional foot soldier under the hooves of waves of Gothic cavalry.

The event marked a shift from the dominance of infantry to that of cavalry for more than a millennium. Aetius was familiar with both the Visigoths and Huns after spending several of his early years with both tribes as a royal hostage. The years he spent among those militaristic peoples gave Aetius a martial vigor not common in Roman generals at the time. A Roman army commanded by Aetius, indeed, employing thousands of Hun mercenaries—possibly including Attila himself—slaughtered 20,000 Burgundians in AD 437.

Aetius epitomized the marshal spirit of the Western Romans, and his breeding, demeanor, and skill at warfare paid them just homage. "Of middle height, he was manly in appearance and well made, neither too frail nor too heavy; he was quick of wit and agile of limb, a very practiced horseman and skilled archer; he was indefatigable with the spear," wrote Renatus Frigeridus, a 5th-century historian, adding, "A born warrior, he was renowned for the arts of peace.... Undaunted in danger, he was excelled by none in the endurance of hunger, thirst, and vigil."

Library of Congress

Flavius Aetius, the Roman commander at Chalons, epitomized the marshal spirit of the Western Romans and is remembered as the "last of the true Romans."

In AD 450, Emperor Valentinian III and his mother and former regent, Galla Placidia, ruled the fragmented remnants of the Western Empire from Ravenna, counseled by the patrician Aetius, described by some contemporaries as the de facto ruler. By AD 410, no Roman legions remained in Britain, and large areas of Gaul and Italy were ruled by local tribal leaders and were inhabited in large part by barbarian settlers. Much of North Africa had been lost to the Vandals and Gaul to the Franks and Visigoths. Hispania was invaded in 409 by Vandals, Suebi, and Alans, and after 416 was ruled by the Visigoths, who held some territory in southern Italy as well.

The first devastating incursion into Eastern Europe by the Huns took place in AD 395, when they crossed the Danube and ravaged the regions of Dalmatia and Thrace. While this was occurring, other Hunnic forces were pouring through the defiles in the Caucasus Mountains, sweeping through Armenia, and pushing into Syria and Mesopotamia.

The peoples of Europe were terrified of the Huns and believed that they were the offspring of sorceresses and unclean spirits, according to Jordanes, a 6th-century Gothic monk and historian. To the Goths, the Huns were a "savage race, which dwelt at first in the swamps, a stunted, foul, and puny tribe, scarcely human and having no language save one which bore but slight resemblance to the human race," wrote Jordanes.

Arriving on the fringes of the Roman Empire in the late 4th century, riding their war horses across the great steppes of Asia, they struck fear into Germanic barbarians and Romans alike. This wasn't an organized migration, for each Hun tribe had its own chieftains. As the grazing and pillaging in an area declined, they simply moved on to fresh fields farther west.

The swarthy appearance of the Huns sparked fear and terror in the Western Europeans. Although the Romans and Goths may have ridiculed the Huns' origins, they had complete respect for their warlike attributes. "They are short in stature, quick in bodily movement, alert horsemen, broad-shouldered, ready in the use of bow and arrow, and their firm-set necks are ever erect in pride," wrote Jordanes. He added, "Though they live in the form of men, they have

Eon Images

Fast-moving Huns set fire to a village in Germany before moving on. When Attila became sole leader of the Hunnic confederacy in AD 445, he ruled an area that stretched from the Volga to the Danube.

the cruelty of wild beasts."

Like the Scythians before them and the Magyars and Mongols after them, the Huns were nomadic horsemen, and their skill with the bow and arrow was legendary. Hunnic military activity consisted mostly of raiding Roman and German settlements. Because of their inherent risk, battles were avoided, while sieges, because of the length of time involved, were largely avoided as well.

With rested horses always in reserve, attacking Hun armies used surprise as a military tool; messengers couldn't reach nearby towns to warn people faster than the Huns could descend en masse. "They are very quick in their operations, of exceeding speed, and fond of surprising their enemies," wrote Ammianus Marcellinus, a 4th-century Roman historian. "With a view to this, they suddenly disperse, then reunite, and again, after having inflicted vast loss upon the enemy, scatter themselves over the whole plain in irregular formations, always avoiding the fort or an entrenchment."

Of their incursions into other regions outside Europe, the Latin priest and historian Jerome recorded how their fast-moving formations prevented resistance and how they showed mercy to none. The Huns "filled the whole earth with slaughter and panic alike as they flitted hither and thither on their swift horses," wrote Jerome. "They were at hand everywhere before they were expected; by their speed they outstripped rumor, and they took pity neither on religion nor rank nor age nor wailing childhood."

Using reflex bows, which drew back 20 to 30 centimeters, the Huns had developed a powerfully effective weapon. Their arrows could travel 200 yards and kill an enemy at 150 yards. The Huns' bows were composite, made from separate sections of wood, sinew, and bone glued together. They were larger and more powerful than contemporary bows, giving the Huns a tactical edge by allowing them to engage from 150 to 200 yards away from their foe.

Loosing clouds of arrows that darkened the skies, the Huns would break up the enemy's cohesion. Then they would close with swords, javelins, lassos, and more arrows. The skillful use of lassos or "plaits of twisted cloth" was just one of the many unconventional tactics the Huns used to counter static formations of heavily armed infantrymen.

By AD 430, the Huns were no longer a loose conglomeration of family groups on the steppes of southwestern Europe, but rather a confederacy that had become united under a single ruler, Ruas. In his own right, Ruas was powerful enough to persuade Roman Emperor Theodosius II to pay him an annual tribute of 350 pounds of gold. During this time the Huns alternated between attacking the Eastern Romans and serving them as mercenaries. In 432, Theodosius made Ruas a general in the Roman Army. When he died in 433, Ruas was succeeded by his two nephews, Attila and Bleda, who become joint rulers of the Hunnic confederacy. During their tenure as joint rulers, the Huns solidified their control over Scythia, Media, and Persia.

Attila was short with small, bead-like eyes, had a snub nose, and swarthy skin, according to Priscus, a 5th-century Greek historian. His head was large, with a scrappy beard and the hair on top of his head was sprinkled with gray. His personality was that of a covetous, vain, superstitious, cunning, arrogant, and cruel man.

In contrast to Roman emperors or barbarian kings, he was a simple man who shunned pomp and knew nothing about nor desired lavish circumstances. While "guests drank from cups of gold and silver, Attila had only a wooden cup; his clothes were only distinguished from the other barbarians because they were of one color, and were without ornaments; his sword, the cords of his shoes, the reins of his horse, were not like those of other Scythians, decorated with plates of gold or precious stones," wrote Priscus.

As for Attila's ambition, it knew no bounds; his desire was to rule the known world. In AD 445, Attila murdered Bleda and became ruler of the Huns. Attila then became the sole ruler of an area that stretched from the Volga River to the Danube and from the Baltic to the Caucasus. He proved himself early on to be a natural tactician; however, his strategic faculties were somewhat lacking, at least initially.

Attila and his followers excelled in cruelty. In one of Attila's attacks in the Balkans aimed at Naissus, a city in the Danubian provinces, the Huns so devastated the place that when Roman ambassadors passed through to meet with Attila a few days later they had to camp outside the city. The river's banks were still filled with human bones, and the stench of death remained so great that no one could enter the city.

With Constantinople in his sights, in 447 Attila began a new campaign in which he terrorized the region north of the city. "The barbarian nation of the Huns, which was in Thrace, became so great that more than 100

cities were captured," wrote Callinicus, an ecclesiastical scholar. "There were so many blood lettings that the dead could not be numbered.... They took captive the churches and monasteries and slew the monks and maidens in great quantities."

At the Battle of Utus in AD 447, Attila was deflected toward Greece by an Eastern Roman army that prevented him from reaching the imperial city. When Attila camped outside the fortifications of Thermopylae, Theodosius found time to negotiate a shaky peace with Attila. In the resulting agreement, Theodosius agreed to not only pay three times the previous tribute but also give up a major swath of the central Balkans to the bloodthirsty leader of the Huns. On July 26, AD 450, Theodosius was thrown from his horse. He died two days later. The new Eastern Roman emperor, Marcian, refused to continue the tribute, but by that time Attila was refocusing his energies westward thanks to Vandal intrigues.

Theodoric I of the Visigoths and Gaiseric of the Vandals loathed one another. In AD 429, Theodoric had allied himself with Gaiseric by marrying one of his own daughters to the Vandal king's son and heir, Humeric. To dissolve this menacing alliance, Aetius in 442 proposed that the already married Humeric marry one of Emperor Valentinian's daughters. In a naked grab for more power and using the absurd pretext that his daughter-in-law was trying to poison him, Gaiseric in 442 cruelly cut her ears and nose off, repudiated the 13-year marriage, and sent the horribly maimed woman home to Theodoric and her family. The proposed marriage never took place, and virulent hostility between the two tribes—Vandals and Visigoths—became the rule.

In AD 450, while Gaiseric was fervently encouraging Attila to invade Gaul and annihilate the Visigoths, Valentinian's troublesome and promiscuous sister, Honoria, had the temerity to send Attila a ring and a message asking his help in winning her freedom from house confinement. Sensing a perfect pretext for an invasion, Attila demanded Honoria's hand in matrimony (considering the ring an offer of marriage) and half the Western Empire as her dowry. Recent, intermittent fighting between the forces of Aetius and Theodoric I convinced Attila that Theodoric would use the opportunity of a Hun invasion to assert his own independence and certainly couldn't be expected to join with Aetius in resisting any Hun incursion.

After Valentinian III rejected his outrageous demands, Attila crossed the Rhine River in early AD 451. The Scourge of God had the help of Ripaurian Franks, who lived in Gaul and were embroiled in a civil war with Salian Franks allied with Aetius. Attila's massive army included Huns, northern Burgundians, Thuringians, Gepids (under their King Ardaric), Rugians, Sciri, and a large contingent of Attila's longtime allies, the Ostrogoths, led by their king Valamir and his brothers Theodemir and Videmir.

