Curtis 02313

# MILITARY HERITAGE

MILITARY HERITAGE ▪ AUGUST 2012 Volume 14, No. 2

## DESPERATE FIGHT
*At Beecher Island*

## BATTLE OF MIDWAY
*Turning Point in the Pacific*

## NAPOLEON'S LAST GREAT VICTORY

## *Lechfeld 955 AD* NOMADS VS. KNIGHTS

FRENCH CAVALRYMAN, SAVAGE PISTOL, MARINES IN NICARAGUA, ARMY WEB BELTS, BOOK AND GAME REVIEWS AND MORE!

AUGUST 2012

RETAILER: DISPLAY UNTIL SEPT. 10

COMING SOON

"...an absolute blast."
— PC Gamer Magazine

PLAY FOR FREE

WORLD OF TANKS™

World of Tanks™ is a team-based, free, online game dedicated to armored warfare in the mid-20th century.
Throw yourself into epic tank battles and dominate the world with tank supremacy!

Online Interactions Not Rated by the ESRB

WWW.WORLDOFTANKS.COM

NOW AVAILABLE ON-LINE

VETERANS FOOTLOCKER .COM

THE FINEST IN MILITARY ARTIFACTS & COLLECTABLES

Reinhard Heydrich

LARGE INVENTORY OF FINE MILITARY ANTIQUES

BUY SELL TRADE

CALL (614) 917-3381

MILITARY HERITAGE

August 2012

## features

**26 MIDWAY: TURNING POINT IN THE PACIFIC**
*By Michael E. Haskew*
Against long odds, the U.S. Navy inflicted a stinging defeat on Imperial Japan at Midway Island and turned the tide of World War II in the Pacific.

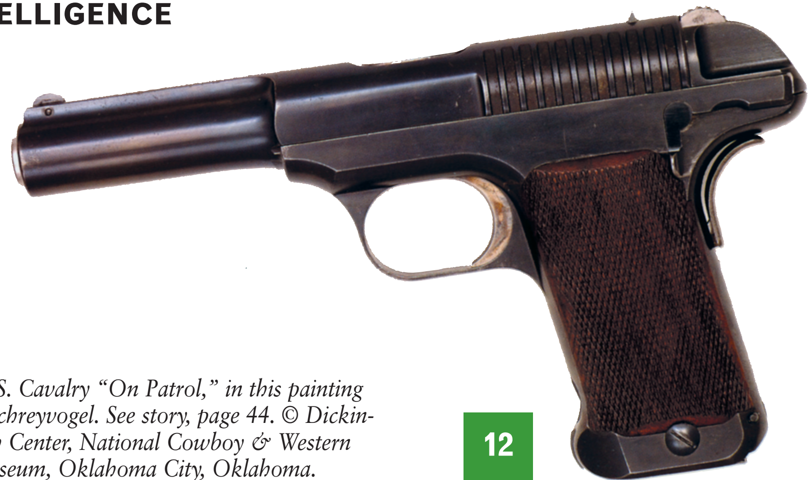
**36 NAPOLEON'S LAST GREAT VICTORY**
*By Eric Niderost*
While Marshal Gouvion Saint-Cyr held off the Allies at Dresden, Napoleon force-marched three corps to the rescue. The next day, the emperor counterattacked. It would prove to be his last significant triumph.

**44 DESPERATE STAND AT BEECHER ISLAND**
*By David A. Norris*
After Cheyenne, Sioux, and Arapaho warriors ambushed Major George A. Forsyth's scouting party on the Arikaree River, he and his men retreated to a small sandbar in the middle of the river to make a final stand.

**52 NOWHERE TO RETREAT: LECHFELD 955**
*By William E. Welsh*
In AD 955, the fierce Magyar nomads of Central Europe invaded Bavaria yet again. This time the newly united Germans under red-haired King Otto were determined they would never return.

## columns

6 EDITORIAL
8 SOLDIERS
12 WEAPONS
18 INTELLIGENCE
24 MILITARIA
60 BOOKS
64 GAMES




*COVER: U.S. Cavalry "On Patrol," in this painting by Charles Schreyvogel. See story, page 44. © Dickinson Research Center, National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.*

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 14, Number 2 © 2012 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.**

# Buy • Sell • Trade

## Fine Military Antiques

HELMUT WEITZE

As one of the leading dealers in Europe, we are specialised in german Militaria from 1800 - 1945.

We offer orders, decorartions, insignia, documents, soldbooks, books, photos, uniforms, spikehelmets, steelhelmets, headgear, swords, daggers, bayonetts, wartoys from Lineol & Elastolin and much more. Please visit our homepage with over 20.000 articles.
Weekly update every Friday at 6:30 pm (german time).

**Helmut Weitze, Neuer Wall 18, D - 20354 Hamburg**
phone: 0049 40 / 352 761 or / 471 132 0
fax: 0049 40 / 353 563

**www.weitze.net** **info@weitze.net**

Shop hours:
Mon. - Fri. 10.00 am - 1.00 pm and 2.00 pm - 6.30 pm
Sat. 10.00 am - 1.00 pm

# MIRACLE WEAPONS

THAT WON THE WAR FOR GERMANY

by Thomas Reinhold

In the years following World War II, numerous books were written about the subject but only a few have dealt with the question of how Europe would have looked after a total German victory in the war. These books usually begin in the 50s, after Germany somehow won the war, but they do not explain how and why. This book fills this gap and describes how Germany won World War II by deploying several powerful weapons at a much earlier stage than in reality. It is of course pure fiction. However, the well-known names are factual, as are the scenes and places of the war. The book is primarily about the war in Europe and Germany's victory over England and Malta.

www.thomasreinhold.se

editorial

## French meddling in Mexico almost led to a post-Civil War confrontation between France and the United States.

FRENCH IMMIGRANT ALFRED DUFFIE MAY HAVE FOUGHT for the Union during the Civil War, but the meddlesome presence of thousands of other French troops in Mexico almost led to a post-Civil War confrontation between the nation of his birth and the nation of his choice.

At the same time that Americans were fighting each other over the political and economic future of their country, Mexicans were embroiled in their own civil war, one pitting liberal anticlerics against conservative supporters of the Catholic Church and monarchy. After President Benito Juarez refused to pay Mexico's outstanding foreign debt, French Emperor Napoleon III proclaimed the Latin American nation a monarchy and installed his kinsman, Austrian Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph, on the Mexican throne.

English and Spanish forces, which landed alongside the French within weeks of the outbreak of the American Civil War, soon left, but Napoleon III kept 40,000 of his best troops on Mexican soil to prop up Maximilian's puppet regime.

The French presence in Mexico galled Americans, particularly those in the victorious North. Almost as soon as he had accepted Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox, Union commanding general Ulysses S. Grant turned his attention to Mexico. In May 1865 he personally dispatched his most aggressive lieutenant, Maj. Gen. Phil Sheridan, to southern Texas to keep an eye on the "very saucy and insulting" French. Sheridan, who had removed Duffie from command while leading Union cavalry in the Shenandoah Valley, was ordered to monitor the Mexican-American border and provide secret aid to the deposed Juarez.

The ever-combative Sheridan was primed and ready to cross the Rio Grande and push the French out of Mexico single-handedly, despite the resistance of Secretary of State William Seward, who adamantly opposed American involvement in Mexican affairs. A golden opportunity soon presented itself when Imperialist General Tomas Mejia, commandante at Matamoros, refused to hand over several pieces of captured Confederate artillery, which Sheridan maintained belonged by rights to the U.S. government.

Threats and counterthreats flew back across the border, with the situation growing so ominous in the summer of 1865 that new President Andrew Johnson and his cabinet openly discussed the chance of war with France. But Maximilian, already overburdened by military challenges of his own, finally ordered Mejia to return the disputed artillery with the archduke's personal apologies.

A second potential flash point arose a few months later when a party of American filibusters made an unauthorized foray across the Mexican border and were rounded up by Imperialist troops. Under Maximilian's long-standing "black flag" decree, anyone caught fighting against his empire would be subject to immediate execution. Once again, American troops poised for a strike across the Rio Grande to rescue their countrymen, but in the end the raiders were spared and both sides again backed away from open conflict.

Finally, in April 1866, Napoleon III grudgingly announced that he would begin pulling French troops out of Mexico later that year. Predictably, the withdrawal of French forces propping up Maximilian led to the hasty fall of the usurper's cardboard government. In June 1867, Juarez and his nationalist forces captured Maximilian and, despite a last-second appeal for mercy from the American government, executed the pretender before a Mexican firing squad.

Neither Johnson, Grant, nor Sheridan, who habitually referred to Maximilian as "the Imperial buccaneer," evinced much regret over the emperor's passing. As for Alfred Duffie, who had already mustered out of the U.S. Army and eventually became American consul in Cadiz, Spain, he maintained a discreet and no doubt politic silence over the whole affair.

*Roy Morris Jr.*

MILITARY HERITAGE

VOLUME 14, NUMBER 2

**CARL A. GNAM, JR.**
*Editorial Director, Founder*

**ROY MORRIS JR.**
*Editor*
editor@militaryheritagemagazine.com

**LAURA CLEVELAND**
*Managing Editor*

**SAMANTHA DeTULLEO**
*Art Director*

***Contributors:***
Arnold
Arnold Blumberg, Michael E. Haskew, Al Hemingway, Steve Lilley, Joseph Luster, Eric Niderost, David A. Norris, Peter Suciu, William E. Welsh

ADVERTISING OFFICE:

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

**MARK HINTZ**
*Chief Executive Officer*

**LIZ BOWER**
*Subscription Customer Services*
*sovereign@publishersserviceassociates.com*

**KEN FORNWALT**
*Data Processing Director*

CURTIS CIRCULATION COMPANY
*Worldwide Distribution*

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

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

(800) 219-1187

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

WORLD WAR II TOURS

Alpventures® World War II Tours are packed with History, Fun & Adventure.

