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COVER: Officers and soldiers of Rome's Praetorian Guard, from a 2nd-century sculpture. See story page 24. Photo: The Art Archive / Musée du Louvre, Paris / Gianni Dagli Orti

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 1 © 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.**

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After his defeat at Culloden, Bonnie Prince Charlie eluded British forces for four months in the Hebrides archipelago.

ONE OF THE "STRANGER THAN FICTION" STORIES in military lore involves Charles Edward Stuart's evasion of British forces following his defeat at Culloden on April, 16, 1746.

The highpoint of the tragicomedy occurred when Bonnie Prince Charlie disguised himself in a calico dress and bonnet as an Irish spinning maid, with the name of Betty Burke, in the service of 24-year-old Scotswoman Flora McDonald, on a boat trip from South Uist to Skye.

The real events, as so often happens, were forgotten in favor of a romantic telling of that part of the prince's flight. Scotland's "The Skye Boat Song" includes the verse: "Rocked in the deep, Flora will keep, watch by your weary head." The verse, and popular version of the journey across the treacherous waters between the islands, paints a picture of a sympathetic Flora doing everything in her power to assist the prince.

Nearly everything about that picture is wrong. The only truth to it is that the prince was seriously ill from scurvy at the time, with weeping sores all over his body that attracted swarms of black midge flies.

Flora was helping her brother tend sheep in late June 1746 when the prince and one of his Irish colonels happened upon her on South Uist. The prince already had a 30,000-pound reward on his head, and more than 2,000 British soldiers were scouring South Uist looking for the prince.

Flora was not a shepherdess, but was a member of the gentry who had a sharp mind and strong will. With all sorts of cajoling, the prince's handlers persuaded Flora to obtain a pass from her stepfather, who commanded the local militia, that would allow her and her maid to travel to Skye in the company of local boatman.

Flora saw, as did many of the Highlanders who suffered the prince during his flight, that the prince was more trouble than he was worth. She spent as little time in his company as possible, and when they arrived in Skye, she immediately took her leave of him.

The prince's disguise was laughable. Anyone who saw Betty Burke up close noted that she had the stubble of a red beard. What's more, the prince hiked his skirts up in an unladylike manner when walking across watercourses encountered after his arrival in Skye.

For her part in the prince's flight, Flora paid a heavy price. She was arrested and taken to London where she was held for a time. As for the prince, who had long since overstayed his welcome, he was finally picked up by the French ship *L'Hereux* on Sept. 19—after three previous botched attempts at rendezvous—and carried to France. The Highlanders must have breathed a collective sigh of relief at the news.

—William E. Welsh

MILITARY HERITAGE

VOLUME 15, NUMBER 1

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

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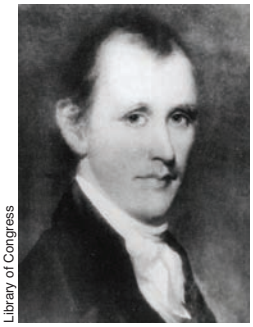
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

By Stuart W. Sanders

Colonel John Allen died leading his Kentucky militia at the Battle of Frenchtown during the War of 1812.



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TOP: Colonel John Allen.

BELOW: At dawn on January 22, 1813, the British launched a surprise attack on American troops camped at Frenchtown on the Raisin River. The fighting rages in this modern painting by Tim Kurtz.

IT HAD BEEN EIGHT YEARS SINCE JANE LOGAN ALLEN'S HUSBAND, Colonel John Allen, had departed with his regiment. Friends and neighbors had stopped trying to convince her that she was a widow, yet Jane maintained hope of his return. Allen had been slain at the Battle of the River Raisin in the Michigan Territory. Every night since her husband had ridden away, Jane lit a candle and placed it on the windowsill to guide John home. Sadly, Colonel Allen never saw the flame.

At the Battle of River Raisin, fought during the War of 1812 in present-day Michigan, 400 Kentucky militiamen were killed. Following the struggle, nearly 65 of the wounded were brutally murdered by Indians who were allied with the British. Many of the dead Kentucky militia were led by Allen, an attorney and state legislator whose political prominence, had he survived, might have rivaled many national politicians, including that of fellow Kentuckian Henry Clay. But Allen's career and his life were cut short at the River Raisin.

Allen was born in Rockbridge County, Virginia, on December 30, 1771. His father, James Allen, was a native of Ireland who emigrated to Virginia's Shenandoah Valley with his widowed mother. James was educated in the best schools of the Great Valley of Virginia before pursuing business ventures in the West Indies. After securing a modest fortune, he returned to the Old Dominion, where he met and married Mary Kelsey. Their marriage was blessed with three sons, John, Joseph, and James. All made their mark on the Bluegrass State.

In 1779, the family moved across the Allegheny Mountains to the Kentucky frontier. They briefly stayed at St. Asaph's, a fort at present-day Stanford, Kentucky, founded by the pioneer Benjamin Logan. Within a few days, though, the Allens moved approximately 10 miles away to Daugherty's Station on Clark's Run, near Danville.

The Allens felt confined by the close quarters at the station, and they and the Joseph Daviess family moved farther down Clark's Run

© Tim Kurtz

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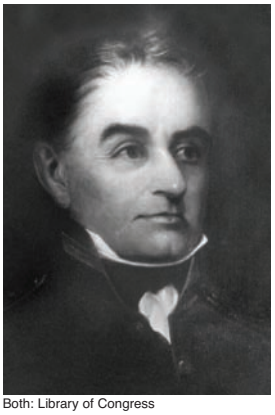
and built their own station. While living with the Daviess family, the eight-year-old John Allen befriended young Joseph Hamilton Daviess. Their careers and lives would closely mirror one another.

By 1784, new land beckoned, and James Allen again uprooted his family. James had cleared land near present-day Bloomfield in Nelson County, where he built a cabin and outbuildings. He returned to Clark's Run to transport his family to Nelson County, but on reaching the property he discovered that Indians had burned all their cabins. Such was the hardship of the wilderness. The family rebuilt the buildings and made a permanent home in that area.

The family, like many Scots-Irish settlers, wanted their children to have a formal education. Therefore, in 1786, the 15-year-old John attended school in Bardstown. Located about eight miles from his home, the school was led by Dr. James Priestley, who was regarded as the most informed scholar of his day in the West. John learned the basics of Greek and Latin, a rarity on the Kentucky frontier. After Priestey's school, Allen returned to Rockbridge County, Virginia, where he attended Liberty Hall Academy, the precursor to Washington and Lee University.



Both: Library of Congress

ABOVE: This contemporary British cartoon shows General James Winchester, commander of American forces at Frenchtown, stripped of his uniform and weapons by Chief Roundhead (second from left). British General Henry Proctor (second from right) seems amused. LEFT: General James Winchester.

While in the Old Dominion, Allen met Colonel Archibald Stuart, a Revolutionary War veteran who studied law under Thomas Jefferson and ratified the U.S. Constitution as a member of the Virginia Convention. Stuart, who lived in Staunton, was impressed with the 20-year-old Kentuckian's mind and education. Also likely intrigued by Allen's frontier upbringing, Stuart invited Allen to live with him and study law.

Allen remained with the attorney for four years. As Allen progressed, Stuart allowed him to participate in legal cases, with Allen giving opening statements and making courtroom arguments. In 1795, his training complete, Allen returned to Kentucky, where he opened a practice in Shelbyville. He would prove himself to be one of the best of the profession at the time.

In Shelbyville, Allen met Jane Logan, the eldest daughter of Benjamin Logan. Logan was renowned on the Kentucky frontier, being an early settler, noted soldier, George Rogers Clark's second-in-command, and an influential political leader. On December 21, 1798, John Allen and Jane Logan wed, and John and Jane eventually had four daughters.

In 1800, Allen was elected to represent Shelby County in the Kentucky House of Representatives. He served until 1807, when he was elected to the Kentucky senate. He was a state senator until the War of 1812 interrupted his political career and ended his life.

The most prestigious case in Allen's legal career was in December 1806, when he and Henry Clay co-defended Aaron Burr. Burr, known for slaying Alexander Hamilton in a duel, was charged with putting together a military expedition against a friendly power and doing it within the jurisdiction and territory of the United States. The task before him was to try to wrest the Mississippi River states from Spain. Clay and Allen convinced the public that the charges against Burr were politically motivated by the Federalists, and Burr was cleared of the accusations.

During this case, Allen sparred in the courtroom with Joseph Hamilton Daviess, his childhood friend and classmate, who was Kentucky's U.S. Attorney, prosecuting Burr.

With his legal reputation on solid ground and his business acumen growing, Allen hoped to reach greater political heights. In 1808, he ran for governor against General Charles Scott and Green Clay. During the campaign, Scott, an officer in both the French and Indian War and the Revolutionary War, argued that Allen's oratorical skills were better suited for the U.S. Congress and not the governor's chair. The public agreed, and Allen and Clay were trounced.

Soon Allen's fellow Kentuckians chose him as a military leader. When the War of 1812 erupted against the British, Allen eagerly raised troops for the Kentucky militia. His abilities at military organization, coupled with his political influence, quickly earned him a high rank. On June 5, 1812, Allen was commissioned colonel of the 1st Rifle Regiment of Kentucky Militia. This was an honorable post, for it was the first Kentucky unit raised to fight in the war and would be later regarded as one of the finest of the Kentucky regiments. It would soon be tested in battle.

After Detroit fell to the British on August 16, 1812, Americans rallied to reclaim the settlement. Three columns of United States troops were dispatched to Detroit. One column, consisting of 1,300 Kentucky militia led by General James Winchester of Tennessee, moved to a rendezvous point on the Maumee River in present-day Michigan.

Pressing toward Detroit on a privation-filled march on January 10, 1813, the Americans stopped at the rapids of the Maumee River, located 35 miles from Frenchtown, a small settlement. Here, they were to wait for other American forces. The weather was frigid, provisions were low, and sickness was so prevalent in Allen's regiment that the unit was only with the most difficulty restrained from disbanding and making the long journey back home. Soon, though, the cold and tired troops learned that two companies of Canadian militia and 200 Indians were at Frenchtown, where plentiful stores were rumored to be located. Therefore, instead of waiting for the other American soldiers, Winchester sent nearly 650 of the Kentuckians on a forced march to Frenchtown.

Winchester informed Maj. Gen. William Henry Harrison, the commander of the Northwestern Army, "I have this morning detached Colonel [William] Lewis and Allen with a command suitable to effect the object intended. I am informed that they will have to contend with two companies of Canadians and about two hundred Indians. If we get possession [of Frenchtown], it is my intention to retain it...." Upon reaching Frenchtown on January 18, the Kentuckians deployed before the small enemy garrison, which included fewer than 100 Canadian militiamen and 200 Potawatomi Indians.

Captain Bland Ballard led an advance guard into Frenchtown. Behind Ballard, Allen's three companies, totaling about 110 men, were posted on the right of the American line, with Major Benjamin Graves commanding the left and Maj. Gen. George Madison leading the center. Like Allen, these officers were also prominent. Both Ballard and Graves were state legislators, and Ballard, who lost his father, stepmother, and several siblings in an Indian attack, had reputedly killed nearly 40 Indians in revenge for these murders.

Graves deployed first, while the American right and center held. Allen started taking casualties, so he withdrew about 50 yards to get out of range of the Indians' guns. Once Graves shoved another group of Indians into some woods, the rest of the Americans attacked. River Raisin survivor Thomas Dudley recalled, "As soon [as] the right and center reached the woods the fighting became general and obstinate, the enemy resisting every inch of ground." In this sharp, three-hour fight, 12 Americans were killed and 54 were wounded, while the British lost about 30 killed, 50 wounded, and three prisoners taken.

Allen's men and Lewis's 5th Regiment of Kentucky Militia occupied the town, where the hungry Kentuckians found flour, beef, and wheat. They set up camp in an open field adjacent to the town, and, two days later, were reinforced by Winchester and 250 more troops, most of whom were a detachment of the 17th U.S. Infantry, also recruited from Kentucky. The regulars camped in another open field on the right side of the American position.

The next morning brought a melancholy mission when the Kentuckians went out of the town to retrieve the bodies of their slain comrades. Joseph Clark of Frankfort, who helped bury the dead, recalled, "All the men found—thirteen in number—were scalped and stripped of their clothing, their bodies frozen stiff, and presenting a horrible and sad sight. One of the dead only—a young Simpson or Shelby—escaped the scalping and stripping. Another had evidently been tomahawked and scalped while alive, as one of his fingers was cut off while he was protecting his head from the impending blow. The dead were brought to the village and buried in a mass grave."

With the small settlement providing a few more comforts than the icy wilderness, most of the Americans remained camped in the open field near the town. They soon learned that more British troops were approaching. On January 21, Allen wrote a letter, which turned out to be his last, to Archibald Stuart, his former law instructor. "We meet the enemy to-morrow," he wrote. "I trust we will render a good account of ourselves, or that I will never live to bear the tale of our disgrace." His words were prophetic. Allen was killed the next day.

British General Henry Proctor, commanding about 600 Redcoats, 800 Indians, and several artillery pieces, was moving on Frenchtown. Although Allen's letter shows that the Americans were expecting the British (a Frenchman had arrived on January 21 and told the Americans that the British were approaching from Fort Malden in Upper Canada, which was 18 miles away) the Americans made several basic mistakes. First, General Winchester was camped a mile from his troops, with his headquarters in a house on the other side of the River Raisin, which flowed on the south side of town. Second, because of the bitterly cold night no pickets were sent out to warn of the enemy approach. Therefore, when the British attacked at daylight they caught the Americans by surprise. Winchester's mistakes can be attributed to the fact that he was an old Revolutionary War soldier who had little experience as an Indian fighter.

When Proctor reached Frenchtown, the Americans formed a line of battle, with Allen's 1st Rifle Regiment placed on the left wing, behind a palisade or fence. Many of the Americans, including the 17th U.S. Regulars, were in an open field with only a rail fence for cover. When the fight began, the British pounded the American lines with artillery loaded with bullets and grapeshot. "Very many bombs were discharged by the enemy, doing, however, very little execution, most of them bursting in the air," wrote Dudley. But the cannon fire did cause some casualties. Dudley noted that the regulars in the open field on the right side of the line suffered most, for these troops "had no protection but a common rail fence, four or five rails high. Several Americans on that part of the line were killed, and their fence knocked down by the cannon balls...." When the artillery stopped, the Indians rushed forward and tested the American lines, but were repulsed.

Soon, the British infantry advanced in formation, and the Kentuckians' good marksmanship became evident. One Kentucky soldier fired, an English soldier wrote, "and hit Gates, the leading grenadier of the 41st [Regiment of Foot], right through the head. The ball went in one ear and out of the other."

After about 20 minutes of fighting, the regulars on the right flank, unprotected except for the artillery-battered fence, fell back toward the river. Immediately, Allen and Lewis, each with about 50 men, left their defensive position behind the palisade and moved forward to help. Although they tried to rally other American units, both flanks were shoved back and Lewis was wounded.

The Redcoats pressed forward, the Indians encircled Frenchtown, and the American lines broke. Chased into woods by Wyandot Chief Roundhead's warriors, a full-scale butchery ensued as the Kentucky troops were hunted down. At one point, as the Indians began to surround the fleeing troops, the Americans had to run a gauntlet down a path with Indians on either side, hidden in tall grass. Some who were able to reach the woods were subsequently surrounded and massacred, with about 100 of them slain by tomahawk.

During the fight, Allen was severely wounded in the thigh. Despite his injury, the officer withdrew with his men, and, in several instances, attempted to rally the fleeing militia. It was no use, however, and the panicked rout continued. Exhausted after a two-mile retreat, Allen sat down on a log to rest. A pursuing Indian saw that Allen was an officer and was determined to capture him until the Kentuckian "threw his rifle across his lap." As Allen barked at the Indian to surrender, another warrior burst through the woods and attacked. Allen ran the brave through with his sword, but a third Indian shot Allen in the chest, killing him instantly. After the fight, an Indian was seen walking around with Allen's sword. Like many of the slain, Allen's body was stripped and scalped.

Although most of the Americans were cut down, the Kentuckians on the left flank held out in Frenchtown, repeatedly driving off the British and Canadian troops until they were completely surrounded. The British promised that they would be treated as prisoners of war if they surrendered, and these soldiers gave up. Many of the unharmed prisoners were marched to Fort Malden.

Also among the prisoners was Solomon, Allen's slave, who marched with the officer on the campaign, and Dr. Benjamin Logan, Allen's brother-in-law. These men, however, were the

Continued on page 66

By Joseph Frantiska, Jr.

Azimuth-only bombs enabled pinpoint bombing of hard-to-hit targets such as bridges and railways. They were the first "smart" bombs.

AS SOON AS ONE CAVEMAN THREW A ROCK IN ANGER AT another, the human race took a giant step forward in warfare. No longer were people relegated to close-in, hand-to-hand combat. In the same manner, warfare took another big step when the first aerial bomb was dropped, actually thrown, from an aircraft. The rock and bomb really weren't that much different from one another. Each could be pointed in a certain direction and released at a chosen point in time. From that point until impact, the projectile was governed solely by the laws of physics with no human intervention possible.

Aerial bombardment at the beginning of World War II had entered an important phase of refinement with the introduction of the Norden bombsight. The direction, speed, altitude, and time of bomb release could be chosen with greater accuracy, but midcourse corrections were still not possible. While the United States Army Air Forces (USAAF) touted its ability in precision bombing (generally within a 1,000-foot circle around the target), it still was not able to perform pinpoint bombing. Bombs needed to get "smart."

At about this same time, the Third Reich was also interested in guided weapons. The German Condor Legion had experienced great difficulty attacking maneuvering ships with freefalling bombs during the Spanish Civil War. Dr. Max Kramer, while working for the German company Ruhrstahl A.G., started the development of guided bombs in 1938 by adding radio-controlled spoilers to the X-shaped tail surface of a 550-pound bomb. By 1940, the system was incorporated on a 1,400-kilogram, armor-piercing bomb designated the FX-1400 and called Fritz-X. The Fritz-X was 10 feet, 6 inches long and weighed 3,469 pounds. Its armor-piercing warhead, with 660 pounds of high explosives, could penetrate and sink even the largest battleships.

National Archives

The Luftwaffe began operational testing of the Fritz-X in early 1942. The normal attack profile was a level delivery from 18,000 feet, initiated three miles from the target. This required good visibility and was restricted by anything more than very limited cloud cover. After release, the delivery plane decelerated rapidly, almost to a stall, and lowered flaps, allowing the bomb to get in front of the aircraft. A bright flare on the tail enabled the bombardier to visually guide the bomb

BELOW: The Germans used a modified Dornier Do 217 to drop the Fritz-X radio-controlled, guided bomb. RIGHT: A flight of DO 217s armed with the Fritz-X sunk the Italian battleship *Roma* on September 9, 1943, to prevent it from joining the Allies.

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with radio signals by superimposing the bomb over the target. Wire-guided versions were also developed and employed to counter jamming. During its ballistic flight path, the Fritz-X reached a velocity of 950 feet per second, and the impact point could be corrected 1,640 feet in range and/or 1,148 feet laterally.

A special squadron, III/ Karnpfgeschwader (KG) 100, was trained in Dornier Do 217K-2 aircraft to employ the Fritz-X against ships and was operational in March 1943. Seven hundred and fifty Fritz-Xs were produced and stockpiled at numerous coastal airfields throughout Europe. On September 9, 1943, a flight of six Do 217s launched from Istres, France, to attack the defecting Italian Fleet. The fleet, consisting of three battleships, including the ultra-modern *Roma,* six cruisers, and many auxiliary ships, was spotted. The *Roma* started an evasive turn but took a direct hit just forward of the front stack. A major fire started, and when the fire reached the forward magazine a huge explosion ripped open the hull. The *Roma* sank quickly, taking 1,254 men to the bottom of the Mediterranean, and became the first capital ship sunk by a guided bomb.

A proficient bombardier could consistently guide the Fritz-X to within 15 feet of a moving target during training. However, during combat operations direct hits were recorded in only about 30 percent of Fritz-X launches. In 28 attacks between August 1943 and February 1944, the Germans sank only one ship and damaged four others with the Fritz-X.

The Allies' guided bomb efforts started in April 1942, when the USAAF Materiel Command began the development of the azimuth-only (AZON) family of guided bombs. It was invented by Major Henry J. Rand and Thomas J. O'Donnell as the answer to the difficult problem of destroying the narrow wooden bridges that supported much of the Burma Railway. However, AZON was also used in the European Theater of Operations, as well as in the Pacific Theater.

The initial variant, designated Vertical Bomb-1 (VB-1), was based on a 1,000-pound bomb that was modified with a new tail unit. A later variant, the VB-2, was fitted to a 2,000-pound bomb. The tail unit consisted of a gyroscopic stabilization unit that prevented the bomb from spinning and weaving in unwanted directions as various corrections were made. Compressed air kept the gyros spinning during the time of the fall. The VB-1 also had a 600,000 candela flare for optical tracking, an octagonal shroud with control surfaces, and a radio command receiver. When a VB-1 was dropped, the bombardier could track it through his bombsight and use a joystick-type control to send corrective commands to the bomb. The AZON guidance system allowed only in-azimuth or lateral course corrections, and errors in range could not be corrected.

U.S. Air Force

The initial variant, the Vertical Bomb-1, used a 1,000-pound bomb with a modified tail unit. This one is on display at the National Museum of the U.S. Air Force in Dayton, Ohio.

Due to its AZON guidance, the VB-1 was particularly suited to long and narrow targets like bridges or railways where range errors would be irrelevant. For normal targets, however, the VB-1 was actually not as good as unguided freefall bombs because a bomber could not break away immediately after dropping the bomb, and the accuracy was not effectively increased because of the lack of range control.

Elevators similar to preset trim tabs were attached to the collar on the control surfaces of aircraft. The elevators created a stabilizing effect on the falling bombs, allowing greater ease in altering the missile's azimuth. Four braces were connected to the fins to support the aileron and rudder controls. The four braces were also the antenna for receiving the signal from the transmitter. The AZON transmitter antenna was located at the rear of the plane. The antenna was approximately three feet in length. One day a person who was not connected to the AZON group got curious about the antenna. He asked what the antenna was used for. A ground crewman, involved with the AZON equipment and mindful of the high degree of classification surrounding the project, answered, "It is a highly classified flak repellent gadget. It keeps the plane from getting hit."

The bombardier's joystick control was a BC-1156 pogo stick unit connected to a BC-1158 radio set that transmitted through the external antenna. Each aircraft had three antennae mounted beneath its tail section for control purposes. One transmitted a signal on 475 cycles for left deflection, one on 3,000 cycles for right deflection, and the third at 30-40 cycles to activate the smoke-generating system. All three frequencies were changed periodically to prevent jamming by enemy radio monitoring crews.

The AZON entered production in 1943, after earlier development by USAAF's Air Technical Service Command.

The AZON used an annular tail assembly like the Fritz-X, was roll stabilized like the Fritz-X, but since it could only be steered in azimuth its range error on delivery was similar to an unguided or dumb bomb. A peculiarity of the AZON guidance set was the fact that only five different radio channels were available for the command link, so that not more than five bombs could be controlled independently. Although in theory a whole group of bombs using the same command channel could be controlled simultaneously, this was not practical. The accuracy of all but the primary bomb (i.e., the one that was tracked by the bombardier) in such a group was rather bad because the gyrostabilized, nonspinning AZON bombs showed a significant dispersion. The AZON kit was produced until November 1944, by which time 15,000 units were built. It was deployed in the European Theater of Operations from February 1944, and used extensively in Burma for bridge-dropping strikes. The Fifteenth Air Force in the Mediterranean Theater is credited with AZON attacks on the Danube River locks and the Avisio viaduct. In Burma, AZONs were used to destroy 27 bridges using 493 bombs, including the famous Kwai River bridge.

Marion Crawley, a B-24 radio operator, recalled his participation in the AZON program: "Orders came to bomb Bridge 277 at low level. Our bombardier Frank made a good hit, knocking the steel and concrete bridge out in one span. Our crew received credit for hitting the bridge. There were no planes lost although we took some hits. Only one life was lost in all of the planes going after the bridge, which I later learned was the famous 'Bridge on the River Kwai.'"

The 7th Bombardment Group experienced better success in Burma in late 1944 and early 1945. AZON's greatest success came in Burma on December 27, 1944, when just nine vertical bombs demolished a rail bridge at Pyinmana, Burma, that had stood despite a rain of thou-

sands of bombs in the two previous years.

On December 30, 1944, the 7th Bomb Group's 493rd Bomb Squadron put four B-24s equipped with 28 AZON bombs in the air along with two regular Liberators. The primary target was the Nyaungchudauk bridge in Burma with the Nyaungchudauk bypass bridge as the first alternate target and the Taungup as the second alternate. Six direct hits demolished the primary Nyaungchudauk bridge. The Nyaungchudauk bypass bridge was destroyed with two direct hits. The regular B-24s failed in their attempt to destroy the nearby Okshitpin bridge, but the AZON crews destroyed it in two passes. The AZON crews then crossed the mountains to drop a span of the Taungup road bridge. In all, four major bridges were disabled with a few AZON bombs still remaining.

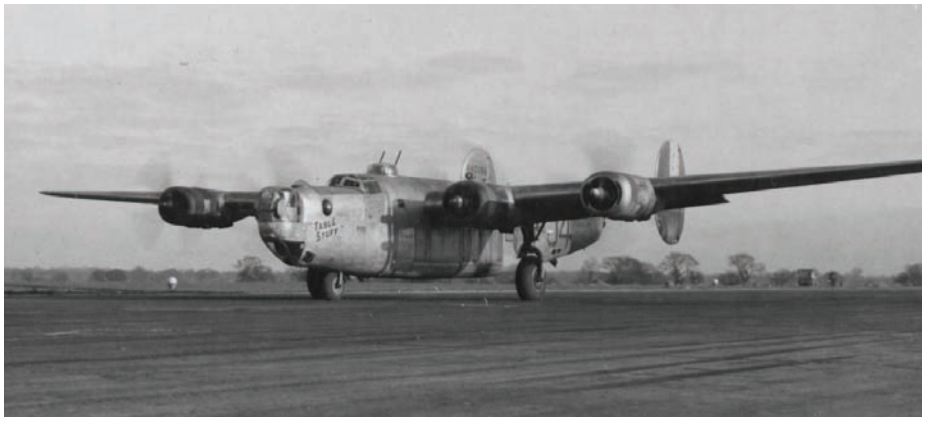
The 493rd Bomb Squadron and other 7th Bomb Group units later destroyed 27 difficult bridge targets using 459 AZONs of which 12-15 percent scored direct hits. A total of 1,357 AZONs were dropped in Burma, destroying 41 bridges and damaging 12 more. Average errors observed were 131 feet in azimuth and 207 feet in range.

Another participant of AZON missions in the Pacific Theater, B-24 navigator Leo Eatman, knew well how hairy the AZON missions could get: "The purpose of the AZON capability was to make it possible to destroy specific identifiable objects or targets, not area bombing. Bridges, railroad marshaling yards, and even airfields were the specific targets. To ensure better results, we would approach the targets at altitudes of 4,000 feet to 6,000 feet, not from 10,000 or higher. This altitude reduced the wind factor and gave the bombardier a closer look at the direction of the falling bomb.

Most field commanders were unenthusiastic about this new weapon since they felt azimuth steering did not increase accuracy and bomber casualties would be increased by prolonging the bombing run until impact. The U.S. Eighth Air Force rejected AZON in February 1944, and the first batches went to the Fifteenth Air Force in Italy. The Fifteenth Air Force bomb groups learned fast and scored direct hits on the Danube locks at the Iron Gates and the Avisio viaduct south of the Brenner Pass.

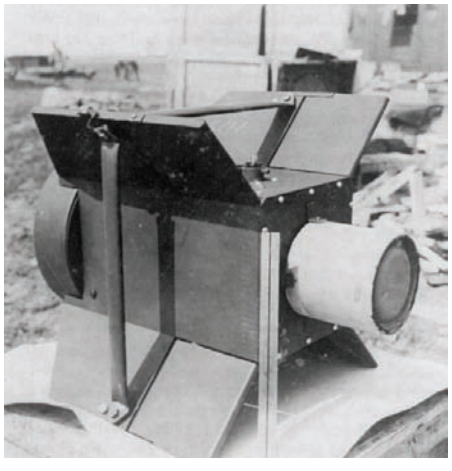
AZON missions were flown from May 1944 to September 1944 in the European and Mediterranean Theaters, with generally unsatisfactory results. Analyses found that while the equipment functioned well enough antiaircraft defenses made the medium altitude approach and long loiter time above the target during the bomb's descent particularly hazardous for aircrews.