Attila's army swept through Belgic Gaul in three separate columns on a wide front. Its right moved through Arras, its center through Metz, and its left through Paris. True to their awful reputation, the Huns sacked and burned towns and villages and raped and murdered people of all ages and occupations in the lands through which they passed.

As legend has it, the nascent city of Paris, at that time nothing more than a cluster of buildings on an island in the Seine River, was saved by a small girl named Geneviève from a neighboring village who urged the townspeople not to flee but to place their faith in God and pray with all their might that they would be spared. Their prayers gave them the fortitude to remain in place, and the child later was canonized as Saint Geneviève.

Arrayed against them was Aetius's Roman army backed by Visigoths, Alans, Salian Franks, Saxons, Armoricans, southern Burgundians, and other Germanic auxiliaries known as *federates*. Some accounts of the campaign portray Attila's central column besieging Aurelianum, home to the Alans—the Huns being one of few barbarian tribes to achieve the ability to wage siege warfare—after the city's citizens closed its gates and withdrew when they realized Aetius and his forces were approaching.

Library of Congress

The Huns' strength lay in their mounted archers, who were able to strike with great speed. "Seek swift victory in the spot where the battle rages," Attila told his warriors before the battle.

Others contend that the Huns and their allies had just arrived and had begun sacking the city's outskirts when Aetius arrived, after which heavy fighting broke out, with the Hun horsemen getting the worst of it due to their lack of mobility within the city's confines. It is believed the Alan king Sangiban, whose *foederati* realm included Aurelianum, was on the verge of surrendering the city (and thereby joining his forces with those of Attila) when the Roman-Gothic army arrived. At this critical moment, however, he not only allied himself with Aetius, but also supplied him with a large force of Alans, the majority of them horse archers. Sangiban is almost always referred to in most accounts as unreliable and a coward; at any rate, the thousands of Alan fighters who eventually took part in the battle fought fiercely in the cause of the Romans and suffered terrible losses.

The size of Attila's massive host has been estimated at between 300,000 and 700,000 men, a vast force for that time. Other accounts of the historic battle at Chalons put the numbers involved at over a half million men. No contemporary observer, unfortunately, recorded exactly what took place on Attila's right flank, where his Gepid allies faced off against Aetius's Romans and *federates*. Thus, we can't know with any degree of certainty the exact size of either army, nor the num-

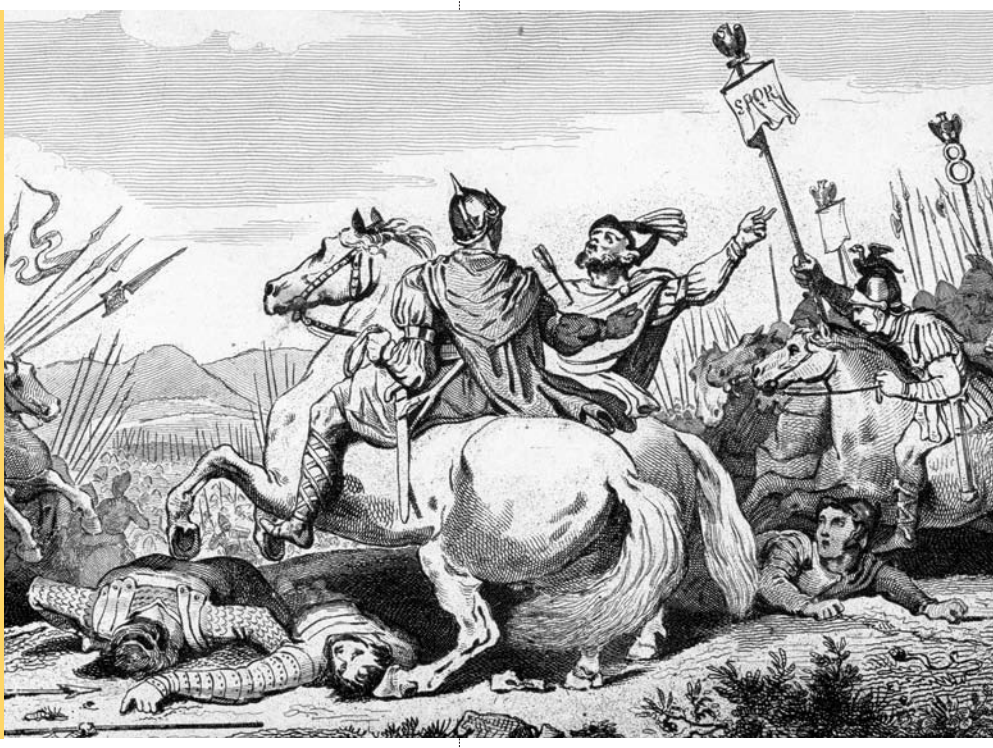
ber of casualties sustained, although all sources agree the losses were horrendous on both sides.

Given the amount of food and fodder necessary to feed the two armies' soldiers and horses, the huge numbers seem implausible, especially with both armies being predominantly cavalry (Hun fighters owned as many as eight horses). In all likelihood the number of soldiers on each side was at least 50,000 men but probably not more than 100,000, with Attila holding a slight numerical edge.

Both armies' strength lay in their cavalry arms, though both included numerous infantry and dismounted missile units as well. Although the Huns' strength still remained their legendary mounted archers, by AD 451 they had undergone a minor evolution in tactics, probably through a combination of contact with and against Western armies and a lack of grazing land in Europe that thinned their horse herds. They now fielded sizable infantry units as well. Many of the tribes the Huns had assimilated fielded only foot soldiers, and these troops had been incorporated into the Hun ranks.

The Huns' Ostrogoth allies consisted mostly of foot archers and small units of heavy cavalry, while the other Germanic tribes on both sides consisted mostly of light infantrymen carrying spears, swords, axes, and javelins backed by dismounted archers and some cavalry units. Theodoric's Visigoths were predominantly cavalry, both light and heavy, with some infantry units. The Asiatic Alans were nomadic horse people, and their military was made up mostly of cavalry

"Hand to hand they clashed in battle, and the fight grew fierce, confused, monstrous, unrelenting—a fight whose like no ancient time has ever recorded. There were such deeds done that a brave man who missed this marvelous spectacle could not hope to see anything so wonderful all his life long."



Library of Congress

units, while Aetius's Roman army was primarily heavy infantry. Both sides, then, arrived at Chalons numbering about two-thirds cavalry and one-third infantry. Following the conventions of the day, both armies drew up in three divisions.

On the morning of June 20, AD 451, in common with the usual Hun practice of the time, Attila put his seers and diviners to work while his forces remained encamped within their *laager*. Following the sacrifice of an animal, Attila's holy men scraped and then read the burned bones to foresee the events of the coming day. Their predictions were not good. Although a mighty leader of the anti-Hun forces (Attila assumed it would be his counterpart Aetius) would be killed in the fighting, the Hun forces themselves would be defeated in battle. Nonetheless, Attila decided to stand and fight, and that afternoon the Battle of Chalons erupted in earnest.

The battlefield was a vast plain sloping slightly upward on the left flank of Attila's *laager* where a ridge of high ground dominated the field. Aetius deployed his Visigothic allies on his right flank, Sangiban's unreliable Alans in the center, where he and Theodoric could monitor the Alan king's actions, and personally took command of the left wing with his Roman/*federate* force. Theodoric's son and heir, Thorismund, commanded a small force of heavy cavalry deployed on the far right of his father's line.

The ruler of the Huns kept his forces within his *laager* until early afternoon, making the Romans wait in battle formation for hours before finally marching out and forming his army for battle. He apparently wanted to allow darkness to screen his army's retreat in case of a reverse. Attila deployed the strongest element of his army, his own Hun cavalry, in the center. He directed the Ostrogoths to deploy on the left opposite the Visigoths, and King Ardaric and his Gepids to take up a position on the right. Rather than lead his army from the rear, Attila planned to take personal command of his kinsmen in the center.

Attila's aggressive tactics were simple: a massive attack by his Hun horsemen would rapidly destroy the center of his enemy's formation, which happened to be the weakest sector of the Roman line, and a quick victory would be won after the remaining Roman and Gothic forces were disposed of. Aetius opted for defensive tactics: his weakest force, the Alans, would fight a holding action in the center, after which Roman/*federate* and Visigoth forces on the flanks would achieve a double envelopment and cut off Attila's line of retreat to his *laager*.

While the armies were being marshaled, a vicious skirmish took place when both sides tried to gain control of the high ground on Attila's left. The Hun commander sent some of his best Hun fighters to aid the Ostrogoths in the battle for the ridge crest, but Prince Thorismund's cavalry threw this advanced guard back in confusion. Disconcerted by this reverse, which seemed to unsettle some of his Gothic allies, Attila pointed toward the enemy center

and addressed his troops: "You know how slight a matter the Roman attack is. While they are still gathering in order and forming in one line with locked shields, they are checked I will not say by the first wound, but even by the first dust of battle. Despise this union of discordant races. To defend oneself by alliance is proof of cowardice. Attack the Alans, smite the Visigoths! Seek swift victory in the spot where the battle rages, let your courage rise and your own fury burst forth!"

The battle quickly escalated as the Huns and Ostrogoths now charged forward. Jordanes described it in stark terms: "Hand to hand they clashed in battle, and the fight grew fierce, confused, monstrous, unrelenting—a fight whose like no ancient time has ever recorded. There were such deeds done that a brave man who missed this marvelous spectacle could not hope to see anything so wonderful all his life long. For if we may believe our elders a brook flowing between low banks through the plain was greatly increased by blood from the wounds of the slain. Those whose wounds drove them to slake their parching thirst drank water mingled with gore. In their wretched plight they were forced to drink what was the blood they had poured out from their own wounds."