*Visit the World War II Battlefields of Europe and Russia on our Guided Tours, and enjoy exceptional service, first-class hotels, experienced guide, and much more...*

1 (888) 991-6718 *worldwar2tours.com*

By Arnold Blumberg

## Frenchman Alfred Duffie parlayed a bogus military background into a Union officer's commission during the Civil War.

NAPOLEON ALEXANDRE DUFFIE WAS BORN ON MAY 1, 1833, IN Paris, France. His father, Jean August Duffie, was a prosperous sugar refiner and mayor of the village of La Ferte-sous-Jouarre. The family, originally from Ireland, had fled to France during the Cromwellian conquest of the 1640s. In 1851, at age 17, young Duffie enlisted in the 6th Dragoons Regiment of the Imperial French Army.

Transferred to North Africa with his regiment, Duffie rose to the rank of sergeant. He and his comrades saw action in the Crimean War, participating in the battles of the Alma, Inkerman, Balaclava, Chernaya, Sebastopol, and others. Duffie was awarded the Order of the Medjidie from the Ottoman Empire and the Cross of the Legion of Honor from his own government. Back in France in February 1858, Duffie was made first sergeant and chief marshal of logistics. He transferred to the 3rd Hussars Regiment, reenlisting for another seven-year term. On June 14, 1859, Duffie was promoted to second lieutenant.

Two months later he attempted to resign his commission but his request was rejected. In response, he fled to the United States. Court-martialed the next year, Duffie was found guilty of desertion, sentenced in absentia to five years in prison, and dishonorably discharged from the French Army. With prison hanging over his head, Duffie would never again see France. His reason for leaving France was his desire to be with 32-year-old American Mary Ann Pelton, daughter of Daniel Pelton of Staten Island, New York. The Pelton family was wealthy and politically well connected. Duffie had meet Mary when she was a nurse in Europe. The two were married August 19, 1860, at the Pelton homestead at West Brighton, New York.

Library of Congress

At the Battle of Kelly's Ford, on March 17, 1863, then-colonel Alfred Duffie led a spirited Union cavalry charge. RIGHT: Duffie as a brigadier general.

Frank Leslie's Illustrated History of the Civil War

Settling into his new life in America, Dufie fabricated a story about his family and military background designed to impress his new American associates. He transformed his middle-class father into an aristocrat, enhanced his former military education and career, and changed his birth date to 1835. He claimed that he had attended a preparatory military academy at Vincennes and entered the prestigious French Military College of St. Cyr in 1852, being one of only 220 accepted out of 11,000 entrants. He further alleged that he had graduated with honors from St. Cyr and then been commissioned a lieutenant in the French

ONLY 1,500 AVAILABLE

# It's a first. It's silver. It's patriotic. And it's a steal.

Washington crossing the Delaware. Eisenhower launching D-Day. Kennedy rescuing the crew of PT 109.

These men made history.

### This set made history

To celebrate the bicentennial of America, the U.S. Mint struck this special three-piece proof set honoring these three American presidents—and our 200th birthday. To capture the bicentennial spirit, the coins in the set are dual–dated 1776–1976.

This set was so popular over 4 million were sold.

Unlike the regular circulating coins of the day, the coins in this set are struck in precious silver.

It's the first commemorative U.S. Mint Proof Set *ever*. It's also the first proof set to feature all dual-dated coins. And finally, it's the first U.S. Proof Set to include a Silver Dollar.

Americans love proof coins from the U.S. Mint. Each is struck twice from specially prepared dies and has deeply-mirrored surfaces and superb frosty images.

And you know you've got a *real piece of American history* when you hold this set—the red white and blue holder is spectacular!

### Now for the steal part...

This first-ever Bicentennial Silver Proof Set sold out at the mint three decades ago. When you consider how much prices have risen since then, you might expect to pay $100 *or more* to buy this set today.

But for this special offer, we are releasing our entire stock of Bicentennial Silver Proof Sets for only $49 each. *Or better yet, buy five and pay only $39 each!*

### Order now risk free

We expect our small quantity of Bicentennial Silver Proof Sets to disappear quickly at this special price. We urge you to call now to get yours. You must be satisfied with your set or return it within 30 days of receipt for a prompt refund (less s&h).

### Buy more and SAVE

1776-1976 Bicentennial Silver Proof Set
$49 *+ s/h*

5 for only $39 each *+ s/h*
**SAVE $50**

Toll-Free 24 hours a day

**1-800-558-6468**

**Offer Code BPF194-02**
*Please mention this code when you call.*

14101 Southcross Drive W.
Dept. BPF194-02
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.GovMint.com

**Prices and availability subject to change without notice. Past performance is not a predictor of future performance.**
Note: GovMint.com is a private distributor of worldwide government coin issues and is not affiliated with the United States government. Facts and figures were deemed accurate as of March 2012. ©GovMint.com, 2012

Army and posted to North Africa.

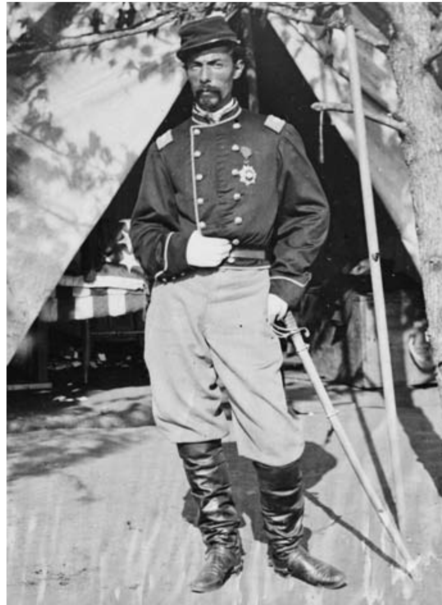
Duffie similarly exaggerated his Crimean War exploits, claiming that he had been wounded multiple times during the war. He also claimed to have participated in the fighting in Italy in 1859 as a first lieutenant in the 5th Hussars Regiment, again receiving battlefield injuries, the most serious at the Battle of Solferino on June 24. Continuing to weave his deceitful tale, Duffie said he had come to the United States to recover from his latest war wound. He alleged a total of eight injuries received in combat in the French service, but none could ever be verified. He never uttered a word about desertion from the French Army or the asthma condition that affected him his entire adult life. Most outlandishly, Duffie claimed to have received the English Crimean War Medal from Queen Victoria herself.

Upon the outbreak of the American Civil War, Duffie's military masquerade and political connections through the Peltons secured him a major's commission in the 2nd New York Volunteer Cavalry Regiment. With a flair for the theatrical that predated the flamboyant George Armstrong Custer, Duffie wore a uniform of his own design based on the French light cavalrymen attire, including leather knee-high boots and a high-crowned fatigue cap. Respected by his officers and men, the little Frenchman was called by his nom de guerre, "Nattie."

Duffie was promoted to colonel and given charge of the 1st Rhode Island Cavalry Regiment in July 1862. When the regiment heard that a foreigner was coming to command them, the unit's officers all tendered their resignations. The enlisted personnel were also alarmed at the prospect of a Frenchmen taking the regiment's helm. Rumors had spread that Duffie was mercurial, irascible and cared not a bit about the comfort or safety of his men. Upon arrival at the 1st Rhode Island's camp, the new colonel immediately took charge, threatening to cashier any officer who did not rescind his resignation request. He assured his officers in his fractured English that although "you not like me now, you like me by and by." In a few weeks' time, his program of training and firm but fair discipline, as well as his wry sense of humor larded liberally with curse words, won over the Rhode Islanders.

Duffie and his command tasted combat at the Battles of Cedar Mountain, Second Manassas, and Chantilly as part of Brig. Gen. George Bayard's cavalry brigade in Maj. Gen. John Pope's Army of Virginia. At the engagement at Groveton on August 28, the colonel exhibited his calm under enemy fire by halting in a road within easy range of Confederate

Library of Congress



**Embodying his nickname, "Natty," Duffie was photographed near Bull Run in 1862 while serving as colonel of the 1st Rhode Island Cavalry.**

artillery. There he deliberately rolled a cigarette. Even after an enemy round showered him with dirt, he merely brushed off his clothes and calmly lit his smoke.

During the Maryland campaign, Duffie's regiment was assigned picket duty along the Potomac River, thus missing the Battle of Antietam. After the Battle of Fredericksburg on December 13, Duffie spent the next few months drilling his officers and men in the finer points of mounted warfare. On March 1, 1863, the Frenchman was given control of one of the brigades in Brig. Gen. William W. Averell's cavalry division. Duffie was regarded as one of the best drillmasters in the Army of the Potomac, and he had planned to carry out a program of instruction so that his new brigade would be able to efficiently work together as a cohesive combat unit. However, he did not get the chance to put his scheme into effect before his new command was thrown into combat.

Ordered to move on Culpeper, Virginia, and attack the Rebel cavalry there, Averell crossed the Rappahannock River with 2,200 troopers at Kelly's Ford on March 17, 1863. While traversing the river, Duffie was thrown into the water after his horse was hit by an enemy musket ball, badly bruising his leg. During the subsequent fight with 800 Confederate cavalry under Brig. Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, Duffie conducted a mounted charge that drove back the surprised foe. Attempting to recapture the initiative on that part of the field, the Confederate cavalry counterattacked.

Seeing the onrushing enemy approach, Duffie shouted to his command, "Steady men; don't you stir; we fix 'em; we give 'em hell!" Moments later he led the U.S. 5th Cavalry Regiment in a countercharge that repulsed the surging Confederate horsemen. Duffie's leadership did much to contribute to the first large-scale Union cavalry victory of the war. Kelly's Ford showcased Duffie as an aggressive and battlewise commander.