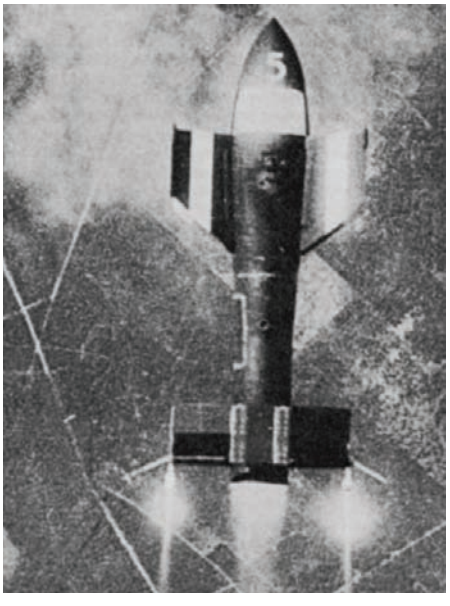
National Archives



ABOVE: An AZON-equipped Consolidated B-24 Liberator of the 753rd Squadron, 458th Bomb Group, Eighth Air Force. The 753rd Squadron, based at RAF Horsham St. Faith in Norfolk, England, was one of the units involved with the new munitions. BELOW LEFT: The AZON bomb consisted of the tail fin unit being bolted to a 1,000-pound general purpose bomb. The fins and collar on an assembled bomb made it too large for transporting in the standard racks and tended to limit the number of bombs that could be carried to four.

BELOW RIGHT: A German Fritz-X bomb photographed during a test. To get the Fritz-X onto its target, a bombardier visually guided the bomb with radio signals by superimposing it over the target.





Lieutenant Colonel Richard T. Headrick recalled in his memoirs his mission to bomb the Ancona-Rimini rail line in Italy: "Their AZON bombs were gyro-stabilized so that they would not spin like a football being passed. They had a built-in radio receiver with which they could guide the bomb right and left. The equipment came from a model airplane shop in Boston.

"The railroad line was there. We were all on automatic pilot. We saw the Ancona harbor off to the right in the distance. The well-polished rails reflected the sunlight brightly. The bombsight brought us into the proper position for bombing and corrected for drift, which would minimize the necessity for any radical turns of the bombs under radio control."

The first bomb to land from his plane was dead center on the tracks, he said.

To overcome the inherent limitation of azimuth-only bomb control, the next version had dual control axes and was called range and azimuth (RAZON). It was completed at the close of the war but was never used.

The latest example in the long lineage of guided munitions started by AZON is the Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM). JDAM is a low-cost, add-on guidance kit like AZON that converts existing dumb bombs into accurate, all-weather smart munitions. JDAM-equipped bombs are guided to their target by an integrated inertial guidance system coupled with a global positioning system (GPS) receiver for enhanced accuracy, giving them a published range of up to 15 nautical miles from the release point.

The first JDAMs were delivered in 1997 with operational testing conducted in 1998 and 1999. More than 450 JDAMs were dropped during testing, recording an unprecedented 95 percent system reliability while achieving a 9.6-meter accuracy rate. What would Rand and O'Donnell think now? □

By Mark Simmons

The planned 1940 sea invasion of Britain, Operation Sea Lion, remains one of the great "what-ifs" of modern military history.

MAJOR GRAF VON KIELMANSEGG, AN OFFICER IN GERMANY'S 1st Armored Division based near Orleans, France, was dragged from a cinema on the night of August 28, 1940, and told to report to his chief of staff. "As I entered his office I was sure that we were finally going to be told that Sea Lion had been given the green light. I asked, 'Are we on our way?' He said, 'Yes, we're on our way but not to England, to East Prussia.' So then we knew Sea Lion was a dead duck."

ullstein bild / The Granger Collection, New York

Reich Marshal Hermann Göring and other German officers gaze across the English Channel. Hitler contemplated a sea invasion designed to bring England to her knees.

Von Kielmansegg was right. German Führer Adolf Hitler had decided instead to proceed with Operation Barbarossa, the invasion of Russia, which had killed Sea Lion.

Summer 1940 has obtained something of a mythical quality among the British. Many felt at the time that the Germans merely had to turn up on the shores of Britain to defeat the nation. The average citizen knew little, only what he saw, for example, the antics of members of the home guard parading with broom handles or newsreels depicting a defeated army—having lost all its heavy equipment—being rescued from the beaches by little ships off Dunkirk.

However, on the other side of the hill at Dunkirk, the Germans were as confused in victory as Britain was in defeat.

On July 16, Adolf Hitler, in his role as dictator of Germany and supreme commander of its armed forces, issued his Directive No. 16, in which he stated, "As England, in spite of the hopelessness of her military position, has so far shown herself unwilling to come to any compromise, I have decided to begin to prepare for, and if necessary to carry out, an invasion of England."

It was nearly six weeks since the "Miracle of Dunkirk' when 338,226 Allied troops were evacuated to Britain, some indeed in small boats and ships, but the majority in destroyers and transports, under continuous aerial attack in heavily mined waters.

The Germans were jubilant that summer. France and the Low Coun-

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tries had fallen in one of the most brilliant campaigns of military history between protagonists of roughly equal strength. On June 22, the French had capitulated, signing the surrender in the Compiegne Forest using the same railway carriage where the Kaiser's generals had surrendered to the Allies in 1918. Hitler went sightseeing the following day in Paris and visited Napoleon's tomb.

A month before, on May 21, Hitler had a meeting with Grand Admiral Erich Raeder, commander of the German Navy, or Kriegsmarine, in which a proposed invasion of Britain was discussed. The admiral asked beforehand how the war was going, but all Hitler could tell him was that "the big battle is in full swing." Case Yellow, the plan for the attack on France and the Low Countries, was not expected to bring a rapid collapse. Col. Gen. Franz Halder, chief of the General Staff, said before the attack, "If we reach Boulogne after six months' heavy fighting we'll be lucky." They had done that in as many weeks.

But even after the defeat of France, Hitler did not exploit the advantage and attack Britain. Luftwaffe aircraft were told not to infiltrate British airspace. The mood in Berlin, as well as within the German Army, was that the war was virtually over. Most felt the British could be induced to make peace.

When the British rejected Hitler's peace offer speech in the Reichstag on July 19, the practical problems of an invasion began to loom.

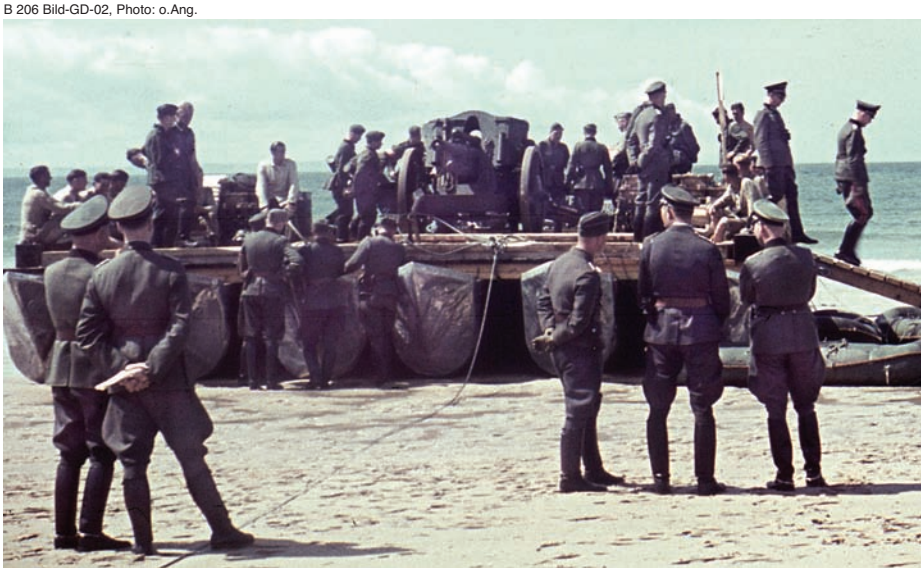
For starters, there were no plans in the High Command of the Armed forces (OKW) for an invasion of Britain. The naval staff had produced a study in November 1939 of the problems such an operation might pose. It identified two preconditions, air and naval superiority, and the Germans in 1940 had neither. The German Army produced a staff memorandum a few weeks after the Navy recommendeda landing in East Anglia. Both these were far from plans.

The Kriegsmarine was poorly equipped for such an undertaking. It had no landing craft purposely built for such an operation. The Kriegsmarine had suffered heavily in the Norway Campaign. All it had available was one heavy cruiser, the *Hipper,* three light cruisers, and nine destroyers. All other major warships had been damaged or were not yet commissioned.

The British fleet was overwhelmingly powerful. The Kriegsmarine might be able to flank the invasion sea lanes across the English Channel with mines and attack the Royal Navy from the air, but German naval commanders were not confident.

Everything would depend on the Luftwaffe being able to deal with the Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force (RAF) and still support its land forces. At that stage, the landing was codenamed Operation Lion, but the Germans soon changed it to Operation Sea Lion.

B 206 Bild-GD-02, Photo: o.Ang.



German troops load a howitzer onto a landing craft during exercises in preparation for Operation Sea Lion in summer 1940. The Wehrmacht hoped to have more than a quarter of a million men ashore by the third day in three main landing areas from Ramsgate to the west of the Isle of Wight.

General Alfred Jodl, chief of operations of the Armed Forces High Command, admitted that the operation would be difficult but felt it was possible to carry it out successfully if the landings were made on the south coast of England.

"We can substitute command of the air for the naval supremacy we do not possess, and the sea crossing is short there," he said.

The German Wehrmacht wanted to land on a broad front stretching from Ramsgate to the west of the Isle of Wight. The first wave would be some 90,000 men landing in three main areas. By the third day it wanted 260,000 men ashore.

Heavy fighting was expected in southern England. Field Marshal Walter von Brauchitsch, nominal commander of the German Army, felt the operation would be relatively easy and concluded in a month.

However, the German naval staff had grave misgivings, favoring an invasion in spring 1941. They argued that the Kriegsmarine was far too weak. The weather in the English Channel was unpredictable and presented great hazards for the invasion fleet, which was not designed for such a task. What's more, the Luftwaffe would be affected by bad weather.

With the Wehrmacht wanting to land at dawn, the periods of August 20 to August 26 or September 19 to September 26 had the most suitable tide tables. The Kriegsmarine would not be ready by August, and in September it was approaching the time of year for bad weather. Even in the best of conditions, the motley invasion fleet would cross the English Channel slower than Caesar's legions 2,000 years before. The Kriegsmarine expected to lose 10 percent of its lift capacity due to accidents and breakdowns before the Royal Navy and RAF put in an appearance.

At the beginning of August, Hitler directed the Luftwaffe to defeat the RAF. The German air fleets failed to gain air superiority over the sea lanes and landing areas and could not prevent the RAF bombing the assembling invasion barges. However, in September they did come close to winning some measure of air superiority over Kent and Sussex. But then Reich Marshal Hermann Göring relaxed the pressure on the RAF Fighter Command by switching his offensive to bombing London.

About the same time, the Kriegsmarine had assembled 2,000 barges from the Rhine River and Holland, all of which, although modified, still had poor seagoing characteristics. Nearly all tugs of more than 250 tons were withdrawn from German harbors to tow barges. The Kriegsmarine also assembled 1,600 motor boats and 168 transport ships. By September 21, British air and naval attacks had sunk 67 craft and damaged 173 in harbor.

By mid-September the Luftwaffe had still failed to attack units of the British fleet. Sea Lion was put off from September 15 to September 21. But on the September 17, Hitler postponed Sea Lion indefinitely.

In April 1940, Britain's position inviolate behind the Royal Navy received a severe jolt with the loss of Norway, which sea power had seemed unable to influence. What went unrec-

ognized at the time was that this had more to do with a failure of combined operations. And the German Kriegsmarine had been decimated by the Royal Navy in that campaign.

The success of the German blitzkrieg against the French Army in May and June 1940 brought Britain to face the possibility of a German invasion. The chiefs of staff met to address the possibility. With Operation Dynamo, the Dunkirk evacuation, beginning there was little they could do other than recommending the Home Army should be brought to a high state of alert and beach defenses should be given priority.

In the face of German air power, evacuation of the British Expeditionary Force was successful. In the United Kingdom there were only 80 heavy tanks, and they were obsolete. There were 180 light tanks armed only with machine guns. There were only 100,000 rifles to equip the 470,000 men of the Home Guard, although 75,000 Ross rifles were on their way from Canada.

The British Army had little chance of stopping the Germans if they had managed to get a large force ashore in June or July 1940.

However, as in previous invasion threats the main defense would devolve onto the Royal Navy and now the RAF. Britain's Fighter Command had lost many aircraft and pilots in the Battle of France and could muster only 331 Supermarine Spitfires and Hawker Hurricanes. But German indecision and a need to redeploy and refit the Luftwaffe gave Britain a decisive respite.

By September Britain had built up its armored forces to nearly 350 medium and cruiser tanks. Coast defenses were much improved. Strong reinforcements had arrived from Canada. However, General Sir Alan Brooke, Commander in Chief (C-in-C) Home Forces, on September 13 confided pessimistically to his diary that of his 22 divisions "only about half can be looked upon as in any way fit for any form of mobile operations."

On August 11, the eve of Eagle Day when the Luftwaffe was to launch its offensive to gain air superiority over southern England, RAF fighter command had 620 Spitfires and Hurricanes and aircraft production was exceeding totals called for.

For the Royal Navy the advent of airpower posed several problems. No longer could the Navy alone deny the sea to an invader as in 1588 when Catholic Spain attempted to invade England by sea and in 1804 and 1805 when Napoleonic France attempted the same thing. The Royal Navy hoped by the use of bombardment and mines to attack the invasion fleet before it even left its ports. If such attacks were not decisive, it would attack the invasion flotillas as it arrived off the English coast. The Luftwaffe would be stretched to the limit.

Imperial War Museum

Winston Churchill watches activity in the English Channel from an observation post at Dover Castle in August 1940. The British could rest easy knowing their fleet vastly outclassed that of the Germans.

As the invasion beaches were not known, the Royal Navy needed to cover an area from the Wash to Newhaven. It had the strength to carry out that mission. The British Admiralty contemplated "the happy possibility that our reconnaissance might enable us to intercept the expedition on passage." Given the speed of the invasion barges, taking 12 hours to cross the Channel was a near certainty. The main forces to be used were destroyers and light craft, with close support of cruisers. It was agreed that the battleships should only come south if German invasion transports were escorted by heavier German ships.

Admiral Sir Charles Forbes, C-in-C for the British Home Fleet, argued that so many ships should not be pulled away from the very real German threat to the convoy routes. Forbes kept his battleships, but many of his cruisers and destroyers were dispersed in ports around the southern and eastern coasts. Forbes was proved right with so many ships committed to static roles. Losses among the convoys began to mount.

The RAF also had a vital role in defeating an invasion. Bomber Command would attack shipping as soon as it began to assemble. Once the invasion began, Fighter Command would move to the offensive against troop-carrying aircraft and supply air cover to the Royal Navy attacks on enemy shipping. Coastal Command would support the Navy as well and join Bomber Command in attacking shipping.

Gradually the emphasis and reserves shifted toward southeastern England. Here the sea crossing was the shortest and the beaches would be within German fighter protection. On September 4, a memo warned that if the Germans "could get possession of the Dover defile and capture its gun defenses from us, then, holding these points on both sides of the straights they would be in a position largely to deny those waters to our naval forces." With this warning the chiefs of staff moved more ground troops into this vital sector.

On September 7, intelligence warned that a German invasion was near. Tide and light conditions would favor the enemy between September 8 and 10. The Royal Navy put all its small craft and cruisers on immediate notice and stopped all boiler cleaning. The RAF moved from Alert 2 invasion in three days, to Alert 1 invasion imminent within 12 hours. It was decided to issue the code word "Cromwell" as a warning to take up battle stations. Unfortunately, a lot of recipients did not know its meaning. Some Home Guard units assumed it meant the invasion had started and rang church bells, which was an agreed warning of invasion, and blocked roads.

The chiefs of staff met in London under Prime Minister Winston Churchill's chairmanship on September 7, while London was subjected to a massive air raid.

Soon, however, the crisis began to wane. The Germans, stung by an RAF raid on Berlin, switched their attack from RAF fighter bases to London allowing the RAF to make good its losses. The prize of air superiority rapidly slipped away. On September 14, Hitler postponed the invasion until September 17 due to Luftwaffe losses. Then, on September 17, it was postponed again. On September 20, the Germans began to disperse the invasion barges, of which some 10 percent had already been sunk or damaged by the RAF and the Royal Navy.

For the British, the invasion threat remained well into October, but Hitler's mind was no longer on England, if it had ever really been firmly fixed in that direction. Rather, it was turned east toward Russia.

In the 1970s, the Department of War Studies at the Royal Military Academy of Sandhurst made Sea Lion into a war game based on the plans of both sides. A panel of generals, admirals, and air marshals umpired the war game. Any disputes over exact losses were settled by cutting cards. Admiralty weather records were made available, which proved the situation would have been favorable to an invasion between September 19 and September 30. Such findings validate Sea Lion as one of the great "what ifs" of modern military history. □

By Peter Suciu

Trench art includes not only soldier-made items, but also commercially produced items made as keepsakes from famous wars.

ABOVE: A World War I cigarette case with a battle scene. BELOW: World War I French soldiers make flower vases from shell casings. RIGHT: A wood figure dating from World War I depicts a French colonial soldier.

ART IS IN THE EYE OF THE BEHOLDER, OF COURSE, BUT FOR THOSE who collect militaria there is a special kind of art that requires a special kind of appreciation. That would be trench art. Although many might also contend that they don't know art but they know what they like, trench art is certainly something that many collectors do indeed like and appreciate.

The name "trench art" seems to associate this particular category of militaria exclusively with those artifacts made in the trenches during World War I. While creation of such items may have flourished in the trenches, especially as soldiers may have had access to limited materials but often endless stretches of time to kill, the category is much more vast.

One truly cannot say when trench art began, but it is likely that soldiers were carving rocks and wood figures as long as there were campaigns. Such items would certainly fall under the broad category of trench art, but the modern version really dates just to the past 200 years.

"As you say, it will go back as long as there have been armies, but really it is only recognized from the Napoleonic era onward," says James Gordon-Cumming, a collector of modern trench art.

However, much of what was made and survived likely wasn't produced by those on campaign.

"Napoleonic-period trench art is almost exclusively POW work, either in bone or colored straw, thus the magnificent ships, houses, and guillotine scenes in bone, or boxes covered inside and out with images made from woven, dyed straw," says Gordon-Cumming.

Author's Collection

It was during the conflicts of the 19th century that this art form was truly born, and in some ways this makes sense as it follows the Age of Enlightenment, which promoted a greater emphasis on learning, while art and music became more widespread. The skills of the average soldier were also greater and allowed for more artistic creations.

This was notable in conflicts such as the Crimean War, which also was the first time that such items weren't just personal keepsakes for the soldiers themselves. Some of it was made by locals postwar for sale to tourists and included pieces of shot put together as desk ornaments and paperweights. But it was items created a few years later during the Franco-Prussian War that were likely the first to be marketed to the growing middle class. Similar items were made from shot from the siege of Paris, says Gordon-Cumming. It would be the final conflict of the 19th century, and arguably one of the first truly modern wars that saw widespread use of trench art in its most recognized form.

"Only when you get to the Boer War in 1899 do you start to get brass shell casings, which form the

The Art Archive / Nicholas J. Saunders

bulk of trench art going forward," says Gordon-Cumming. "The Boer War also generated a lot of POW work from the large camps in Ceylon, St. Helena, and Bermuda—mainly carved wooden items."

It was, of course, during World War I that the term "trench art" was likely coined, but here too there is much confusion. While there is no denying that many items were made by the soldiers in the trenches, who as noted did have spare time, the truth is that many of the highly crafted shell casings and other impressive metal working weren't easily done in the horrid conditions that the soldiers endured.

World War I had all the ingredients for the explosion of trench art. It was fought on a massive scale, had a massive amount of ordnance, but also had a long-term postwar pilgrimage business. For many soldiers, especially those from the United States, it was unlikely that without the war they would have gone to distant lands as tourists, so when they returned home they sought to take many souvenirs. As soon as the guns fell quiet, a cottage industry likely produced many of the items.

Thus it is easy to see that trench art could fall into four main categories. The first, of course, is soldier-made items. There are tales of soldiers making lead casts in the clay flooring of the trenches, and there are more complex items including rings and wood or simple stone carvings. The second type was made by POWs and other internees. In some cases, this art consisted of items that were made and exchanged for wood or money.

But two other categories exist: civilian-made and commercially made. While both are still arguably trench art, many items were made to sell to the soldiers returning home, not by the soldiers themselves. This created that aforementioned cottage industry, and most collectors today understand that these items were beyond what soldiers in true trench conditions could accomplish.

"If it's a shell from World War I, 95 percent were made by civilians and sold to the soldiers as a souvenir to take home," says collector Travis Stevens. "I'm not a huge fan of these mass-produced items."

"The quality of the items produced at the end of the war in Europe was very good," says Stevens. "Other items included stockpiles of German canteens that were engraved and painted and made available for sale to American soldiers. These would be engraved and painted with a nice scene relative to the area and even personalized to a specific soldier."

Collection of Paul Reijnders

ABOVE LEFT: Brass shell casings, which were in great abundance in the world wars, form the bulk of 20th-century trench art. These shell casings have been transformed into sculptures. ABOVE RIGHT: An ashtray made from a shell casing commemorates the Battle of Verdun. LEFT: A decorative sculpture made from a World War II British 25-pounder shell casing. BELOW: A bullet sculpted into a decorative knife.

As more soldiers looked to acquire the items, the enterprise turned from small scale to a level of commercialization. The irony is that the commercialization also changed the way that many items were crafted. While shell casings were later customized in subsequent wars, many of those don't have that same level of artistic quality as those from World War I.

"With World War II, things died down," says Gordon-Cumming. "Industrial mechanization meant fewer people worked with their hands, so fewer people were capable of making the sort of trench art popularized by French craftsmen during World War I."

The other reason World War II lacked the artistic items of World War I was that a war of movement meant far fewer periods of inactivity to fill, and no large buildups of detritus to be pilfered by the locals. There were exceptions, of course, and a lot of trench art came out of the Pacific Theater.

"One area of trench art that most collectors forget is the Pacific Theater in World War II," says Stevens. "My grandfather was a guard for POWs on Okinawa, and they would make soldiers bracelets out of the wrecked [Japanese] aircraft. My grandfather also had a solid aluminum ring with a sunburst carved in it and filled with red plastic, which he told us was melted plastic from the Zeros on the island."

While some metal trench art was made, as surviving examples attest, by the end of the war it was not to the level that had been produced a generation earlier. Additionally, unlike a generation earlier, soldiers returned home with other items and didn't seem as interested in shell casings and other personalized trench art.

That didn't mean that trench art died. Gordon-Cumming says that the Korean and Vietnam conflicts, both of which had periods of inactivity, saw a resurgence with iconic items such as "Huey from a Coke can." In the 1990s the trench art movement picked up again. Metal workers in Sarajevo even now continue to collect shell casings from the hills around the city to sell to tourists.

Whether these newly made items fit into the bigger category of trench art depends on the individual collector. The bigger issue is ensuring that period items are actually from the period. While many World War I-era items may have been created postwar, those shell casings or other artifacts are from the era. What collectors need to watch for are later items sold as if from another period.

"I have seen someone selling bullet shell art and marketing it as original World War II, yet there are 25 of the same item, and it was made out of .223," says Stevens. Clearly, shell casings from a postwar AR-15/M-16 couldn't be considered World War II-era trench art.

However, the more complicated the art the less likely it is to be faked, says Gordon-Cumming.

"A big advantage of collecting trench art is that it is so labor intensive to produce it is currently not worthwhile trying to fake the 'proper' stuff," he says. "Fakes at the moment are limited to plain shell cases with cap badges welded to them and copper drive bands beaten out to make paper knives. These are easily distinguishable from period ones by the lack of patina on the copper and their simplicity in manufacture."

"I've been collecting for about seven years, and trench art is so common that there is really no need to fake it," says Nicholas Kumburis, who was drawn to the hobby by the interesting yet odd items.

However, in the years to come, especially if prices rise, there may be more incentive for fakers to make better items, but most collectors agree that we are not there yet. There is an additional protection too, notably the limited supply of period shell cases, which would have to be used to make new pieces—at least of the proper caliber. As with all militaria, the key is buying from reputable dealers and making a close inspection of the piece before buying.

"Basic awareness of history and military artifacts in general is important to begin with when dealing with fakes," says Larry Stewart, a collector of World War I trench art who likes the link it provides to the time, even if not a particular individual.

Trench art often contains clues hidden in the details of the piece, he says. For example, a shell vase usually has manufacture dates and country of origin information stamped on the bottom of the shell. Other clues might be what is engraved or carved into the surface of the piece, such as dates, geographical locations, and famous battles.

For this reason, trench art doesn't even need to be a specialized collection but can be something small or big that accents one's larger collection of period items. It may even be something that the history buff with no militaria could appreciate as well.

"It can be far better to wait until you find a nice piece, with a place name embossed, a scene of victory, a soldier, or beautiful woman and yes, pay a bit more, but get something worth keeping," he says. "If space is a premium, try collecting just 37mm shell case trench art. Alternatively, just collect paper knives, but [online auctions] have opened up the world of trench art and there is a very active trading scene there."

"There are no good or bad pieces of trench art, as it all depends on the collector," says Kumburis. "The thing about trench art is that it tells a story about the person who made it because each piece has its own flair, and no two pieces are exactly the same." □

A Roman cavalryman in battle. Caesar's cavalry withdrew at the beginning of the battle to allow his reserve infantry to repulse Pompey's flank attack, but it returned to help deliver the death blow to Pompey's army.

ROMAN ARMAGED

THE SNOW-CAPPED peaks of the Ceraunian Mountains stared down on the sturdy barks hunting for a suitable place to land on the coast of Epirus on January 5, 48 BC. Under cover of darkness, dozens of heavily laden transport ships had departed Brundusium on a southeastern course for Epirus. After a 15-hour voyage across the Strait of Otranto, during which they slipped silently past nearly 200 war galleys of the Republican navy anchored at Corcyra, the transports bearing 20,000 men under the command of 51-year-old rebel Roman proconsul Gaius Julius Caesar steered their ships toward a strip of sandy coastline near the village of Palaeste.

Using speed and surprise once again to his advantage and trusting in his fortune, the audacious conqueror of Gaul and leader of the *populares* faction of the Roman Republic had at last transferred seven of his loyal legions to western Macedonia where he intended to offer battle to 57-year-old Republican forces commander Gnaeus Pompey Magnus. While Caesar's understrength legions debarked from their transports unopposed, Pompey was marching west from his base at Beroea along the Via Egnatia toward the Adriatic coast with a mighty host to await Caesar's next move. Unknown to him, that move already had been made. The inevitable clash of the two surviving members of the First Triumvirate for control of the Republic was drawing near.

The rivalry between Caesar and Pompey had always been present, but the establishment in

DON

60 BC of the First Triumvirate in which the two statesmen allied themselves with each other and with Licinius Crassus had paid handsome dividends for each one of the participants. The triumvirate was an unofficial political alliance established to grant each participant the political objectives he desired in return for supporting the aims of the other two members. For Caesar, whose political career was on the rise, it meant serving as consul, a significant step up from his previous service in various magisterial posts and priesthoods. When Caesar was elected consul in 59 BC, he ensured that the principal objectives of his two fellow triumvirs were carried out. Pompey enjoyed a political settlement that resulted in land grants to veterans of his campaigns in the east, while the wealthy Crassus benefitted from favorable revisions to certain tax laws.

Library of Congress

Caesar was branded an enemy of the Republic for crossing the Rubicon River with his troops in January 49 BC.

The highly ambitious Caesar carried himself as if he had already achieved greatness, although he had barely tasted it by the time he entered the First Triumvirate. Caesar hailed from a patrician family; however, he chose to align himself not with the conservative *optimates* faction, which dominated the Senate, but instead with the *populares* faction. His attraction to the *populares* faction likely stemmed from a desire to play up his connection to the middle-class reformer and consul Gaius Marius, who had married his aunt Julia.

In contrast, Pompey had achieved greatness by the time he agreed to participate in the triumvirate. His military career stretched back to service under Marius's rival, the consul and dictator Lucius Cornelius Sulla, under whom Pompey fought in Italy, Spain, and Africa. In 80 BC, he received the epithet "magnus" for his brilliant generalship in Africa. A decade later, his reputation as a sterling commander was again proven when he cleared the Mediterranean of pirates and embarked on a diplomatic and military campaign in the east from which he returned a wealthy man. His chief attributes as a military commander were an amazing attention to detail and a brilliant knack for combined operations involving naval and land forces. His vast military experience stood in stark contrast to Caesar's dearth of military experience. For this reason, among others, Pompey held the younger man in disdain.