After several hours of vicious, close combat the Huns were able to slowly drive back but not break the Alan line. Believing he was on the verge of victory, Attila swung his entire Hun force to the left and struck the Visigoths in their left flank. Tragedy struck the Roman/Gothic forces when Theodoric, riding along the lines exhorting his troops, was wounded (legend has it he was struck down by a javelin thrown by an Ostrogoth nobleman, Andages), fell from his horse, and was trampled to death. The Visigoths had already been thrown into some confusion when they saw the Alani forces being pushed from the field (and possibly fleeing). The death of an important commander seemed to have fulfilled the ambiguous prophecy of the Hun *haruspices*. At this critical moment, however, Prince Thorismund brought his heavy cavalry thundering down from the high ground into the fray. His example aroused the beleaguered Visigoth fighters, who not only restored their lines but finally drove both the Huns and Ostrogoths before them in heavy fighting. Thorismund's charge seemed to have fulfilled the second part of the prophecy; night was falling, Aetius had brought his forces in on Attila's other flank, and in the confusion and bloodshed Attila, his left routed and his center under pressure from both flanks, called for a retreat to the *laager*. Attila was suffering the bitter taste of his first defeat in battle.

Eon Images

ABOVE: Attila personally directed his troops at Chalons. When his left and center wavered, he ordered a general retreat to the safety of a protective camp established before the battle. OPPOSITE: Visigoth King Theodoric is slain during the height of the battle. The moment of his death follows an attack on his flank during which he was rallying his troops to withstand the assault.

The retreat of the Huns was recognition in itself that Attila had been defeated. The fierce Huns, who had laid waste to Scythia and Germany, were saved from total destruction by the approach of night. They withdrew to their *laager*. At that point, dismounted squadrons girded themselves for a defensive fight, to which they were hardly accustomed.

The supposedly unreliable Alans had fought extremely hard in the center, making the Huns pay dearly for every bit of ground they captured. Very little fighting took place on the Roman left flank between Aetius's forces and the depleted Gepids to their front. Waiting to order his forces into the fight until it was almost decided may have been a political tactic on Aetius's part, trying to conserve his inexperienced army, the only sizable "Roman" force that remained in the Western Empire. His detractors claim that Aetius, the consummate politician, callously allowed his Visigothic and Alan allies to absorb the worst of the terrible blows while selfishly protecting his own forces. The Alans suffered possibly as high as 70 percent casualties, while the Visigoths suffered some 30 percent. Aetius's losses are not known. The Hun confederation suffered at least 40 percent losses and possibly higher.

As it turned out, Aetius didn't have the numbers necessary to complete his hoped for encirclement. Both armies had exhausted themselves; as darkness fell, sporadic fighting continued and units became intermingled in the continuing chaos. Thorismund, who wanted to press the pursuit of the retreating enemy, was separated with his personal guard from his main force, wandered into the Hun camp, and had to fight his way out. Aetius lost contact with his own troops as well and spent the night among his Gothic allies.

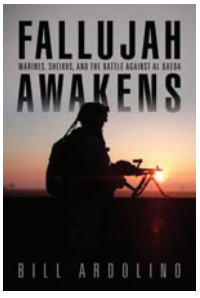
The next morning, both armies gazed at an almost indescribable scene of carnage—thousands of bodies piled across the plain—and neither was eager to renew the battle. One contemporary described it as "*cadavera vero innumera,*" or "truly countless bodies." Aetius, the loyal field general, had once again delivered at a moment of crisis despite the limited resources at his disposal. The damage to the Roman communities in the Hun line of march had been enormous, but Attila's

Continued on page 69

By Christoper Miskimon

U.S. Marines stationed outside Fallujah in 2006 took a risk that paid off while fighting insurgents.

THE IRAQ WAR IS NOW CONSIDERED A CLOSED CHAPTER IN U.S. history but the true lessons are only now beginning to be drawn. Many books focus on the actions of generals, colonels, and other higher ranking officers who directed the war from the upper echelons. A gratifying number focus on the war at ground level, showing the efforts of enlisted soldiers and junior officers fighting the war at a face-to-face level. ***Fallujah Awakens: Marines, Sheikhs, and the Battle Against Al Qaeda*** (Bill Ardolino, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2013, 320 pp., photographs, maps, and index, $36.95, hardcover) shows the war as experienced by a company of Marine reservists assigned to an area just outside the infamous "City of Mosques," as Fallujah is known.



Arriving in Iraq in late 2006, Company A 1/24 Marines was posted on the Fallujah peninsula, southeast of the city proper. Two battles years earlier had made the town famous as a hotbed of insurgent activity. Cooperation between U.S. forces and Iraqis was practically nonexistent and insurgents fought the Marines and terrorized civilians alike. Roadside bombs and sniper attacks were commonplace. Initially the Marines had little hope of making significant change in their area of responsibility.

That changed when Major Dan Whisnant, the company commander, was approached by a local sheikh who used the sobriquet "Dark." The young Arab was tired of the violence and strife plaguing his tribe and determined to do something about it. Local Al Qaeda-affiliated groups were doing more than fighting the infidel invaders; they were spreading their own extremist ideology at gunpoint, never hesitating to use torture and murder to enforce their control. Dark had seen the turnaround in nearby Ramadi and wanted the same for his people, so he took a risk and approached the Americans. He asked to form local militias and begin taking back the peninsula from the insurgency.

It was a risk for the Marines; they would be arming Iraqis, some of whom has been resistance fighters earlier. Something had to be done, however, and they decided to take the risk. Over the coming months the men of A 1/24 would have to weave a careful path between cooperation and combat, as the enemy could still blend in with the local community, which was cautious in accepting the Marines as allies against the radicals.

Along the way there were firefights and sniper attacks alongside more peaceful efforts. The Marines conducted medical and veterinary missions, distributed food alongside

A U.S. Marine asks a woman about weapons while patrolling through a village in Fallujah, Iraq, in 2006, part of counter-insurgency operations to isolate and neutralize anti-Iraqi forces.

DOD, Cpl. Adaeus G. Brooks, U.S. Marine Corps

You deserve a factual look at . . .

Israel: A Light unto the Nations

Those who demonize Israel are either misinformed or malevolent

If that proverbial man from Mars came to visit and read the world's newspapers, especially those in the Arab and Muslim world, he would be convinced that Israel was the most evil nation in the world and the source of all of the world's strife.

What are the facts?

A nation to be emulated. The reality, of course, is that Israel is a nation, a society, that should be admired and emulated by many countries in the world. The very fact of how the State of Israel came into being is one of the most inspiring in history. Born out of the ashes of the Holocaust, it has emerged as one of the most advanced, productive and prosperous countries in the world.

The demonization of Israel, assiduously cultivated by the Muslim world, reached a crescendo following Israel's defensive actions in Gaza. Instead of being grateful to the hated Jews for having totally withdrawn, the Palestinian Gazans showed their "gratitude" by almost daily pounding of Israeli towns with thousands of rockets and bombs. After countless warnings, Israel ultimately decided to put an end to this travesty.

> As the prophet Isaiah presaged: "Israel is indeed a Light unto the Nations."

When Israel finally did invade Gaza it took the most elaborate precautions not to hurt civilians. As a first in the history of warfare, Israel dropped tens of thousands of leaflets, warning the population and urging it to abandon areas in which military action would take place. The Israeli military made thousands of phone calls urging people to leave areas that would come under attack. But fighting in a densely populated environment is difficult and loss of civilian life is hard to avoid. Hamas fighters wear no uniforms. It is impossible to tell them from civilians. Is a person who allows a rocket launcher in his backyard a civilian or a fighter? And how about using schools, hospitals and mosques as munitions depots and staff centers? The hue and cry of Israel's demonizers of using "disproportionate force" is totally absurd. The ultimate insult, comparing Israel to the Nazis, is freely bandied about by Israel's detractors.

Israel is not an "apartheid state." Another familiar tack of Israel's vilifiers is to call it an "apartheid state," on the model of former South Africa. But that is so ridiculous, so preposterous, it is hard to believe that serious people can countenance it. The exact opposite is the case. Israel is the only country in its benighted neighborhood in which people of all colors and religions prosper and have equal rights. Israel, expending substantial effort, rescued tens of thousands of black Jews from Ethiopia. And it has given assistance and absorbed countless Christian expatriates from Sudan, who escaped from being slaughtered by their Muslim countrymen. Israel's over one million Arab citizens enjoy the same rights and privileges as their Jewish fellows. They are represented in the Knesset, Israel's parliament, and are members of its bureaucracy, of its judiciary, and of its diplomatic service.

All over the world, Leftists, including in the United States and, sad to say, even in Israel itself, tirelessly condemn and vilify Israel. Why would they do that? First, of course, there is good old-fashioned anti-Semitism. Second, many of those who hate the United States vent their poison on Israel, which they consider being America's puppet in that area of the world. But Israel should certainly get top grades in all areas important to the Left. In contrast to all its enemies, Israel has the same democratic institutions as the United States. All religions thrive freely in Israel. Also, in contrast to all of its enemies, women have the same rights as men. The Chief Justice of Israel's Supreme Court is a woman. One-sixth of the Knesset are women. Compare that to Saudi Arabia, a medieval theocracy, where women are not even allowed to drive cars, where they cannot leave the country without permission of a male relative, and where they can be and often are condemned to up to 60 lashes if the "modesty police" deems them not to be properly dressed in public. Gays and lesbians are totally unmolested in Israel; in the surrounding Muslim countries they would be subjected to the death penalty.