During the Chancellorsville campaign, Averell's division accomplished little, merely conducting a fruitless pursuit of some Confederate cavalry to the Rappahannock and Rapidan Rivers while the rest of the Army of the Potomac fought for its life. As a result, Averell was transferred out of the Army of the Potomac and replaced by Duffie. This assignment marked the zenith of Duffie's Civil War career. Viewed as extremely ambitious, he had always sought recognition and advancement. One Union officer who had served with Duffie in the 1st Rhode Island Cavalry described him as "more or less a thorn in the side of the higher officers. He was not compatible with them, did not think as they did, had little in common, and was perhaps inclined to be boastful."

Leading his regiments at the Battle of Brandy Station on June 9, 1863, the largest cavalry battle of the war, Duffie advanced toward Stevensburg, Virginia, placing him in the rear of Confederate Maj. Gen. James Ewell Brown Stuart's mounted force, which was pinned down fighting the balance of the Federal cavalry corps. Thus positioned, Duffie could have won the battle for the Union cavalry by immediately turning north and striking Stuart from behind. However, his lethargic advance to Stevensburg and the sluggish fight he conducted to clear the town kept him from moving swiftly. Concerned for his career, Duffie missed his biggest opportunity for glory and success.

Duffie's failure at Brandy Station gave his enemies in the military establishment an opportunity to undermine his standing. Foremost of these was Maj. Gen. Alfred Pleasanton, commander of the newly formed Cavalry Corps of the Army of the Potomac. Declaring that "I have no faith in foreigners saving our government or country," Pleasonton added, "In every instance foreigners have injured our cause." He stripped Duffie of division command, reducing him once more to leader of the 1st Rhode Island Cavalry. Worse luck would befall the Frenchman soon.

After his demotion, Duffie persisted in requesting an independent command. Pleasonton obliged by instructing Duffie and his regiment to scout Loudoun County, Virginia, in the vicinity of Middleburg, mandating that they remain there for the night before continuing

Library of Congress

**Union cavalry assembles near Middleburg, Virginia, in June 1863. Duffie's unsupported command was nearly wiped out, reduced to "gallant debris" by the Confederates.**

their reconnaissance the next day. The task placed the 1st Rhode Island behind enemy lines, six miles from friendly forces stationed at Aldie. Pleasonton never stated why he ordered such a dangerous assignment, but it may have been concocted as a way to further discredit the unwanted Frenchman.

After reaching Middleburg and driving off Stuart and his staff, Duffie was surrounded by masses of Confederate cavalry under Brig. Gen. Beverly Robertson. Pleas for help sent to Duffie's brigade leader, Brig. Gen. Hugh Judson Kilpatrick, were ignored, and the next morning Duffie's regiment was assaulted from all sides. In their commander's evocative words, the regiment was reduced to "gallant debris," with 225 men killed, wounded, missing, or captured out of the 280 who had started the mission.

The debacle at Middleburg was partially Duffie's fault. Having been given a suicidal mission by his superiors, he failed to retain control of the situation through lack of leadership at critical moments. He should have ordered a retreat to Aldie instead of remaining in the area overnight. During the escape attempt the next day, Duffie detached himself from his rear guard and completely failed to exercise command or control over his men during their flight. His defense to the affair, stated many years later, was that "I certainly could have saved my regiment in the night, but my duty as a soldier and as colonel obliged me to be faithful to my orders." Duffie further mused that his orders had been designed to destroy his military reputation.

At the lowest point in his military career, Duffie ironically was promoted brigadier general of volunteers later that month. His elevation had been initiated by Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker, a former commander of the Army of the Potomac, who had been impressed with Duffie's performance at Kelly's Ford. Upon receiving the news, Duffie reportedly exclaimed: "My goodness, when I do well, they take no notice of me. When I go make one bad business, make one fool of myself they promote me, make me general."

In September he was transferred to the Military Department of West Virginia. There he raised and trained a cavalry force of 3,000 men. Within two months he had created a fine contingent of mounted soldiers, temporarily assuming command of a combined infantry and cavalry division in the department. At the start of 1864, Duffie found himself a brigade leader once again under Averell. Neither man had ever been cordial toward the other, and Averell was particularly bitter over his replacement by the former as cavalry division commander in the Army of the Potomac the previous year. Coming under the abrasive and controlling Averell would only dim Duffie's chances for independent assignments and further advancement.

In June 1864 Duffie was unexpectedly freed from Averell when he was given command of a two-brigade cavalry division under Maj. Gen. David Hunter in the Shenandoah Valley. During the Battle of Lynchburg on June 17, Duffie's advancing troopers made little headway against the determined Confederates opposing them, but after the fight he did a good job of clearing the way for Hunter's arduous 12-day retreat over the Blue Ridge Mountains to the Kanawah Valley. The severe trek over hostile terrain in blistering heat ruined Duffie's command and wrecked Hunter's army so badly that it was unfit to take the field again for more than a month.

Duffie next saw action on July 23 south of Winchester in the Shenandoah Valley, fighting the gray cavalry to a standstill. The next day, at the Second Battle of Kernstown, Duffie fought competently and with courage, keeping his hard-pressed men under control and unleashing a well-executed mounted charge on the advancing enemy that allowed many blue-coated infantrymen to escape.

For the next three days Duffie's 1st Cavalry Division skirmished with the enemy while covering the Federal army's withdrawal toward Martinsburg, West Virginia. Between late July and August, Duffie was engaged in constant fighting as Confederate Lt. Gen. Jubal Early maneuvered against the Federals under Maj. Gen. Philip Sheridan in the Valley. In early September Sheridan ordered Duffie's division to Cumberland, Maryland, to be remounted and refitted. On October 19, Sheridan unexpectedly relieved Duffie of command. Sheridan gave no reason why he sacked Duffie, but his ill-concealed dislike for the officer corps of the eastern armies likely had something to do with it.

On October 21, Duffie traveled to Sheridan's headquarters near Winchester to plead for a new field assignment. Sheridan consented, giving Duffie the task of raising and training a new cavalry unit. After leaving the meeting Duffie, traveling without an escort, was captured three days later by Colonel John S. Mosby's Partisan Rangers five miles north of Winchester. Upon learning of the Frenchman's seizure, Sheridan wired Army Chief of Staff Henry W. Halleck: "I respectfully request his [Duffie's] dismissal from the service. I think him a trifling man and a poor soldier. He was captured by his own stupidity."

Sent to a prisoner of war camp at Danville, Virginia, Duffie engineered an escape attempt that failed. He was paroled on February 22, 1865, and posted to the Department of Arkansas, then to the Department of Kansas to reorganize and train the cavalry contingents there. On June 5 he was honorably mustered out of the United States Army.

As a result of his status as a war veteran and his in-laws' continuing influence, Duffie was named United States consul in Cadiz, Spain, in 1869. He died of tuberculosis in that city in 1880 and was buried on Staten Island. As a sign of respect for their former commander, veterans of the 1st Rhode Island Cavalry spent eight years raising money for a monument in his honor. It was unveiled on July 10, 1889, by the 1st Rhode Island Veterans Association at Duffie's gravesite. □

By Steve Lilley

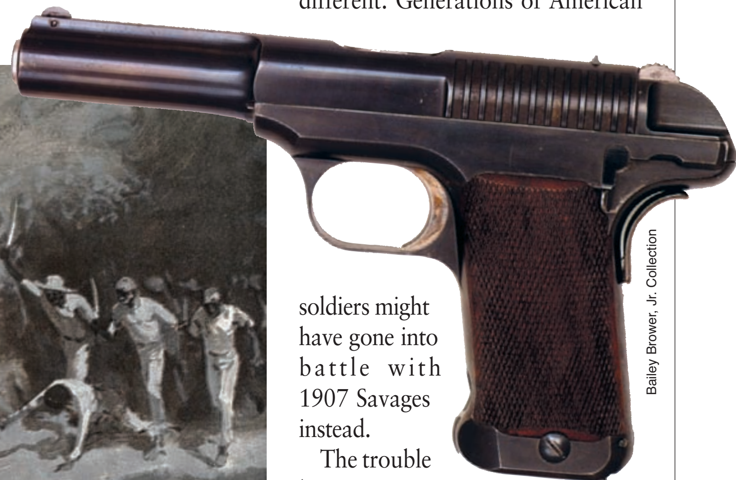
## The handsome 1907 Savage pistol lost out to the larger Colt 1911 as the U. S. Army's new side arm of choice.

An American Army officer fires his Colt 1892 revolver at charging Filipino insurgents in this painting by Frederick Remington. RIGHT: Prototype Model 1 of the Savage 1907 .45-caliber pistol.

IN THE 1939 MOVIE *THE REAL GLORY*, ELITE U.S. ARMY OFFICERS ARRIVE in the southern Philippines to mold the Filipinos into a military force to defend their villages against marauding Moro tribesmen. In one scene, a burly, sword-wielding Moro attacks the Army unit's commander. The Moro charges through a hail of lead unleashed by other officers, including Dr. Bill Canavan (Gary Cooper), and fatally wounds the colonel before succumbing to the gunfire.

Later, Canavan drops five spent bullets from the Moro's body on a table in front of his fellow officers and the parish priest. "I thought I missed when I shot at that juramentado, but I guess I didn't," Canavan said. "He had enough lead in him to sink a battleship. I wonder what kept the beggar going with all those slugs in him. Must be some drug."

The scene was realistic. During the Army's early years in the Philippines, such incidents created a crisis of faith among U.S. soldiers—faith in their weapons. That crisis led the Army to adopt one of the most famous firearms in history, the 1911 Colt, but the outcome might have been very different. Generations of American soldiers might have gone into battle with 1907 Savages instead.