Caesar used his superb negotiation skills to establish the triumvirate, which initially was a secret alliance, with the two older statesmen. It was an odd coalition because Caesar and Pompey distrusted each other, as did Pompey and Crassus. Nevertheless, each member saw the triumvirate as an expedient way to attain the political objectives he desired.

To achieve the military fame he so desperately longed for, Caesar arranged for himself a governership over Cisalpine Gaul, Transalpine Gaul, and Illyricum. When the three triumvirs met again in 56 BC, Caesar was allowed to renew his governership of those provinces while Pompey and Crassus assumed governerships of Spain and Syria, respectively. Crassus perished in 53 BC at the Battle of Carrhea when his army was soundly defeated by the Parthians.

AT PHARSALUS

ON A BARREN PLAIN IN CENTRAL GREECE, CAESAR AND POMPEY MET ON AUGUST 9, 48 BC TO DETERMINE WHICH ONE OF THEM WOULD ASSUME SOLE CONTROL OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC. **BY WILLIAM E. WELSH**

Without question, Pompey was the most powerful statesman in the Roman Republic at the time of Crassus's death. However, Caesar's military and engineering feats in Gaul captured the imagination of the Roman people. In 55 BC, Caesar bridged the Rhine and in the same year sent the first Roman expedition across the English Channel to Briton. His war chest was filled with riches gained during aggressive campaigning in Gaul, and he distributed bribes as needed to ensure he retained a measure of support in the Senate. Nevertheless, Pompey remained the Senate's favorite in large part because its members believed they could manipulate Pompey more easily than the headstrong Caesar.

Having built his military reputation and wealth after nearly a decade campaigning against the Gauls, Caesar desired a second consulship on the expiration of his second term as governor of the territories under his direct control. His enemies in the Senate wanted him to travel to Rome in person to seek the office. To do this, he would have to step down from his governorship and enter Italy without the security of his loyal legions. Caesar was all too aware that this would put him in a highly vulnerable position since his enemies wanted him prosecuted on various charges. Because of this, he requested that he be allowed to run for the consulship in absentia.

Caesar's enemies in Rome would not hear of this. The outgoing consul in 50 BC, Gaius Marcellus (Minor), with the support of the two incoming consuls for the following year, gave Pompey a commission in December 50 BC to protect the state in the face of possible aggression by Caesar. Caesar was in Cisalpine Gaul when he received an ultimatum from the Senate on January 2, 49 BC, that he disband what remained of his army or face arrest as an enemy of the state.

When he received the ultimatum, Caesar knew that negotiations to attain his ends were no longer possible. Notifying the legions loyal to him to await his orders, he marched with the XIII Legion to Ravenna on the Adriatic Sea to ponder his next move. On the night of January 10, under the cover of darkness, he departed Ravenna traveling south along the Adriatic coast. A short distance from the town, he reached the Rubicon River, which marked the border between Cisalpine Gaul and the Roman Republic. He stepped out of his carriage to weigh his options one more time. After a short time, he made up his mind. "The die is cast," said Caesar, returning to his carriage, which then rumbled over the bridge into the Republic. A short distance behind him tramped 5,000 men of the XIII Legion accompanied by several hundred horsemen.

Four days earlier, the Senate had passed an emergency decree that gave Pompey a military commission to defend the Republic. Fearing he might be captured by Caesar without a fight, Pompey took the unprecedented step of abandoning Rome on January 17.

Pompey retreated to Apulia where he managed to assemble five legions of loyal troops. Knowing they were no match for Caesar's veterans, he led them south to Brundusium. Arriving at the Adriatic port on February 25, he began preparations to transport his army by sea to Macedonia where he planned to recruit additional forces that he intended to mold into an army capable of meeting Caesar on equal terms.

At Brundusium, Pompey could only put his hands on enough ships to send half his army across the Adriatic Sea to Epirus at a time. He sent the first half across on March 4, but he remained behind to ensure that the remaining half of his army was not hindered in its efforts to embark for Epirus.

Caesar attempted to prevent Pompey from leaving Brundusium with the rest of his army by sealing off the port from its land side and also attempting to build a mole that would prevent the transport ships from reentering the harbor. Despite this, the Republican ships were able on March 17 to slip past the uncompleted barrier and board Pompey and his remaining troops for the voyage to Epirus.

By establishing his primary base of operations in Macedonia, Pompey would have at his disposal the formidable military resources of the Republic that were deployed in the eastern Mediterranean. What's more, he would be able to use the Republic's fleet to transport loyal forces from Spain and Africa to Macedonia for assimilation into his army.

Caesar realized that if he defeated Pompey's army in Macedonia he might still have to contend with legions loyal to Pompey in other parts of the Republic. At the time of his escape to Macedonia, Pompey still had seven loyal legions stationed in Spain. Rather than face the proposition of having to fight a two-front war, Caesar resolved to crush Pompey's legions in Spain first before pursuing his adversary in Macedonia. With nine legions under his command, Caesar spent the remaining months of 49 BC clearing Spain of Pompey's forces. Throughout his conquest of Italy and Spain, Caesar pardoned the captured legionnaires and did his very best to persuade them to join his army.

During that time Pompey, whom the Senate-in-exile at Boroea had given the title of commander in chief of the armed forces of the Republic, had nearly doubled the size of his army. By December, the Republican army comprised nine legions, including the five initially raised in Italy, one from Cilicia, one from Greece, and two from Asia. Pompey also had summoned his trusted legate Scipio Metellus to march to his

LEFT: Gaius Julius Caesar. BELOW: Gnaeus Pompey Magnus.

akg-images / Peter Connolly

A modern illustration shows Roman legionnaires on the march. The front ranks typically charged into battle, stopping to hurl their *pilum* before closing with the enemy using their *gladius*. In the melee, they used their *scutum* to knock their opponents off balance.

aid with two legions under his command in Syria. In addition, Pompey had recruited a large number of mercenaries, including 7,000 cavalry, 3,000 archers, and 1,200 slingers.

After spending just 11 days in Rome after his conquest of Spain, Caesar departed in mid-December for Brundusium where he intended to sail to Epirus in the same manner as Pompey. Caesar already had dismissed the idea of an overland march through Illyricum as a risky proposition primarily as he would be exposing his army to hit-and-run attacks by hostile tribes in the province. Moreover, by sailing directly to Epirus, Caesar was confident he would be able to block any attempt by Pompey to return to Italy by sea.

Unfortunately for Caesar, the small fleet he had commissioned to be built in the Adriatic while he was campaigning in Spain had been captured and incorporated into Pompey's navy. This meant that, just as Pompey had done before him, Caesar would have to ferry his army to Epirus in two crossings, both of which would be subject to possible discovery and attack by Pompey's large navy based at Corcyra.

Landing with seven understrength legions south of the village of Palaeste on the morning of January 5, Caesar moved quickly to secure as much territory on the hostile coastline as possible before he encountered his adversary. Marching north, he secured the towns of Oricum and Apollonia without interference.

Unknown to Caesar, Pompey was marching slowly west on the Via Egnatia to establish a winter encampment on the Adriatic coast. Pompey, who had not yet joined forces with Scipio, mistakenly believed he had several more months to train his recently assembled army before the campaigning season began in earnest. At the time of Caesar's landing, the Republican army was still several days' march from the coast. When Pompey was notified en route of Caesar's unexpected arrival by sea at Palaeste, the Republican army commander pressed his troops forward as fast as possible.

Caesar's vanguard struck out for Asparagium, and Pompey arrived at the town first astride his adversary's route of march. The two armies faced off on opposite sides of the River Apsus to consider their next moves. At that point, Caesar learned that the Republican fleet had captured his squadron of 30 ships. This meant that Marc Antony's arrival with badly needed reinforcements was delayed nearly three months until fresh ships could be procured for the transport of the remainder of Caesar's army.

On April 10, Antony landed with four full-strength legions and 800 cavalry at Nymphaeum, a town situated 50 miles north of Caesar's position. Pompey promptly broke camp in an attempt to intercept and defeat Antony before he could link up with Caesar. The conqueror of Gaul also broke camp to hasten his junction with Antony. Both Caesar and Antony eluded Pompey and met up at Elbasan, where the Via Egnatia debouched from the mountains onto the coastal plain. In response, Pompey fell back on Asparagium.

With control of the western end of the Via Egnatia in his hands, Caesar dispatched Domitius Calvinus with two legions and 500 cavalry to march east along the highway that traversed the Candavian Mountains to intercept Scipio, who had by that time arrived in eastern Macedonia. Caesar also sent Lucius Longinus south with one legion to Thessaly and Calvisius Sabinus into Aetolia with five cohorts. Longinus and Sabinus were to establish grain convoys to sustain the main army during its military operations in Greece.

With just seven legions to Pompey's nine, Caesar retained the initiative by advancing on Pompey in his new position at Asparagium. When Pompey declined to accept battle at that location, Caesar feigned withdrawal to Elbasan but actually turned north off the Via Egnatia and raced across the foothills toward Pompey's supply base at Dyrrachium. When Pompey discovered that he had been duped, he broke camp and by a forced march rushed to reach Dyrrachium before Caesar did.

Caesar won the race and by mid-April had established a military camp two miles south of the city, which was held by a small garrison of Republican troops. Pompey established his camp two miles south of Caesar's camp on high ground known locally as the Petra. Caesar immediately undertook to build a fortified wall around Pompey's position, which eventually stretched for 17 miles. Pompey responded by building an interior wall to protect his troops that stretched for eight

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

Pompey used the Via Egnatia to move his less experienced army across northern Greece, while Caesar's veteran campaigners marched on paths through the mountains to the Plain of Pharsalus.

miles and allowed for a no-man's land between the two structures. Although Pompey could still supply his army by his open outlet to the sea at his back, he would find it difficult to provide sufficient water for his men and forage for the horses.

For nearly two months the armies remained in a stalemate at Dyrrachium. The decisive action that ended the siege occurred when a handful of Gauls, who had defected from Caesar's army, informed Pompey that his foe's left flank was vulnerable. The Gauls told Pompey that Caesar's engineers had not yet finished a section of wall facing north toward Petra, nor had they completed a section facing south to prevent a possible amphibious attack by Republican forces from the south.

Pompey quickly devised an operation involving land and naval forces designed to exploit the vulnerability. Under cover of darkness on the night of July 8, Pompey moved six legions to the southernmost sector of his encampment along the coast. He also assembled several cohorts of light infantry and missile troops who boarded ships in the darkness and landed in two places at dawn on July 9. One group landed south of the outer-facing wall, while the other landed in the no-man's land between the outer- and inner-facing walls. Just after sunrise, Pompey's troops swept forward. They easily overran the startled forces who stood watch on the southern sector of Caesar's fortifications. No large group of Caesarean troops was positioned nearby to contain Pompey's raiders.

When Caesar arrived on the scene and launched a counterattack with three legions that afternoon, he discovered that Pompey's troops already had begun building new redoubts inside and outside of the outer wall. Pompey met Caesar's counterattack with five legions and sent his cavalry to harass the enemy's rear. Outnumbered and in fear that they would be cut off, Caesar's veteran troops decided to flee rather than stand their ground. Caesar dismounted and removed his helmet so that his men could see his face. He then began to loudly berate them for their cowardice.

When Caesar moved to block one group of fleeing men, a standard bearer in the group aimed the pointed end of his standard at Caesar to threaten him. With lightning speed one of Caesar's bodyguards swung his sword through the air and hacked off the arm of the legionnaire who had leveled the makeshift weapon at his commander. The routed legionnaires could not be rallied until they reached the camp of the IX Legion a mile away.

Caesar lost about 1,000 legionnaires in the hard fighting on July 9 at Dyrrachium. Although Pompey's army lacked the experience campaigning that Caesar's army possessed, its commanding general compensated with clever tactics to offset his disadvantage. With Pompey in firm control of the seas, Caesar could not afford a war of attrition since there was no way for him to receive reinforcements by sea from Italy.

Realizing that Pompey had gotten the best of him at Dyrrachium, Caesar broke off the siege and retreated south through Epirus before turning east to cross the Pindus Mountains into Thessaly using the same route taken by Longinus in April.

Meanwhile, Pompey detached 15 cohorts to remain at Dyrrachium under the command of Cato the Younger before marching east on the Via Egnatia to unite with Scipio. His intention was to fall on Calvinus's detached force of two legions and annihilate them, but Calvinus's troops escaped south through the mountains toward Aeginium in western Thessaly. By that time, Caesar had arrived at Aeginium, and it was at that city that Calvinus's force rejoined the main army. On August 1, Caesar crossed the Enipeus River and made his camp on the north bank astride the road to Pharsalus.

Pompey and Scipio reunited without opposition at Larissa. On August 5, Pompey marched south toward Pharsalus in search of Caesar. When Pompey learned that Caesar was blocking his route of march, he ordered his generals to turn off the road and establish a fortified camp on a hillside a few miles northwest of Caesar's camp. Pompey, whose army was well supplied through the ports of eastern Macedonia, was in no hurry for a battle. By choosing a strong position in the foothills, he hoped that Caesar, who still had supply problems, would become impatient and attack him in his fortress-like position.

On the morning of August 6, Caesar led his army out of camp and formed up on the flat ground in sight of Pompey's camp to offer battle to the defender of the Republic. Pompey declined the invitation. Caesar did the same for the following two days in which he received the same response from Pompey. Convinced that Pompey would not concede to do battle on open ground, Caesar ordered his army to break camp on the morning of August 9 and prepare to march northeast in search of grain to replenish its supplies. Caesar believed his army was better acclimated to the hardships of a mobile campaign than his enemy, and he was opti-

mistic that an opportunity would offer itself for him to destroy the Republican army in another location.

Pompey was under severe pressure by the senators in exile who accompanied his army in the field to accept battle with Caesar on the Plain of Pharsalus. Once the Republican army was victorious, they reasoned, it could promptly return to Rome to restore order. Pompey himself believed that he needed to defeat Caesar soon to retain his reputation as a great general with Rome's client kingdoms in the east. For these reasons, Pompey instructed his generals to march their legions onto the flat ground as a way to indicate that the Republican army was at last willing to do battle.

When he realized that Pompey's army was marching out of its hillside encampment, Caesar immediately countermanded his earlier order. He instructed his engineers to knock down the walls around the camp and fill in the ditch that surrounded it so that the troops could march into battle without becoming disorganized. Officers and soldiers alike were eager to redeem themselves for the humiliation they had suffered at Dyrrachium.

As Caesar prepared to ride into battle, he spied one of his best warriors preparing for the bloody work ahead. Caius Crastinus, a senior centurion of the X Legion, led an elite unit of hand-picked shock troops, whose purpose was to start the infantry attack for the legion. As a centurion, Crastinus was trained to lead by example, and it was second nature to him to put himself in harm's way to inspire those following him.

"Caius Crastinus, what are our hopes, and how does our confidence stand?" Caesar asked.

"We shall conquer nobly, Caesar, and I this day will deserve your praises, dead or alive," Crastinus replied.

On the morning of the battle, Pompey's army consisted of 47,000 infantry and 6,700 foreign cavalry. His 11 legions were divided into 110 cohorts that averaged about 430 men each.

In contrast, Caesar had 22,000 men and 1,000 Gallic cavalry. By the time the battle began, he had reorganized his heavy infantry into nine legions that were composed of 80 cohorts and averaged about 275 men. Although Caesar was outnumbered more than two to one in infantry, his army was more experienced, had better morale, and was better led. Both armies deployed in three horizontal lines; however, Caesar had created a reserve from his third line consisting of six cohorts.

The two armies faced each other on a narrow plain about three kilometers wide in which the Enipeus River formed the southern boundary and a string of hills the northern boundary. When the two armies deployed, they stretched from one end of the narrow valley to the other, thus making it impossible for wide flanking maneuvers.

The left wing of Pompey's army was led by Lucius Ahenobarbus leading Italian legions, Scipio leading Syrian legions in the center, and Afranius leading Spanish and Cilician legions and 600 cavalry on the right wing. Deployed on both flanks of Scipio's legions were Greek infantry. Various other allies, in whom Pompey had little confidence of their ability to stand firm in battle, were deployed in the rear.

On the far left, Titus Labienus, a former legate of Caesar's who had switched sides at the outbreak of the civil war, commanded 6,100 cavalry, including Galatians, Thracians, Macedonians, Gauls, Germans, and Syrians. Behind the cavalry were positioned the archers and slingers. Pompey had designated seven cohorts to remain behind to guard the Republican camp. Clad in a red cloak signifying that he was the army commander, Pompey took up a position behind the left flank.

As for Caesar's army, Antony commanded the left wing, Calvinus the center, and Sulla the right wing where the crack X Legion was deployed. Caesar took up a position behind the right wing in close proximity to the infantry reserve. All of Caesar's 1,000 Gallic cavalry were deployed on the right flank.

Pompey planned to launch a flank attack against Caesar's right wing with the bulk of his cavalry and missile troops. The objective of the cavalry attack was to sew panic among the infantry in Caesar's right wing. Once that had been achieved, Pompey's infantry was to advance and together the Republican infantry and cavalry would roll up Caesar's right flank and push his army into the Enipeus River. By using his infantry in a subordinate role, Pompey hoped to avoid a protracted fight between the two heavy infantry forces in which his legionnaires might not prevail due to their lack of experience.

Hervé Champollion / akg-images

Brothers and neighbors fought each other as the two rival Roman armies battled for the future of the Republic at the Battle of Pharsalus. Caesar told his men not to waste their energy fighting Pompey's allies.

Caesar anticipated that the enemy cavalry opposite his right flank would attack first. Therefore, he placed his cavalry opposite them to hide the presence of his infantry reserve as long as possible. When the enemy cavalry attempted to circle behind his cavalry, Caesar planned to have his reserve advance in an oblique maneuver designed to stop the cavalry charge.

Caesar gave explicit instructions to his heavy infantry before the battle to fight only Italians and not waste their energy engaging the allied troops. "You need not fight against them," Caesar said. "I ask you to engage with only Roman troops, even if the allies hang on your heels and harass you like a pack of dogs."

As for the reserve, he told them not to throw their *pila* at the enemy cavalry, but instead to thrust them upward to cause as many facial and head wounds as possible. He believed the foreign cavalry were vain men who would be greatly demoralized when they saw that they risked being disfigured.

The battle began with the advance of Caesar's first two lines. When they came to within 200 yards of the opposing army, they halted and straightened their lines. When Pompey's infantry failed to react to their advance, Caesar's first two lines advanced half the distance toward the enemy and halted a second time.

Under any normal situation, Roman troops charged into battle against an enemy. They did this to gain the natural advantage that came from the shock of the charge. Thus, Caesar and his troops fully expected that they would collide with their fellow countrymen as both sides charged each other across the last 1,000 yards that separated the two mighty hosts. But this was not the case. Because he felt his infantry was outclassed by Caesar's infantry, Pompey had instructed his legionnaires to remain on the defensive.

Bridgeman Art Library

A 15th-century painting depicts Caesar's triumph. Caesar was determined that Pompey's army must be annihilated, so he attacked the Republican encampment to ensure his adversary's destruction.

The order was at last given for contact, and the legionnaires in Caesar's front rank began their charge. When they came to within 30 yards of their foe, the legionnaires halted briefly to accurately hurl their *pila* and then rushed forward to begin the melee. As Caesar's men drew closer, Pompey's men hurled their *pila* in response. The battle had begun. The time was 9 AM.

At that moment, the Republican cavalry swept forward against Caesar's right flank, just as Caesar expected it would. Caesar's cavalry, which was outnumbered six to one, held its position as long as possible to mask the infantry reserve behind it. The numerical advantage that the Republican cavalry enjoyed was apparent to everyone who witnessed its advance. The Republican cavalry's front line was so long that it overlapped both flanks of Caesar's cavalry.

Caesar had ordered his reserve to kneel as the Republican cavalry charged as a way to lower its profile and conceal its presence as long as possible. As the Republican cavalry advanced closer to their position, Caesar's Gallic horsemen withdrew in good order south toward the Enipeus River. Their withdrawal exposed the infantry reserve to the enemy for the first time.

The Republican cavalry, which had not fought together before, quickly became disorganized during its advance. Because he was not experienced leading cavalry into battle, Labienus was incapable of restoring order to the enormous number of cavalry squadrons under his command, and the attack he was leading floundered at the very moment it should have been dealing a crippling blow to the enemy.

As Labienus and his subordinate commanders struggled to maintain their unity, Caesar ordered a *vexillum* raised as a signal for the 1,650 heavy infantry in the reserve line to advance. Shouting as they advanced, the infantry reserve marched in perfect order toward the Republican cavalry. When they made contact with the first line of enemy horsemen, the reserve troops did just as they had been instructed. The legionnaires in Caesar's reserve thrust their *pila* at the heads of the enemy horsemen in an effort to gouge out their eyes, puncture their throats, or cause other dreadful wounds.

When the first line of Republican cavalry was repulsed by Caesar's disciplined reserve, it fled the field carrying with it all of the successive lines behind it. The retreating horsemen rode frantically for a hill on the opposite side of the Larissa-Pharsalus road from where the main battle was unfolding. Although they watched subsequent stages of the battle from that location, they played no further role in it.

With the Republican cavalry gone from the battlefield, the Caesarean cavalry returned to the extreme right flank of Caesar's army. The horsemen rode around Caesar's reserve and pursued the surviving enemy missile troops, who were speared as they tried to escape from the battlefield.

Observing the repulse of the flank attack in which he had placed all his hopes for success that day, Pompey promptly relocated from the battlefield to the relative safety of his hillside encampment. He abandoned his troops "like

Library of Congress

In an 18th-century painting, Caesar contemplates the severed head of Pompey, who was murdered by the courtiers of Egypt's Ptolemy XIII. In reality, he refused to gaze upon it.

one distracted and beside himself, without any recollection or reflection that he was Pompey the Great," wrote Plutarch.

Meanwhile, the contest between the main bodies of infantry continued. In an effort to even the odds in the fight against Caesar's more experienced infantry, Pompey had committed all three of his battle lines to the fight before he left the field.

Advancing with Caesar's X Legion, Crastinus fought that day without a shield. In his right hand Crastinus gripped his *gladius,* and in his left hand he wielded a so-called swagger stick that denoted his rank as a centurion.

Eager to prove himself worthy of Caesar's praise, Crastinus was one of the first of Caesar's infantrymen to engage the enemy. As the fighting seesawed back and forth, Crastinus switched from one spot to another, fighting with rage and fury against the enemy. However, his luck eventually ran out. A skilled legionnaire in Ahenobarbus's wing of the Republican army parried Crastinus's thrusts with his *gladius* and, using his *scutum* to shield the lower part of his face, made a shoulder-level thrust at Crastinus's lower face. Crastinus was killed "fighting heroically, by a sword-thrust full in the mouth," wrote Caesar.

The fighting dragged on throughout the late morning. Because of its greater numbers, the Republican infantry was able to hold its ground. Tightly focused on their survival, Pompey's troops failed to notice that their commander had abandoned them to their fate.

Many of those fighting on the narrow plain recognized familiar faces among the enemy. In some cases, the familiarity came from living in the same place in Italy, while in other cases it resulted from having previously served together in the Roman army. On a number of occasions up and down the battle line, a wounded or dying legionnaire called out to a familiar face on the opposing side, beseeching the person he knew to carry a last message home to a loved one. "Many sent messages home through their very slayers," wrote Cassius Dio.

Once the Republican flank attack had been shattered, Caesar set about organizing a fresh advance by his infantry reserve and cavalry against the enemy's left flank. Caesar issued orders to his reserve to advance east and, when it reached the enemy's unprotected flank, to fall upon it.

Caesar's reserve and his cavalry fell upon Pompey's left flank with relish. In desperate fighting, they decimated the two legions under Ahenobarbus on the far left of Pompey's line. When Caesar observed that Pompey's entire line was beginning to waver, he ordered his uncommitted third line into battle.

The weight of all of Caesar's veteran troops against Pompey's untested army immediately compelled the Republican heavy infantry to begin a withdrawal from the field of battle. Aware that they faced near certain slaughter at the hands of their fellow countrymen fighting under Caesar's bold leadership, Pompey's infantry began a slow retreat. The intention of Pompey's generals was to keep the army intact until it could reach the safety of its fortified camp and the surrounding hills to the north.

The first of Pompey's infantry to leave the field altogether were his allies. With little invested personally in the battle between the two Roman factions, they cast aside their weapons and fled for the safety of Pompey's camp. When Pompey's allies fled the field, they left large gaps between the center under Scipio and the left and right wings under Ahenobarbus and Afranius, respectively. Caesar's heavy infantry advanced unopposed into the gaps and began to assail Pompey's Roman infantry on its flanks.

The pressure on Pompey's Roman infantry, some of whom by that time were being assailed on two or even three sides, proved too much. Caesar's generals sensed that victory was at hand. The generals rode back and forth along the battle lines exhorting their legionnaires to press the attack. Caesar and his men knew that if they allowed the Republican army to escape the battlefield intact they would be forced to fight it again. With that in mind, Caesar's troops threw themselves forward furiously in an effort to smash Pompey's army once and for all. To their credit, Pompey's legionnaires did not flee the field but managed to withdraw in reasonably good order to their encampment.

Unfortunately for Pompey's Roman infantry, it found not safety but chaos at its hillside camp. By the time the infantrymen reached that place, the sun had passed its zenith. Pompey's troops found their tents torn apart and their baggage strewn about with all of their valuables gone. It was not Caesar's men who had done the pillaging, but Pompey's allies. It was a final blow to their morale. A small minority were too weary and demoralized to continue fighting, but the majority took up positions on the ramparts in anticipation of an assault on the camp by Caesar's legionnaires.

Continued on page 66

OVERRUN

A U.S. ARMORED INFANTRY COMPANY FACED THE FURY OF THE WEHRMACHT'S OPERATION NORDWIND ON NEW YEAR'S DAY 1945. ITS MEN HELD ON AS LONG AS HUMANLY POSSIBLE.

BY ALLYN VANNOY

LIKE SOMETHING OUT of a dream, a soldier walked into the command post. He unspooled a line of wire, hooked a field phone to it, checked the line, and handed the receiver to the officer in charge, Captain Howard Trammell, saying, "Someone wants to talk to you." Outside, the village was being rocked by mortars and gunfire that were ripping apart Trammell's company of armored infantrymen who belonged to Company C, 62nd Armored Infantry Battalion.

Trammell, commander of Company C, was a 24-year-old from Clay County, Missouri. Lacking money for college, he joined the National Guard in 1939 and was assigned to the 14th Armored Division at Camp Chaffee, Arkansas.

In late December 1944, Company C was part of Task Force Hudelson, which was led by Colonel Daniel Hudelson of Combat Command R, 14th Armored Division. The division comprised a mix of division and nondivision assets, including the 62nd Armored Infantry Battalion, the 94th Cavalry Recon Squadron (less Troop C), the 17th Cavalry Squadron, Company A of the 125th Armored Engineer Battalion, and Company B of the 645th Tank Destroyer Battalion. The division also contained Company B of the 83rd Chemical Mortar Battalion, a detachment from the 540th Engineer Combat Regiment, and the 500th Armored Field Artillery Battalion.

The regimental-sized task force was deployed as part of Maj. Gen. Edward Brooks's VI Corps defense in depth across the Lower Vosges Mountains, arrayed along the French-German border. The task force's mission was to hold a section of the Seventh Army line connecting Maj. Gen. Wade Haislip's XV Corps and Brooks's VI Corps.

The men of Task Force Hudelson had stitched together an elaborate defense consisting of minefields, roadblocks, and barbed-wire obstacles at key points. They established outposts and strongpoints with fields of fire laid out and artillery registered on key target areas. They also echeloned reserve forces in depth, which were to stand ready to deploy forward to reinforce any hard-pressed sectors or block any breakthroughs.