In spite of demonization and vilification by so much of the world, Israel is indeed a Light unto the Nations. The State of Israel is the foremost creation of the Jewish enterprise and Jewish intellect that has benefited every country in which Jews dwell, certainly our own country, the United States of America. Second only to the United States itself, Israel is the world's most important factor in science and technology, way out of proportion to the small size of its population. Israeli Jews are at the forefront of the arts, the sciences, law and medicine. They have brought all these sterling qualities to bear in building their own country: Israel. By necessity, they have also become outstanding in agriculture and, most surprisingly, in the military. What a shame that the Arabs opted not to participate in this progress and in this prosperity and chose instead the path of revenge, of Jihad and of martyrdom. As the prophet Isaiah presaged: Israel is indeed a Light unto the Nations.

This message has been published and paid for by

FLAME

Facts and Logic About the Middle East
P.O. Box 590359 ■ San Francisco, CA 94159
Gerardo Joffe, President

FLAME is a tax-exempt, non-profit educational 501 (c)(3) organization. Its purpose is the research and publication of the facts regarding developments in the Middle East and exposing false propaganda that might harm the interests of the United States and its allies in that area of the world. Your tax-deductible contributions are welcome. They enable us to pursue these goals and to publish these messages in national newspapers and magazines. We have virtually no overhead. Almost all of our revenue pays for our educational work, for these clarifying messages, and for related direct mail.

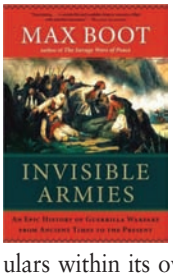
119B

To receive free FLAME updates, visit our website: www.factsandlogic.org

their new ally, Dark, and slowly gained the trust of the locals. Eventually the effort started to pay off and the situation in the area began to improve. It was a difficult transition for the young Americans, who were trained as infantry. They had arrived months before ready for stiff combat. Now they had to play multiple roles: census taker, relief worker, and intelligence gatherer, to name a few. Some of the young Marines bristled at something they considered beyond their training. Others embraced it as a way to make meaningful progress. Many thought the unit's status as reservists was a great help, since the part-time Marines were more able to adapt to civilian methods.

As the Iraqis turned away from the insurgency, the hardcore elements among them lashed out at the local civilians, considering them as unfaithful Muslims for cooperating with the Americans. This culminated with a vehicle-borne IED attack against Dark's tribe where the bomb was used to disperse chlorine gas, causing mass casualties among the Iraqis. Ultimately, the attack failed to intimidate; rather, it galvanized resistance to Al Qaeda and other related groups. It was one more nail in the coffin of the insurgency in Fallujah.

The author adds extensive background information to the book, gained through a rigorous interview process. The Marines are covered in detail, adding human faces to figures clad in camouflage and body armor, covered in dust and grit. Likewise the Arab players are described in real terms showing them as real people, trapped in a combat zone and trying to survive and regain a measure of normalcy in their lives. Explanations of the cultural and social nuances of the Fallujans are interspersed through the book. Incorporated seamlessly into the narrative, this added data reveals the accomplishments of the Marines of A 1/24 as even more remarkable.



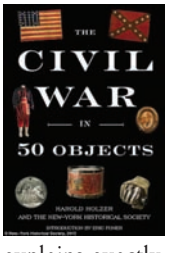
The guerrilla soldier is an object of both derision and worship, depending on your point of view. A nation that is born through the action of guerrillas and insurgents will, if it endures, find itself at some point fighting irregulars within its own borders or abroad as its power expands. This has been true for millennia, although our contemporary world often thinks of the guerrilla as a recent phenomenon. Max Boot's ***Invisible Armies: An Epic History of Guerrilla Warfare from Ancient Times to the Present*** (Liveright Publishing, New York, NY, 2013, 750 pp., notes, maps, photographs, index, $35.00, hardcover) does the work of showing the influence of guerrilla fighters on the breadth of human history.

Beginning with antiquity, Boot shows the struggles of Rome against various barbarians, Xiongu nomads versus Han Chinese, and conflicts in Mesopotamia. Moving forward, the author goes into detail on dozens of insurgencies through time to include wars of empire, colonization, occupation and revolution. The effect of both religion and political belief on guerrilla warfare is well documented. The book ends with our current situation of the religious and racially based War on Terror and how modern governments and nations deal with it.

Attention is paid to people who figure prominently in the history of guerrillas, from familiar characters such as T.E. Lawrence and Vo Nguyen Giap to lesser known figures such as Edward Lansdale, a U.S. Army officer who became embroiled in the Huk rebellion in the Philippines after World War II and later went to Vietnam in the 1950s.

Across the latter half of the book the reader can begin to gain insight into the situation of the United States. The nation began through the effort of what was essentially a guerrilla movement; within a few decades the new country was itself fighting a guerrilla war against Native American tribes as it expanded westward. Once it went overseas, the United States fought insurgencies in the Philippines, used insurgent groups to help its efforts in World War II, and since then has fought against or aided guerrillas across the globe.

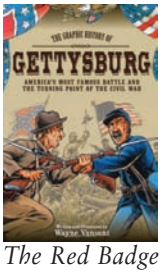
The vast, deep saga of guerrilla warfare could easily take a lifetime or more to study and comprehend. Max Boot, already well-known for *The Savage Wars of Peace,* his treatise on America's minor conflicts, does a creditable job of giving the reader a broad overview of history's most enduring warrior archetypes.



One recent trend in scholarly studies is to show a period of history through the tools, art, weapons, belongings, and clothing of those who lived in that period. The author takes each item in turn and explains exactly how it is historically significant. ***The Civil War in 50 Objects*** (Harold Holzer and the New York Historical Society, Viking Press, New York, NY, 2013, 380 pp., illustrations, index, $36.00, hardcover) brings this recent phenomenon to the study of the American Civil War.

While many items are understandably predictable, from slave shackles, a John Brown pike, to period paintings and etchings, a number of the objects are unusual and unexpected. The Draft Wheel for New York City is shown along with its unfortunate history. Used to select those who had been drafted into military service under the Conscription Act passed by Congress in March 1863, this rotating barrel held the names of those liable for induction into the army. The first day of the draft, Saturday, July 11, went without incident. After a break for the Sabbath, the draft proceeding resumed on Monday, July 13. That day a riot broke out. It lasted four days and required Federal troops to quell the violence and looting that ensued.

Letters also are widely used in the book to show the attitudes and beliefs of soldiers, politicians, and civilians. The reader gains insight on what these people felt about the war, why they were joining in on the conflict, and who they were. The Civil War already is widely covered by personal diaries and papers due to the relatively high literacy rates among the various participants. It is a full field but this book adds nicely to the personal coverage of the war without being overly repetitive as some studies have become.



For a younger generation of readers, the graphic novel is a mainstay. For an older reader, it may seem no more than a thick comic book. However, some of those older readers also may recall reading the comic version of *The Red Badge of Courage,* courtesy of the long-gone *Classics Illustrated* series. For a young person not yet ready for the likes of Bruce Catton or Shelby Foote, such a comic provided an introduction, a way to kindle a budding interest.

Now a new and factual telling of the Civil War's greatest battle is available in graphic format. ***The Graphic History of Gettysburg: America's Most Famous Battle and the Turning Point of the Civil War*** (Wayne Vansant, Zenith Press, Minneapolis, MN, 2013, 96 pp., illustrations, $19.99, softcover) literally draws a picture of the three days in July 1863 when the Confederacy lost its last chance for outright victory over the Union. Beginning with the death of Stonewall Jackson at Chancellorsville, the author/illustrator lays out the strategic position of the Confederacy and its need to win a decisive victory before national exhaustion set in.

The organizations of both sides are covered briefly before moving on to a retelling of the battle itself, starting with the opening moves

and maneuvering of each army. The fight between Union Brig. Gen. John Buford's cavalry and Confederate Maj. Gen. Henry Heth's infantry is laid out in fair detail, and subsequent chapters are organized with the major events of each day through to the conclusion of the battle. Along the way the decisions and actions of famous generals are mixed with experiences of common soldiers, and even a few civilians' tales are thrown in to round the experience.

The illustrations are clear and, while a small amount of bloodshed is depicted, it is limited and not too graphic. Overall the book is well written at a level perfect for an interested 12-14-year-old, though they may need to look up a term or two. Younger readers would benefit from reading this with a parent or grandparent who can explain where needed. This book's greatest strength may be its ability to allow loved ones to share a few hours together.

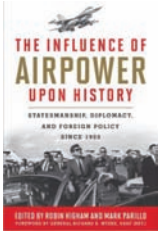
Osprey Publishing is well known for its technically detailed yet concise books on the weapons, soldiers, and campaigns of history's greatest conflicts. ***Air Vanguard 7: USAF McDonnell Douglas F-4 Phantom II*** (Peter Davies, Osprey Publishing, Oxford, UK, 2013, 64 pp., photographs, illustrations, diagrams, index, $18.95, softcover) is an in-depth

look at an iconic American fighter aircraft of the Cold War. In the normal format for Osprey books, the Phantom's design history is laid out first, explaining the plane's origins as a derivative of the U.S. Navy's F3H Demon, overall a disappointment as a fighter. Further development and the addition of the now-famous J79 jet engine made the F4 a success, even to the extent the USAF wound up adopting it alongside the Navy, unusual at the time.

Entering service in 1962, the F4 quickly proved its worth. It could carry more ordnance than a World War II B-17 bomber and was easily adapted to specialty roles such as reconnaissance and a later anti-air defense platform, the F4G Wild Weasel. The aircraft was sent to Vietnam where its initial lack of integral cannon was discovered to be a detriment. Gun pods were added before an M61 20mm Vulcan gun was fitted in the F4E. The plane later went into service with air forces around the world, many staying in service well into the first decade of the 21st century. It is believed a few still fly with the Iranian Air Force today.