Bailey Brower, Jr. Collection

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

The trouble began in 1899. When the United States won the Spanish-American War and annexed the Philippines as a colony, it unexpectedly entered a conflict more costly, longer, and deadlier than the war with Spain had been. The Moro tribesmen of the southern Philippines proved especially difficult to subdue. Fiercely independent, fanatical, courageous in battle, and predatory, the Moros had never submitted to the Spanish and proved no more willing to accept their new American overlords.

A shortage of American troops at the onset of the Philippine insurrec-

*From the Publishers of WWII History Magazine*

# D-DAY

## Through A Soldier's Eyes...

## *Limited Edition Print*

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

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

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

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

A Haunting Image

*Available Now In Limited Edition*

This handsome Giclee print is large -- printed on 12" x 18" silver emulsion photographic paper. Reserve one of these incredible limited edition prints now, and display it proudly. $49.95 Plus $10 Shipping

**Call 1-800-219-1187 today.**

Have your credit card ready or use the coupon below.

COMPLETE MONEY BACK GUARANTEE

**YES!** Send me the Limited Edition print(s) I've indicated below at the special price of $49.95, plus $10 shipping and handling, for each.

Number of prints (at $59.95 each): _________

☐ **Check Enclosed** (payable to *Sovereign Media*)

**Credit Card:** ☐ **VISA** ☐ **AmEx** ☐ **MasterCard**

Card Number: ______________________________________________

Exp.: ___ ___ / ___ ___ Security Code: ___________ *(Security Code: Last 3 digits on the back of VISA & MC, four digits on the front of American Express).*

Name on Card: ______________________________________________

Signature: ______________________ Telephone: __________________

SHIP TO:

Name ______________________________________________

Address ______________________________________________

City ______________________________________________

State ___________ Zip ____________________________

**MAIL TO:** Sovereign Collections
1000 Commerce Park Drive, Suite 300
Williamsport, PA 17701

tion in 1899 delayed a showdown between the U.S. Army and the Moros, but once Emilio Aguinaldo's rebel forces surrendered in 1901, the Americans moved to deal with the Moros. After diplomatic efforts to conciliate the Moros failed, U.S. troops quickly bested them in open battle.

Unable to defeat the Americans in conventional combat, the Moros resorted to *juramentado* attacks, a tactic modern military analysts call "asymmetrical warfare."

Using edged weapons, juramentados attacked and killed American officers. The Moros' remarkable ability to absorb gunfire and their fanatical determination to kill their victims unnerved American soldiers much as it had the Spaniards. The juramentado might shout, "There is no god but Allah!" as he charged, giving the targeted officer time to draw his service revolver and fire on his attacker, but often the juramentado, due in part to an adrenalin rush and special preparations to slow blood loss, died of his wounds only after killing his victim.

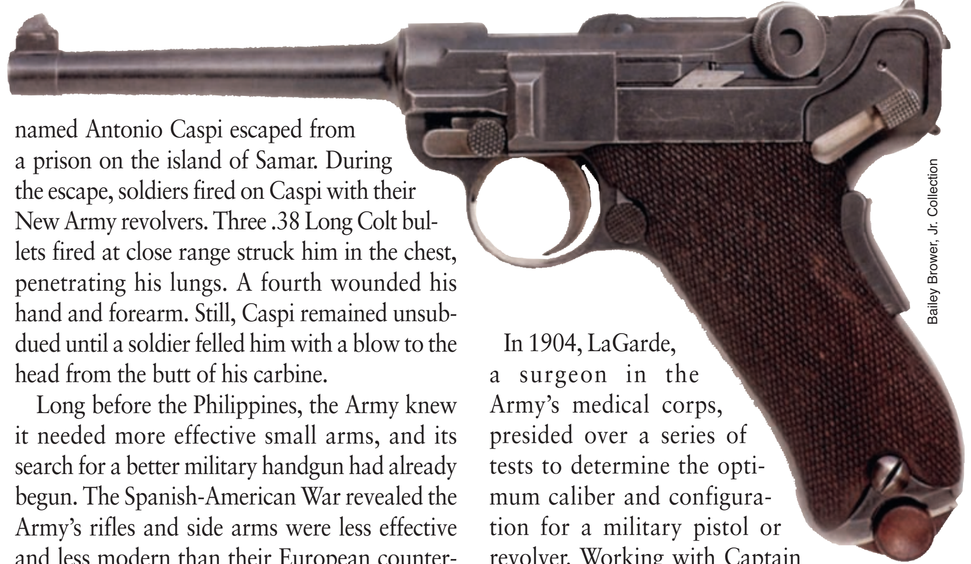
As such incidents mounted, soldiers cursed their standard issue 1892 Colt New Army revolvers and the .38-caliber Long Colt cartridge they fired. Like most Western nations, during the late 19th century the United States adopted smaller caliber weapons for its military small arms. Then current wisdom held that smaller projectiles traveling at higher velocities would inflict at least as much damage on a target as slower moving, larger caliber bullets, while imparting less recoil and enabling soldiers to fire more accurately.

While the 1892 double-action Colt revolver with its swing-out cylinder fired and reloaded more quickly and weighed less than the single-action Colt 1873 revolver it replaced, it also fired a projectile less than two-thirds the weight of the 1873's .45-caliber Long Colt cartridge. Worse still, the .38 Long Colt delivered little more than half the energy of the .45.

American soldiers did not require technical explanations for the .38 Long Colt's inadequacies. They observed the results firsthand in combat. Army Colonel Louis A. LaGarde described one such incident. In October 1905, a Filipino named Antonio Caspi escaped from a prison on the island of Samar. During the escape, soldiers fired on Caspi with their New Army revolvers. Three .38 Long Colt bullets fired at close range struck him in the chest, penetrating his lungs. A fourth wounded his hand and forearm. Still, Caspi remained unsubdued until a soldier felled him with a blow to the head from the butt of his carbine.

Long before the Philippines, the Army knew it needed more effective small arms, and its search for a better military handgun had already begun. The Spanish-American War revealed the Army's rifles and side arms were less effective and less modern than their European counterparts. In 1900, the Army ordered 1,000.30-caliber Lugers from Germany and 475 Colt model 1900 semi-automatic pistols and issued them to U.S. Cavalry units for field testing. The Swiss Army had adopted the Luger as its military pistol in 1900. Germany's army and navy would soon follow suit, but the .30-caliber Luger didn't impress American cavalrymen. During the late 19th-century Indian wars, the cavalry carried most of the burden of combat, relying heavily on their side arms. The elegant, small-bore Luger did not strike the experienced horse soldiers as an adequate man-stopper.

As an emergency measure, the Army reissued the old 1873 Colt single-action revolvers to its soldiers. The Army also ordered 4,600 double-action 1902 Colt revolvers, also called the Philippine Constabulary or Alaskan Models, which were Colt Model 1878 revolvers redesigned to chamber the .45-caliber Long Colt cartridge, as a stopgap handgun. The year before the Caspi episode, LaGarde had already concluded that American soldiers needed a more potent sidearm.


Bailey Brower, Jr. Collection

**ABOVE: A 7.65mm Luger pistol was eliminated after the first trials. BELOW LEFT: Modern reproduction of the cavalry holster used for the Savage test pistols. BELOW RIGHT: Arthur W. Savage in the 1890s.**

In 1904, LaGarde, a surgeon in the Army's medical corps, presided over a series of tests to determine the optimum caliber and configuration for a military pistol or revolver. Working with Captain John T. Thompson, who later invented the Thompson submachine gun, the team tested the lethality of various weapons. The Thompson-LaGarde tests were controversial, with some critics contending that the team had rigged the tests to support their preference for a large-caliber handgun. The team also fired bullets into human cadavers and live horses and cattle, practices some found objectionable.

However valid its scientific techniques, the team reported its findings in no uncertain terms: "After mature deliberation, the Board finds that a bullet which will have the shock effect and stopping power at short ranges necessary for a military pistol or revolver should have a caliber not less than 0.45." The report called for improved marksmanship training, insisting that "soldiers armed with pistols or revolvers should be drilled unremittingly in the accuracy of fire, and that the vital parts of the body, their location, and distribution should be intelligently explained." It was good advice, but the Army focused on the common-sense conclusion the soldiers had already reached. They needed a pistol firing a bigger bullet.

With the Thompson-LaGarde tests in mind, the Army invited arms manufacturers to participate in a practical competition to be held in 1906 to select a replacement for the Colt New Army revolver. Only a handful of companies—White-Merrill, Knoble, Bergmann, Deutsche Waffen und Fabriken Munitions (the manufacturer of the Luger), Webley, Colt, and Savage—submitted entries. Following European military trends, most of the test weapons were semi-automatic handguns.

Before the tests began in earnest, the Army rejected most of the entrants as unsuitable and focused mainly on the Colt, Luger, and Savage pistols. After some delays, the pistol trials began in January 1907. From the beginning, Colt's entry enjoyed an advantage. The Colt

Company had existed since 1848 and had supplied revolvers to the Texas Rangers, U.S. Army, and U.S. Navy since the Civil War. From the 1870s into the 20th century, Colt's 1873 Single Action Army and New Army models equipped the U.S. Army.

The handguns Colt submitted to the Ordnance Board following the Spanish-American War were designed by the greatest creative genius in firearms history, John Moses Browning. Under Browning's guidance, Colt first offered its semiautomatic pistol to the Army in 1900 and constantly supplied improved versions to meet the Army's evolving requirements. In 1905, when the Army complained that the .38 Automatic Colt Pistol (ACP) cartridge would not suffice, Colt quickly developed the .45-caliber ACP cartridge and supplied an improved pistol chambered for it. Colt had the experience, brains, resources, and determination to win the Army's next sidearm contract.