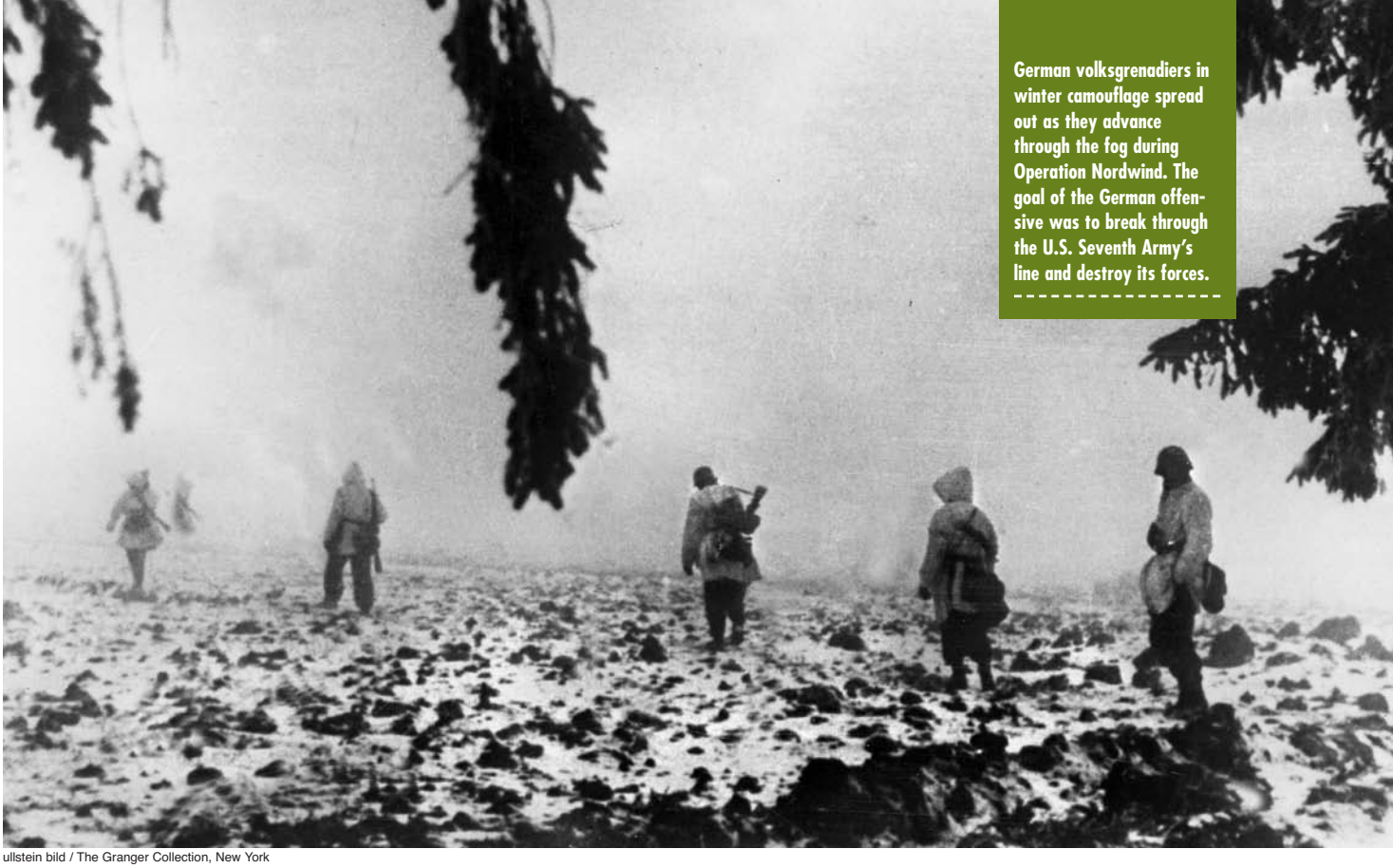
Throughout December there had been a number of indications that the Germans were preparing to attack Lt. Gen. Jacob Devers's 6th Army Group to which Maj. Gen. Alexander Patch's Seventh Army belonged. The interrogation of German prisoners, reports of rail movements and arrival of new forces, aerial reconnaissance, and Ultra reports all combined to create the atmosphere of an impending attack.

Devers expected the attack to occur on either New Year's Eve or on New Year's Day. He was aware that the Germans had amassed upward of 15 divisions for an attack by Col. Gen. Johannes Blaskowitz's Army Group G. Seven German infantry divisions of fair to good quality were on the front line. They were backed by three panzer divisions that had been recently refitted. Three to five lower quality divisions also were available. Although not all would participate in the expected attack, it gave Blaskowitz sufficient reserves to carry out an offensive.

IN ALSACE

ABOVE: Soldiers of the U.S. Seventh Army move past a roadblock cleared by engineers in a forest in the Alsace region of France. The Seventh was stretched thin at the time of Nordwind because it had to extend its northern flank to cover ground previously held by the Third Army, which counterattacked German forces during the Battle of the Bulge. OPPOSITE: The men of Company C of the 62nd Armored Infantry Battalion stationed in the village of Bannstein fought desperately to buy time for Maj. Gen. Edward Brooks's VI Corps when attacked by lead elements of the 361st Volksgrenadier Division in the opening hours of Operation Nordwind

Both: National Archives



German volksgrenadiers in winter camouflage spread out as they advance through the fog during Operation Nordwind. The goal of the German offensive was to break through the U.S. Seventh Army's line and destroy its forces.

ullstein bild / The Granger Collection, New York

More than 10,000 volksgrenadiers ultimately participated in the Wehrmacht's offensive known as Operation Nordwind. The two heaviest blows struck Maj. Gen. William Dean's 44th Infantry Division in the center of Haislip's XV Corps line and the 645 troops of Task Force Hudelson on the left flank of Brooks's VI Corps. The lead elements of the assault against Task Force Hudelson, the 361st Volksgrenadier Division, would run straight into Company C.

The 62nd was put in the line from the town of Phillipsbourg to the village of Bannstein. Companies A and B occupied ground north of Philippsbourg; Company C was sent to Bannstein. Battalion headquarters was in Phillipsbourg. The battalion covered a nine-mile frontage—Company C holding five miles over twisting, heavily forested hills. The hills made radio contact extremely difficult, most communications being carried by jeep messengers or over field phones.

Bannstein was just three miles south of the German border and the Siegfried Line, astride the main road from the town of Bitche to Phillipsbourg, and 20 miles north of the Saverne Gap—the key passage through the Lower Vosges Mountains—through which Allied supplies and reinforcements had to pass to reach the upper Alsatian Plain and the French city of Strasbourg. Seizure of the pass was vital to German strategy in Operation Nordwind.

Company C was deployed with Company B to its right and the 94th Cavalry Squadron on its left. The company's 1st Platoon was set on the left flank, to the north of the village across the Bitche road, and the 2nd Platoon on the right along the eastern edge of a small lake—Etang du Hanau. The company command post (CP) was placed in a large hotel in the village proper and under the command of 2nd Lt. Roland Adcox. Third Platoon, acting as a reserve, was housed in the village.

Though of limited effectiveness against German tanks, the five 57mm guns of the company's antitank platoon, under Lieutenant Franklin Roesch, were sighted to cover the roads into Bannstein.

Company C was operating, like many American units, at less than full strength—short 35 men. But even if given a full compliment of 245, including cooks, mechanics, and drivers, each man would have been responsible for 108 feet of frontage. However, following the standard practice of having one platoon in reserve and two on the line, the frontage per man was closer to 240 feet. Taking into account the terrain and the winter conditions, such an area was impossible to cover. Therefore, the line platoons were assigned to key strongpoints and putting out listening posts. Positions were well dug in and reinforced with mines and trip flares.

The area around the village was heavily forested with steep, high ridges that ran in a north-south direction. The roads in the vicinity followed the forest valleys, affording numerous places for roadblocks as well as ambushes.

Given the terrain and thinly held front, circumstances provided opportunities for the Germans to infiltrate, cut communications, block support routes, and isolate American units. The seriousness of the situation was exemplified one morning when Pfc. Boyce Nichols, on sentry duty at the company CP, reported that two German soldiers had been able to walk right down the main road and up to the CP to surrender without being challenged by any of the outposts.

An unusual quietness hung over the sector on New Year's Eve. The ground was covered with snow, and the moon made it possible to see men moving about. Hudelson's armored infantrymen were scheduled to be relieved the following day by elements of the 70th Infantry Division, but the German offensive derailed those plans.

The German assault came without a preliminary artillery bombardment. At three minutes before midnight, 1st Platoon's Sergeant Robert Highsmith, Private Gene J. Wacht, and Technician Fifth Grade Roy M. Gahagan were on outpost duty when they spotted a column of German soldiers marching down the Eguelshardt road. They were amazed to see the Germans marching four-abreast in parade ground fashion. Highsmith alerted his platoon sergeant, John W. Pleacher, Jr., and was told to stay put and that Pleacher would be up to take a look. But before Pleacher could come for-

ward, an estimated two companies had bypassed Highsmith's position. Hearing firing coming from the direction of Bannstein, the trio headed for the village. They noticed several Germans following them, but the Germans did not fire on the three, apparently thinking they were friendly. As the trio neared the village they began to receive machine gun fire from American positions but managed to reach the village unscathed.

Trip flares were going off all over the area; the woods around Bannstein seemed to be full of Germans. The GIs in the outposts and strongpoints soon became engaged in a series of deadly firefights. Action developed into a swirling fight as both sides became mixed with little idea of who was friend or foe.

The leader of the 1st Squad, Staff Sergeant Edward Faytak, and his men were deployed in an outpost on the 2nd Platoon's right flank, east of Etang du Hanau, near a villa where the platoon's CP had been established. Faytak's squad was short three men at the time. They had set up in a crawl space under a small stone building. They also had dug foxholes about 100

National Archives

A U.S. machine gun crew takes cover in a building during house-to-house fighting similar to that experienced in Bannstein.

yards from the building facing the woods. The villa CP was to their rear, the lake to their left, and the woods and hills were in front and to the right of the foxholes.

The Germans, dressed in white snow suits, screaming and yelling, assaulted repeatedly, each time rushing forward firing their automatic weapons.

The Germans came through the dense forest bypassing elements of the 1st Platoon, under 2nd Lt. Robert Warbritton, and began firing across the open ground between the forest and the village.

In Bannstein, service and support personnel were on edge. Little information was coming from the frontline platoons, and firing, both German and American, was occurring almost within the village. Between bursts of fire the silence was punctuated by a lone German voice calling out, "Doctor."

The 3rd Platoon, led by 1st Lt. Edwin M. Kosik, was situated in a *gasthaus* (inn) on the main northwest-southeast road from Bitche to Philippsbourg. Pfc. Robert W. Buntin and a number of others of the 3rd Platoon took up a defensive position in a crater to the right rear of the *gasthaus*. Just to the right of the crater, Technician Fifth Grade William H. Siewert manned a .50-caliber machine gun on his halftrack. Siewert was assisted by Private Joseph "Chief" Poneyestewa, a Hopi Indian from Arizona. Siewert received a head wound, and along with Poneyestewa, was eventually taken prisoner.

Trammell spent most of his time throughout the night trying to maintain contact with his platoons and giving reassurances to the surrounded 1st Platoon CP, with whom he was in radio contact, that he intended to relieve them.

During the attack, Staff Sergeant Augustine C. Bojorquez was alone in his mortar squad halftrack when he saw about 30 Germans attempting to work their way up a nearby draw. Using the mortar tube and sighting over the barrel, with the tube end on the ground between his feet, raising and lowering the tube angle to get the range, he placed several rounds on the Germans, stopping them. During the action Bojorquez had the heel of his boot shot off but kept on firing. He would receive a Silver Star for his valor.

Before daylight the Germans managed to successfully infiltrate portions of the village, taking a house between the company CP and Bannstein proper, isolating the CP except by field phone.

Staff Sergeant John Lillich, one of 3rd Platoon's squad leaders, holed up in the *gasthaus*, reported that daylight revealed that the Germans had suffered a large number of casualties.

Shortly after daybreak, Trammell received a call from the battalion commander, Lt. Col. James H. Myers. Trammell told Myers that his company was being cut to pieces. Myers instructed Trammell to withdraw his men and rejoin the battalion at Philippsbourg.

Carrying out this order would first require breaking contact with the Germans—not an easy proposition—regrouping, then taking a circuitous route to Philippsbourg since the main road had been cut.

Trammell said that if he could withdraw his company into Bannstein and occupy the high ground to the rear or south of the town while Myers sent him reinforcements and ammunition he might be able to hold for a while longer.

Communications were then lost with battalion. Shortly afterward, following repeated attempts to contact the 1st and 2nd Platoons and order them to withdraw to Bannstein, Trammell directed 1st Sergeant Bob Holmes to gather everyone in the CP, take the headquarters half-track and jeep, and head south. The captain would remain at the CP and try to establish a defensive line with the available forces in the village. Holmes was also told to guide any reinforcements he came across toward the CP.

At dawn, Sergeant Lillich spotted German tanks and half-tracks coming down the road from the north. Having received no orders, Lillich and the other GIs took it upon themselves to pull back from their positions. Lillich, who was carrying a bazooka, fired three rounds at one of the German tanks. Although he hit the tank, the rockets did no damage. Right after Lillich fired his last rocket, the building which he had been behind was demolished by shellfire.

Back at the company CP, Trammell continued his efforts to contact the 1st and 2nd Platoons. During this time the CP was hit by intermittent mortar shells and small-arms fire.

Though under increasing pressure, the company was still managing to hold out.

It was late morning when Corporal Bernard Flotkoetter, Battery C, 500th Armored Field Artillery Battalion, unexpectedly came through the door of the CP unrolling a spool of telephone wire. The corporal hooked a telephone to it, tested it, and then handed it to Trammell saying there was someone who wanted to talked to him. It was Lt. Col. Dale Swanson, commander of the 500th. Swanson told Trammell that he was placing his battalion in direct support of the captain, that he had his guns ready, and was asking for targets. Also, through the 500th's switchboard, Trammell could now relay communications back to the battalion.

Acting as artillery forward observer, Trammell placed several concentrations of fire in front of the positions of the 1st and 2nd Platoons. Then he received a call from Staff Sergeant Phipps, who was still at his 1st Platoon outpost. Phipps reported that he was observing a column of German soldiers coming down the road from Eguelshardt. This information, along with map coordinates,

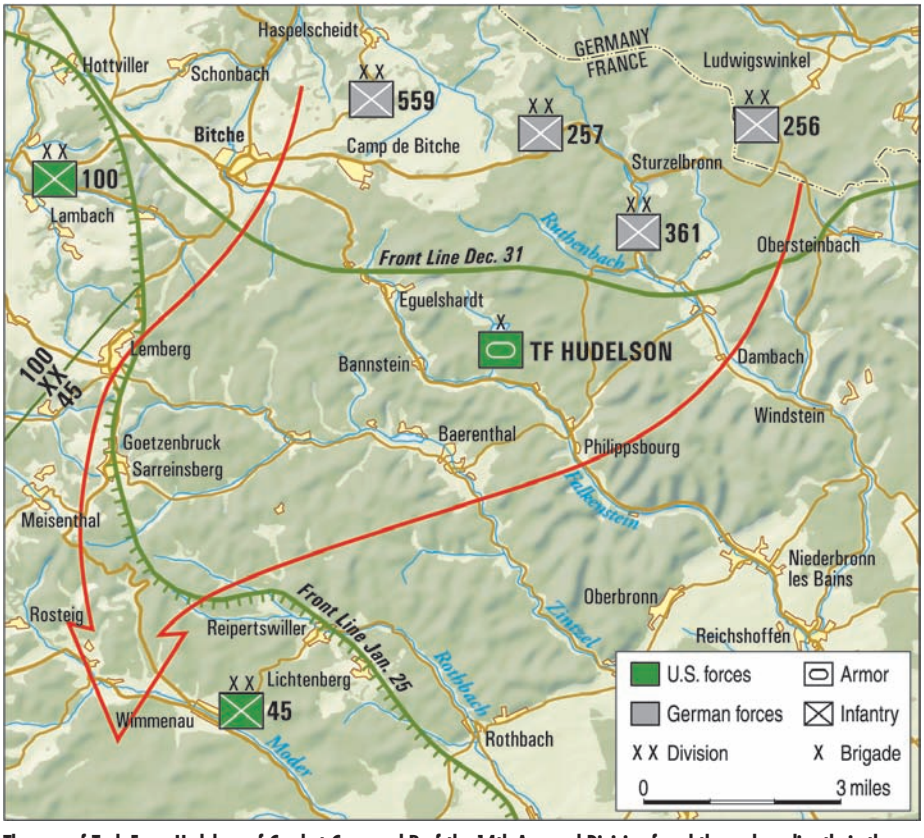
was relayed to Swanson, whose artillery then struck the area.

When the action had started, Staff Sergeant Jimmy Long of the 1st Platoon took most of his squad, except Pfc. Frank Caldwell and two other men, into the woods to meet the German assault. Long was killed immediately after entering the forest. As Caldwell and the other two men came forward they ran into their platoon leader, Staff Sergeant Bill J. Bradley, Jr., who ordered them to stay with him.

Bradley had taken charge of the platoon when Lieutenant Warbritton went into a cellar and stayed there, apparently having lost his nerve. Bradley then led the group to a house where eight other members of the platoon were holed up.

As the attack broke over Company C, the 1st Platoon CP was immediately surrounded and cut off. Two squads attempted to break through to the CP but were pinned down. Pfc. Joseph Knapp was hit twice in the stomach by fire from a burp gun, crawled 300 yards to Bannstein, and managed to survive the day.

Near the surrounded CP, the Germans set fire to a building in which one of the Company C men lay wounded. His screams could be heard above the gunfire. Technician Third Grade James T. Hedderman ran through artillery and small-arms fire, rescued the man, and carried him back



The men of Task Force Hudelson of Combat Command R of the 14th Armored Division found themselves directly in the path of the German advance in Operation Nordwind.

to the CP, where he received treatment. Hedderman, listed as missing in action afterward, was liberated months later by the 14th Armored Division at the Hammelburg POW camp.

Sergeant John Pleacher managed to get some of the men out of the 1st Platoon CP and infiltrated through the German lines to bring them back to Bannstein. For his actions Pleacher received a battlefield promotion and was awarded the Silver Star.

Just before daylight, Trammell received a call from Bradley asking for instructions. Trammell told Bradley he was going to lay artillery fire and smoke in front of his position so that his men could try to break contact and fall back. But Bradley's group was unable to break free as German armor and infantry began closing in on the position, forcing them to surrender.

When the 2nd Platoon began to fall back from its position by the lake, the Germans moved in behind them.

Faytak's squad, 2nd Platoon, had been overrun during the initial attack. Those that could retreated past the villa CP and headed for the woods. As they fell back, Faytak found that every time he fired someone would return fire. Not certain if it was friend or foe, he shouldered his M1 rifle and took a trench knife from his boot as he moved from tree to tree. Anything in white in front of him he struck at since the Germans were the only ones wearing white. Faytak was wounded during an encounter with six or seven Germans and left for dead by his comrades. He was eventually captured and his wounds treated.

In Bannstein, the infantry attacks having been repulsed with the aid of the 500th Armored Field Artillery, a quiet calm settled over Company C, except for an occasional exchange of sniper fire. About noon, though, German tanks entered the north end of the town and began methodically working over the buildings one by one.

While Company C was fighting for its life, task force commander Hudelson tried to organize his few reserves to aid Trammel. The only outfit not yet committed, Company A of the 125th Engineers under Captain Robert Knight, was ordered into action south of Bannstein.

As the engineers moved forward they came across abandoned equipment and bodies.

The lead squad ran into an ambush. Sergeant William Godfrey's half-track was either hit by a rocket or struck a mine and Godfrey was knocked out. When Godfrey regained consciousness, he found his half-track turned on its side. He had been stripped of his coat and shirt, and his legs were pinned beneath the five-ton vehicle. Around him were four other members of his squad, naked and dead. Next to Godfrey was a GI with a bullet hole between his eyes. Farther up the road he could hear Germans and the sound of digging. Although freezing and in pain from his wounds, he found his trench knife and began digging to free his legs. Once free, he managed to struggle back to his own lines.

After the ambush nearly a third of Company A's engineers had vanished, and many others were wounded. So much for relief efforts by the engineers.

Trammell called on 1st Lt. Edwin Kosik, with whom he still had contact by phone, and ordered him to pull back through Bannstein. Kosik was to move to the wooded high ground south of Bannstein, bringing all the personnel out of the village with him. Trammell told Kosik that he would join him there.

Because the building that housed the company CP sat apart from most other buildings of the town, and since German troops occupied a house between Trammell and the village

proper, he could not move there directly. Trammell also did not want to leave the CP until the last possible minute because there was a chance that the 2nd Platoon might pull back in his direction. He felt he might be needed there to intercept and deploy them. Also, the only means of communications the captain had with higher headquarters and supporting artillery was at the CP. He realized that the moment he left any chance for resupply and reinforcement would also be lost.

Before leaving to join the 3rd Platoon, Trammell made one last attempt to contact the 1st and 2nd Platoons, but to no avail. About this same time a German tank came down the road from the north and began firing at the CP. Just as Trammell left the building the tank fired and blew it up.

The 3rd Platoon, joined by the company's service and supply personnel along with a few

National Archives

men from the 1st Platoon, destroyed any supplies and equipment they couldn't carry and moved into the forest south of Bannstein. The 500th Armored Field Artillery laid a barrage behind the retreating men.

The GIs headed for the high ground, then turned southwest while under fire and closely pursued.

Trammell headed for the top of the ridge at the rear of the village, where he had told Kosik he intended to link up with the remnants of the company.

ullstein bild / The Granger Collection, New York

ABOVE: Company C of the 62nd Armored Infantry Battalion had five 57mm guns with which to cover the roads leading into Bannstein. Every weapon available was used in an attempt to slow the Germans. LEFT: The survivors of Company C retreated to safety over snow-covered ridges in the forests south of Bannstein under protective fire provided by U.S. field artillery.

Immediately after Trammell entered the woods, a German machine gun or machine pistol began firing in the area between him and the ridgetop. The captain, therefore, veered off and continued down the road toward the town of Barenthal. By doing this Trammell hoped that he would either be able to rejoin his company farther south, meet the reinforcements he had requested, or find other friendly forces along the way.

When Trammell arrived at the road junction that led to Barenthal, he met up with friendly troops that had been ordered to pick up anyone from Company C and send them to Philippsbourg.

Those elements of Company C that had withdrawn from Bannstein to the southwest fought off continuous attacks. But many of the retreating GIs were cut off and forced to surrender.

One squad of 12 men under Staff Sergeant Phipps, west of the road to Eguelshardt, ran into a German patrol. The Germans looked at the American uniforms but did not react since many Germans had taken American uniforms from dead GIs. Fortunately, Phipps had with him Pfc. Frederick "Pop" Mittlestadt, ammunition bearer for the antitank platoon, whose father had been in the German Army in World War 1 and who spoke impeccable German. Mittlestadt stepped boldly in front of the German patrol and told them in an authoritative voice that Phipps's squad was on a special mission to go behind American lines and that was the reason for the American uniforms and equipment.

Mittlestadt added that since it was an important mission from the highest authority the German patrol was not to interfere. The Germans responded by letting them pass. Two days later, traveling at night without food and with only snow to quench their thirsts, Phipps and his men returned to friendly lines. For his actions Phipps received the Bronze Star.

Reaching Philippsbourg, Trammell was told to assemble the remnants of his company at the village of Zinswiller, about 10 kilometers farther south.

For nearly 12 hours the GIs of Company C, 62nd Armored Infantry Battalion, held up the advance of troops of the 953rd and 951st Volksgrenadier Regiments, preventing a German breakthrough.

Five days later, the morning report for January 6, 1945, showed the strength of Company C as four officers and 139 men. Two officers and 71 men were reported as missing. Despite these losses, in two weeks' time the company would be committed to one of the 14th Armored Division's fiercest actions of the war at Hatten-Rittershoffen. □

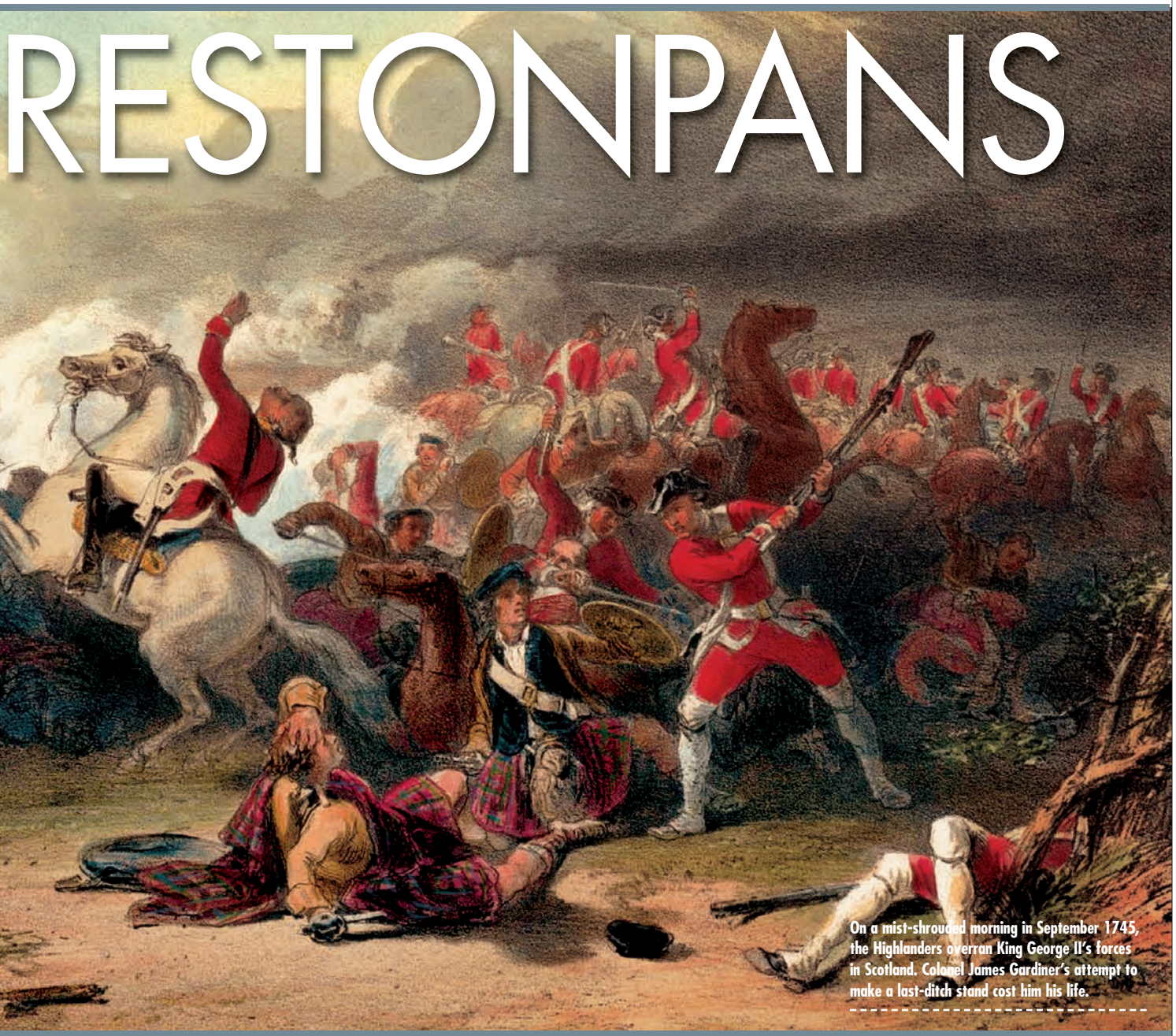
JACOBITE VICTORY AT P

BEFORE DAWN ON SEPTEMBER 21, 1745, the dragoons and infantry of King George II stood in line of battle in a freshly harvested wheat field. Only occasional drum rolls signaling some last-minute shuffling of troops disturbed the silence. It was too dark to see much of anything to begin with, and the field was shrouded in fog rising from the waters of the Firth of Forth on one side and a stretch of marshland on the other. The first light of the new day seemed to reveal a long hedgerow slowly materializing several dozen yards ahead of them. It soon became apparent that the "hedge" was moving. In a few moments, wielding Highland broadswords, daggers, and frightening edged weapons forged from scythes, the army of "Bonnie Prince Charlie" hurried the redcoats. That dark, misty morning at Prestonpans, Scotland, marked the beginning of the last great uprising of the Scottish clans in favor of the House of Stuart.

When James II was deposed in the Glorious Revolution in 1688, the House of Stuart remained in control of Great Britain. James's eldest daughter took the throne as Mary II, ruling with her husband, William of Orange. On their deaths, Mary's sister Anne ruled Great Britain. Queen Anne died in 1714, leaving no

THE FIRST REAL BLOOD IN THE FORTY-FIVE REBELLION WAS DRAWN WHEN BONNIE PRINCE CHARLIE'S JACOBITE REBELS SQUARED OFF AGAINST GOVERNMENT FORCES LED BY SIR JOHN COPE IN A BRIEF BUT BLOODY CLASH NEAR EDINBURGH. **BY DAVID A. NORRIS**

PRESTONPANS



On a mist-shrouded morning in September 1745, the Highlanders overran King George II's forces in Scotland. Colonel James Gardiner's attempt to make a last-ditch stand cost him his life.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

heir. The nearest Protestant claimant was the little-known ruler of a German duchy: George, the Elector of Hanover. In London he reigned as George I, beginning the House of Hanover. The new King George had been 52nd in line to the British throne, but he was the first non-Catholic male in the line of succession.