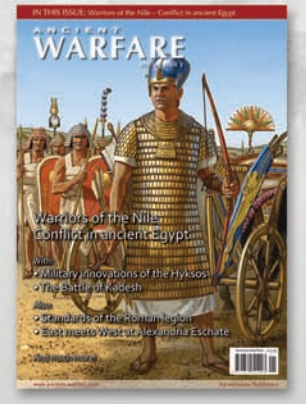
The technical data included in this volume is of such detail readers without in-depth knowledge of aircraft may find some of it difficult to understand. The operational history section covers the Phantom's USAF service as well as others and highlights the combat this fighter has seen in Southeast Asia and the Middle East. Throughout the book are numerous photographs and a number of detailed illustrations showing different paint schemes and action shots of F4s in combat situations over Vietnam and Israel. Many of these are intended to aid model builders, a community Osprey caters to.

For those who love delving into the history of favorite weapons, the Osprey series is hard to beat, and there are many other aircraft-related titles in their series.



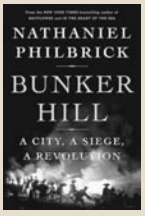
From a historical viewpoint, military aviation is a new development, but a mere century old. During that hundred-year span, however, air power has rightfully staked a claim as a critical component of military power. Nations that can afford an up-to-date air force are able to dominate those that can't. Supremacy in the air is now such a serious threat it can spur local arms races or be used to

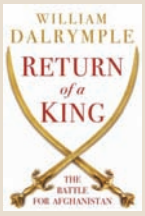
CLASSICAL HISTORY REIMAGINED
WARFARE IN THE AGE OF HEROES
Ancient Warfare **magazine is a unique publication focused exclusively on soldiers, battles and tactics all before 600 A.D.**
Each issue of *Ancient Warfare* is focused on a historic theme chosen by readers: from Roman camp life to the campaigns of Belisarius, we take an in-depth look at every aspect of ancient military history. Original illustrations and articles by expert authors round out this acclaimed magazine about ancient military history.
CALL 1-800-549-4742 OR VISIT www.ancient-warfare.com



THE NEXT 1000 YEARS OF WARFARE
THE AGE OF KNIGHTS AND KINGS
Medieval Warfare **examines the turbulent and complex period of military history between 500 - 1500 A.D.**
Medieval Warfare picks up where *Ancient Warfare* magazine leaves off, exploring the age of warlords and castles that followed the fall of the Roman Empire in the West and continued into the age of gunpowder. *Medieval Warfare* is beautifully illustrated and filled with unique analysis of topics both well-trodden and unfamiliar.
CALL 1-800-549-4742 OR VISIT www.medieval-warfare.com

Short Bursts





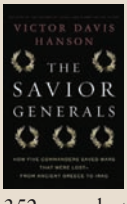
Bunker Hill: A City, a Siege, a Revolution by Nathaniel Philbrick, Viking Press, 416 pp., $32.95, hardcover. This is a summation of the beginning of the American Revolution, centered in Boston. From the Tea Party to Bunker Hill, Boston went from a simmering cauldron of discontent to the home of outright war.

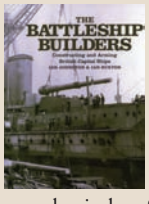
Return of a King: The Battle for Afghanistan, 1839-42 by William Dalrymple, Knopf Publishing Group, 560 pp., $30.00, hardcover. A detailed analysis of the First Anglo-Afghan War. The British invasion faced great hardship and difficulty but stubborn pride kept them in a fight that is controversial to this day.

The Wrath of Cochise: The Bascom Affair and the Origins of the Apache Wars by Terry Mort, Pegasus, 400 pp., $27.95, hardcover. The story of a kidnapping that precipitated the decades-long frontier war. The personalities and decisions of the major figures are scrutinized and placed in context with historical events.

F86 Sabre vs. MiG15: Korea 1950-53 by Doug Dildy, Osprey, 80 pp., $18.95, softcover. Osprey's *Duel Series* visits the epic fight between these two aircraft in the skies over the Korean Peninsula. Technical and tactical information about these two classic fighters combine with analysis of their performance in action.

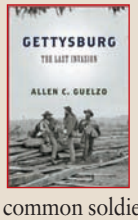
The Savior Generals: How Five Great Commanders Saved Wars That Were Lost—From Ancient Greece to Iraq byVictor Davis Hanson, Bloomsbury Press, 2013, 320 pp., notes, bibliography, index, $28.00, hardcover. An in-depth look at five Western generals: Themistocles, Belisarius, William Sherman, Matthew Ridgway, and David Petraeus and how they achieved victory in situations where defeat seemed all but assured.





The Battleship Builders: Constructing and Arming British Capital Ships by Ian Johnston and Ian Buxton, Naval Institute Press, 2013, 352 pp., photographs, index, $68.95, hardcover. With the advent of *Dreadnought*, the first all big-gun battleship, England had set a new standard for the world's navies. How the nation built the Grand Fleet, larger than any other, is revealed here. It was a triumph of Britain's industrial and technological ability.

The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914 by Christopher Clark, Harper, 2013, 736 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, index, $29.99, hardcover. A study of how Europe became embroiled in World War I. Rather than concentrating on the battles, the author looks at the alliances, relationships, and political maneuvering that led to the conflict.



Gettysburg: The Last Invasion by Allen C. Guelzo, Knopf, 2013, 656 pp., notes, index, $35.00, hardcover. This is a new telling of the epic battle of the American Civil War. The story is told both from the point of view of the common soldier through to generals, politicians, and civilians inside Gettysburg itself. The author also assesses the battle through the military practices of the time.

Dragoons in Apacheland: Conquest and Resistance in Southern New Mexico, 1846-1861 by William S. Kiser, University of Oklahoma Press, 2013, 368 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $29.95, hardcover. This book tells of the early fighting between the U.S. Army and the Apache tribes in New Mexico before the Civil War. Although the Apaches defended their land from encroachment, the Americans maneuvered for control of the territory. In the middle were two regiments of dragoons caught in a bitter contest of survival and expansion.

New York at War: Four Centuries of Combat, Fear, and Intrigue in Gotham by Steven H. Jaffe, Basic Books, 2013, 424 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, index, $29.99, hardcover. New York City has a long history of involvement in warfare. From the first fighting with Native Americans in 1609 to the Civil War draft riots to the attacks of September 11, 2001, New York has been intimately involved in America's military history.

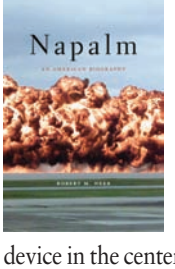
intimidate an opponent into concessions without a shot being fired or a bomb dropped. From the first bombers and zeppelins to contemporary stealth aircraft, the threat of air attack has been used as an instrument of national policy.

The Influence of Airpower Upon History: Statesmanship, Diplomacy and Foreign Policy Since 1903 (Edited by Robin Higham and Mark Parillo, University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, 2013, 317 pp., photographs, index, $40.00, hardcover) relates the rise of airpower to its use both in warfare and international relations through a series of nine essays, each tackling a unique facet of airpower's development and employment.

The first several essays concentrate on the early days of aviation through the beginning of World War II. During this time considerable discussion occurred over what exactly these new airplanes meant for the world. In England, for example, many realized aircraft represented the first realistic threat of attack on the home islands in a century. At the same time, the potential for aircraft to ease the problems of policing a world empire was not lost upon them, nor was it lost upon the Italians or French. Simultaneously, theorizing about the primacy of bombers and the ability of fighter defenses to stop them abounded. Meanwhile, the Nazi used the threat of their resurgent air force to bluff their would-be opponents into inaction through the 1930s.

Aerial arms races are thoroughly discussed in a number of the essays, including an interesting treatise on South America. Prohibited by U.S. policy to acquire modern jets after World War II, these countries eventually turned to Europe and the Soviet Union for aircraft some arguably didn't need. In time, the United States lifted its ban in order to get in on sales in this market.

Focusing in on the United States, later essays cover how successive presidents have used American airpower to support policy objectives, in particular the now-ubiquitous carrier battle group. The book lives up to its title, giving a detailed big-picture overview of military aviation's first century of existence.

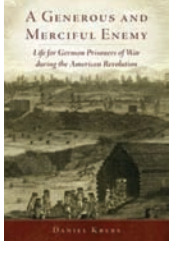


On July 4, 1942, a group of maintenance workers at Harvard University dug a wide, shallow hole near the campus tennis courts and filled it with water. Professor Louis Feiser arrived with his assistants and set up a new device in the center of this pool. Wires were run to an actuator device outside the water-filled

area. Feiser pushed a switch and a large explosion of white phosphorous and jellied gasoline rent the air, flames and smoke spreading over the otherwise idyllic summer scene. Startled tennis players ran for cover as lab assistants ran into the pool, gathered globs of residue and put them in buckets.

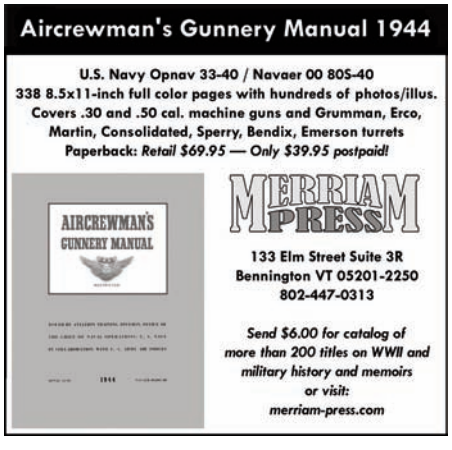
Napalm was born that day, and what would begin as a new weapon in the fight against fascism and tyranny in World War II would eventually become a hated and feared symbol of the horror and devastation of modern war. ***Napalm: An American Biography*** (Robert M. Neer, Belknap/Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2013, 310 pp., photographs, notes, index, $29.95, hardcover) delves into this famous weapon.