Colt's upstart American challenger seemed a long shot at best. The Savage Arms Company had come into existence only 13 years prior to the Ordnance Board trials. Its founder, Arthur Savage, had designed an advanced lever-action rifle that eventually would become the classic Savage 99. When in 1892 the U.S. Army sought a replacement for its trapdoor Springfield rifles, Savage submitted his modern, eight-shot lever action, but the Army adopted the 1892 Krag-Jorgensen bolt-action rifle instead.

When the pistol trials began, not only had Savage Arms never sold a weapon to the Army, it had never produced a pistol. Seeing the commercial success that Colt's semi-automatic pistols enjoyed, and the prospect of a lucrative government contract, Savage decided to enter the market. Inventor Elbert Searle provided the design the company needed. Searle had designed and held the patent for the 1907 Savage. His pistol came to Savage Arms' attention just in time to provide the company a credible entrant into the Ordnance Department's 1906 pistol trials. Scrambling to perfect and produce a sample handgun for the trials, which the Army had rescheduled for January 1907, Searle completed the first 1907 Savage just under deadline.

The result was a handsome weapon. Sleek and beautifully finished, the 1907 Savage was described by some as an art deco handgun. The innovative design employed no screws except those retaining its grips. Not only could a soldier easily disassemble the weapon without tools, but the disassembled pistol contained only 34 component parts, fewer than its Colt competitor. Unlike most other semiautomatic handguns, the 1907 used no flat springs, relying instead on more robust coil springs. The Savage used a staggered-round box magazine—the first commercially produced pistol to do so—giving it a maximum nine-shot capacity, one more than the Colt's single-stacked magazine.

Recognizing that the winning entrant would equip cavalry troopers, Searle even built a cleverly designed folding lanyard loop into the 1907's magazine well. Savage Arms Company had produced an impressive challenger to the Colt in a remarkably short time.

However promising the Savage, Colt, and other pistols looked, the Ordnance Board did everything in its power to uncover their weaknesses. One test involved blasting each pistol with fine sand for one minute. After this treatment, the tester blew and brushed the sand off the pistol and fired it to assess its reliability. In another torture test, each handgun was degreased, its barrel plugged, and the weapon immersed in a corrosive solution for five minutes. Another reliability test followed. The Savage bested both the Luger and the Colt in the sand test and delivered projectiles at a higher velocity than either.

After the first tests, the Ordnance Department concluded that the Luger, Colt, and Savage pistols merited further testing. The newcomer, Savage, had acquitted itself well and remained in the running for a sizable military contract, but this success presented fresh difficulties. After each round of tests, the Ordnance Department requested design improvements. An early competitor in the process, Colt, blessed with deep pockets, continually incorporated the changes into its evolving design. The Ordnance Department informed Savage that it wanted the front sight moved rearward, the ejection port relocated, and a grip safety added.

The Army offered contracts to Luger, Colt, and Savage for 200 of the improved pistols to undergo field trials with active-duty units. The manufacturers would receive $25 per copy. Colt quickly agreed to fill the contract at that price. Georg Luger apparently suspected that the U.S. Army had little interest in a European design for its next sidearm, and politely declined the offer. The .45-caliber ACP Luger became an extremely rare collector's item.

Savage Arms considered the military project risky, expensive, and time-consuming, but the company saw growing potential for a smaller-caliber civilian version of Searle's 1907. When, in October 1907, the Army agreed to pay $65 for each of the .45 ACP 1907s, Savage relented and signed a contract to produce the test pistols. Savage may have committed to the next


FOR SALE
Collection of WWII German Memorabilia

We are always buyers of original pieces and collections of German And US Militaria.
Will travel to PA, New Jersey, and Delaware

Thank you for your business!
Now Accepting :

Jean Pierre
PO Box 331, Exton, PA 19341
(610)-420-0236
www.pierrescoinsandcollectibles.com

phase of the competition because a military contract would help the company retrieve expenses it incurred tooling up to produce its Commercial .32-caliber ACP pistol. As efficient as this may have seemed, Savage's commercial development of the .32-caliber model may have diverted its limited resources from the military competition.

Unlike Savage, Colt made the military contract its top priority. The Army clearly intended to replace the company's 1873 Single Action Army and New Army revolvers, and Colt long arms generated little revenue. Colt realized that its success depended on selling semi-automatic handguns to the Army's Springfield, Massachusetts, armory. By March 1908, the Army received 200 sample Colts.

Savage produced its first sample .45-caliber 1907s a month and a half after Colt filled its contract. The sample 1907s did not arrive until November, and then the shipment fell short by five handguns that had mysteriously disappeared in transit. Within a month, Savage replaced the five missing pistols. The trial pistols received mixed reviews. Captain James A. Cole of the 6th Cavalry said the Savage had "a splendid grip, is easily and rapidly pointed, has tremendous powers and is very accurate," but still judged that it was unsuited for issue

**Chicago detective William J. Burns endorsed the Savage pistol for civilian use, one of several celebrities to provide testimonial support for the pistol.**

in the military service. Soldiers complained of malfunctions and said the Savage recoiled excessively.

The Army rejected and returned the entire shipment because the Savage 1907 lacked "safe" and "fire" markings for its safety lever. Such an omission would have created dangerous problems with troopers unaccustomed to semiautomatic handguns. Pistol gremlins intercepted the 1907s before they reached Savage's Utica, New York, plant, and 72 more of the weapons disappeared. The Army made it clear to Savage that the missing pistols were the company's responsibility.

In March 1909, the Army finally received 200 Savage 1907s modified according to its specifications. Field trials of both the Colt and the Savage began shortly thereafter. Cavalry troops in Georgia, Iowa, and New Mexico issued Savages to their skeptical horse soldiers. The new weapons appeared radically different from their familiar old revolvers, and breakages and parts failures in the Savages did nothing to inspire their enthusiasm.

The field trials did not satisfy the Army, which brought both competitors back to trials at Springfield in November 1910. Testers complained that the Savage imparted much heavier recoil than the Colt did. Savage addressed these issues by modifying the design, improving its sights, ejector, slide, and grips. While significant, these alterations fell short of Colt's improvements. Like the Savage, Colt's pistol incorporated a strengthened slide. Both companies added grip safeties, making accidental

USS CONSTITUTION MUSEUM

Opening June 2012 - "Old Ironsides 1812 Discovery Center"

At the USS Constitution Museum, located yards away from "Old Ironsides," you can furl a sail, swing in a hammock, or fire a cannon. Don't just learn about history, *experience* it! Follow Boston's Freedom Trail to the Charlestown Navy Yard to set sail on a voyage of discovery today.

**Admission by donation**
**617 - 426 - 1812**

Smithsonian Institution Affiliations Program

Find out More!

www.ussconstitutionmuseum.org/ads/militaryheritage

discharges of weapons unlikely. Just as importantly, John Browning modified his design's operating system to increase both its durability and reliability. The significance of these changes would soon become apparent.

On March 15, 1911, the 1911 Savage faced the 1911 Colt in a marathon endurance test at the Springfield Armory. A large crowd of onlookers including Elbert Searle, John Browning, and the presidents of Savage and Colt watched as each pistol fired 6,000 rounds. While the Savage performed well through the first 1,000 rounds, Colt's superior steel quality eventually gave Colt the edge. The 1907 suffered 31 failures and five part breakages. The 1911 Colt performed without failures or breakages of any kind.

Savage expert Bailey Brower, Jr., summarized the outcome: "The board's choice was simple, and the Colt 1911 became the military's automatic pistol of choice and one of the most popular firearms ever designed." Nevertheless, the 1907 Savage had performed admirably. As historian Daniel K. Stern observed: "Much can be said for the Savage and its gallant stand. Without the stiff competition it offered Colt, the armed services would not have had as fine a gun as they eventually got, and this is a fact that is often overlooked."

A .32-caliber Model 1917 Savage was manufactured for civilian use. Buffalo Bill Cody was a satisfied customer.

Bailey Brower, Jr. Collection

Savage managed to salvage some of its investment in the military competition. It bought back the test pistols for $6.50 per copy and sold them on the commercial market. Today, these handguns are rare collectors' items. Elbert Searle's 1907 design enjoyed commercial success in civilian versions chambered for .32 and .380 ACP. Endorsed by Wild West legends Buffalo Bill Cody and Bat Masterson, these pocket pistols proved particularly profitable for the Savage Arms Company.

The outbreak of World War I finally resulted in military contracts for the 1907 Savage, but not for the U.S. military and not for the .45-caliber version. When the war began, France found itself short of weapons including officers' side arms. Unlike their American counterparts, European officers' pistols served much the same purpose as swords, acting more as symbols of rank than as combat weapons. The French military purchased approximately 40,000 Savage 1907s chambered for .32-caliber ACP, a caliber the United States Army considered wholly inadequate, but one that was widely used by European armies. The Portuguese Army procured an additional 1,150 .32-caliber 1907s.

Ironically, the 1907 Savage, a weapon that grew out of the need to give American soldiers more firepower, found favor with European militaries in part because of its small size and diminutive cartridge. In the end, these pint-sized Savages did go to war—just not in the hands of Americans. □

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

**M35 German Helmets (Summer Sale for MH Readers)**

Accurate new made steel helmet with complete liner and chin-strap. Comes with Decals of your choice. Available in Green, Black, or Afrikakorps tan.

**Decals available:** Wehrmacht (army), SS, Luftwaffe, Afrikakorps, Kriegsmarine (Navy). Size Large.
Sale price for Military Heritage readers - **$49** each or 3 for **$120**

**Please specify that you saw this in Military Heritage to receive the sale price!**

**French Foreign Legion 'Sahara' Kepi (Summer Sale Price for MH Readers)**

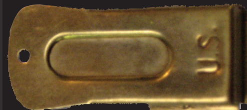
Wool iconic hat of the Legion with Desert cover and neck protector. Underneath is Blue wool with Green embroidered bomb, top is red wool with blue piping and chinstrap assy. with brass buttons.