Numerous opponents in Scotland and England, among them British Catholics and Scottish nationalists, still supported the Stuart claims. In 1715, after some smaller failed attempts, a major uprising called "The Fifteen" broke out in favor of James Francis Stuart, James II's son. He was considered to be James VIII of Scotland and James III of England by his followers, who were called Jacobites (Jacobus was the Latin equivalent of James). James Francis Stuart was called "the Old Pretender" by the Hanoverians. The would-be king lived in exile at the Palazzo Muti, a residence in Rome supplied by the Papacy to whom they regarded as the rightful (and Catholic) ruler of Great Britain.

After "The Fifteen" was crushed, another Jacobite plan failed in 1719. Thirty years after "The Fifteen," the year 1745 found England entangled with France in the War of the Austrian

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ABOVE: The HMS *Lion* intercepts Prince Charles's ships the *Elizabeth* and *Du Teillay* as they cross the English Channel. The *Du Teillay,* bearing the prince, was able to complete its journey to Scotland. RIGHT: The youthful, headstrong Prince Charles Edward Stuart was the last serious Stuart claimant to the British throne.

Succession. The moment seemed favorable for another push to restore the Stuarts.

James Francis Stuart was still living in 1745, but this time his son Charles Edward Stuart, known as "Bonnie Prince Charlie," "the Young Prince," or "the Young Chevalier," led the rebellion. Born in the Palazzo Muti in 1720, the Stuart prince was raised in Italy. His education was haphazard, but he picked up several languages and was a skilled horseman and marksman. Jacobites began to see the bright lad as a potential champion to restore the Stuarts to the British throne.

Britain's rivals, France and Spain, offered support to the Jacobites, but this support was always limited and subject to sudden withdrawal for diplomatic or strategic concerns.

In January 1744, the French were at last ready to aid the Stuarts again. Prince Charles slipped away from Rome while pretending to be on a hunting trip to join the French invasion fleet. A storm battered the ships while they were at anchor, and plans for official French help were set aside once again. Months of delay followed, until the patience of the Young Prince ran out. He vowed to journey to Scotland the next summer, even if he had only a single footman to go with him.

Charles Edward Stuart began putting together his own plans with donations and loans from Jacobite backers. Franco-Irish merchant Antoine Walsh provided an 18-gun vessel called the *Du Teillay* (also spelled *Doutelle*). France provided help in the form of a 64-gun ship-of-the-line, the *Elizabeth*. Aboard the *Elizabeth* were a few hundred soldiers of Clare's Regiment, a unit of Irish soldiers in the French service. Also aboard the *Elizabeth* were 3,500 muskets, 2,400 broadswords, 20 guns, and a financial war chest of 4,000 gold louis d'or. They sailed from Nantes on June 22, 1745.

A chance encounter with the Royal Navy nearly ended the rebellion before it started. The *Lion*, a 58-gun Royal Navy ship-of-the-line, sighted the prince's ships in the English Channel on July 9. About 5 PM, the *Lion* and the *Elizabeth* drew within range of each other and commenced a five-hour duel with cannons. The little 18-gun *Du Teillay* was driven back by the stern-chasers of the *Lion* and took no part in the battle. After dark, the *Elizabeth* was so badly damaged that she could never make it to Scotland. She steered for France carrying the Irish troops and most of the military equipment. The prince, though, brushed aside suggestions that he return to Europe and wait for another chance to start over. Fortunately for the rebellion's planners, the *Lion* had been knocked around so much that her crew could only watch as the *Du Teillay* escaped.

On July 23, the *Du Teillay* anchored off the Outer Hebrides island of Eriskay. Charles Edward Stuart went ashore and, for the first time in his life, set foot in Scotland. Eriskay today has an unusual concentration of pink convolvulus, a wild flower said to grow nowhere else on the Hebrides. Known there as "the Prince's Flowers," they are traditionally said to descend from seeds dropped from the pockets of Bonnie Prince Charlie on that hopeful day.

Disguised as an Irish priest, the prince took shelter on a small farm that belonged to an islander named Angus MacDonald. Asked if he could furnish them a place to sleep, MacDonald had no idea who he was addressing when he bragged that his humble stone cottage had a bed and sheets that "a prince need not be ashamed to lie in."

Leaving Eriskay, the prince landed secretly on the mainland of western Scotland at Moidart on July 25. With his troops on the *Elizabeth* lost to him, the rebellion started with only a handful of comrades, later known as "the Seven Men of Moidart," standing by the Stuart claimant. The Young Chevalier hoped to persuade the leaders and the people of Scotland to rally to him.

The nobility of Scotland held titles as part of the peerage of Great Britain, but more important to the prince was their status as heads of the ancient Scottish clans. Each chief who joined the rebellion could bring hundreds of men with him. But for some days, the prince found the Scottish chiefs skeptical about risking everything to join another rebellion. The first important convert to the cause was Ranald MacDonald, the 23-year-old son of the Baron Clanranald. Although his father declined to join the rebellion, the son was so moved by the determination of the prince that he threw in his lot with the Jacobites, bringing 250 men with him.

News of the landing of Charles Edward Stuart began to attract more allies as well as to alarm the Crown's officers in Scotland. Two companies of infantry under Captain John Scott were ordered from Fort Augustus to rein-

force Fort William. By August 16, they were at Highbridge, a crossing of the River Spean about eight miles from their destination. Scott's companies ran into Donald MacDonald of Tiendrish and a dozen men of the MacDonalds of Keppoch, one of whom was a piper. The MacDonalds drove the redcoats from the bridge and captured them.

On August 19, at Glenfinnan on Loch Shiel, Prince Charles openly raised his standard for the first time. He had barely 300 men, mostly the adherents of young Clanranald. Hope arrived on the scene when the prince and his men heard the sound of bagpipes. It was Donald Cameron, Lord Lochiel, with 800 men. Soon, 300 more men marched to the scene, the Keppoch MacDonalds who had captured the British at Highbridge.

Within a month, the Jacobite army had grown to about 2,500 men. Often referred to as a Highland army, it did indeed draw its initial support from that region of Scotland. But the Stuart cause drew support in the Lowlands of southern Scotland as well, and there were English adherents who disliked the House of Hanover for religious or political reasons. Meanwhile, many new soldiers for the Crown regiments raised to put down the rebellion were recruited in Scotland. Far from being the mob of wild barbarians depicted in Hanoverian propaganda, the Jacobites were organized into companies and regiments similar to the comparable English units. Some men came under obligations to their feudal lords, while others were volunteers.

At this stage of the rebellion, the high morale of the Jacobites was unaffected by some serious drawbacks. There were only about three dozen cavalry, and not a single piece of artillery. Most of the muskets supplied by the French were lost when the *Elizabeth* turned back, and only part of the rebel volunteers owned firearms to bring along.

At any rate, in those days the Highlanders did not rely on the flintlock as heavily as English or other European troops. In combat, they typically discharged their firearms at the beginning of a battle, then dropped them and rushed the enemy troops with swords and other edged weapons. In an age of short-range, single-shot muskets, such a bold onrush might well overwhelm one's adversaries.

Foot soldiers who did not own swords carried improvised weapons fashioned from three-foot-long scythe blades mounted on long poles. The Jacobite infantry also carried a traditional Scots weapon used for defense as well as attack, the targe (or target). A small shield about 20 inches or so in diameter, the targe was made of

TopFoto / The Image Works

Bonnie Prince Charles thanks Jacobite financier Antoine Walsh after the two landed at Loch nan Uamh on the island of Eriskay in the Outer Hebrides on July 23, 1745. The rebellion would begin with just a handful of followers.

animal hide stretched over a wooden frame. Turning the shield into a deadly offensive weapon was a sharp, foot-long metal spike fastened in the center of the outside of the targe.

The targe was an effective counter to the bayonet. A Scots foot soldier would crouch and deflect a musket and bayonet upward, pushing an infantryman's only weapon out of the way and opening the path to a fatal stroke from a dagger or a broadsword.

Leading the Crown's response to the growing threat was Lt. Gen. Sir John Cope. Born in 1690, Cope was commissioned as a cornet in the Royal Regiment of Dragoons in 1707. He rose steadily through the ranks and was knighted for his service in the War of the Austrian Succession. His long service was adequate rather than brilliant, and he rose to high rank and a seat in Parliament through patience and influence rather than proven skill. He was appointed commander in chief of the British Army in Scotland in 1745.

On paper, Cope held considerable advantages over the insurgents. After the uprisings of the 1710s, the Crown built new military roads for quick transfers of troops into the Highlands. Three large strongholds, Forts William, Augustus, and George, helped cement a tighter grip on the conquered territory. But the demands of the War of the Austrian Succession took nearly all of the redcoats from Scotland to fight in Europe. Cope later referred to the forts' remaining manpower as "the standing Garrisons of Invalids in the Castles."

The Crown's forces had definite news of the landing of Charles Edward Stuart by August 9. After losing several days to gather rations and horses, Cope marched his four regiments of infantry out of Stirling on August 20, bound for Fort Augustus.

On August 26, learning that the Jacobites held Corrieyairack Pass and blocked his march to Fort Augustus, Cope changed his plans and marched east to Inverness. This move left only two dragoon regiments near Edinburgh between the rebel army and southern Scotland and England. The rebels took advantage of the situation and marched south toward the Lowlands of Scotland.

The Jacobite army took Perth on September 4 and turned its eyes on Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland. No troops were available to defend the city except for Gardiner's Dragoons and Hamilton's Dragoons, two horse regiments encamped just outside of town at Coltbridge. Lt. Col. James Gardiner was an experienced officer, but he knew his men were likely to prove unreliable. His regiment had just been recruited in Ireland for the war, and his men so far had little training.

On September 16, a handful of Jacobite horsemen rode ahead to survey the enemy positions outside Edinburgh. When the horsemen of the Young Prince encountered a small picket detachment of dragoons, the Highlanders drew their pistols and fired. This small flurry of shots put the guards into flight. Rushing toward the main dragoon camp, they infected the entire force with

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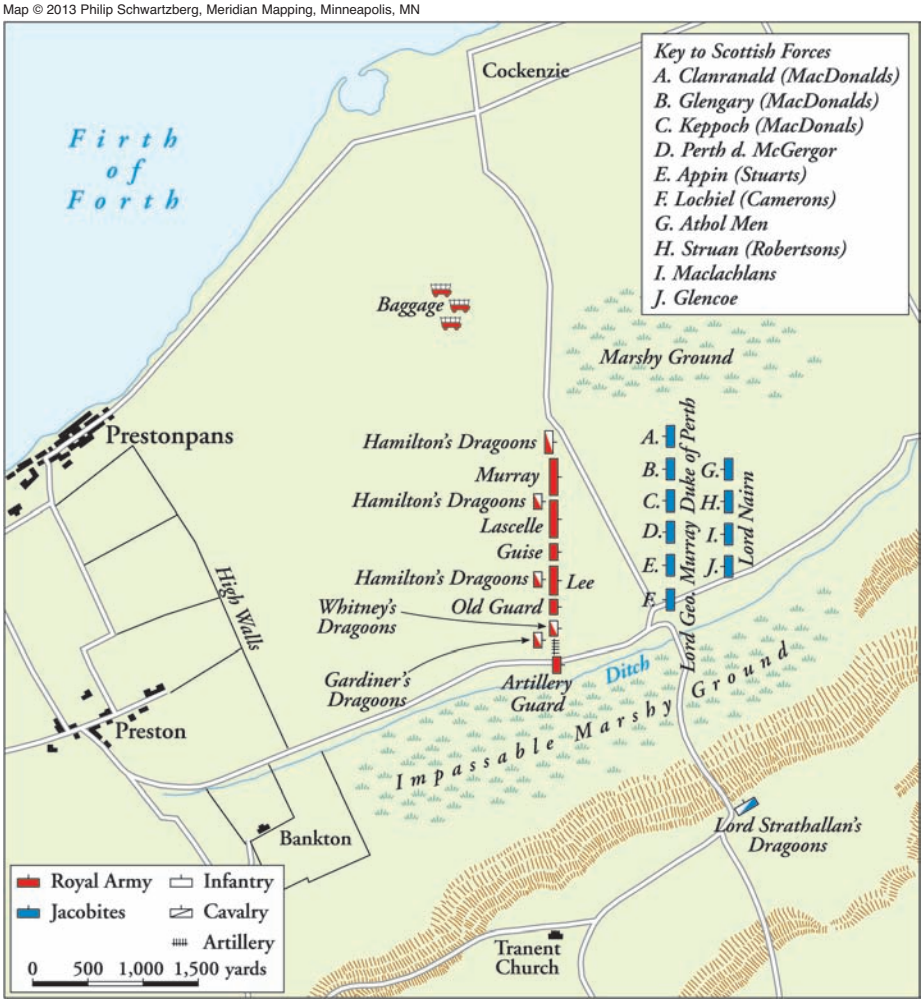

ABOVE: The entire British line broke in the opening moments of the battle. Many of those who fled were cornered and slaughtered by the bloodthirsty Jacobites. BELOW: Ranald MacDonald (left), the eldest son of a Scottish chief, was one of the most fervent followers of Prince Charles. British Colonel James Gardiner (right) fought with great courage at Prestonpans. OPPOSITE: The Duke of Perth leads troops of the Clan MacDonald into combat at Prestonpans. They are armed with swords, scythe blades mounted on poles, and the traditional Highland shield known as the targe.

their panic. With their officers shouting at them in vain, both regiments stampeded away in a disgraceful show called the "Canter of Coltbridge."

Rather than make for the walls of the city or Edinburgh Castle, the dragoons rode helter-skelter away from town. The road they took was "strewed … with accoutrements of every kind—pistols, swords, skullcaps, &c.," according to Alexander Carlyle, a volunteer for the king's army who was also the son of a local minister.

Both: Mary Evans Library / The Image Works

Their flight ended after nightfall at the village of Preston, about 10 miles east of Edinburgh. Around Preston, coal seams ran right to the surface, and the ground had been pocked with shallow coal mining pits since the Middle Ages. When the dragoons halted to make camp, a man bumbling about in the darkness splashed into a coal pit partly filled with water. The unfortunate soldier's shouts for help were taken as war cries of attacking Jacobites and ignited a fresh round of panic.

After Cope heard that the rebels were marching south, he left Inverness for Aberdeen on September 4. The march took a week, and after four more days getting his forces aboard ships, they sailed from Aberdeen on September 15. Two days later, they landed at Dunbar, roughly 30 miles east of Edinburgh. The dragoons of Hamilton's and Gardiner's regiments joined him at Dunbar.

In addition to officers, British infantry regiments of this era officially had 10 companies of 70 men each, and dragoon regiments had six troops of 59 men. In practice, regiments tended to be terribly understrength. To meet the rebel army, Cope had four foot and two dragoon regiments, which were the ones that had bolted from Coltbridge, and several other infantry companies. This totaled only about 1,400 foot, 600 dragoons, and 80 volunteers, according to Cope.

Most of them were infantry from four regiments: Murray, Lascelle, Guise, and Lee. At this time, British regiments were usually referred to by the commanders' names rather than numerical designations. Some of the officers had decades of military experience, but the great majority of the rank and file were green recruits who had little training.

Six small 1½-pounder field pieces, four coehorn mortars, and two larger royal mortars made up Cope's artillery. Two staff officers, Lt. Col. Charles Whitefoord and Eaglesford Griffith, the Master Gunner of Edinburgh Castle, supervised the guns. In fact, the pair of officers had to fire the guns themselves because there were not enough trained men to have even one experienced hand at each gun. Cope's pleas for more artillerists went unheeded. All of the enlisted personnel that could be provided were six gunners from the navy and four retired army artillerymen, three of whom were invalids. Whitefoord later complained that the "gunners who were borrowed from the men of war were generally drunk upon the march."

On September 20, Cope marched west along the road from Dunbar to Edinburgh. Coming to a large open field "about a Mile in Length, and three Quarters of a Mile in Breadth," Cope believed he had found a spot "being very proper for us," where he could deploy his cavalry and guns to good advantage. The field was bound to the north by the waters of the Firth of Forth and on the south by a ditch at the edge of a marsh. Carlyle described the field as "entirely clear of the crop, the last sheaves having been carried in the night before." The field was empty of "cottage, tree, or bush … except one solitary thorn tree."

Several villages were clustered around the broad meadow. At the western edge was the village of Preston, which was the place where the Coltbridge Canter had ended. Five hundred yards northwest of the village of Preston, Prestonpans was a somewhat larger village spread along the shore of the Firth of Forth. That place got its name from the iron pans used for the local salt making industry. North of the field, east of Prestonpans on the firth, were Cockenzie and Port Seaton; to the northeast was Seaton; and across the marsh to the south was Tranent. From the closeness of the other vil-

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GARDINER RODE TOWARD THE RESOLUTE FOOT SOLDIERS, SHOUTING TO ENCOURAGE THEM, "FIRE ON LADS, AND FEAR NOTHING." A MOMENT LATER, A JACOBITE SLASHED THE COLONEL'S ARM WITH A SCYTHE FASTENED TO A LONG POLE. GARDINER'S SWORD FELL FROM HIS HAND.

lages, the battle was also known as Preston, Tranent, or Gladsmuir, which was another village farther east of the battlefield.

Cope expected the Highland troops to attack from the direction of Edinburgh. So he deployed his men facing west in a line running roughly north and south, with his left protected by the marsh. Some distance in their front, the end of the field was blocked by a high park wall around the grounds of a manor called Preston House. A narrow passage separated the walls of Preston House from the walls around another manor, Bankton House. This 17th-century residence was the home of Colonel James Gardiner of the dragoons.

Cope was pleased with the position, declaring, "There was not in the whole of the Ground between Edinburgh, and Dunbar, a better Spot for both Horse and Foot to act upon."

The Young Chevalier's army approached Prestonpans, and the prince and his commanders also liked the ground they saw. Instead of confronting the king's troops from the west as Cope expected, the Highlanders approached from the south, finding an advantageous position on high ground in the village of Tranent. The redcoat battle line shifted to face south, behind the ditch running along the northern edge of the swamp. Cope reported that during the afternoon he observed rebels occupying the churchyard at Tranent. Two field guns opened fire on the Jacobites, "which killed some of them, and soon dislodged them," according to a royal government account.

Because of the marsh and the ditch running along its northern edge that formed a natural moat for the redcoats, the Highland commanders abandoned the idea of attacking from Tranent. Maneuvering continued all night as both sides shuffled their troops. British patrols reported about 3 AM that the rebels were moving toward the eastern edge of the plain as if to attack the Hanoverian left flank. Cope redeployed his forces, shifting to the east and placing them in a line running north to south.

During the night, Lord George Murray had proposed the army move to attack from the east. Robert Anderson, a local whose father owned the marshland south of the redcoats' position, told the Highlanders of a shortcut through Riggonhead Farm at the eastern part of the marshes, which would save them considerable time in marching. In the lead was the Duke of Perth, leading the troops of the Clan MacDonald. Following were Lord Murray and his men, with the Young Prince himself marching with them. Crossing one of the ditches in the dark, the prince stumbled and had to be helped back on his feet.

By 5 AM, the Highlanders were through the marshes and arranged in two lines for the attack. Centuries-old custom placed the MacDonalds on the right of the front line. The Camerons and the Appin Stuarts made up the left, and the MacGregors and the Duke of Perth's regiment held the center. Commanding the right was the Duke of Perth, while Lord George Murray led the left. Perth moved considerably to his right to allow Murray's men to keep clear of the marsh. By a stroke of good fortune, this permitted Perth's line to extend 100 yards beyond Cope's left. Fifty yards behind the front was the second battle line, with the Young Prince in front.

Prince Charles Edward Stuart briefly addressed the men, telling them, "By the blessing of God I will this day make you a free and happy people!" The first faint glow of the day's light barely illuminated the assembled Highlanders. Mist rose from the marshes as the Highlander battle line

pushed forward. At first, there was no noise to be heard from the Jacobites other than the sound of their feet going through the stubble in the recently harvested wheat field.

The Highlanders in the front line crouched low, using their shields as cover. At their first sight of the enemy in the dim half-light, the approaching battle line looked to the government troops like a hedge, but its true nature was gradually becoming apparent as the light increased. Dragoons covered the flanks of the king's infantry. Rather than spreading the field guns and mortars throughout the line, the Hanoverian guns were all deployed on the right flank. Whitefoord and Griffiths being the only experienced artillerists, the pieces were kept together for them to handle.

As the Highland troops advanced, Whitefoord looked for his naval gunners, but they were nowhere to be found. All 10 of the enlisted men assigned to the guns had fled. Whitefoord fired five of the 1½-pounders himself. The fleeing gunners had taken the priming for the sixth gun, leaving it mute and useless. Griffiths fired each of his mortars once. In the darkness and confusion, he never knew whether any of his "shells broke or not … they having been long in store in Edinburgh Castle, prepared, and many of the fuzes damnified," according to a government account.

On Cope's left, Hamilton's Dragoons turned and fled when the firing began. Left without their support, few of the infantry reloaded after firing their first single volley. The redcoat line disintegrated as the soldiers fled or tried to surrender. So quick was the collapse that the second line of the Highlanders, 50 yards behind the front formation, found no enemies save the dead or wounded.

On the Hanoverian right, the little guns had done little to slow down the advancing Jacobites. Whitefoord and Griffiths were captured as the Highland tide swept over and past their guns.

A squadron of Gardiner's Dragoons posted near the guns fled, riding through and over the troops guarding the artillery. Gardiner led another squadron personally, but as he feared, his men quickly melted away. Near the ground abandoned by the dragoons was a small cluster of infantrymen who were holding fast. Gardiner rode toward the resolute foot soldiers, shouting to encourage them, "Fire on my lads, and fear nothing." A moment later, a Jacobite slashed the colonel's arm with a scythe fastened to a long pole. Gardiner's sword fell from his hand. Dragged off his horse, he received a mortal blow, probably from a broadsword. The colonel's servant heard his last words: "Take care of yourself," as the officer fell near the lone thorn tree on the field.

Most of Hamilton's and Gardiner's Dragoons rode around or through the village of Preston. As the Highlanders had almost no cavalry, the dragoons made their escape. Cope and some other officers were swept along with perhaps 400 horse soldiers. Efforts to rally the men were in vain until the mob reached St. Clement's Wells, two miles from the battlefield. There, Cope and the officers halted and gathered a small force of dragoons by threatening them with drawn pistols. But a pistol accidentally fired and threw the whole lot again into panic.

As the infantry regiments crumbled, their men ran toward the west. An officer in Lee's Regiment, Captain Sir Peter Halket, kept his company together in the maelstrom. Retreating to Tranent Meadow, Halket's company found cover in a ditch and held on for some time until the Jacobites let them surrender on terms. Halket later rose to the rank of colonel but did not survive another disaster 10 years later. With many men of Lee's Regiment, which was by then designated the 44th Regiment of Foot, he was killed at the Battle of the Monongahela, or "Braddock's Defeat," at the beginning of the French and Indian War in 1755.

Carlyle wrote, "Hardly more than ten or fifteen minutes after firing the first cannon, the whole prospect was filled with runaways, and Highlanders pursuing them. Many had their coats turned as prisoners, but were still trying to reach the town in hopes of escaping." But for most of Cope's foot soldiers, any hope of escape was fatally blocked by the walls surrounding Preston and Bankton Houses. Trapped by masonry that was too high to climb over, scores of redcoats "huddled together … in a confused drove" were slaughtered.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Bridgeman Art Library

ABOVE: Bonnie Prince Charles enters Edinburgh in triumph at the head of his Jacobite army following the Battle of Prestonpans. That same army would meet with disaster at Culloden the following year. OPPOSITE: William Hogarth's contemporary drawing depicts with great satire the British army on the march in the Forty-Five Rebellion. The British eventually assembled a crack army under William, Duke of Cumberland, which outfought the Highlanders.

The Scots poet Dougal Graham wrote:

The poor foot, left here, paid for all,
Not in fair battle, with powder and ball;
But horrid swords of dreadful length,
So fast came on, with spite and strength,
Lochabar axes and rusty scythes….

According to most accounts, the Battle of Prestonpans was over within 10 minutes. Indeed, as Graham wrote, it was the infantry that "paid for all." Estimates of the king's losses ran from 150 to 300 or more dead and 1,300 or more taken prisoner. Perhaps a quarter of the royal dragoons and nearly all of the infantry were casualties. In contrast, the army of the Young Prince lost about 30 dead and 70 to 80 wounded.

Prince Charles ordered his men to spare the lives of their prisoners, halting the slaughter by the walls of Preston House. He insisted that the wounded get the best possible treatment. Most of the dead were buried near where they fell, along the park walls, or around the lone thorn tree near the original battle line. Local folk buried the bodies by "carting quantities of earth, and emptying it upon the bloody heaps," according to one account of the battle.

Gardiner's servant secured a cart and returned to the battlefield disguised as a servant of a local miller. He found the colonel unconscious but breathing, plundered of his watch, his upper garments, and boots. The servant conveyed Gardiner to the church at Tranent. Placed in a bed in the minister's house, Gardiner died about 11 AM. While Gardiner lay dying, his house nearby was first plundered and then hastily converted into a makeshift hospital.

Also captured were the supply wagons and the regimental records and papers of the king's forces. Some of the victorious Jacobites turned their attention to plunder after the battle. Poor men wearing shabby and ragged clothing picked up fine laced coats and cocked hats. A considerable supply of chocolate was captured with Cope's baggage. Chocolate was so unfamiliar to the Highlanders that some of this loot was sold as a medicinal ointment called "Johnny Cope's Salve." Another fellow was said to have gladly sold a captured gold watch for a pittance, for it had, in his words, "died the night before." The captor didn't know that he had to wind the watch to keep it working.

Cope halted for the night in Coldstream before riding to Berwick and sheltering in the fortifications. "He everywhere," wrote historian John Home, "brought the first news of his defeat."

Some of the townspeople of Edinburgh received their first news of the battle about one hour after the first shots were fired, when they saw a party of dragoons galloping up the principal street. The townsfolk saw the dispirited men fleeing from a single rider, a Jacobite named Colquhoun Grant who rode a horse taken from a slain English officer. Foiled by finding his quarry bolted safe in Edinburgh Castle, Grant stuck his bloody knife into the gate. He then rode out of town, and no one bothered him.

As news of Prestonpans crossed the English Channel, France was willing to openly aid the Jacobites. By October, French cannon, arms, and soldiers were being landed in Scotland. Deciding to make a bold push for London, the Jacobite army crossed the border into England on November 8 and took Derby on December 4. London and the British throne were only 120 miles away.

Derby was to be the highwater mark for the Jacobite cause. With only 5,000 men and little success adding English recruits, their forces were threatened by armies that numbered 30,000 men. Heeding cautious counsel, the Young Prince ordered a withdrawal to Scotland.

In another battle fought at Falkirk on January 17, 1746, the Jacobites again defeated a royal army, this one led by Lt. Gen. Henry Hawley. According to legend, Cope had bet Hawley that he, too, would lose a battle with the rebels. After the defeat at Falkirk, it was said, Cope collected 10,000 pounds.

Despite the Jacobite successes at Prestonpans and Falkirk, their defeat at the April 16, 1746, Battle of Culloden shattered their cause once and for all. The army of George II that confronted the Jacobites at Culloden was not the poorly prepared army of Prestonpans. Replacing the lost amateur redcoats of the early disaster, a new army assembled by the Duke of Cumberland was made up of experienced veterans of the fighting against the French and their allies on the Continent.

Cope went through a court of inquiry in September 1746. After considerable testimony, he was exonerated. Blame went to the hastily mustered and poorly trained troops under his command. In the popular mind, exoneration was not so easily won. The general is now also remembered for a mocking Scots folk song, "Hey, Johnnie Cope! Are Ye Waukin' [Awake] Yet?"

Prince Charles Edward Stuart managed to escape capture after Culloden, but the rebellion that began so promisingly with the victory at Prestonpans would never be repeated. The Young Chevalier became a king at last, in name only, when his father died in 1766. When he died in exile on January 21, 1788, the last breath of "Bonnie Prince Charlie" was drawn in the same place he took his first, far from Scotland in the Palazzo Muti in Rome. □

An Italian soldier seizes the green standard of the prophet Muhammad during a melee with Turkish forces in Tripoli in the Italian-Turkish War of 1911-1912. Combined Turkish-Arab forces launched repeated attacks on Italian expeditionary forces in the port city during the first month of the war in an effort to drive them into the sea. OPPOSITE: A side view showing the heavy guns of the Italian armored cruiser *Pisa* while anchored at Tripoli. The Italian Fleet was able to control the coastline of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica and sink attacking Turkish torpedo boats before they could do any damage.