Early in World War II, the National Defense Research Committee began looking at hundreds of weapons projects that could help win the war. Napalm was one of its first success stories. Soon it found a place in the American arsenal, devastating 64 Japanese cities while the atomic bomb got the credit. Used from then on, in Vietnam news coverage of burned and mutilated civilians gave the incendiary the horrid reputation it now conjures in the minds of the public.



The role of the German mercenary regiments in the American Revolution is well documented. These soldiers, largely from the Hesse region and now known collectively as the Hessians, were often conscripts and formed a substantial portion of the British Army. Thousand were captured and made prisoners of war and their story is told in ***A Generous and Merciful Enemy: Life for German Prisoners of War during the American Revolution*** (Daniel Krebs, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman OK, 2013, 392 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, index, $34.95, hardcover).

The author covers the topic in broad strokes, starting with how the Hessians were recruited and the subsidy treaties between England and the various German princes who provided troops. An overview of how armies took and treated prisoners of war during this period of history is informative. The coverage of the prisoners' treatment and use as economic and propaganda tools is detailed and sheds light on a little covered topic of the Revolutionary War. An overview of the cultural changes of the era and how that affected the taking and treatment of prisoners also provides valuable insight. □



By Peter Suciu

Two military museums in Istanbul house artifacts that bear witness to more than a thousand years of Turkish naval and land campaigns.

ABOVE: An Ottoman naval uniform from the golden age of the Turkish Navy.

BELOW: The exterior of Istanbul's military museum, the Askeri Müze.

MODERN-DAY TURKEY IS TRULY A LAND OF EAST MEETS WEST, and within the cosmopolitan city are two of the country's finest military museums, the Istanbul Naval Museum (Istanbul Deniz Müzesi), which was established in 1897 and includes notable artifacts pertaining to the Ottoman Navy, and the Istanbul Military Museum (Askerî Müze), which is dedicated to more than a thousand years of Turkish military history. Located less than a mile apart, these twin museums should be on a must-see list for military history buffs.

Istanbul has many layers of history, much like Russian nesting dolls, with one former city buried beneath another. Founded by the Greeks in the 3rd century BC, the city was chosen as the site for the new Imperial Roman capital by Constantine the Great nearly 600 years later and for more than a thousand years remained the light in the East as Western Europe was plunged into the Dark Ages.

Istanbul is also home to the two excellent military museums, and each offers impressive collections that showcase the Ottoman Empire's rise to power and subsequent slow decline.

The Deniz Müzesi

Located on the shores of the Bosporus in the Besiktas district, the Deniz Müzesi is today the most eminent naval museum of Turkey.

This fascinating history of the rise and fall of the Ottoman Navy is chronicled in the Deniz Müzesi. Within the museum's collection visitors can understand how the once nomadic tribesman from Central Asia eventually learned the craft of seamanship and became the pre-eminent naval power in the eastern Mediterranean. It is the largest museum in its field anywhere in Turkey, with around 20,000 pieces in its collection.

Within the collections are numerous artifacts that can help visitors understand the Ottomans rise to being a sea power along with personal items from Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the modern Turkish Republic. Among the other pieces in the collection are paintings, ship models, weapons, maps, ship riggings, and numerous uniforms.

One of the most impressive single pieces is an original piece of the chain that the Byzantines stretched across the mouth of the Golden Horn in an effort to keep the Sultan Mehmed II's navy at bay during the 1453 siege of the city.

The museum is also home to 14 of the world's surviving 42 imperial caiques, the small personal yachts used by kings and sultans around the world. These craft, which date from the 19th century, were used by the Ottoman sultans for cruising in the Bosporus, and three of these were used by Atatürk at the Florya Pavillion. The largest of these is the 32-meterlong imperial caique with kiosk from the reign of Sultan Abdülmecit. The exterior edging is embellished with motifs in relief inlaid with gold leaf and hand-drawn acanthus leaves.

On a much smaller scale, the museum is home to more than 300

full- and half-hull models that chronicle more than 500 years of Turkish naval tradition, including three-deckers, cogs, frigates, schooners, armored, and even modern warships.

The museum's collection also features some 2,000 weapons from the 15th to 20th centuries and includes cannons, swords, bows, and countless long guns. Among the centerpieces of the collection are the displays of Ottoman uniforms that show the evolution in design and accoutrements along with various medals and awards—something countless Turkish sailors earned in the Navy's long history.

The Askerî Müze

Dedicated to more than a thousand years of Turkish military history, the Askerî Müze is truly one of the leading museums of its kind anywhere in the world. As with Deniz Müzesi, the Askerî Müze museum was originally much smaller and located in a different building than it is today.

In fact, the original Askerî Müze was located in the Hagia Irene, the church that served the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople before the original Hagia Sophia was completed in AD 360. Following the conquest of Constantinople in AD 1453 by Mehmed II, the church was enclosed within the walls of the Topkapi Palace and was used as an armory by the Janissaries, as well as a warehouse for war booty.

The Hagia Irene remained a military museum from 1908 until 1978, when it was turned over to the Turkish Ministry of Culture. Today that building serves mainly as a concert hall for classical music performances.

For a period there were actually two military museums. The military history museum was reorganized in 1957 by General Ahmet Hulki Saral. It was moved to the First Army Headquarters building, which was the site of the Ottoman military academy—the empire's version of West Point or Sandhurst.

The museum and cultural center were most recently renovated in 1993, and today there are 22 rooms with more than 9,000 pieces from the Ottoman era through the modern day. Outside the actual building are several Ottoman cannons and mortars, a rail gun of the type that helped defend Istanbul from seaborne invasion, and a Soviet-made T-26B light tank, which was used by the Turks in the 1930s.

Within the building itself the collection includes notable treasures such as early bows and arrows from the Seljuk Turk era to the conquest of Constantinople and, of course, the expansion of the empire. As the collection now includes pieces from Sultan Ahmet III, there is an outstanding assortment of European arms and armor.

Displays in the Askeri Müze include 16th- and 17th-century small arms and early Ottoman cannons, top: Turkish soldiers circa 1920 during the war of independence; middle: a diorama of the siege of Constantinople.

An entire room is devoted to cannons and includes pieces from the late Middle Ages through the early 20th century and cannons used by the Ottomans as well as several pieces captured during various wars as the empire expanded and later retracted.

The museum's artifacts also include a variety of pieces from the 19th century and the years leading up to World War I, a time that saw the Ottoman Empire lose much of its European territory. The second floor is largely devoted to World War I with a major emphasis on the Gallipoli Campaign, which is to be expected as it was the one shining moment for the Turks in the war that saw the end of the 500-year-old Ottoman Empire. Among key pieces in the World War I collection are British and Australian items, including flags captured by the Turks. Other items include an impressive assortment of small arms, swords, and uniforms.

The museum also focuses on the transition and tribulations of the Turks with a focus on the Turkish War of Independence and the role the military has played since the establishment of the Turkish Republic. As the nation remained neutral through the greater part of World War II and only entered the war in its closing days, there is actually little from this period.

However, a room is devoted to Turkey's role in the Korean War, when its military was seen to redeem itself as a serious fighting power. Turkey participated in the Korean War as a member state of the United Nations and suffered more than 700 deaths in combat. This has resulted in close ties between South Korea and Turkey, and this is reinforced in the pieces on display at the Askerî Müze.

The Askerî Müze offers much for visitors and even includes some live entertainment for those who arrive in the late afternoon. The Janissary Band Mehter Takimi, which remains one of the world's oldest military bands, gives concerts in traditional uniforms. This is notable as the Ottomans were the first to use musicians in military campaigns and the first to integrate music into the life and work of the army. The band features oboes, clash cymbals, and kettle drums—the latter two Turkish inventions—and plays the music that was meant to glorify the conquest of captured cities. In this way it was to serve as a message to the subjugated populace that it was now part of an entirely different civilization.

Just as the band's music serves as a regular reminder of the glory that once was the Ottoman Empire, so too do these two fine military museums in their collections and displays. While Turkey's time in the sun may have faded, both Deniz Müzesi and Askerî Müze serve as reminders of history, and more importantly, of what could have been. □

By Joseph Luster

You'll have to invest some time to reap all the benefits that *Wargame: Airland Battle* has to offer.

PUBLISHER
FOCUS HOME INTERACTIVE

DEVELOPER
EUGEN SYSTEMS

SYSTEM(S)
PC

AVAILABLE
NOW

WARGAME: AIRLAND BATTLE

Developer Eugen Systems recently followed up 2012's real-time strategy game *Wargame: European Escalation* with a fresh sequel, *Wargame: AirLand Battle,* adding a handful of new features that should serve to hook in newcomers and players of the first game alike. Chief among them is a single-player campaign that makes things more appealing to those who prefer to dig into the story more deeply, or just bone up on the system before taking the battle online.

AirLand Battle kicks off in 1985, as tension between the United States and the USSR reaches a boiling point. Following an incident in the North Sea, players take control of the military forces, with more units thrown into the mix this time around. Naturally, *AirLand Battle* stays true to its title, offering 100 aircraft of all types, from fighters to bombers and beyond, all utilizing the latest version of Eugen's IRIS-ZOOM Engine. Choose a side and fight for Scandinavia in the dynamic campaign that unfolds from that opening spark of conflict.

Said campaign consists of political planning and direct tactical battle, the results of which roll over and affect the rest of the events. Thus, loss of troops and other units is a permanent consequence that can change the course of your entire game beyond just the battle at hand. Certain strategic moves may not have direct military results while in the midst of a fight, but doing something like capturing a capital city holds political ramifications that could hinder the opposition down the line. There are plenty of smaller, yet no less important, facets of battle, too. Troop morale, for instance, factors into the effectiveness of your units, and even a robust squad of armed forces can be crippled by low morale. Touches like this add an extra boost to the level of strategy involved in a good game of *AirLand Battle,* as it's possible to develop certain tactics that can lower the enemy's morale and give your side the upper hand before the real fight even begins.