On sale for Military Heritage readers only.
Sizes 7-1/4,7-1/2,7-3/4 **$35** each or 3 for **$75**

**Please mention that you saw this in Military Heritage to take advantage of the sale price.**

**U.S. M1 Bazooka w/ 3 Rockets (non-firing/inert)**

Reproduction U.S. WW2 Bazooka made from steel and wood. Full Size and quite a conversation piece. Very Limited **$425**




**U.S. D-Day 'Cricket' Signal**

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

**Napoleonic Imperial Regimental Flag**

Beautiful 3 foot by 3 foot Regimental flag for the 1st Grenadiers as it appeared on the battlefield at Waterloo. One side provides unit designation and the other side shows battle honors up to that timeframe. Vibrant well defined images ,text, double layered material and gold fringe. Very Limited. **$75**

By Al Hemingway

## For more than two decades, U.S. Marines fought bandits and put down political insurrections in Nicaragua—with mixed results.

SINCE THE 19TH CENTURY, NICARAGUA HAS BEEN OF KEY STRATEGIC interest to the U.S. government. Revolution regularly rocked the Central American country. The two major parties, Conservatives and Liberals, had been bitter adversaries for centuries. At the beginning of the 20th century, Jose Santos Zelaya rose to power. When Zelaya announced that he wanted to create a giant Central American republic by combining all the countries of the region into one nation, President Theodore Roosevelt intervened. He had representatives from the affected countries meet in Washington to hammer out a settlement creating a Central American Court of Justice to hear grievances. On the surface it appeared that Roosevelt's strategy had succeeded, but Zelaya and his cohorts had no intention of following the treaty.

Newly elected President William Howard Taft and his secretary of state, Philander Knox, devised a plan to have American diplomats abroad convince their respective countries to invest in American companies and borrow funds from U.S. banks.

The Taft brainstorm, dubbed "Dollar Diplomacy," looked good on paper, but Nicaraguans were growing exceeding weary of their leader, Zeyala. In the fall of 1909, with backing from foreign interests, the Conservatives and aristocrats linked up and landed troops in Bluefields Province to fight Zeyala. Leading the armed force was the provincial governor, Juan Estrada, a member of Zeyala's Liberal cabinet who had defected to the Conservatives.

Taft opted not to intervene in the civil war, but Zeyala unwisely caught and executed two American soldiers of fortune. Angered, Taft dispatched warships to the area and forced Zeyala's resignation. Jose Madriz, the new president, continued the civil war. Rebels blockaded the port of Bluefields. Now Taft had had enough. USS *Dubuque* and USS *Paducah,* a pair of gunboats stationed just off the coast, swung into action. On May 19, 1910, landing parties from both vessels disembarked in the first of numerous American armed interventions into Nicaraguan affairs. After the American gunboats

Marine Lieutenant Christian Schilt was awarded the Medal of Honor for flying in supplies and evacuating wounded comrades trapped by Sandinistas in the village of Quilali in 1928.

All photos: National Archives

threatened to bombard the bluff where the Liberal government forces were located, Madriz's men backed off. Meanwhile, Estrada's rebels received U.S. aid and strengthened their position. Eventually, the Liberals disappeared and Estrada became head of the government.

In 1912, another political and military crisis erupted in Nicaragua. On May 31, a huge blast rocked Managua on the west coast, destroying Loma Fort and killing 60 people. Several days later a powder magazine was obliterated by another detonation. When new president Adolfo Diaz informed the U.S. government that he could not guarantee protection of Americans or their property, USS *Annapolis* steamed to Managua. At Bluefields on the eastern side, USS *Tacoma* dispatched a force of Marines and sailors.

Small detachments were not enough to quell the insurgency, so it was decided to send in a larger body of troops. In mid-August, a 350-man Marine battalion docked at Corinto on the Pacific coast. Just prior to the landing, rebels had shelled the city for three days, killing nearly 1,000 people, mostly women and children. In charge of the Marine contingent was the legendary Major Smedley Butler, a hero of the Boxer Rebellion and a future Marine Corps general. Butler wasted no time pushing his way into Managua to begin negotiations to end the disturbance.

Leon, a main city that was situated halfway between Managua and Corinto, had been seized by the rebels. Butler gathered a 200-man force and set out for Leon. Butler's troops finally cleared the line and another 750 leathernecks under Colonel Joseph Pendleton arrived to help clear the country of rebels. With the all-important city of Leon reopened to rail traffic, Butler's battalion set out to clear the railway south of Leon to Granada, a distance of 75 miles. Although stricken with malaria, Butler maintained command and began the arduous trek to Granada via the archaic railroad.

As the slow-moving train snaked its way deeper into rebel territory, the leathernecks remained vigilant. As the cars carefully made their way through Masaya, a horseman charged in front of the train, pulled a pistol, and fired at Butler. Fortunately his aim was not good and the bullet missed Butler but struck a nearby corporal in the finger. Rebels, positioned on rooftops and doorways, raked the train with gunfire. Marines leaped from the cars onto the road and returned fire. Butler ordered the engineer to fire up the boilers and get the train moving. The leathernecks were much better marksmen than their adversaries, and soon the rebels


When the Jungle is Silent

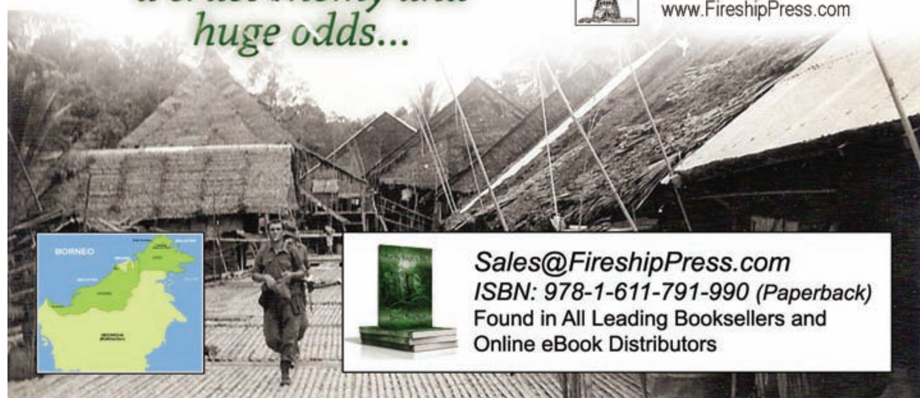
A Novel

By James Boschert

1964
The Light Infantry
The Borneo Confrontation

Jungle survival against a cruel enemy and huge odds...

FIRESHIP PRESS
www.FireshipPress.com




"A museum of this quality-- and importance-- needs to be seen..."

-Wall Street Journal

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE PACIFIC WAR
FREDERICKSBURG, TEXAS

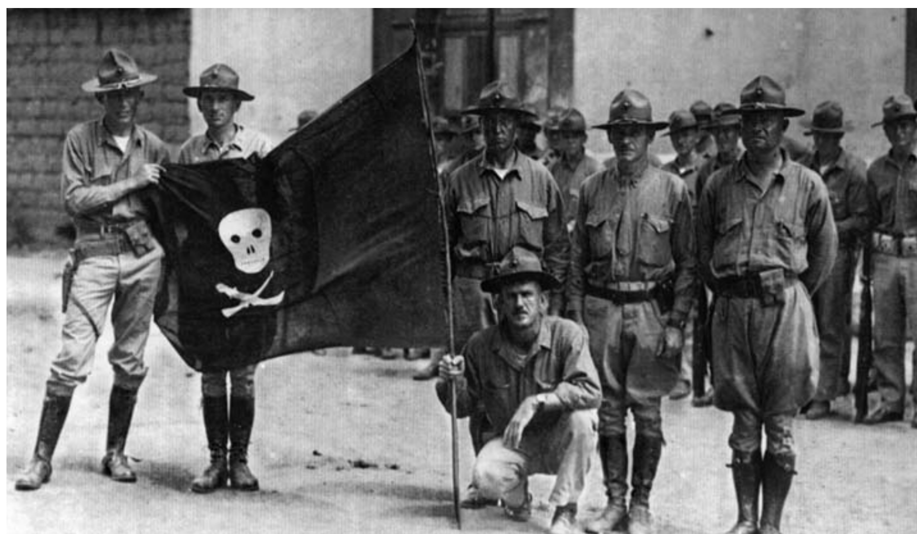
The complete story of WWII in the Pacific

OPEN 7 DAYS A WEEK
(830) 997-8600

WWW.PACIFICWARMUSEUM.ORG

$2.00 OFF Regular Priced Admission
Cannot be combined with any other offers. Limit one per person.
Must bring in ad to receive discount. Expires 6/30/13. MH

**ABOVE: A Marine patrol crosses a swift-running river in Nicaragua. The Marines had to battle the elements as well as the insurgents. RIGHT: Members of the garrison at Ocotal display a captured Sandinista flag in July 1927.**



withdrew. Five Marines were wounded and three were missing in the altercation. The rebels had 68 killed and another 60 wounded.

With Masaya in Marine hands, the battalion inched their way toward the rebel stronghold at Granada. The movement was stalled at times because sections of track had been destroyed by the Liberals. Upon reaching his destination, Butler fired off a message to rebel commander Luis Mena demanding his surrender. Knowing he could not defeat the Marines, the former minister of war capitulated.

With Mena and his force gone, the leathernecks concentrated their efforts on Benjamin Zeledon's army still at La Barranca. On October 2, Butler's battalion linked up with Pendleton's men and, together with the Conservative army, Pendleton devised a plan to seize Zeledon's position at Coyotepe. It was no easy task. The Liberals had managed to stockpile food and ammunition over a long period of time.