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TRIPOLI WILL BE ITALIAN

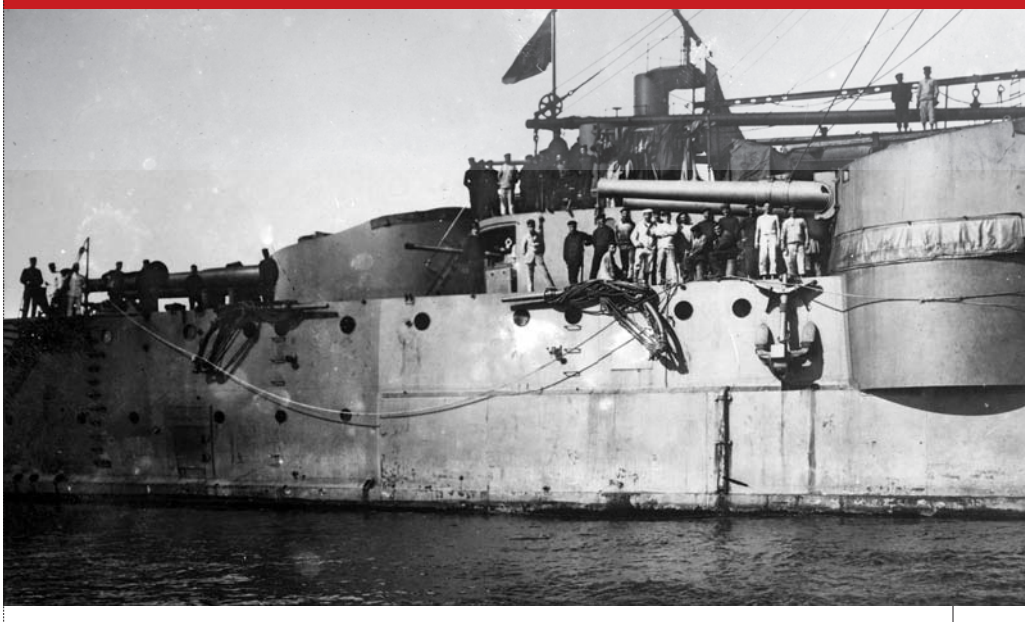
BY RAYMOND E. BELL

THE ITALIAN SAILORS SANG "TRIPOLI Will Be Italian" at the rumble of the cannon as ships of the Italian naval squadron left port and sailed south to the shores of North Africa in late September 1911. Many in Italy, including school children, also knew well the refrain to the song "A Tripoli." Although born in the United States, Amelia Pasquini Stillman, the daughter of an Italian soldier who served in North Africa during the period, can still sing verses of the song. The occasion for the burst of enthusiasm accompanying the song was the declaration of war by Italy which sought to drive the Turks from the provinces of Tripolitana and Cyrenaica (now Libya) located along the shore of North Africa in what was to be the Italian-Turkish War of 1911-1912.

The turn of the 20th century saw many western European countries striving to establish and consolidate empires, especially in Africa. France in 1911, for example, was about to establish a protectorate in Morocco. Tripolitana and Cyrenaica, directly south and across the Mediterranean Sea from Italy, offered a tempting opportunity to expand Italy's economic interests. The annexation would not only offset France's advances in Morocco but also assuage the pressure of a revived nationalist movement.

From an economic perspective, the coastal plain especially could provide Italy with foodstuffs, and it was close enough to the Italian mainland to offer easy transportation of goods across the sea. Jobs for Italians, as well as good entrepreneurial opportunities, presented themselves to many who found work difficult to obtain on the European Continent. At the same time, it was easy for workers to get back and forth between Italy and the two provinces, making jobs attractive to those who did not want to settle permanently in cities such as Benghazi and Tripoli.

Could the conquest of vulnerable Tripolitana and Cyrenaica, far flung parts of a crumbling Ottoman Empire, then have been too good an opportunity to pass up and accomplish the act while the rest of Europe's interest was focused on what was going on in Morocco? Would it be as easy as picking palm tree dates to defeat the incumbent Turks?



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The Italians sought in 1911 to drive the Ottoman Turks from Tripolitana and Cyrenaica. The initial Italian thrust met opposition the following year when Enver Bey rallied local Arabs to support the Ottoman cause in the short-lived Italian-Turkish War.

In any event, it was early on September 28, 1911, that an Italian naval squadron appeared off the port city of Tripoli in North Africa. An officer disembarked from one of the ships and went to the local acting governor (the Vali). On arrival at the governor's palace, the officer announced that if the Porte, the Turkish ruler, did not accept an ultimatum demanding the military occupation of the two North African provinces by that afternoon, a state of war would exist between Italy and Turkey. Ignoring the ultimatum would lead to bombardment the coastal city.

The Turks, however, were not to be intimidated by this brash action and refused to accommodate the Italian fleet sitting offshore ready to bombard Tripoli. The Italian commander of the cruiser squadron, Rear Admiral Count Paolo Thaon di Revel, waited until October 2 before he landed under a white flag of truce to demand, for a second time, the surrender of the city. The Turkish authorities declined to give up the city peacefully, and the Italian cruisers commenced firing on Tripoli's obsolete fortifications. After two hours of irresolute resistance, the Turkish gar-

rison troops abandoned their positions and withdrew to the sandy plain beyond the coast.

With government entities and troops gone, the local Arab population began to pillage and plunder the city's shops and stores, many of which belonged to Italians. The German consul then requested that troops be landed to restore order, whereupon 1,600 Italian sailors disembarked from the ships. To be sure, many of the sailors were singing the vibrant verses with the refrain "Tripoli Will Be Italian"—at least under their breaths—as they began on October 5 to move about the city to subdue the rampaging Arab population. On October 7, Rear Admiral Raffaele Borca Ricci d'Olmo came ashore to assume the provisional governorship. Assembled to meet the new governor were some 100 sheikhs, among them the former mayor of Tripoli, Hasuna Pasha Karamanli, whose family had ruled Tripoli before the Turkish occupation. After this meeting, since the local

IF THE ITALIANS WERE THE FIRST TO EXPLOIT THE AIRPLANE IN WARTIME ON BOMBING AND RECONAISSANCE MISSIONS, THEY ALSO DID NOT NEGLECT THE MOST BASIC MEANS OF OBTAINING INFORMATION ABOUT THEIR FOE—EMPLOYING THE DISMOUNTED SCOUT.

populace seemingly had no love for the Turks, it was assumed that the Arab tribes would support a benevolent Italian occupation. Unfortunately for the Italians, that was not to be the case.

While Tripoli was being targeted as a major city to be occupied, the Italian fleet also was active. On September 29 and 30, for example, Italian destroyers sank two Turkish torpedo boats. On October 1, Vice Admiral Augusto Aubry sailed with the battleships *Roma, Vittorio Emanuele*, and *Napoli* along with the cruisers *Agordat, Amalfi*, and *Pisa* to occupy the port city of Tobruk in Cyrenaica, a possible future naval base. Before joining the fleet, the *Amalfi* and *Pisa* had sailed to the nearby coastal city of Derna to destroy the radio station located there. The melodious name "Derna" would later be given to the sister of Amelia Stillman, thus memorializing one of the first actions of the Italian-Turkish War.

Tobruk, which later played a major role in World War II, became the first city taken by the Italians. On October 4, a full week before troops of the Italian expeditionary army landed at Tripoli, a detachment of sailors from the Italian fleet took possession of the city.

Back in Tripoli, the contingent of Italian sailors that had landed on October 5 was trying to hold an eight-mile defensive line. At the same time, they had to patrol the streets of Tripoli to discourage any additional looting. If the Turkish forces had decided to take back the city, the intervening week between the arrival of the sailors and the expeditionary force was a propitious time. The Turks had the strength to retake the city and probably would have succeeded if they had tried, but they did not. Instead, they bided their time and tried to rally the local Arabs to their cause and provide effective resistance to the Italian invaders. The Arabs were aided by two individuals, the former Turkish commander in Tripoli, Ferhat Bey, and an influential tribal leader named Suleiman el Baruni.

The first transports carrying the Italian expeditionary force of some 9,000 infantry, some field and mountain batteries, and two squadrons of cavalry appeared off Tripoli early on the morning of October 11. After debarkation these troops established themselves in positions around the city. However, the radius of action of this relatively small force was limited because there was a significant lack of ground transport. At most it was possible to execute a two-day march away from the force's base. The

THE ITALIAN-TURKISH WAR SAW KEY ADVANCES IN MILITARY TECHNOLOGY.

While the Italian-Turkish War of 1911-1912 was a significant event in Europe before World War I, it is today a mere blip on the history of the tumultuous years preceding the enormous European conflict. Libya, though, gained prominence in World War II history when German General Erwin Rommel and British General Bernard Montgomery duked it out in North Africa.

But a very important event in aviation history took place during the Italian-Turkish War that also receives little attention today. Although the Bulgarians engaged in aerial combat in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 and are credited with pioneering efforts in air power, Bulgaria was not the first European country to experiment with aircraft performing reconnaissance missions and bombing enemy targets. That precedent-setting distinction belongs to the Italians, who first employed heavier-than-air aircraft reconnoitering and bombing in the Turkish war.

A two-seater variant of the French-made Blériot with pilot and observer enabled the Italians to conduct aerial reconnaissance of Turkish forces. On January 31, 1912, Captain Carlo Montu of the Italian Army became the first pilot to be wounded by ground fire in combat after he was struck by antiaircraft fire in Cyrenaica.

The Libyan terrain provided an ideal proving ground for the combat use of aircraft. Having flown out of the then U.S. Wheelus Air Base outside Tripoli in a jet fighter, I can attest to how effective aircraft can be in identifying and attacking targets on the ground in the region, even in a fast-moving airplane. The desert encroachments on the coastal plain are significant, and there is little natural concealment once the palm tree groves and built-up areas along the North African shoreline are left behind. Since the Turks and their Arab allies retreated into the desert when the Italians landed in 1911 and 1912, the movement of the Italians' enemies could be ascertained with some ease. The various oases

limitation meant that the Italian commander, General Carlo Francesco Giovanni Battista Caneva, was effectively tied to his base of operations, at least on the ground.

General Caneva, nevertheless, had on hand a new innovation in warfare that allowed him to wage war in three dimensions. On October 23, an Italian pilot flew his Bleriot XI monoplane over Turkish lines near Tripoli on a reconnaissance mission. Nine days later, a pilot dropped munitions on Turkish troops when he threw four grenades from his aircraft onto enemy positions, becoming the first wartime aerial bombardier in history. Then on February 24 and 25, 1912, the Italians enhanced their aerial reconnaissance capability by making the first photographs of Turkish positions from the air.

If the Italians were the first to exploit the airplane in wartime on bombing and reconnaissance missions, they also did not neglect the most basic means of obtaining information about their foe—employing the dismounted scout. One such soldier was Giuseppe Pasquini of the 40th Infantry Regiment, Amelia Stillman's father. He was a member of the 1890 conscript class and had not been released from his obligation when the war began, so he was sent to fight in Libya. Once in country, one of his missions was to act as a scout. Charged with seeking the enemy lurking in the desert dunes,

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ABOVE: Italian soldiers march through the streets of Tripoli. On October 11, 1911, the Italians landed an expeditionary force of 9,000 infantry supported by a few artillery and cavalry units. BELOW: An Italian machine-gun section at Shara Shat oasis on the outskirts of Tripoli. A fierce assault by Turkish-Arab forces on October 23, 1911, overran two companies of Italian infantry and resulted in isolated reprisals against allegedly complicit local Arabs that, unfortunately for the Italians, alienated the local population.

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he successfully executed this task acting alone on numerous occasions. As a result he soon became proficient in reconnoitering, and his commander and regimental intelligence officer came to value Pasquini's reports.

Being out in the desert by himself as the lead scout of his unit was dangerous work for Pasquini. His commander directed that he return at a specific time, and if he did not return to his unit when expected, another scout was sent out to look for him, Stillman said. If that soldier did not return after a set period of time, then another infantryman was dispatched to locate him, and so on until all the men were accounted for one way or the other. Fortunately, Pasquini always returned on time.

Perhaps some of his effectiveness as a scout can be attributed to his skill in using the terrain in which he operated. Just as Native Americans covered their tracks to discourage detection, Pasquini

to which the Turks and Arabs withdrew and regrouped made ideal bombing targets. Because the Italian threat from the air also was so new, little effective resistance was offered to the new motor driven birds of prey. Instead there was the tendency to run and try to hide even if a few brave individuals chose to take potshots at the airplanes.

However, the Turks and Arabs did learn that their best chance of avoiding aerial attack was to come to close grips with the Italians. Infiltration and combat in coastal palm tree groves proved to be the most effective way of fighting the Italians. The Italian commanders were loath to send aircraft against insurgents intermingled with their own troops for fear of killing their own men.

The vast stretches of open terrain in North Africa, though, were not to be found on the European Continent. Developments in the employment of heavier-than-air aircraft in World War I by Great Britain, Germany, and France would tend to overshadow aviation contributions of countries such as Italy and Bulgaria. But the Italians did prove in Tripolitana and Cyrenaica that the dawn of aircraft involved in aerial combat had definitely arrived. □

always sought to leave no evidence of his presence when looking for the enemy. He soon noted that by moving through the soft dune sand behind the North African coast that his footprints would be obliterated as the wind swept over the sand like a broom. Of course, if he failed to return to make his report and his superiors were not aware of the location of his observation post they would also have difficulty tracking him down.

On one mission during his overseas service, Pasquini experienced a particularly terrible aspect of the weather's influence on warfare in the region. While on outpost duty, he once observed, fortunately from afar, the movement of a passing pack train of mules loaded with cases of ammunition. It was in transit to supply Italian troops engaged in combat with the Turks. He recounted to his family years later the horror of seeing the devastating effects of exploding ammunition filling the desert sky as mules and their handlers died when lightning struck a loaded animal. The bolt detonated the ammunition on the mule's back and instantly killed the beast as well as its attendant. Unfortunately, the mules were linked together in the pack train by metal chains. The lightning bolt striking the one mule sent a charge of high voltage from beast to beast through the metal links joining the mules in the column. As the electrical charge struck each animal it detonated the ammunition and killed both the mule and its handler. Other soldiers in the immediate vicinity of the pack train who were in the lightning bolt's electrical field also died. The result was a fiery holocaust.

At the same time the Italian expeditionary force landed at Tripoli, other units occupied the cities of Derna, Homs, and Benghazi. The Turkish garrisons at Derna and Homs retired to the south after short Italian bombardments, but the Turks contested the landing at Benghazi, inflicting about 100 casualties on the invaders. Thereafter, fighting around Benghazi tapered off, but there were sharp encounters around Derna in which Pasquini participated, as well as at Homs several days after the Italians landed.

ABOVE: Turkish infantry pose for a photographer while drilling with bayonets during the Italian-Turkish War. The Turks lost two key battles in September 1912—at Zanzur and Derna—while peace negotiations were in progress. RIGHT: Turkish commander Enver Bey led a major counterattack against Italian forces at Benghazi and Derna in the first months of 1912, but initial successes were short lived.

The situation around Tripoli changed quickly for the worse. Because the Italians assumed that the local population of Arabs would never make common cause with the Turks, Italian vigilance against any enemy counterattack was negligible. Supposedly friendly Arabs, for example, crossed back and forth through Italian lines without arousing suspicion. On October 23, a sudden and unexpected combined Turkish-Arab force attacked a regiment of Italian light infantry (the Bersaglieri) from both outside and inside the unit's lines at the village and oasis of Shara Shat two miles from Tripoli. The enemy quickly overran two infantry companies, and the rest of the regiment was hard put to drive off the assailants after a day of difficult fighting. Sniping by natives continued for some time. In the roundup of suspect Arabs there were incidents of abuse by the Italian troops, which soon became overblown by English and German newspapers. Subsequent investigation revealed that there had been gross exaggerations of the incidents. Although press coverage turned positive in Europe, the effect on the Arab population continued to be very adverse. Many of the local men in Tripoli continued to fight the Italian occupation for a year in the mistaken belief that their families in Shara Shat had been massacred in the battle.

Three days later, the Turks and Arabs attacked again using gardens and palm groves for cover in maneuvering. A large body of Arabs managed to penetrate the southern outskirts of Tripoli before being rooted out and driven off. The Italian high command determined that the defensive lines being held by its troops were too long for the men available to man them and subsequently made appropriate adjustments. The five hours of bitter fighting, which resulted in many Arab casualties, had consequences beyond the battle. The European press again spread alarmist rumors that Tripoli would soon be retaken by the Turks, and the American cruiser USS *Chester* arrived off shore with orders to retrieve the U.S. consul and other Americans in the city. However, the consul declined to leave, and his action helped stabilize the situation. Nevertheless, the impression was given that Tripoli was beleaguered by the Arabs and Turks.

In fact, the city was indeed beleaguered, not by enemy action, but by disease. Cholera broke out in Tripoli and killed nearly a thousand soldiers. The native population, which had been augmented by many refugees from surrounding

oases, also suffered grievously. Although authorities took prompt and effective measures, it took a month to bring the situation under control.

On November 5, Italy proclaimed the annexation of Tripolitana and Cyrenaica and dispatched reinforcements to its new colonies. In the second half of November, General Caneva saw his force grow to nearly 25,000 infantrymen and 16 batteries of field and mountain artillery (64 artillery pieces). He led an expedition to reoccupy the lines abandoned after October 26. Sporadic fighting ensued as the force of some 12,000 soldiers advanced into the plain beyond Tripoli against the main body of the enemy at the oasis of 'Ain Zara. The Italians hoped that the Turks would stand and fight, but the Turks conducted a skillful delaying action helped by the mobility of their Arab allies. The Turks withdrew to 'Aziziva some 30 miles south of Tripoli. A strong Arab force went into an encampment a day's march from 'Aziziva.

The Italian government now faced a dilemma. Things were not going particularly well for Italy in North Africa and elsewhere. Turkey did not show signs of buckling under Italian pressure. At the same time, the Italian government told General Cavena to hold down casualties, which limited his scope of action. The Italian expeditionary force conducted no further large offensive operations for the next four months. When Italy sought to extend the theater of operations to Turkey itself, Germany and Austria-Hungary actively discouraged the move. In addition, in January 1912, Italian cruisers intercepted two French mail steamers en route from France to Tunis and brought them into the port of Cagliari. The Italians suspected the French vessels carried aircraft for the Turks. After the matter was decided in the Netherlands in favor of Italy, the French press published threats against its neighboring state, threats not soon forgotten by the Italians.

While fighting raged around Tripoli, there was relative calm around Benghazi, Derna, and Tobruk as the Italians made no attempt to extend the area of occupation beyond these port cities. But the Turks were not inactive as Enver Bey arrived in Cyrenaica late in 1911 and succeeded in organizing a formidable resistance among local Arabs willing to throw in their lot with the Turks. Enver Bey's combined force invested both Benghazi and Derna during the first months of 1912. The Arabs closely besieged Derna, where they launched four violent attacks against the garrison from the end of December 1911 to the first week of March 1912. The Italians repulsed these attacks, convincing Enver Bey and his allies that further attempts would be pointless, and the district

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Italian reinforcements arrive in Tripoli. The Italian Royal Decree of November 5, 1911, by which Tripolitana and Cyrenaica were effectively declared sovereign territory of Italy, was made prematurely when Italian forces in key coastal cities were still under attack by Arab-Turkish forces and the interior of both provinces had not been secured.

went on to enjoy five months of relative calm.

As for Benghazi, by the end of the day on November 11, Italian soldiers had reconnoitered six miles out from the city. After a sharp encounter with the enemy, the men returned to the city. There was no further activity until the following March. Italians built blockhouses along their defensive lines, and the troops settled into their fortifications until March 12, when Lt. Gen. Ottavio Briccola sent an attack column against an Arab force situated in a collection of gardens known as Two Palms. The Arab positions were less than a half mile from the Italian redoubts, and although a large group of Arabs attempted to reinforce their troops in Two Palms, the Italian attack column overwhelmed the defenders, inflicting heavy casualties. Thereafter, there was practically no fighting in the area.

In April 1912, Italian troops made various landings along the North African coast, one of them near the Tunisian border, without consequence. But in May fighting picked up inland east of the town of Homs and later around Tripoli. The Turks and Arabs had become encouraged by the relative Italian inactivity during the spring and had become bolder around Tripoli. They pushed their lines closer to Tripoli, which prompted the Italians to attack with two brigades on June 8. The Italian troops drove the enemy from its positions, killing about 1,000 combatants. A few days later, the Arabs attacked the Italian positions but were driven back again with heavy losses.

Further action resulted in defeats of the Turks and Arabs, convincing them that they were not going to drive the Italians out of the newly proclaimed Italian provinces. The antagonists fought two important battles in September 1912, while peace negotiations were under way. One battle took place near Tripoli at Zanzur, where the Turks and Arabs lost 1,500 killed and the other around Derna, where another 1,500 of their fighters died.

On October 15, the Turks and Italians signed the preliminary Treaty of Ouchy, which was followed by the definitive Treaty of Lausanne on October 18, with the Italians winning control of what is today Libya. At the same time, the Italians recognized a representative of the Turkish sultan as caliph (the Turkish religious authority) in the newly acquired Italian territory. Pasquini survived combat in North Africa, returned to Italy, and was soon on his way across the sea to the United States to start a new life.

Libya was again to be the scene of bitter fighting in World War II and finally achieved independence from Italy. More recently, Muammar al Qaddafi was deposed in October 2011, and four Americans who were part of the U.S. diplomatic mission in Bengazhi were killed in September 2012. A state of high uncertainty still exists in the North African country. Nevertheless, the Italian influence in Libya remains. Although Stillman can still sing "Tripoli Will Be Italian," today those words only live as a song's refrain. □

French soldiers defend a fortress against a ferocious attack by Annamese backed by Chinese insurgents. The persecution of Jesuit missionaries eventually led the French to undertake the conquest of Annam over a 25-year period in the second half of the 19th century.

FRANCE'S NIGHTMARE IN INDOCHINA

ZEALOUS FRENCH MISSIONARIES' EFFORTS IN INDOCHINA IGNITED A SERIES OF SAVAGE CONFLICTS THAT PITTED THE FRENCH FOREIGN LEGION AGAINST THE ANNAMESE BACKED BY CHINA'S BLACK FLAG ARMY.

BY STEVEN M. JOHNSON

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

THE WATERS OF THE SOUTH CHINA SEA shimmered in the sunlight on the morning of April 15, 1847. In a gradual manner, with several more vessels arriving at a time so as not to draw the attention of lookouts on nearby French ships, a small Annamese fleet assembled in the bay at Tourane. The Annamese sailors had camouflaged their guns so the French would remain unaware that they posed a threat for as long as possible.

The two French warships, the 54-gun frigate *Gloire,* commanded by Captain Augustin de Lapierre, and the 24-gun corvette *Victorieuse,* under the direction of Captain Charles de Genouilly, had been dispatched by Paris to negotiate for the release of Jesuit priest Dominique Lefebure and other Catholic missionaries imprisoned by the Annamese and to lobby for more tolerance toward those seeking to worship as Catholics in Annam.

Suddenly a swarm of vessels, the largest of which were five corvettes, sailed toward the French ships. The sailors aboard the Annamese corvettes unmasked their guns and fired on the French ships. The shells crashed into the sides of the ships and wreaked havoc on their decks. In response, French sailors sprang to their guns and returned fire.

Despite their numbers, the Annamese were greatly outmatched by the professional crews of the French ships. As the battle progressed, it was apparent that all the Annamese could do was annoy the superior ships. That harassment came with a heavy price as the French, before the day was done, destroyed all of the corvettes and many smaller junks that had supported the attack.

Unfortunately, the French ships were no longer safe at anchor off Tourane, and their captains put to sea without having succeeded in their political aims of gaining the release of Lefebure and other missionaries. Unknown to the commanders of the ships, Lefebure had already been released and made his way out of Annam to Singapore. Nevertheless, the persecution of Catholic missionaries continued. The Annamese were intensely hostile to their efforts, and killing and torturing missionaries was a routine occurrence.

The action at Tourane brought the French one step closer to upping the ante from the mere presence of missionaries in Annam and adjacent regions to conquering them and transforming them into colonies.

The debacle surrounding U.S. involvement in Vietnam never would have happened had

France not sent Catholic missionaries to Annam and Cochinchina (southern Vietnam) in the 1600s to convert the Vietnamese to Christianity. The persecution of French missionaries in the 1800s then gave Napoleon III the excuse that he needed to send troops to claim Indochina at first as a protectorate and then later as a colony of France. It was the defeat of France in 1954 that caused French Indochina to be split into Cambodia, Laos, communist North Vietnam, and democratic South Vietnam and set the stage for the eventual entry of the United States into the Vietnam War.

France had sent Jesuit missionaries in 1627 to join Portuguese missionaries in converting the Vietnamese and Cambodians to Catholicism. By 1664, the French Jesuits had completely taken control of missions in Indochina. French missionaries did most of the early exploring and mapping of Indochina in the 1600s and 1700s. In 1799, the French priest Pigneau de Be'haine led an army of mercenaries to help Nguyen Anh take the throne as emperor of Annam. Pigneau did this in the false belief that Nguyen Anh would show the French favor to gain influence and to possibly begin the role of protectorate over Annam. Instead, Nguyen Anh was suspicious that the French missionary presence and aid had more sinister motives. Between 1825 and 1842, the persecution of French missionaries increased with seven priests being tortured to death. In 1843, the French sent a fleet to rescue a number of missionaries and to maintain a permanent presence in Indochina.

MANY FRENCH TROOPS WERE SHOT AND DISMEMBERED IN A HURRICANE OF BULLETS, CANNONBALLS, AND GRAPESHOT AS THEY TRIED TO BRING UP GRAPPLING HOOKS, LADDERS, AND SAPPERS TO FIND A WAY INTO THE FORT.

In 1844, Lefebure plotted to replace the Vietnamese emperor, Thieu Tri, for an emperor more receptive to Christianity. The plot was foiled, and Lefebure was imprisoned amid the protests of the French government. Thieu Tri released Lefebure in March 1847, in fear of some form of military retaliation by the French government.

Tu Duc succeeded Thieu Tri in 1847 as emperor of Annam and Cochinchina. Tu Duc had a bitter hatred for the French missionaries and their Vietnamese converts and embarked on a fierce campaign to eliminate Christianity from Vietnam. Vietnamese Catholics were to be branded with the word "ta doo" (infidel) on their left cheek, and all of their property was to be confiscated by the state. French priests were to be drowned and Vietnamese priests were to be sawed in half lengthwise. In 1851 and 1852, two prominent priests were put to death, and missionaries all over Asia called for action by the French government.

Napoleon III came to power in a coup d'etat with the support of the church in 1852. Thus he could not escape a commitment to missionary goals in Asia. He also had his own ambitions to gain expansionist glory as his illustrious uncle had. Napoleon III was reluctant to act at first for fear of reprisals against missionaries in interior areas of Indochina, but finally in 1856, he endorsed a plan to capture the city of Tourane from Annam. Napoleon III had mistakenly believed that the French would be welcomed as liberators from an oppressive emperor.

In 1858, a force of 2,500 French foreign legionnaires and 500 Spanish troops began their conquest of Indochina by occupying Tourane and using it as a base for future operations. The French legionnaires and Spanish troops found that the Vietnamese troops would not fight them in pitched battles but withdrew into the jungle and set ambushes on small groups of French troops who left Tourane to scout or patrol around the city. Many French troops suffered crippling wounds from falling into covered pits with sharpened bamboo stakes covered in dung that impaled feet and often caused death from gangrene infection.

These guerrilla tactics would haunt the French and then the Americans for more than 100 years and prove difficult to counter. French soldiers,outfitted in their heavy uniforms, also struggled in the searing sun and torrential monsoon rains. After six months of occupation, the French army was losing hundreds of men to ambushes and diseases such as cholera, malaria, dysentery, and gangrene. Napoleon III's glorious expedition was turning into a disaster.

Unable to make any progress in Tourane, the French looked to Saigon in southern Cochinchina. Saigon, a town with more than 2,000 inhabitants, was an important trading center that was protected by a strong citadel. On February 16, 1859, a flotilla of French warships began exchanging cannon fire with the Vietnamese citadel and eventually blasted a small breach in the northeast wall. Two companies of French marines and sailors landed and charged the citadel breach, which was widened by explosives laid under fire by some accompanying sappers. The column then scrambled up the rubble in the breach and into the citadel with bayonets. The Vietnamese fought briefly but then melted into Saigon and the surrounding jungle.

Although the French and Spanish troops controlled Saigon they could not venture outside the town without losing men to ambush or booby traps. The French commander, Admiral de Genouilly, left 1,000 French troops to garrison Saigon and returned to Tourane, where he found that the garrison had lost several hundred more men from tropical diseases. De Genouilly decided to abandon Tourane and took the remainder of his troops to join a British invasion of northern China in the Second Opium War.