While the solo action comprises a good deal of *AirLand Battle*'s appeal, it's the multiplayer mode that will keep folks coming back and committing themselves to learning the ins and outs of the game system. A handful of modes—Siege, Conquest, Domination, Economic War—are available to take on in both friendly matches and those on a more competitive level. "Army Decks" can be customized so each player has the ability to sort their own unique selection of units suitable to whatever strategy works best, but less experienced folks can also jump straight in thanks to a pre-established set of themed Decks.

The Deck system is one of the more interesting and fun pieces of the *AirLand Battle* puzzle. Different levels of customization let players either go wild with a bunch of units from different countries, or keep things intensely accurate by allowing only the equipment historically available to a certain group. You can even take it down to the desired period, with Decks limited to units available in a particular year. Doing so isn't just for street cred, either, as bonuses apply that offer up advantages for limiting yourself to various criteria. It's a give and take of bold planning and rewarding execution that makes the combat something worth attempting to master.

The improvements over *European Escalation* definitely show here, but it's going to take some decent time investment to reap all the benefits of what *AirLand Battle* has to offer. Those who have friends to play with—even the solo campaign can be handled in multiplayer—will find greater reward in what Eugen Systems has done, so dig into it if you're feeling socially strategic.

JAGGED ALLIANCE ONLINE

Currently open for beta testers, *Jagged Alliance Online* takes the relatively long-running strategy series and spins it into the massively multiplayer online world with fully 3D graphics. *Jagged Alliance* first launched in 1994 for MS-DOS, kicking off a tactical series in the fictional South Atlantic island of Metavira, where the player must hire mercenaries and reclaim the island from a former ally who took the location by force in order to secure a highly profitable resource.

PUBLISHER
bitComposer Games

DEVELOPER
Cliffhanger Productions

SYSTEM(S)
PC

AVAILABLE
Now

The spirit of the original continued through a number of sequels—including 2012's *Jagged Alliance: Back in Action,* which served as a full-scale remake of *Jagged Alliance* 2—and *Jagged Alliance Online* attempts to harness that appeal in an MMO setting. Over 100 missions are spread across the globe, including special player-versus-player missions, and a variety of objectives therein tap into different tactical challenges.

After registering, players can set up their own mercenary company, and then dive into more specific details like the kind of individual preferred mercenary class. Options include Scout, Commando, Sniper, Gunner, and Soldier, each with their own advantages and disadvantages. An introductory mission gets you up to speed with the basics after that, but it's likely going to take some interest in the available PvP options to really see if *Jagged Alliance Online* will last. While JAO is free to play, gold can purchased to get an advantage in tricky missions by hiring mercs permanently to avoid salary pay, buying weapons and armor, and so on. You can also earn gold by completing some jobs, but as is the case with most free-to-play games, using real-world cash is the quickest way to netting more virtual loot. □

attila

Continued from page 59

first invasion into the West had been halted. For two days a stalemate ensued. After the death of his father was confirmed, Thorismund was proclaimed the new king of the Visigoths. Though he wanted to attack the relatively strong Hun position, he and Aetius agreed to a siege. In the Hun camp there were occasional intimations of a renewed attack, but these were little more than attempts at psychological warfare. Attila's army had suffered unprecedented losses in the previous day's combat.

Aetius now reconsidered the idea of a siege, contemplating the potential threat the young Thorismund posed. The new king had distinguished himself in battle and was commanding a well-organized field army flush with victory, while Aetius commanded a haphazard force of mixed ethnic and tribal makeup.

Possibly to preserve somewhat of a balance of forces within the empire, then, Aetius suggested to Thorismund that he return home to Toulouse in southern Gaul to consolidate his claim to the throne from any brothers who might claim it. This Thorismund did, leaving a gap in the siege lines. Believing this might be a feigned retreat, Attila decided not to attack the breach in the lines, but to retreat instead. His aura of invincibility damaged and his army gravely depleted, Attila led his forces unmolested back across the Rhine.

The stakes at Chalons had been extremely high. If Attila had smashed the Romans and Visigoths, it most likely would have meant the end, once and for all, of the surviving Roman civilization and also the Christian religion in Western Europe. Further, it might have even brought about a permanent settlement of Western Europe by Asian people.

The following year, Attila crossed the Alps and launched a second invasion of the West. The first area to suffer devastation was Aquileia, at the top of the Adriatic Sea. Fearing for their lives and property, the residents of Venetia sought refuge on islands off the coast. One by one the regions of northeastern Italy fell to the Huns.

For a while it appeared that all of Italy would be lost to the invaders, but Attila's position was weaker than the Romans realized. He had suffered serious losses the previous year at Chalons, he was short of supplies, illness had swept through the Hun army as a result of famine and pestilence raging in Italy, and the Eastern emperor, Marcian, had launched a limited offensive into Hun territory.

A Western Roman mission, led by Pope Leo I, traveled to Attila's camp and parleyed with him, beseeching the Scourge of God to end his attack on the core of the Western Roman Empire. As a result of the negotiations, Attila agreed to withdraw, thereby sparing Rome.

Attila may have been compelled by several different reasons to leave Rome untouched. The most likely reason is that he received tribute from the Romans. Another plausible reason is that Attila was concerned about his lines of communication. If one prefers to believe tradition, the superstitious leader of the Huns was awed by the demeanor of the pontiff, and for this reason alone he departed in peace.

Twice the Huns had proved incapable of bringing the Western Roman Empire to its knees. Aetius has been blamed for not finishing the destruction of the Huns in Gaul, but "the last of the true Romans" had helped ruin the once proud barbarian nation. Its place in the pages of history was over. Perhaps Rome's last great service to the West was to serve as a buffer between the Asiatic Huns and the Germanic barbarians, whose destiny was to lay the medieval foundations of the modern Western nations.

Attila's defeat helped the Roman Catholic Church to become the dominant political as well as religious force in Europe. People came to believe that Attila had been virtually banished by Pope Leo, thereafter referred to as Leo the Great, though it had been Aetius that defeated him. For his loyal service, Aetius was rewarded in a brutal manner. Emperor Valentinian honored Aetius by betrothing his daughter to Aetius's son. Members of the imperial court, threatened by Aetius's preeminence, successfully turned the emperor against the patrician by spreading rumors that Aetius planned to place his son on the throne.

On September 21, AD 454, while he was giving a financial report to the court at Ravenna, Valentinian stabbed Aetius to death. A Roman diplomat observed to the emperor, "I am ignorant, sir, of your motives or provocations; I only know that you have acted like a man who has cut off his right hand with his left." Six months later, Valentinian was himself murdered by two Hun retainers, still loyal to Aetius.

As for the Scourge of God, he died in early AD 453 when, after taking a young wife, he suffered a nasal hemorrhage following a night of heavy drinking. With his death, his sons fought to succeed him, resulting in revolts among the Huns' subject peoples. By AD 460 the Hun empire had begun to fade into history. □

piracy

Continued from page 25

The pirates acquired more than 750,000 pieces of eight by torturing Spanish captives, who divulged where they had hidden their treasure and valuables. The pirates packed the treasure on 176 mules and hauled it back to their fleet. Morgan gave each man only 200 pieces of eight ($36) and then simply abandoned his army with the rest of the money without saying anything to the men.

In April 1671, Morgan arrived in Port Royal to a hero's welcome. King Charles was livid because he had just signed another treaty with Spain and ordered both Modyford and Morgan to be brought back to England in chains. Hostilities with Spain and Holland resumed in 1672, and both Modyford and Morgan were forgiven.

A buccaneer expedition under Basil Ringrose was launched against Panama again in 1680, capturing some ships, but failing to capture towns. Morgan returned to Jamaica in 1674 and served as its lieutenant governor until his death in 1688. Morgan always resented being called a pirate because he viewed himself as a loyal subject doing his duty for England.

From 1692 to 1724, pirates such as Blackbeard (Edward Teach), Charles Vane, Calico Jack Rackham, and Samuel Bellamy began their marauding careers. Like their predecessors, they terrorized the Spanish Main with English crews. New Providence in the Bahamas became a pirate base. With the dawn of the 18th century, the time when pirates could amass substantial treasures had long passed.

By 1713 piracy had become a liability to England, and the practice needed to be stamped out. At first pirates were given the opportunity to turn themselves in and receive amnesty if they swore to never be involved in piracy again. Some pirates did get out when given this option, but most loved the excitement too much to quit.

After 1718, it was clear that the Royal Navy would have to enter an intensive campaign to end piracy by its subjects. Between 1718 and 1724, the Royal Navy hunted down and killed thousands of pirates, including Blackbeard, in bloody battles. Close to 600 pirates were hanged by the Royal Navy during this time.

By 1725, the age of piracy was over. Pirates still came and went during the next century, but they never lasted as long as those participating in piracy sanctioned by the English government over nearly a century and a half during the settlement of the New World. □

Continued from page 19

implement Wavell's plan, Operation Camilla, which centered on making the Duke of Aosta believe that Wavell's attack would come from the east and not the north in an attempt to recapture British Somaliland.

Camilla gave Clarke experience in the mechanics of deceiving, but it taught him one of his most important principles that what you must focus on is not what you want the enemy to think but what you want him to do. Simply misinforming the enemy does no good for the deception team if as a result of the ruse, the opposing force takes an undesirable action. That lesson Clarke never forgot, and it became a fundamental axiom of deception that he continued to preach.