At dawn, with Butler's Marines assaulting from the southeast and the 1st Battalion striking from the northwest, the leathernecks began their attack. Augmented by two companies of sailors from USS *California,* the force pushed forward to capture their objective despite the fact the government troops never materialized. Although the Liberals poured rifle fire down the hill, it proved to be largely inaccurate, and the Marines and bluejackets quickly reached the summit and, driving off its defenders, turned their own artillery on the other positions located nearby. Realizing he was defeated, Zeledon attempted to flee but was gunned down by his own men. When it was over, 27 rebels were slain and nine were taken prisoner. Seven Marines and sailors were killed.

With the insurrection squashed, the majority of U.S. forces departed the country. A small detachment of Marines were left behind to guard the American Legation in Managua. The continual presence of the leathernecks was a tremendous source of indignation to the Nicaraguan people, but in 1924 the most honest election in the nation's history took place. During that time Marines, dressed in civilian clothes, were stationed at the polling booths to maintain order.

With relative stability established in Nicaragua, President Calvin Coolidge decided it was time to bring the Marines home. Americans who resided in the country warned the administration that newly elected president Carlos Solorzano of the Conservative Party and Vice-President Juan Sacasa of the Liberal Party would need some time to establish their government. Coolidge opted to keep the Marines there for another eight months and sent Major Calvin Carter, retired from the Philippine Constabulary, to create a program that would train selected Nicaraguans for a new National Guard that would oversee their own affairs.

On August 3, 1925, the Marine Guard Detachment took a train to Corinto, boarded a troop transport, and sailed for the United States. Less than a month after the leathernecks sailed from Nicaragua, a small group of Liberal cabinet members were accused of treason, arrested, and imprisoned. Conservative Emiliano Chamorro proclaimed himself the new president of Nicaragua. The United States protested the coup and refused to recognize the new government. When rioting erupted, Marines and bluejackets once again landed to ensure that American lives and interests were not at risk. As the two armies closed in around Bluefields, more than 100 infantrymen arrived from USS *Galveston*.

A truce was established and delegates from both parties tried to settle their issues. When the negotiations broke down, Chamorro promptly left office. Former president Adolfo Diaz returned as the interim head of state until new elections could be held. Knowing he could not defeat the Liberals, Diaz urgently asked for U.S. assistance, which was denied by Coolidge. However, when the Liberals imposed higher taxes on American businesses, began seizing their equipment, and then killed an American employee, Coolidge finally acquiesced.

Once again U.S. Marines were sent to Nicaragua. This time, however, it would not be as easy a task to rid the countryside of the insurgents. Well armed and developing better tactics, they were prepared to meet the leathernecks on the battlefield. The 2nd Brigade, led by Brig. Gen. Logan Feland, arrived on March 7, 1927. The nucleus of the brigade was the 5th Marines.

Coolidge still wanted to reach a peaceful solution. He sent Henry L. Stimson, a future cabinet secretary, to negotiate an agreement between the warring factions, the crux of which called for the joint surrender of weapons, an end to the fighting and all property taken returned to their rightful owners. Liberals would be allowed to become a part of the Diaz administration as well. While the leathernecks would stay to maintain order, a national constabulary would be created and its members trained by Marines to keep the peace when the United States finally departed.

**Rebel leader Augusto Sandino, left. Major Smedley Butler, right.**

In spite of the new armistice, guerrillas and bandits roamed the countryside at will. Most of the bandit activity took place in the country's western region, a rugged terrain reminiscent of the American West. The provinces of Neuva Segovia, Esteli, Jinotega, and Cabo Gracias a Dios were especially troublesome. On May 16, approximately 300 bandits attacked the village of La Paz, southwest of Leon. Although outnumbered, Captain Richard Buchanan and his Marines charged the mob. Gunshots from a window killed Buchanan and another rifleman, but the Marines drove the rebels out of town.

Ten days later the Marines found the bandit leader who had masterminded the La Paz incursion. When Captain William Richards entered the dwelling, he was set upon by a woman wielding a machete. As the bandido jumped out of bed and pulled a pistol, Richards had no alternative but to kill both of them. If they had known they were confronting the best pistol shot in the Marine Corps, they might have reconsidered and surrendered peacefully.

In addition to the infantry, Marine aviation units were also sent to support the efforts to stop the insurgents. A number of DeHaviland DH-4 two-seater bombers were dispatched to Managua at an airstrip that was once an old baseball field. The aircraft flew reconnaissance flights to spot the enemy and relay information back to headquarters. By flying at low altitudes, the pilots became an inviting target to the rebels, who often fired upon the rickety planes.

On July 1, the first Nicaraguan National Guard units were assigned to Ocotal, a town situated in the northwest section of the country, near the border of Honduras. By the end of the month, they would be engaged with rebels in the area. Marine Colonel Robert Rhea and his successor, Colonel Elias Beadle, worked feverishly to train the Guardsmen prior to the 1928


CLASSICAL HISTORY REIMAGINED

WARFARE IN THE AGE OF HEROES

*Ancient Warfare* magazine is a unique publication focused exclusively on soldiers, battles and tactics all before 600 A.D.

Each issue of *Ancient Warfare* is focused on a historic theme chosen by readers: from Roman camp life to the campaigns of Belisarius, we take an in-depth look at every aspect of ancient military history. Original illustrations and articles by expert authors round out this acclaimed magazine about ancient military history.

CALL 1-800-549-4742 OR VISIT www.ancient-warfare.com

THE NEXT 1000 YEARS OF WARFARE

THE AGE OF KNIGHTS AND KINGS

*Medieval Warfare* examines the turbulent and complex period of military history between 500 - 1500 A.D.

*Medieval Warfare* picks up where *Ancient Warfare* magazine leaves off, exploring the age of warlords and castles that followed the fall of the Roman Empire in the West and continued into the age of gunpowder. *Medieval Warfare* is beautifully illustrated and filled with unique analysis of topics both well-trodden and unfamiliar.

CALL 1-800-549-4742 OR VISIT www.medieval-warfare.com

THE FALKLANDS WAR

JONES:
BRITISH PARATROOPER,
2ND BATTALION
$82.49 GID-70841

DAVID:
BRITISH GPMG GUNNER,
ROYAL MARINES
$84.99 GID-70843

MANUFACTURED BY:
DID Corp.

PHIL:
BRITISH PARA SNIPER,
2ND BATTALION
$84.99 GID-70842

Find us on Facebook

CALL FOR
FREE COLOR CATALOG
Call Toll Free: 877.404.5637
Order Online
www.elitebrigade.com
5550 Vanbarr Pl. / P.O. Box 716M
Freeland, WA 98249

CELEBRATING 21 YEARS
COTSWOLD COLLECTIBLES

Hundreds of 1:6 Scale Figures, Thousands of Parted Out Items, Vehicles, Artillery, and More!



The Finest Military Rings Out There. Period.

When I set out to design a collection of U.S. eagle rings worthy of the hand of the U.S. military serviceman or woman, I knew it had to be beyond comparison. It is just that.

My rings are heavy in weight, extreme in detail and of the highest quality. They are manufactured in the U.S.A. from the finest precious metals to exacting standards. All 30+ designs are registered in the Library of Congress and guaranteed 100%. *Mike Carroll*

Sterling Silver, 10K, 14K & 18K Gold
Over 30 exclusive designs

www.EagleRings.com
Carroll Collection of U.S. Eagle Rings
888-512-1333 Free Brochure

**A jungle-wise Marine patrol poses with its weapons, including submachine guns.**

elections. All Guard units were commanded by Marine officers.

During this period the most feared of all the rebels came onto the scene. His name was Augusto Sandino. Resembling a school teacher instead of a bandit, Sandino had learned revolutionary tactics from none other than Pancho Villa when he was in Mexico. Although of slender build and not looking anything like a revolutionary zealot, Sandino would demonstrate to the Marines and Guardsmen that he was a man to be reckoned with.

With a force of 40 men calling themselves Sandinistas after their leader, Sandino linked up with rebel general Jose Moncada and immediately seized the town of Jinotega. When the Stimson-Diaz armistice was announced, Sandino refused to turn in his weapons unless the elections were controlled by the United States. The cunning Nicaraguan realized that a fair election would ensure a Liberal victory at the polls. When Stimson refused his demands, Sandino fled to the hilly, rugged northwest corner of Neuva Segovia and set up headquarters near the village of Ocotal. Here he gained support from the inhabitants and vowed to rid Nicaragua of the Conservatives and the Marines.

Major Harold Clifton Pierce led a 50-man patrol to Ocotal to find, among his other responsibilities, the elusive Sandino. Upon his arrival, he quickly diffused a situation between Liberals and Conservatives and confiscated their arms. A crude airfield was then constructed so the DeHavilands could have easy access to the area. When Pierce received intelligence that Sandino was in the area, he gathered up his patrol, with the exception of 10 Marines and some Guardsmen under Captain Gilbert Hatfield, and set out to capture the clever rebel. Since most of the residents of Ocotal were sympathetic to Sandino, Hatfield was suspicious when he saw people gathering their valuables and leaving town. He immediately had extra sentries posted and waited for the inevitable assault on his position.

In the early morning hours of July 16, a sentry spotted something in the darkness and fired. With their element of surprise gone, three companies of rebels moved into a three-pronged attack by striking City Hall and the Guardsmen's barracks and killing any Conservatives they could locate. The Liberals had two machine-gun emplacements to cover City Hall and another nearby to fire diagonally across the plaza. When the firefight started, Guardsmen under 1st Lt. Thomas Bruce began a covering fire from the barracks with their Browning .30-caliber machine guns.

As bullets whizzed all around, Hatfield and his men raced across the plaza and joined their counterparts to fight the Sandinistas. The fighting seesawed all night and at dawn Sandino demanded that the leathernecks surrender. He thought they were low on water (which they were not) and even threatened to burn the village to the ground and watch the defenders all die a horrible death. Unmoved, Hatfield sent a curt note to the rebel commander that read: "Received your message, and say, with or without water, a Marine never surrenders. We remain here until we die or are captured."