In 1859 and 1860, Emperor Tu Duc sent a Vietnamese army of 12,000 to begin digging trench lines toward French positions and the citadel at Saigon. The siege turned Saigon into a hellhole for the French forces left there. Both sides sortied to disrupt the other side's entrenchments. On December 7, 1860, more than 1,000 screaming sword-, pike-, and halberd-wielding Vietnamese troops sortied against French entrenchments near the Khai Tuong Pagoda, decapitated one of the foreign legion commanders, and caused more than 100 casualties in a desperate action that was eventually repulsed

by French bayonets.

The siege of Saigon had lasted for more than a year when Vice Admiral Leonard Charner brought 3,000 French marines and naval infantry with 270 Spanish troops to Saigon in January 1861 to relieve the siege. The Vietnamese had been reinforced to close to 30,000 troops and had built more than 12 kilometers of entrenchments and redoubts with thousands of pits and ditches around the French fortifications at Saigon.

The centerpiece of the Vietnamese defenses was the Ky Hoa fort complex, which consisted of five fortifications with connecting walls fronted by a redoubt. The complex sat a kilometer outside the French fortifications at Saigon. On February 24, 1861, a French column supported by gunboats on the Saigon River assaulted and took a redoubt at bayonet point in front of the Ky Hoa forts at the cost of six dead and 20 wounded. Many of the French wounded had been pierced through the feet by dung-covered bamboo stakes and were in great agony. The Vietnamese launched a counterattack to retake the redoubt with several thousand troops and a number of war elephants with swivel guns on their top castles. French rifle fire with army and gunboat artillery killed and wounded hundreds of Vietnamese and most of the elephants before they turned back.

On February 25, the French brought artillery to the redoubt to support an attack on the Ky Hoa forts by 1,200 marines supported by 600 French and Spanish troops. The Vietnamese fire was heavy especially just under the forts' earthen walls, and the French took heavy casualties. After a half hour, the French managed to mount the fort's ramparts with grenades, grappling hooks, and the only three ladders to have made it intact to the walls. The Vietnamese fought viciously but were no real match for the larger, stronger French troops with their 19-inch bayonets.

After the Vietnamese fell back, the French started taking heavy casualties from Vietnamese artillery from the Mandarin Fort, which sat 100 meters back in the middle of the Ky Hoa fort system. The French troops had no cover from the artillery fire and had no choice but to charge the Mandarin Fort as well. Many French troops were shot and dismembered in a hurricane of bullets, cannonballs, and grapeshot as they tried to bring up grappling hooks, ladders, and sappers to find a way into the fort. The French reserve was then brought up through the maelstrom and breached the main gate to the Mandarin Fort with axes and hatchets. The French troops charged through the gate and killed more than 300 Vietnamese

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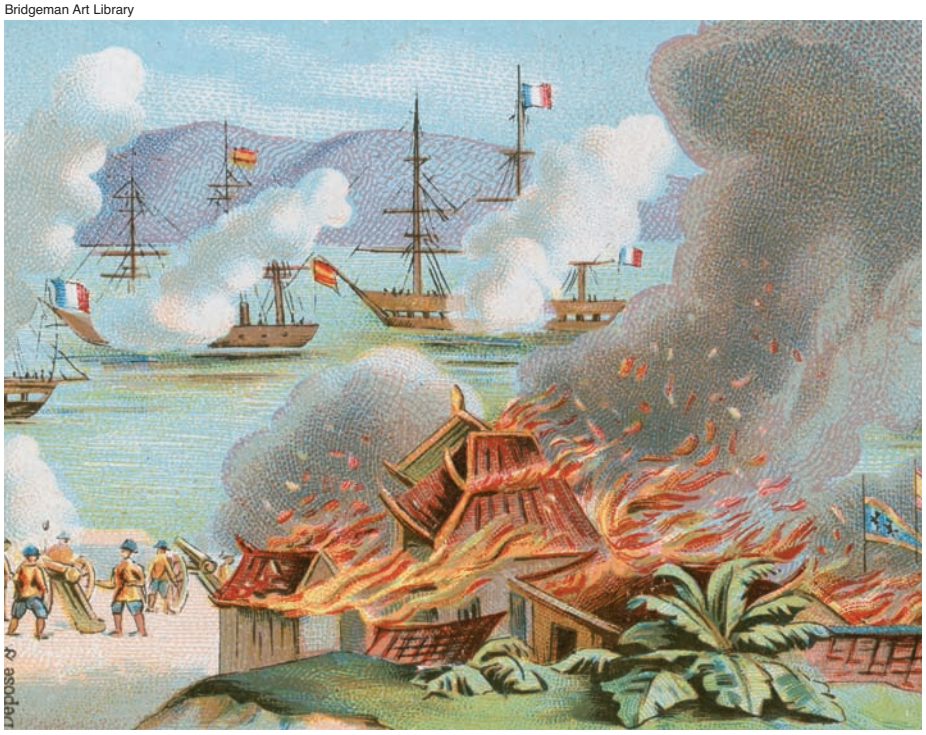

ABOVE: A Franco-Spanish expeditionary force captures the fortress of Tourane (present-day Da Nang) in 1858. The garrison, which suffered heavily from ambushes and disease, was withdrawn the following year. BELOW: Napoleon III ordered a Franco-Spanish attack on the sprawling citadel at Saigon during the protracted struggle to subjugate Emperor Tu Duc. OPPOSITE: The beheading of Jesuit missionaries led to a permanent French presence in Annam beginning in the 1840s.

The Granger Collection, New York

troops inside before the entire Vietnamese army broke and retreated from its entrenchments around Saigon.

The assault on the Mandarin Fort cost the French another 225 casualties. Emperor Tu Duc's power was broken as the French then occupied all six provinces of Cochinchina. In 1862, a treaty was signed with Napoleon III that made Vietnam a protectorate of France in return for allowing Tu Duc to remain as a puppet ruler. Spain decided to end its involvement in Cochinchina because the region seemed to be a quagmire and France seemed to have more in mind than just saving missionaries.

The French and Vietnamese experienced peace for the next 10 years as the French explored and mapped Indochina. In 1870, Napoleon III was defeated in the Franco-Prussian War and removed from power. The loss was so humiliating that France sought to regain its nationalistic pride and

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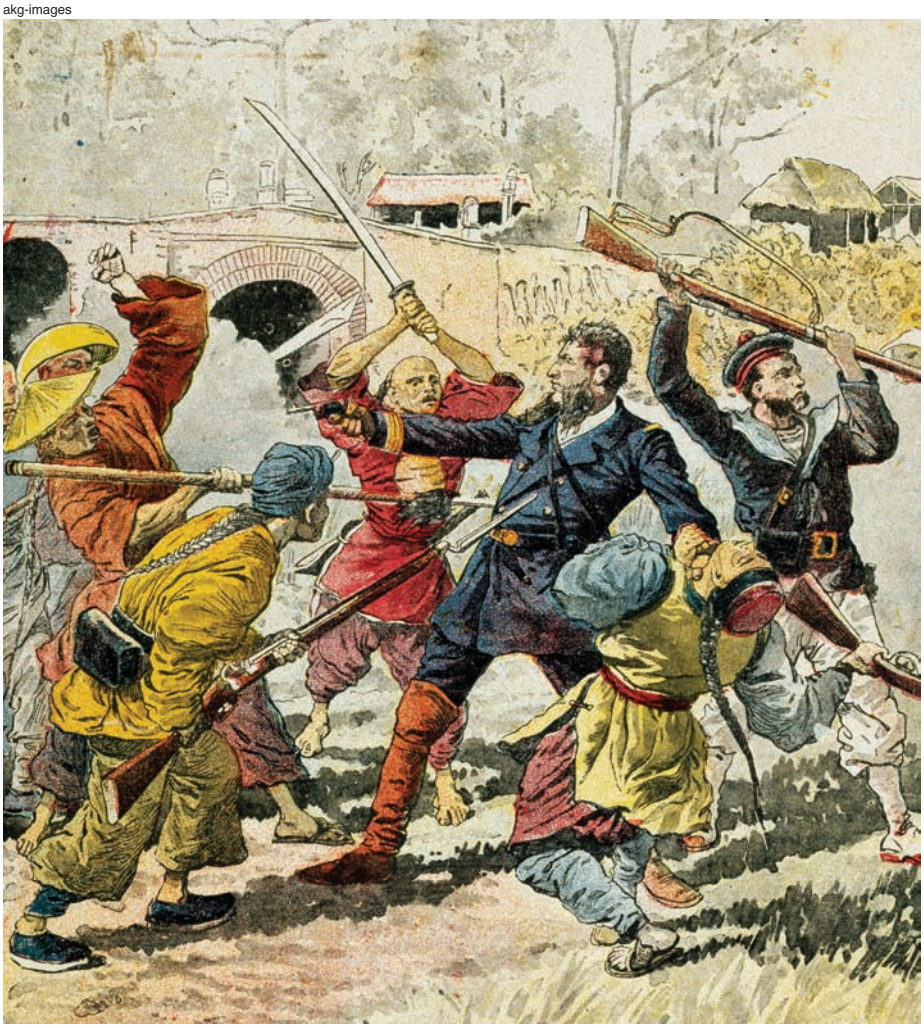


Library of Congress

ABOVE: Screaming Black Flag troops hack apart a French column led by Captain Henri Riviere in 1883 on their march inland to Hanoi. They mounted Riviere's head on a pole as a warning to others. RIGHT: Black Flag troops armed with muskets and swords made masterful use of jungle ambushes in the war against the French.

respect by extending its power into Africa and especially Indochina, since there were no French colonies in Asia.

In 1873, a French merchant by the name of Jean Dupuis began a daring enterprise to open the Red River in Tonkin to French trade without the knowledge of the French government. Dupuis hired a mercenary force of 200 armed Europeans, Filipinos, and Chinese to open trade in northern Vietnam. Dupuis and his mercenaries began by assaulting Hanoi and raising the French flag over part of the city, which was against the treaty that had been signed between Napoleon III and Tu Duc. Dupuis appealed to the French military in Saigon for reinforcements because he and his small force of mercenaries were in an untenable position in Hanoi with thousands of Vietnamese troops gathering near the Hanoi citadel. Several hundred French troops were sent under Francis Garnier, who stormed the Hanoi citadel as the Vietnamese forces fled. Garnier then went on to conquer the area from Hanoi to the Gulf of Tonkin against Emperor Tu Duc's protests.

The French attacks had set the whole Tonkin area into chaos. The Taiping Rebellion, which convulsed China from 1853 to 1868 and cost 30 million lives before being put down by Chinese government forces, drove thousands of Taiping insurgents into Vietnam. Once in the region, they joined a powerful Chinese bandit and pirate army called the Black Flags. The Black Flags proceeded to plunder defenseless villages and to commit piracy along the Tonkin and in the rivers of northern Vietnam in the 1860s and 1870s. Tu Duc appealed to China for help, and that country sent an army that simply deserted and joined the Black Flags, which had the real power along the Chinese and Vietnamese border areas.

Tu Duc then appealed to the Black Flags for help in ejecting the French from Hanoi. On December 21, 1873, several thousand Black Flag troops brought up cannon that blasted open the front gate to the Hanoi citadel. Dupuis and his mercenaries were subsequently massacred by the Black Flag forces. Garnier arrived in Hanoi and impetuously counterattacked to retake the citadel with just 50 French soldiers, who were all cut down and beheaded outside the citadel. The Black Flags then pickled the heads of Garnier and the dead French infantry in jars filled with brine to be displayed in Tu Duc's palace. The remainder of the French troops outside Hanoi then withdrew from the Tonkin. Tu Duc launched a campaign of retaliation against Vietnamese Catholics that slaughtered thousands of believers, as well as killing some European missionaries. In France, there were cries for retribution for the deaths of Garnier's men and the dead missionaries and Vietnamese Catholics.

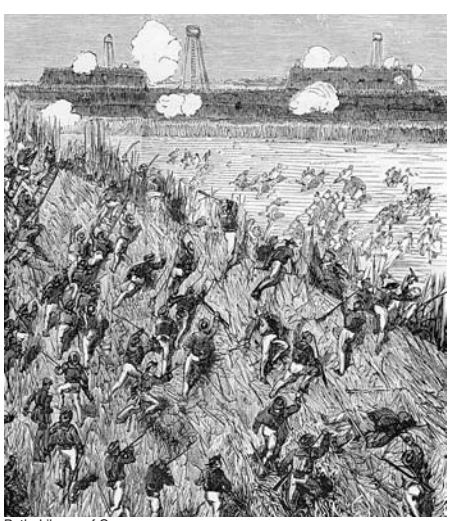
The French army and Foreign Legion were busy quelling Bedouin rebellions in Algiers and other African hot spots and could not respond to these provocations for 10 years. In 1883, a French captain named Henri Riviere was sent with 600 French troops to retake Hanoi and the Tonkin area. Riviere took the city of Hongay and then proceeded toward Hanoi along a hot, dense jungle trail. At Tu Duc's request, several thousand Black Flag troops had set an ambush in the jungle. Eight-foot-tall elephant grass concealed hundreds of pits filled with sharpened bamboo stakes. The screams of numerous French soldiers whose feet were pierced stopped the column cold. Suddenly, musket fire through the elephant grass dropped over 100 of the unsuspecting French troops. Black Flag troops armed with swords, pikes, and halberds charged. The French gathered into small groups and fought desperately, killing many Black Flag troops before being overwhelmed and cut down to a man. The bodies of the 600 dead French soldiers were all mutilated, and Captain Riviere's head was mounted on a pole.

The news of the massacre caused the French

parliament to appropriate more than five million francs for a full-scale expedition to impose a protectorate on all of Indochina. On September 27, 1883, a force of 6,000 French Foreign Legionnaires set sail from Algiers for the Far East. Morale was high among the legionnaires, for anything seemed better than the godforsaken deserts of North Africa. Most of the legionnaires had no idea of what they were up against. Nor did they understand that their heavy coats, 90-pound packs, and 10-pound Gras rifles would prove quite cumbersome in the humid, tropical heat of Southeast Asia.

Earlier in July 1883, Emperor Tu Duc died "with curses of the invader on his lips," according to a court communiqué. His death caused a multisided civil war that pitted six different mandarins against each other since Tu Duc had no son to ascend the throne. Within a year, three emperors had been enthroned and deposed.

BELOW: French legionnaires stormed the fortress of Sontay shouting "Vive la Legion! Vive la France!" They bayoneted the survivors in revenge for the suffering they had endured from the ever-present, bamboo-spiked booby traps. RIGHT: French legionnaires prepare for transfer from Algiers to the Far East as part of a major mobilization in reaction to the massacre of Captain Henri Riviere's expeditionary force. The legionnaires would soon learn that their heavy coats, 90-pound packs, and 10-pound Gras rifles were not well suited to Indochina's tropical heat.



Both: Library of Congress

For all practical purposes, the real leader of Vietnam was a warlord named Liu Yung-fu, also known as Liu Vinh-Phoc. He was the leader of the Black Flags, who had virtual control of most of Vietnam. The Vietnamese emperors had to pay protection money to him and get his approval and aide for anything that they chose to do.

Liu was born to an extremely poor family in 1837, in Kwantung province, China, near the Vietnamese frontier. His parents died when he was 16 and he joined the Black Flags. Within a few years, he worked his way into the top leadership position of the gang.

In 1865, Liu and his gang had taken in several thousand defeated insurgents from the Taiping Rebellion and decided to base the Black Flags in northern Vietnam to get away from Chinese government forces in southern China. Tu Duc offered a large sum of money to Lui if he would put down a rebellion by Montagnard tribesmen in northern Vietnam and in Laos.

The Black Flags fought a number of inconclusive battles with the Montagnards but mostly concentrated on building a formidable army from the thousands of Taiping refugees crossing into Vietnam. Eventually, Liu commanded an outlaw army so strong that the Vietnamese emperor feared and respected him.

In August 1883, a French fleet appeared at the mouth of the Perfume River not far from the Vietnamese capital of Hue. A message was sent to Emperor Hiep Hoa demanding the unconditional surrender of Vietnam within 48 hours or "the words Annam and Cochinchina would be erased from history." Before the Vietnamese could respond, the French warships had bombarded Hue, causing heavy casualties among military and civilian personnel. Emperor Hiep Hoa signed a treaty granting France a protectorate over all of Indochina. Unfortunately for the French, they had asked the wrong people for the treaty. The Black Flags were vigorously preparing for a major war with France.

The French legionnaires disembarked at Haiphong and were allowed to enjoy prostitutes, rice wine, and the beautiful scenery of this area from August to November 1883. The men felt that the war was over and all they had to do was garrison duty and to enjoy the delights of Vietnam. On November 18, the 6,000 legionnaires were sent up the Red River to occupy Hanoi. Everything seemed calm and fine to the French, who did not realize the threat that the Black Flags presented. It was decided to send the legionnaires 35 kilometers through the jungle to destroy the main Black Flag stronghold at Sontay. The French did not know that there was a Black Flag garrison of 25,000 men there, veterans of the bloody Taiping Rebellion.

Day after day, the legionnaires toiled in their heavy backpacks through the swamps and rice paddies—at times waist deep in stinking mud and water and hacking their way through the oppressively humid, mosquito- and leech-infested jungle. Along the way the legion had lost men to wounds from the booby traps. Other legionnaires cursed as they had to carry these wounded men and their gear

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

An attack by French legionnaires in 1884 on the Black Flag-held fort at Bac Ninh is depicted in an Asian print. Sappers were used to blow apart an inner gate so that the legionnaires could storm the fort.

through the hot jungle. The artillerymen cursed as they dragged their heavy artillery pieces.

During the long nights, legionnaires on guard duty or stragglers mysteriously disappeared. In the mornings, the heads of these men would be found in the camp. After the legion troops had covered more than 20 kilometers of impenetrable jungle, the Black Flags started daily and nightly ambushes that killed several legionnaires at a time. At one point, the legionnaires came upon a grisly site: the heads of Captain Riviere and his ill-fated men pickled in jars of brine. The country had no allure to the unnerved legionnaires. They began to think they were much better off in the desert of North Africa than the jungle of Indochina.

On December 16, 1883, the legionnaires reached Sontay and faced a mighty fortress built in Chinese military fashion. The fortress had a strong citadel in the center with 16-foot high walls on the outside surrounded by a dry, deep moat filled with sharpened spikes. On the outside of the moat was a hedge with thousands more of the dung-covered bamboo spikes. Beyond the bamboo hedge, 400 meters of open rice paddies concealed thousands more of the sharpened bamboo spikes in shallow water.

The French artillery began pounding the fort with little success. The legionnaires fixed bayonets and started wading across the rice paddies. Screams could be heard all across the rice paddies as men discovered that they had bamboo spikes piercing their feet. Yet the legionnaires kept on. All the while, Black Flag artillery and muskets were blazing away. Many more legionnaires cut themselves climbing over the bamboo hedges only to fall into the unseen moat to impale themselves on the bamboo spikes below.

After this journey from hell to reach the walls, the legionnaires discovered that the French artillery had not made a breach in the walls. A runner was sent to tell the artillery to open a breach in the wall as the legionnaires huddled in the moat suffering casualties from Black Flag grenades and friendly artillery fire. A French artillery shell finally struck a pile of Black Flag cannonballs and sacks of gunpowder on the fortress wall, blasting a 20-meter breach. The legionnaires who could still walk charged into Sontay with yells of "Vive la Legion! Vive la France." Once inside, the legionnaires impaled the Black flag troops on their 19-inch bayonets in retribution for their suffering.

By nightfall, the Black Flag garrison had melted away after suffering 2,000 dead while the legionnaires lost close to 600 casualties. Most of the legion wounded had suffered crippling injuries from the dung-covered bamboo stakes that often led to gangrene infection, amputations, and deaths over the days to come.

The legionnaires settled down for a short period of garrison duty at Sontay. In addition to losing many wounded, more men were dying from tropical diseases. In February 1884, another1,000 legionnaires arrived from Algeria, but they only replaced those who had died thus far in the campaign. In March, the legionnaires were ordered to move east to Bac Ninh, where a garrison of 15,000 Black Flag and Chinese regulars had been sent with orders from Beijing to help stop the French threat.

On March 12, the French column reached Bac Ninh. Once there, it began slashing and burning the surrounding villages and fortified outposts in an effort to isolate the main fortification. French artillery blasted open the front gate of the main fortification to enable a bayonet charge by 600 legionnaires. Once the legionnaires got inside the front gate, they found that they were caught in a killing zone and blocked by a second gate, which was a common feature of Chinese fortifications. The legionnaires retreated to just outside the front gate and sent in 20 sappers, who placed explosives against the second gate. Only five sappers made it back to the front gate before the second gate was blown open. Bloody hand-to-hand fighting took place before the Black Flag and Chinese troops faded away.

During the next few months, the Black Flags were driven from town after town, and French garrisons were left in each one. As a result, the French were spread thinly across the Tonkin and northern Vietnam. Heat exhaustion, malaria, dysentery, cholera, and typhoid were taking a toll and killed hundreds of French Foreign Legion troops. In the meantime, Liu Yung-fu was gathering his scattered Black Flag forces in the north of Tonkin and in southern China as he awaited Chinese reinforcements to go on the offensive to retake the thinly garrisoned towns that he had lost to the French.

In November 1884, several thousand Chinese troops arrived with modern rifles instead of the muskets that the Black Flag forces had been using, Nordenfeldt type (Gatling) guns, and Krupp field artillery.

In January 1885, Liu moved south with an army of 20,000 men along the Claire River to Tuyen Quang, which was about 120 kilometers north of Hanoi. The French garrison at Tuyen Quang consisted of 390 legionnaires and 200 Vietnamese colonial troops. The legionnaires garrisoned a captured Chinese fort that was made of bamboo walls that desperately needed repairs from earlier batle damage. The first sign that something was wrong was when the Vietnamese in and around the town began

evacuating in panic. Then Black Flag scouts began appearing. The legionnaires, who realized that an attack was imminent, began digging communication trenches between the various points within the fort and to a blockhouse they had built outside.

On January 26, the Black Flag and Chinese forces launched two massive attacks on the outer blockhouse, which would have been overrun had it not been for French artillery support from batteries in the fort. Nevertheless, the blockhouse garrison of 18 men barely held off the attacks with only nine men surviving. After the second attack, the surviving legionnaires retreated along the communication trench to the fort after blowing up the blockhouse with explosives.

Chinese sappers dug tunnels toward the fort, with the idea of mining the walls to breach them for an assault. Early on the morning of February 14, a mine was exploded, causing a corner section of the bamboo wall and tower to collapse and killing 15 legionnaires. Immediately, an assault column of Black Flag and Chinese troops rushed the breach with trumpets blowing, gongs beating, and black flags waving. Most of the attackers were cut down by rifle and artillery fire and from a mitrailleuse (a French Gatling gun). Those few who made it to the breach were impaled on French bayonets.

Over the next few days, more mines were exploded, dividing the wall in two places. Wave after wave of screaming Black Flag and Chinese attackers took staggering casualties from French lead but by sheer numbers forced their way into the fort. Groups of reserve legionnaires counterattacked and drove off the Black Flag and Chinese attackers in desperate hand-to-hand fighting. Day after day, more mines were exploded until there was little left of the fort. The French kept all their troops in the interior of the fort to meet the attackers on top of the debris mounds. The ground was strewn with thousands of bloated, stinking Black Flag and Chinese bodies. The losses did not seem to discourage the attackers, who were willing to take huge casualties to destroy the French garrison. These were tactics that would be repeated against the French and Americans in the 20th century.

The Black Flags and Chinese decided to try a surprise night attack. Quietly moving from their trenches under the moonlight, they overwhelmed the sentries and poured into the fort ruins. The weary legionnaires and colonial troops were roused from deep sleep to the clamor of battle. A bitter hand-to-hand, no-quarter battle was fought in the moonlight, bayonets and rifle butts against swords and pikes until the last of the attackers were killed or had fled.

On February 26, the Chinese detonated six mines that blasted what little was left of the walls and created new lanes through the debris. Dazed legionnaires groped through the smoke, dust, and debris as a hoard of attackers climbed over the rubble from all sides and seemed on the verge of overrunning the garrison when Sgt. Maj. Edmund Hasband yelled from the center of the fort, "A moi la Legion! A moi la Legion! (To me the Legion!)" All the legionnaires and colonial troops ran, walked, hobbled, or were carried to the center of the fort and formed a square of bayonets.

The attackers recoiled from the wall of blade points but continued to climb over their own dead to attack the French square, which could not be broken. At last, after two hours of desperate fighting the grim determination of the legionnaires and their colonial troops won out as the Black Flags and Chinese fell back. They attacked a few more times, but the defenders' determination to survive won out during the 36-day siege. The stench of decomposing bodies was overwhelming. Finally on March 3, a French relief column received the salute of about 187 exhausted legionnaires and colonial troops (they had taken 403 casualties). French sources say that the Black Flags and Chinese lost more than 4,000 men in the siege.

After this, the dejected Black Flag and Chinese forces retreated to Long Son near the Chinese border. A French column attacked and scattered this force against only token resistance. Liu Yung-fu took the remainder of his forces and retreated to China, where the bandit warlord and his men were treated like heroes for daring to defy France. The French then began bombarding Chinese ports in what became an undeclared war with China. On April 4, 1885, the Chinese imperial government and France signed the Treaty of Tientsin, which recognized a French protectorate over Laos, Cambodia, and the Vietnamese provinces of Tonkin, Annam, and Cochinchina. The region was to be known as French Indochina. The 13-year-old Vietnamese emperor Ham Nghi went into hiding for the remainder of his life as 1,000 French legionnaires sacked Hue in an orgy of looting and killing.

The Granger Collection, New York

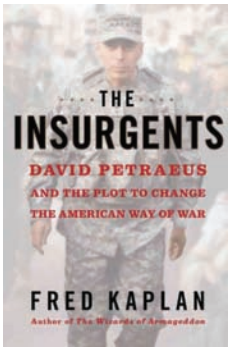
A 20,000-strong Black Flag army led by Liu Yung-fu attacked the small French garrison at Tuyun Quang in early 1885. A few hundred legionnaires were able to survive a 36-day siege that left the area carpeted in dead enemy bodies.

In 1887, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam officially became colonies of France. The French Foreign Legion lost another 2,000 soldiers fighting Vietnamese guerrillas until 1910. To the Vietnamese this was just another long war for national identity. It was a war that would not truly be resolved for many years.

It was Ho Chi Minh who best described the situation that the French and then the Americans got themselves into. He said, "We will be like the elephant and the tiger. When the elephant is strong and rested and near his base we will retreat. If the tiger ever pauses, the elephant will impale him on his mighty tusks. But the tiger will not pause, and the elephant will die of exhaustion and loss of blood." □

By Al Hemingway

General David Petraeus achieved moderate success with COIN in Iraq—but then his world was rocked with scandal.



HARD-CHARGING AND CHARISMATIC, U.S. ARMY GENERAL DAVID Petraeus, together with a cadre of subordinates, attempted to rewrite the methods used by the military to wage future wars. As a 1974 graduate of the Military Academy at West Point, he and his classmates were taught the conventional way to fight a war—huge land battles using tanks and artillery. America's failure in Vietnam, viewed as a counterinsurgency (COIN) conflict, was still fresh in everyone's mind. The top Army brass were returning to their roots and low-intensity conflicts were forgotten. Petraeus, however, had different ideas.

In his book, ***The Insurgents: David Petraeus and the Plot to Change the American Way of War*** (Simon & Schuster, New York, 2013, 352 pgs., photographs, notes, index, $28.00, hardcover), Pulitzer Prize-winning *Boston Globe* correspondent Fred Kaplan has written a timely blockbuster in the wake of the downfall of Petraeus after it was discovered he had an illicit affair with a member of his inner circle, Paula Broadwell, herself a West Point graduate. With his retirement from the Army, Petraeus took over the reins of the Central Intelligence Agency but immediately stepped down when the scandal was unearthed. Broadwell, who had written a book titled *All In: The Education of General David Petraeus,* may have had access to sensitive top-secret information stored on his computer. That charge was later found to be false.

Kaplan's story digs deep into what made Petraeus tick. He was an insatiable reader, devouring everything he could that dealt with counterinsurgency wars and the strategies other countries used to win hearts and minds. He firmly believed that, if properly applied, it was the road to winning the war on terrorism. It was, unfortunately, a long, uphill battle for him. Slowly, instructors at West Point began to teach courses dealing with the subject, but they were pejoratively referred to as "Sosh" or the Social Sciences Department.

COIN was created by George Arthur Lincoln, a 1929 graduate who firmly believed that postWorld War II officers had to be "very broad-gauged individuals" if America was to be successful, militarily speaking, in its future conflicts. Students who followed his thinking were called the Lincoln Brigade, another dig because that was the term used for U.S. volunteers with leftist leanings who fought with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s.