Clarke further wrote about this principle in the summer of 1942: "The only purpose of any deception is to make one's opponent act in a manner calculated to assist one's own plans and to prejudice the success of his. In other words, to make him do something ... too often in the past we had set out to make him think something, without realizing that this was no more than a means to an end. Fundamentally it does not matter in the least what the enemy thinks: it is only what line of action he adopts as a consequence of his line of thought that will affect the battle."

In this analysis, Clarke clearly understood the vital tool that the British possessed in Ultra. The Enigma decrypts enabled the British to, in essence, read the Germans' own intelligence summaries and plans. This provided a degree of unimaginable certainty that the Germans and Italians were not only taking the bait, but also what sort of bait was the most effective.

Clarke's first operation entirely of his own creation, Operation Abeam, was to support Wavell's new drive into Libya. The Italians were concerned that the British might land airborne forces in their rear, but Wavell had no such troops. Clarke established a notional British unit called the First Special Air Service (SAS) Brigade that was training in the Transjordan desert. In Clarke's deception parlance, notional indicated something or someone imaginary to the deceiver but factual to the enemy. This was Clarke's first foray into the long-term order of battle deception.

Early on in the deception game, Wavell asked Clarke what his notional troops were worth to him? Clarke said it would take three divisions, one armored brigade, and two squadrons of aircraft. As the war progressed, the strength of these notional forces continued to grow enormously.

Another result of Abeam was that when in August 1941, the legendary Major David Stirling formed a small parachute-qualified unit for his Long Range Desert Group he called it the 1st SAS Brigade as a cover to help the Abeam deception. The SAS is considered to be the model unit for special forces throughout the world. So Dudley Clarke could claim to have developed both of the British elite special formations, the Commandos, and the SAS.

Clarke's next idea was an abortive one called the K-Shell Plan. It consisted of spreading a rumor that the British had a new artillery shell that worked by producing a titanic concussion rather than the usual fragmentation effect. Clarke drew a valuable lesson that became another axiom of deception, which was not to initiate a deception plan with no clear object just because the means existed to do it.

Through myriad other plans, Clarke learned and then applied a number of other important principles for his evolving deception operation. First, a deception should begin with a thought-out scenario around which the deceptive activity would consistently be built. Second, it was useful to build the story on an alternate plan of action that had actually been considered and discarded. Third, to persuade the enemy that the main operation was to come later than the real one. Fourth, to persuade the enemy that the real operation was merely a feint. Last, a proper deception plan must have time to work. Only a quick and simple tactical deception can be expected to work on short notice. A major operational deception might take weeks to worm its way through the enemy system; a large-scale strategic one might take months.

On March 28, 1941, Dudley Clarke's great pioneering deception organization was officially designated A Force. On April 8, 1941, A Force moved into 6 Kasr-el-Nil, a building that also housed a brothel, and it remained there until the end of the European war in May 1945. In a little more than a year since being given his new assignment by Wavell, Clarke had devised deception principles, often mainly by trial and error. Clarke believed that some methods acquired largely through error were the most effective lessons.

Because of Clarke's successes in the Middle East, the chiefs of staff solicited suggestions from him for the upcoming invasions of Europe. Following recommendations made by Clarke in October 1941, the chiefs of staff approved the formation of the London Controlling Section, which assumed control over the establishment of deception policy and the development of deception plans for particular operations.

Clarke was not immune from attempts to usurp his power base, so meticulously built up under Wavell. Unfortunately, the proliferation of interest in deception and of personnel involved caused serious problems as various factions tried to exercise control. In October 1941, Lt. Gen. Sir Alan Cunningham's chief of staff, Brigadier J.F.M. Whitely, tried to resolve such issues by separating strategic deception, to be controlled by Clarke's A Force, and tactical and operational deception in the field, which he recommended should be run by a staff officer of Eighth Army.

This tactical deception commander would handle planning and development of deception units and schemes for the control of camouflage. This was an unsatisfactory division of responsibilities for Clarke. He had learned in 1941 that what differentiated deception in the Middle East from its counterpart in London was its centralized control. When Field Marshal Claude Auchinleck became aware of the deception organization difficulties in February 1942, he immediately ordered that all deception should be the responsibility of Clarke's A Force, which would answer directly to the operations branch of General Headquarters.

A Force was reorganized as of December 19, 1943, for Operation Overlord, the invasion of Normandy. That month, Clarke was promoted to brigadier. Although this was not a general officer rank in the British Army, Clarke somehow procured a staff car flying a one-star flag like an American brigadier general. Again, he had flouted authority quietly.

Clarke retired from the Army soon after the war. He worked on the staff of the Conservative Party and served on the board of Securicor, Ltd., the leading British private security firm. He published in 1948 a book of memoirs, *Seven Assignments,* about his services during the war until he joined Wavell. In 1953, he approached the authorities for permission to write a book on deception, but it was not approved.

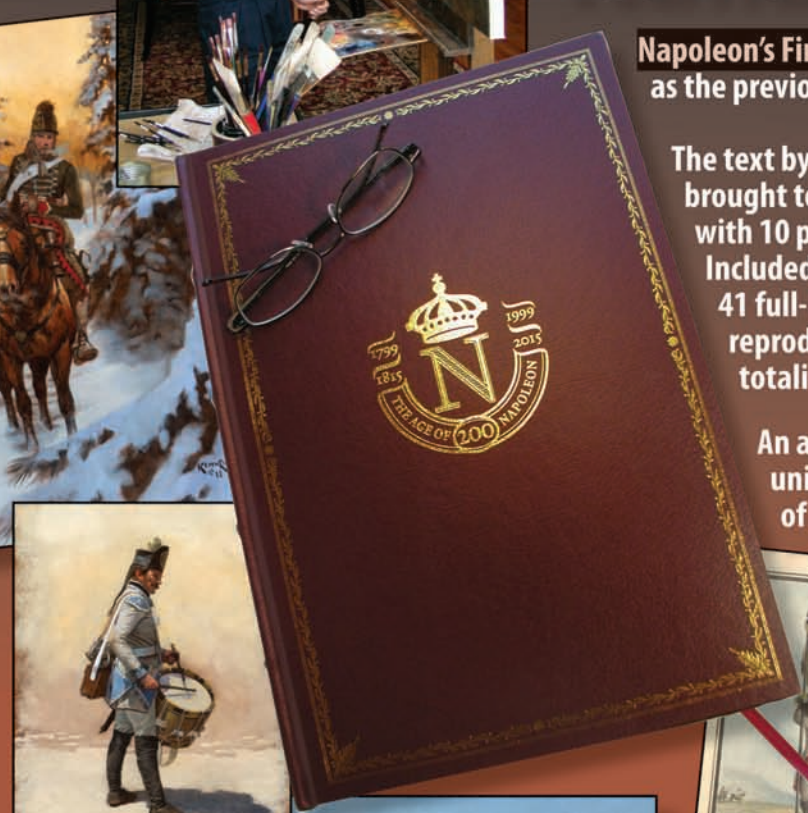
Clarke received a United States Legion of Merit award in 1946. The citation originated in the White House and was personally signed by President Harry Truman. When Dudley Clarke died in 1974, his obituary recalled that Field Marshal Earl Alexander of Tunis had publicly stated that Clarke had done as much to win the war as any other officer. For Clarke to receive such praise from a British field marshal, especially since he did not attain rank higher than brigadier and remained unknown to all but a few of his contemporaries, prompted the obituary columnist to rightly conclude that Clarke was "no ordinary man." □

Keith Rocco
Napoleon's First Italian Campaign

Napoleon's First Italian Campaign promises to be as popular as the previous edition, On Campaign in the Age of Napoleon.

The text by Colonel Ramsay Phipps, unpublished since the 1930's, is brought to life in 58 paintings by Keith Rocco, reproduced in color with 10 presented as full, double-page spreads. Included are numerous black and white sketches, 41 full-color maps and detailed photographs of artifacts, reproduction uniforms and equipment, totaling over 200 illustrations in over 260 pages.

An added bonus is the presentation of 48 color uniform studies made during the French Revolution of both the Austrian and French armies.



Created in collaboration with Military History Press

The historical work of artist Keith Rocco is found in many collections in the US. His commissioned murals, among others, are in the Wisconsin Veterans Museum, at Gettysburg, at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library in Springfield, Illinois and the Marengo Museum in Italy. Books of his work include "The Civil War Art of Keith Rocco: The Soldier's View."

Napoleon's First Italian Campaign - *Crafted in the style of 19th century artisans, the book is bound in Moroccan leather with gilt stamping. The oversize 10" x 14" work is enhanced with marble-patterned endpapers, a silk ribbon page marker and heavy, gilt-edged archival paper. It is an exceptional LIMITED EDITION volume.*

$170 plus $15 shipping

Pre-publication offer! $150 plus $15 shipping. Good through September 30th.

For further details, or to place an order, visit the website or call:

Tradition Studios ~ www.keithrocco.com ~ 540.459.5469 EST

VA residents add 5.3% tax

An interesting, thought provoking work by a major military historian . . . whose depth and wide range of knowledge across the entire sweep of world military history is without parallel. . . . Those who read this book closely will be richly rewarded for it is a mine of useful information and grist for discussion.

—Spencer C. Tucker, author of *The Great War, 1914 – 1918*

Clear, concise, and thoughtful. An eminently readable synthesis of historical literature on technology and war . . . with analyses of the limitations of the impact of technology on warfare.

—John France, author of *Perilous Glory: The Rise of Western Military Power*

HARDBACK 978-0-253-00984-5 $35.00
EBOOK 978-0-253-00989-0 $23.99

Jeremy Black's *War and Technology* explores important technological advances in weaponry and power projection from sailing warships to aircraft carriers, muskets to tanks, balloons to unmanned drones—in each case, taking into account what difference these advances made not only firepower but also power projection and technologies of logistics, command, and control.

Available at fine book retailers or at iupress.indiana.edu

YouTube