Despite these beginnings, men like Petraeus never backed off and felt that COIN was the way to go, especially in the 21st century. He pushed himself to the limit intellectually as well as physically. When he was accidentally shot in the chest while on a live-fire exercise in 1991, he survived the surgery and was told it would be weeks before he could resume his duties. After several days, he did 50 push-ups for the doctors to demon-

Department of Defense

Lieutenant General David Petraeus (center) and other officers talk with a local Iraqi contractor near a construction site in An Najaf, Iraq in November 2004.

You deserve a factual look at . . .

The Promised Land of Milk and Honey

Could it have been? Could the dream still come true?

In 1947, the British, who had the Mandate over Palestine, decided that they had enough of the decades of fighting and slaughter between Arabs and Jews. They washed their hands of the Mandate and turned it over to the United Nations.

What are the facts?

A solution not accepted. Wishing to end the bloodshed and to create a stable and, hopefully, permanent solution to the decades of conflict, the U.N. decreed a partition of the country west of the Jordan River into an Arab and a Jewish state. In deference to Arab Muslim insistence that it was their "third holiest city," the city of Jerusalem, the focus of all Jewish aspirations for two millennia, was to be "internationalized." For the Jews this was bitterly disappointing. Still, in order to create their dreamed-of state, to normalize the lives of the Jewish inhabitants, and to make possible the ingathering of the Holocaust survivors, they accepted the partition plan. They declared their state, *Eretz Yisrael* – the Land of Israel – and became a nation. Forever to his credit, US President Harry Truman recognized the nascent state of Israel within minutes of its declaration of independence.

> "Then the dream could finally be fulfilled . . . Milk and Honey could indeed flow."

The Arabs rejected the partition proposal out of hand. Instead, six Arab armies invaded the country from all sides. They vowed to wage a war of extermination. The Jewish population of only 650,000 people was lightly armed and almost hopelessly outnumbered. But in an almost Biblical miracle, the ragtag Jewish forces defeated the combined Arab might. They suffered horrendous casualties – about 1 per cent of the population. It was as if the United States were to lose 3 million people in a conflict. The Arabs also suffered greatly. Goaded mostly by their leaders to make room for the invading armies, about 650,000 fled the fighting. They were not accepted by their Arab brethren. They were interned and live to this day in so-called refugee camps, slum cities, in which they lead miserable and totally unproductive lives, dependent on the dole of the world. They are consumed with hatred against the Jews who, they believe, have deprived them of their patrimony.

Prosperity despite unending attacks. But Israel was not allowed to live in peace. Virtually without interruption, it was victimized by attacks from Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Egypt. There were two major wars: the Six Day War of 1967 and the Yom Kippur War of 1973. Israel prevailed in both. It acquired major territories, most of which, in its never-ending quest for peace, it returned. Following these unsuccessful wars, the Palestinians subjected Israel to almost uninterrupted "intifadas," essentially one-sided civil wars, in which suicide bombings and other assorted terrors were the main weapons.

Despite these unending tribulations and absorbing close to 4 million migrants from all parts of the world, Israel prospered mightily. Its population is now close to 8 million. Over 1 million of them are Arabs. They are Israeli citizens, have all the rights of their fellow Jewish citizens, serve in the Knesset (Israel's parliament) and in the diplomatic corps. They are full participants in the economic prosperity that permeates Israel. Israel's product per person is on the same or higher order as that of most European countries. It is a center of science and of culture. Its industrial output encompasses some of the most advanced technology and sophisticated production in the world. Next to Canada, Israel is the most represented country on US stock exchanges. Most major high-tech companies have facilities – factories and research establishments – in Israel.

All of this is admirable, of course. But there is a flip side to this edifying story. That is the fate of the Arab descendants of those who fled Israel in the 1948 War of Liberation. Had they followed the example of the Jews and agreed to the partition decreed by the U.N., they could today be in the same advanced position as Israel, instead of the misery in which they live. Because there is no question that Israel would have been more than willing to enter into a federation with Palestine, in which citizens of both countries could peacefully partake in common prosperity.

Can that dream still come true? Of course it can! Israel has accepted virtually all of the "conditions" for reconciliation on which the Palestinians have insisted, with the sole exception of the demand for the "right of return." That "right" would swamp Israel with hundreds of thousands of Arabs. And it would with one stroke be the end of Israel as the Jewish state. Even for the thorny question of Jerusalem a compromise could be found. But, having been misled by the thuggish Arafat for decades, Arab Palestine needs a wise leader in order to finally make peace with Israel. In view of Israel's experience in Lebanon and Gaza and because it would be fatally vulnerable if an armed enemy occupied the Judean heights, the state of Palestine would have to be totally demilitarized and controlled (probably by US military) for compliance. It would be a difficult condition to swallow, but it would have to be the price to gain their own country. But the dream could then finally be fulfilled and peace and prosperity could be extended over all of the Promised Land. Milk and Honey could indeed flow.

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Facts and Logic About the Middle East
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strate that he had sufficiently recovered and was subsequently released from the hospital.

As he climbed the promotional ladder, Petraeus made friends who agreed with his assessment of COIN as being the strategy of choice for future conflicts. But Petraeus made enemies as well, other officers who found him overbearing and condescending. In his first tour of Iraq commanding the 101st Airborne Division, his COIN policy enjoyed some measure of success, especially in the city of Mosul, by creating a new political system, screening candidates, and providing services to the city's inhabitants, all without the approval of his superiors. Later, as commander of all forces in Iraq, he gave the go-ahead to raid Sadr's Shiite militia, and the Mahdi Army, without letting the Iraqi leaders know his intentions. These were big chances to take, things that could have ended his career. But, they were successful. Sadly, the same results were not achieved in Afghanistan.

Although COIN is a strategy that can be applied for some situations, it is not the solution to every conflict we become involved in. The images of large-scale amphibious assaults, naval gunfire, and massive airpower are what America is accustomed to when fighting a war. The seemingly mundane scenario of nation building does not sit well with many Americans. Spending taxpayers' dollars only to find that it has failed, as in the case of Vietnam, is just not the American way of war.

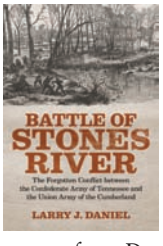
Guardian Angel: Life and Death Adventures with Pararescue, the World's Most Powerful Commando Rescue Force by William F. Sine, USAF (Ret.), Casemate Publishers, Havertown, PA, 2012, 239 pgs., photographs, $29.95, hardcover.

At last, a book that gives long overdue and much deserved praise to one of the most respected branches of the military: the U.S. Air Force pararescue jumpers (PJs). For nearly seven decades these highly trained airmen have saved thousands of lives in both war and peacetime situations and, sadly, go largely unnoticed for their gallant efforts. The author, a 27-year veteran of the Air Force, most of that as a PJ, not only delivers a factual account of the teams, including his own personal experiences, but also pays tribute to the sacrifices of his fellow PJs.

Sine wastes no time in grabbing the reader's attention by starting his book with a 2002 mission in Afghanistan to rescue a seriously wounded member of an Australian Special Air Service team. His description of the mission, the preparation, jumping, and linking up with the Aussies in the desert, is superb. His graphic narrative will hold the reader spellbound as the PJs do everything humanly possible to save a fellow warrior. Unfortunately, on the flight back to Kandahar, the soldier died. Although extremely saddened, Sine is very proud of his team's performance.

The book follows Sine's entry into the Air Force and ultimately his decision to become a PJ. His world travels and hair-raising exploits will hold the reader's attention and give a better insight into a part of the Air Force that is so misunderstood. Unlike their counterparts, Navy SEALs, Army Special Forces, and Marine Recon, the PJs had been overlooked. One hopes Sine's book will overcome that injustice and bring the PJs from obscurity into the limelight. Sine and his peers have certainly lived up to the PJ motto, "That Others May Live." An extraordinary book about an extraordinary group of men.

Battle of Stones River: The Forgotten Conflict Between the Confederate Army of Tennessee and the Union Army of the Cumberland by Larry J. Daniel, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 2012, 313 pgs., maps, photographs, notes, index, $38.50, hardcover.



As the author states, the Battle of Stones River, fought near Murfreesboro, Tennessee, from December 31, 1862, to January 2, 1863, has been largely ignored. Although historians declare the battle a draw, Daniel claims it was "strategically a Northern victory" that was sorely needed after the South had won numerous battles in the Eastern theater of operations. Inept leadership had played a major role in the Union defeats and had President Abraham Lincoln frantically searching for a competent general for his Army of the Potomac.

However, the opposing commanders in the Western theater, Confederate General Braxton Bragg of the Army of the Tennessee and Union General William Rosecrans, were far from the best leaders in their respective armies. Rosecrans's penchant for drinking and quarreling with his superiors was well known. The antisocial and melancholy Bragg was not well liked by his peers, but Confederate President Jefferson Davis placed him at the head of the army nonetheless.

Although Bragg struck first, a dogged defense by the infantrymen of Brig. Gen. Philip Sheridan's division held the line, preventing it from being breached. In the end Bragg, as he would often do in many battles that he participated in, left the field to set up headquarters in Tullahoma, Tennessee, so his army could regroup. Both sides sustained horrific losses, nearly 13,000 Yankees and more than 11,000 Rebels were killed, wounded, or missing.

The Battle of Stones River initiated the drive to seize the state of Tennessee, and ultimately Atlanta, to win the war in the West. If anything, Stones River and other battles demonstrated that the conflict would be a long, drawn-out affair with both North and South suffering astronomical casualties. However, as New York lawyer George Templeton Strong later observed, "It may have been indecisive, but our troops will stand the wear and tear of indecisive conflict longer than those of slavedom, and soon can be repaired."

Deliverance from the Little Big Horn: Doctor Henry Porter and Custer's Seventh Cavalry by Joan Nabseth Stevenson, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2012, 213 pgs., map, photograph, notes, index, $24.95, hardcover.

A fresh look at the Little Big Horn massacre—the battle that took the life of Lt. Col. George Armstrong Custer and 210 troopers from the 7th Cavalry—but this time from a medical perspective. Among Custer's command were three surgeons, two of whom would die that summer day in June 1876. Henry Porter was a contract surgeon, which was a physician who signed a contract that outlined his pay and other benefits for a specific period of time in exchange for care of sick or wounded soldiers.

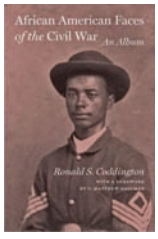
Ironically, Porter nearly joined Custer's unit when its doctor, George Lord, was ill. Custer changed his mind when Lord protested and Porter went along with Major Marcus Reno's horse soldiers. The author vividly describes Reno's attack on the Indian village and his subsequent retreat across the river to the hilltop where they, and Captain Frederick Benteen's unit, made their stand. Porter was the lone doctor caring for dozens of wounded and dying men. The intense heat and lack of water added to the misery of those suffering from their wounds until the beleaguered force was rescued by elements of Brig. Gen. Alfred Terry and Colonel John Gibbon's column the following day.

During Reno's military court of inquiry in January 1879, Porter testified against him saying he seem embarrassed and confused during the fighting. In the end, Reno was cleared of any wrongdoing but his career was essentially over.

This is a superb book about the hardships

and lack of respect contract surgeons were given by the Army in the years after the Civil War. Shunned by the officers of the 7th Cavalry who testified in Reno's behalf to save the honor of the regiment, Porter nevertheless spoke the truth. According to military surgeon and historian Colonel Percy M. Ashburn, doctors like Porter "have never been accorded their just dues. Many were splendid men."

African American Faces of the Civil War: An Album by Ronald S. Coddington, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD, 2012, 338 pgs., photographs, notes, index, $29.95, hardcover.

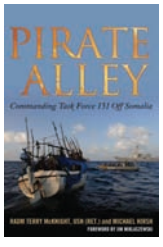


Photography was still in its infancy during the Civil War. But despite the crude cameras that photographers used and remaining perfectly still while having their picture taken, thousands of soldiers were fascinated by the new technology. Coddington has scoured the country and found dozens of tintypes of African American soldiers who were as proud as their white counterparts when donning their dress uniform to have their photos taken for posterity. The author has identified each individual and has written a brief synopsis of their service during the war and their lives when they were discharged.

The soldiers highlighted in this book fought in every theater of operation. Fifteen-year-old David Moore of Boston was a drummer with the 54th Massachusetts Infantry and was present at the Battles of Fort Wagner and Honey Hill in South Carolina and Olustee, Florida, respectively. Private Jesse Hopson served with the 108th Colored Infantry in Illinois and Louisiana. Seaman Alfred Bailey hailed from Virginia and was part of the crew aboard the USS *Roanoke*.

The work is a moving tribute to the estimated 200,000 African Americans who enlisted in the Union Army—and to those who made the supreme sacrifice.

Pirate Alley: Commanding Task Force 151 Off Somalia by Rear Admiral Terry Knight, USN (Ret.), and Michael Hirsh, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 272 pgs., map, photographs, index, $29.95, hardcover.



Piracy remains a constant threat today just as it did during President Thomas Jefferson's administration when U.S. Marine Lieutenant Presley O'Bannon went ashore with eight leathernecks and a few bluejackets to subdue the Barbary Pirates in the early 19th century. Retired Rear Admiral Terry Knight led Task Force 151 as part of a multinational naval group in the Gulf of Aden to keep a watchful eye on the Somali pirates preying on merchant vessels. This waterway is a haven for gun-toting kidnappers who regularly board unsuspecting vessels and take crews and cargo captive in exchange for ransom money. Pirates have a negative impact on today's global markets, accounting for an astronomical $13 billion annually in lost revenue.

Knight and journalist Michael Hirsh are well aware that these are not the sword-wielding days of swashbucklers where a cannonade from a naval armada would bring most pirates to their knees. But rather it is the 21st century where the rules of engagement are applied. The authors suggest that one method of crippling piracy is to choke off their supply of ransom money.

This intriguing book deals with a subject that should be scrutinized closely by U.S. authorities if piracy is to be curtailed so that ships can travel freely without being molested by seagoing criminals.

PLAYING BOHEMIA INTERACTIVE'S *ARMA TACTICS* IS THE IDEAL WAY TO GIVE THE PROJECT SHIELD HANDHELD A TEST RUN.

ARMA TACTICS

To be properly excited for the upcoming release of *ARMA Tactics*, created by the folks at Bohemia Interactive, it helps to also be a little pumped for NVIDIA's Android-based Project Shield handheld. The portable game system essentially takes a traditional-style controller and marries it with the Tegra 4 system and a 5-inch clamshell 720p "retinal" display.

Project Shield offers up plenty of enticing features for people who prefer to game portably, and one of the key hooks is that it can run any Android app, and has one-touch access to NVIDIA's "Tegra Zone," which offers a curated selection of apps that are tweaked specifically for NVIDIA's processors. There's also the ability to play any compatible game that's on Steam, and Project Shield can easily act as a controller for normal PC gaming, as well.

That's where *ARMA Tactics* comes into play. Of course, the *ARMA* franchise already has a pretty storied history behind it, starting with *ARMA: Combat Operations*, which the Czech Republic-based developer originally released in that territory in 2006 prior to a wider release the following year. Serving as a spiritual successor to *Operation Flashpoint: Cold War Crisis*, *ARMA* introduced a revamped game engine with improvements in pretty much every department. The series has since seen a handful of expansions and sequels, and gameplay aspects have been cherry-picked and enhanced for implementation in *ARMA Tactics* on Project Shield.

Tactics is a turn-based, close-combat strategy game that has players taking control of a four-member Special Forces unit. One of the chief features here is putting the development and execution of strategy in each situation firmly in the hands of the individual player. As a result, *ARMA* is pretty hands off when it comes to direction and predetermined paths throughout missions. This approach applies to both story-based missions and missions with randomly generated objectives, and it allows players to choose how stealthy they are, or if they just want to run in directly and take the enemy on full force.

The enemies themselves vary, from local militia with less organization to their tactics to mercenaries at the top of their respective skill ladders. As you progress, though, you should be able to tackle tougher missions thanks to a leveling system that upgrades characters and weapons, and unlocks special equipment. It's all tied together with multiple difficulty levels to suit both casual and more seasoned players, and can be played by either using the touchscreen or standard gamepad controls. At this point *ARMA Tactics* looks like an interesting way to give Project Shield a proper test run. It's tough to tell how fully it will blossom as a viable gaming platform, but the pieces are certainly in place for something fine-tuned to portability and playability.

TOM CLANCY'S SPLINTER CELL: BLACKLIST

Tom Clancy's *Splinter Cell* is getting ready to return once again with *Blacklist*, which is gunning for an August release on PC, PlayStation 3, Xbox 360, and Nintendo Wii U. This time around Sam Fisher is even more agile, and throws down against his foes using a new "killing in motion" mechanic.

This new addition, while adding fluidity to combat, opened up a whole can of controversy among long-time fans of the franchise when first announced.

As a result of Ubisoft's new motion capture technology, famed Fisher voice actor Michael Ironside is not reprising his role for *Blacklist*. This rubbed quite a few fans the wrong way, as Ironside is pretty much synonymous with Sam Fisher at this point. Instead, the *Top Gun* and *Total Recall* actor is passing the torch to Eric Johnson, who is also performing the demanding motion capture duties.

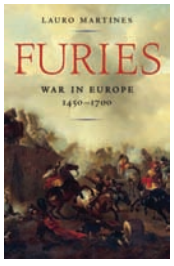
The story of *Blacklist* follows the events of 2010's *Splinter Cell: Conviction*, with Sam Fisher now appointed as commander of the newly formed Fourth Echelon, which has elite operatives discretely performing missions for the president. However, as Third Echelon shuts down and Fourth Echelon begins operation, a group of 12 terrorists kicks off an escalating series of terrorist attacks on the United States known as The Blacklist. It's up to Fisher and his team to take down this group before their terror countdown comes to an end.

While Nintendo's Wii U console has kind of been struggling with third-party support early into its life cycle, the platform-specific features added to the Wii U version are actually really cool. Playing *Blacklist* on Wii U turns the GamePad—Nintendo's impressive controller that sports a touch screen in the center—into Sam Fisher's OpSat: Operational Satellite Uplink. Thanks to this, players will be able to easily switch between gadgets, control drones, use spy cameras, and dig through the inventory. It's the kind of nongimmicky addition that more developers should take advantage of when Nintendo's console is factored into a game's creation.

For the best and most ridiculous aspect of *Blacklist*, however, look no further than the stealth game's collector's edition. This whopper of a package, dubbed *The Paladin Multi-Mission Aircraft Edition*, comes with a copy of the game, the 88-page *Splinter Cell Echoes* graphic novel, a poster, the "Billionaire's Yacht" co-op map, the Upper Echelon Pack with the "Dead Coast" co-op map and some in-game items, and the true centerpiece: A radio-controlled version of Fourth Echelon's aerial base of operations, the Paladin airplane. The RC toy, which, of course, actually flies, is a "custom three-channel, dual-motor plane modeled after the in-game mobile headquarters," says Ubisoft. The whole package is priced at $169.99 for Xbox 360 and PlayStation 3, so hopefully the really serious *Splinter Cell* fans out there have been saving up.

It's been a few years since *Conviction*, and while *Blacklist* looks like fun, it will definitely take something special to woo the devoted players turned off by some of the changes, both in gameplay and casting. We'll see if the team at Ubisoft Toronto can pull it off this fall. □

Furies: War in Europe, 1450-1700 by Lauro Martines, Bloomsbury Press, New York, 2013, 336 pgs., illustrations, notes, index, $28.00, hardcover.



Medieval historian Lauro Martines has written a chilling account of the seemingly endless parade of wars that engulfed mainland Europe during the 15th and early 18th centuries. His vivid description of the armies and leaders is a real eye opener for those readers with a keen interest in this period of world history.

But Martines does more than just relate tales of battles, he delves into the logistics, pay, and recruitment of the common soldier, who was more often than not a poor villager himself. The foot soldier was ill fed, underpaid, and severely mistreated by the noble class that commanded the troops.

But it was undoubtedly the civilians who suffered the horrors of warfare more than any other group. The author describes siege warfare, the plundering of helpless villages where looting, murder, rape and torture were commonplace. A terrifying close up of war's misery during the so-called Renaissance Period when mankind produced tremendous works of art and performed terrible acts of atrocities as well.

The Bazooka by Gordon L. Rottman, Osprey Publishing, Long Island City, NY, 2012, 80 pgs., illustrations, photographs, index, $18.95, softcover.

Bazookas are a common weapon in infantry battalions today. But, years ago, they were shunned by the U.S. military as a "devious weapon." Devious or not, bazookas became an essential piece of armament in World War II to assist the foot soldier in destroying or least damaging enemy tanks. The book goes into the development of the bazooka, its introduction into the military, and how it evolved. From its earliest beginnings to today's modern army, the weapon is a mainstay against armored vehicles.

Accompanying the text are numerous photographs and the usual detailed illustrations that are in every Osprey book. Another noteworthy addition to the publisher's weapon series.

Float Planes & Flying Boats: The U.S. Coast Guard and Early Aviation by Captain Robert B. Workman, Jr., USCG (Ret.), Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2012, 324 pgs., photographs, notes, index, $41.95, hardcover.

This significant book closely follows the development and expansion of U.S. Coast Guard aviation just before World War II. From its humble beginnings, when flyers took off from the decks of ships in flimsy airplanes, the U.S. Coast Guard has been in the forefront. The author has collected nearly 300 vintage photographs of early aircraft and the pilots who flew them.

Captain Workman gives accolades to the Coast Guard's first aviator, Cmdr. Elmer F. Stone, a 1913 graduate of the Coast Guard Academy. Stone learned to fly from aircraft pioneer Glenn Curtis and later attended flight school at Pensacola Naval Air Station. He flew his NC-4 aircraft on a historic trans-Atlantic flight in 1919 and later was instrumental in utilizing planes for rescue and patrol. He contributed to the development of catapults and arresting gear on aircraft carriers as well.

For aviation buffs, this book is an important addition to any home library.

For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States from 1607 to 2012 by Allan R. Millett, Peter Maslowski, and William B. Feis, Free Press, New York, 2012, 736 pgs., maps, photographs, notes, index, $28.00, softcover.

Since it was first published in 1984, *For the Common Defense* has been referred to as "the preeminent survey of American military history." Now, in this new third edition, the authors have extended it to the present day and the terrifying and often complex war on terrorism. The authors relate the interesting fact that victims of terrorist attacks in Europe and the Muslim world outnumber those of the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Their number exceeds U.S. military casualties in Iraq and Afghanistan as well.

The authors also provide data on the defense budget cuts proposed by the Obama administration—an estimated $400 billion over the next 10 years. They state that our political leaders should render "security decisions on the basis of expert advice from their civilian and military professionals."

"Only then," they say, "will the United States have a common defense."□

soldiers

Continued from page 11

lucky ones. Many of the wounded left behind suffered a horrific fate. The British lost 24 killed and 161 wounded.

Allen was dead, and other officers fell into British hands, including Winchester, who arrived late from his headquarters. Lt. Col. William Lewis, leader of the 5th Regiment of Kentucky Riflemen, was also captured. Both Winchester and Lewis were taken to Canada, where they remained until 1814. Winchester spent the next several years trying to clear his name regarding the River Raisin debacle, and he died, the stain of the defeat marring his military record, on July 26, 1826.

Four hundred Kentuckians were slain during the fight, including Robert Logan, another of Allen's brothers-in-law. After the battle, once most of the British troops had departed, nearly 65 of the wounded Bluegrass troops were murdered by the Indians in Frenchtown, and many corpses were burned when the Indians ignited cabins containing dead or wounded.

On learning of the disaster at River Raisin, Kentucky Governor Isaac Shelby wrote, "This melancholy event has filled the state with mourning, and every feeling heart bleeds with anguish." The fight, and the murders of militamen after the battle, indelibly marked the River Raisin on the minds of several generations of Kentuckians.

Had John Allen survived the War of 1812, it is probable that he would have risen to great political heights. As a successful legislator and attorney whose friends included Henry Clay, it is likely that he would have again entered the governor's race. Other veterans, including multiple postwar Kentucky governors, used their 1812 military experience as a political steppingstone. With his previous political experience and connections, Allen's service would have propelled him to higher office.

When assessing the casualties at River Raisin, Collins noted, "There was none whose loss was more sensibly felt or deeply deplored than Col. Allen. Inflexibly just, benevolent in all his feelings, and of undaunted courage, he was a fine specimen of the Kentucky gentleman of that day, and his name will not soon pass away from the memory of his countrymen." Allen now lies buried in the cemetery in Frankfort, Kentucky.

Allen's wife, Jane Logan Allen, who kept the lit candle on her windowsill for eight years, died on February 28, 1821. The grief that lay upon her took a heavy toll. Just before Jane passed away, she told her daughter, "John is come, the candle need not be lighted to-night." □

pharsalus

Continued from page 31

Pompey's troops were correct in expecting that Caesar would follow up his battlefield victory with a direct attack on their camp. Despite the scorching sun, which left troops on both sides exhausted and dehydrated, Caesar and his generals reformed the freshest parts of their army for a final assault on the enemy.

The final assault began about mid-afternoon. Caesar's missile troops fired multiple volleys at enemy soldiers manning the ramparts and wooden towers that rose up at regular intervals on the camp's perimeter. Besides felling those on the ramparts, many of the arrows landed inside the camp where they struck those milling about.

Caesar's heavy infantry then stormed the gates. Once inside, the legionnaires demanded the surrender of Pompey's surviving troops. Anyone who did not surrender was put to the sword.

"What, into the very camp?" Pompey cried with dismay when he learned that Caesar had bypassed the towers and ramparts and gained entry through some of the gates. In a state of shock, Pompey changed into the garb of a common soldier and fled with a few other high-ranking officials via a secure gate. Scipio, Afranius, and Labienus also fled the camp, riding west to Dyrrachium where they boarded a ship to Africa to continue their opposition to Caesar.

Altogether, Pompey's army had lost 15,000 men in the battle and another 24,000 captured. In contrast, Caesar lost about 1,200 killed and wounded.

Six weeks after the battle, Pompey arrived by ship on September 28 in Alexandria harbor, where he boarded a small boat that would carry him to shore. Two Romans who had served under him hacked him to death. They cut off Pompey's head and tossed his body into the surf.

The men were acting on orders from a group of advisors to the youthful Ptolemy XIII, co-ruler of Egypt with his sister Cleopatra. The advisors had ordered Pompey murdered in hopes of courting favor for Ptolemy XIII with Caesar.

On October 2, Caesar arrived in Alexandria where he was presented with Pompey's head and his signet ring as proof of his death. Caesar turned his head aside and cried.

Caesar would spend the next three years defeating those loyal to Pompey who contested his control of the Roman Republic. Caesar himself would be hacked to death on March 15, 44 BC, during a meeting of the Roman Senate. The Senate had chosen to meet that day in a temple attached to Pompey's theater complex. When Caesar fell to the ground, he lay dying at the base of a statue of Pompey. □

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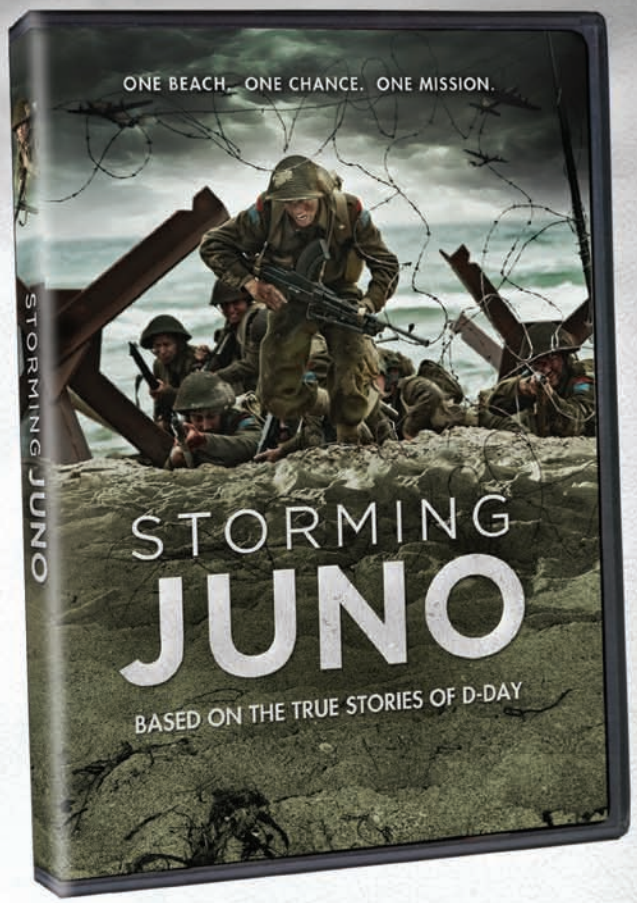

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