Several aircraft began circling the town and noticed something was amiss. Landing at the

newly built airfield, Lieutenant Hayne "Cuckoo" Boyden learned from a local the severity of the situation and took off to lend his support. He and another DeHaviland pilot strafed the rebels until their ammunition ran out. By mid-afternoon, Major Ross Roswell and four other pilots were circling Ocotal. The Sandinistas found cover, expecting another strafing by machine guns, but instead Roswell's sortie dropped bombs on their positions. The terrified rebels had never experienced a bombing run and scurried into the countryside. The Marines suffered one dead and five wounded, while 56 rebel bodies littered the area and another 100 were wounded.

Wanting revenge, Sandino set up an ambush at San Fernando to annihilate a 225-man patrol of Marines and Guardsmen headed by Major Oliver Floyd. Again, one of the Sandinista lookouts erred, allowing the leathernecks to enter the village. Floyd's men attacked, killing 11 rebels, with Sandino himself narrowly getting away. Realizing he could not match the firepower of the Marines, Sandino decided to use the guerrilla tactics he had learned from Pancho Villa to defeat them. He took his men to the jungle stronghold of El Chipote to plan his next move.

For months, Marines and Guardsmen combed the northwest area around El Chipote looking for the ghost-like Sandinistas. On January 1, 1928, a patrol snaking its way along the San Albino-Quilali trail was met by a broadside of machine-gun fire and makeshift dynamite bombs. The patrol leader was wounded, but Gunnery Sergeant Edward Brown brought up a 37mm gun and pounded the rebel positions on Las Cruces Hill. As the leathernecks and Guardsmen scurried up the hill, the Liberal force ran.

Once the summit was occupied, another patrol fought its way through to reinforce the beleaguered Marines. The next morning they made a hasty withdrawal and entered the town of Quilali to await medical supplies. Sandino's troops soon surrounded the village and the Marines and Guardsmen found themselves cut off. The only method of resupply was by air. First Lieutenant Christian Schilt volunteered to pilot a Vought O2U-1 onto a crude runway that was actually the main road through Quilali. Because the aircraft lacked brakes, Marines had to grab the wings as the plane slowly rolled down the street slowing it down so they could get their much-needed supplies. For three days, Schilt made 10 trips into the besieged town transporting 1,400 pounds of supplies. Eighteen wounded were taken back to Managua for medical treatment. For his extraordinary actions, he was awarded the Medal of Honor.

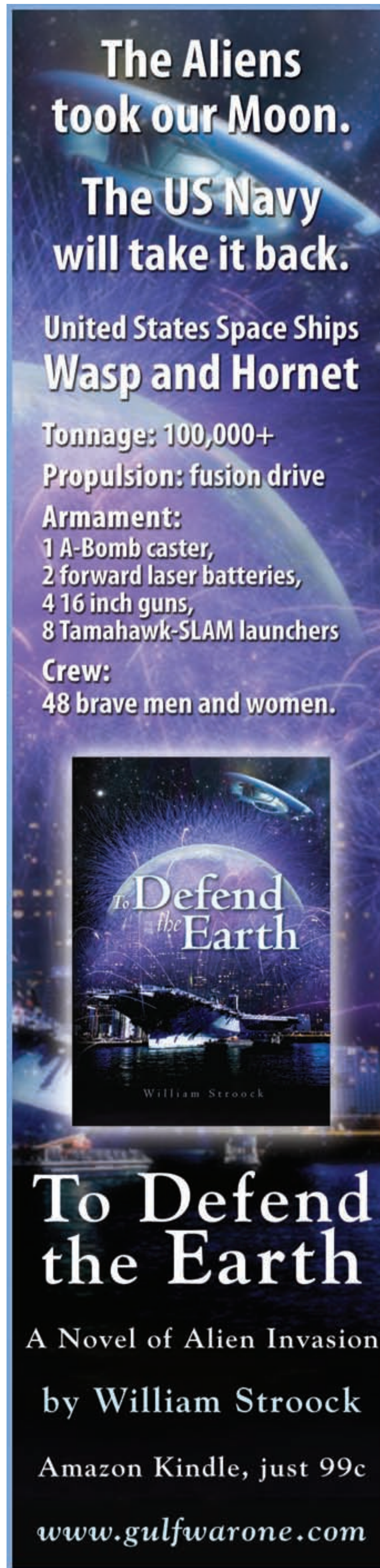
While the Marines were chasing the Sandinistas throughout the countryside, the 1928 elections were a resounding success. At more than 400 polling places, Marines and bluejackets made certain everything went smoothly. Every eligible voter had to dip a finger in red ink to ensure that they did not vote multiple times. When the 133,000 votes were finally counted, the Liberals had beaten the Conservatives by 19,000.

For the next five years, Marines and Guardsmen patrolled the rugged interior of Nicaragua, encountering the Sandinistas in numerous bloody skirmishes. In spite of the Liberal victory at the polls, Sandino did not recognize the new administration and he vowed to drive the leathernecks from his country. The Marines could not remain in Nicaragua indefinitely. The U.S. government expanded the training of the National Guard. Led by Marine officers and enlisted men assigned to the Guard as officers, the conventional units began to depart and, by 1933, they were gone.

The National Guard, formed to save the country from the rebels, eventually became its rulers. When he was given amnesty, Sandino was assassinated by the Guard in 1934 and Anastasio Somoza became president in 1936. He and his family would rule the nation with an iron hand for more than 40 years before he was ousted by, ironically, the Sandinistas.

The Marines in Nicaragua gained valuable experience in jungle fighting, expertise they would put to good use against the Japanese in World War II. Individuals such as Lewis "Chesty" Puller, "Red Mike" Edson, Evans Carlson, and Alexander "Sunny Jim" Vandegrift were educated in jungle warfare and small unit tactics that would prove to be extremely beneficial during their future island campaigns. In addition, close air support, still in its infancy, would come into its own in the years following the Nicaraguan campaigns. Pilots who had honed their skills in that country would use their knowledge well in the next war.

Politically, the Marine incursion into Nicaragua was a dismal failure. As Major W.D. Bushnell noted in *American Military Intervention: A Useful Tool or a Curse*: "The American military intervention in Nicaragua was unfortunate because of all the major U.S. interventions in the Caribbean area, it was the most difficult to justify. Consequently, there was good reason for its universal condemnation in Latin America and whole-hearted regret in the United States. One would be hard pressed to prove that the national interests of the United States were served by the whole sorry business." □



*By Peter Suciu*

## The U.S. Army M1910 Pattern Combat Equipment Web Belt is more than 100 years old. If it was well done, why change it?

THE AMERICAN COMBAT SOLDIER TODAY LOOKS QUITE A BIT different from his ancestor of 100 years ago. Besides the style of uniform, which now features a digital camouflage pattern to blend into desert surroundings, the fabrics today are far more breathable than the heavy wool that was worn when American soldiers went "Over There" in World War I. Helmets, boots, and small arms have also evolved. But one piece of gear has remained unchanged into the modern day—the combat equipment, or web, gear. Modern combat equipment is still very much a direct descendant of the M1910 pattern that was worn into the trenches and beyond.

U.S. Army Art

World War I-era U.S. officer, right, and enlisted men wear M1910 web belts in this painting by H. Charles McBarron. TOP: A WWI M1910 pattern infantry belt held .30-caliber Springfield rifle rounds and canteen.

Most nations in the 19th century issued leather belts, leather cartridge pouches, and leather packs to their soldiers. This was expensive to produce and, worse yet for the soldier, heavy and stiff. The leather had to be polished regularly because it was prone to drying out and cracking. It also tended to cause brass cartridges to corrode after prolonged contact, which was good for neither the ammunition nor the cartridge pouches. As the Germans discovered during the Allied blockade of World War I, such equipment required a steady supply of raw leather to produce. Given the demand for leather boots, belts, and gear, the Germans resorted to creating ersatz materials, notably when it came to the leather pickelhaubes, or spiked helmets.

While the Germans were facing leather shortages, the U.S. Army was already outfitted with canvas web gear. Partly because of the harsh terrain of the American West and partly as a money-saving effort, the Army had looked for a replacement for leather pouches. The first result was the adoption of the Mills cartridge belt in 1880, which was made of dark-blue machine-woven web. This was followed by the addition of the M1885 equipment, which included a khaki canvas haversack and a round, stamped-metal, cloth-covered canteen. This was the beginning of the American combat equipment that we know today.

The Mills belt remained in service during the Spanish-American War, and it was in the tropical climates of Cuba and the Philippines that the need heightened for a new combat gear system. Instead of a whole new system being devised and introduced, what followed was a series of slow improvements, most of them piece-

All photos Author's Collection

**ABOVE: The M1914 Cavalry Bandoleer featured nine cartridge pouches running from the middle of the back to the front, along with an additional two pistol-specific pouches on the left side. BELOW: The All-Purpose Lightweight Individual Carrying Equipment belt, with quick-release feature, was introduced in the 1970s as part of the Integrated Individual Fighting System belt. TOP: A late World War II-era improved M1912 pistol belt with submachine gun ammunition pockets for M1 and M3 magazines.**

meal. "The 1903 system is really the birth of the modern combat system," says Scott Kraska of Bay State Militaria. "This follows with the M1910, when it was expanded and becomes a full set as opposed to pieces of equipment."

The big change came not only because of a call for new material but also because the United States military had adopted a new rifle, the Model 1903 Springfield, which was fed with stripper clips of five rounds, where previous rifles were loaded a single bullet at a time. The need for a new belt was partly because of a new rifle. "In essence the United States Army needed equipment that was more practical," adds Kraska. "The earlier belts had no flaps and the ammunition could fall out, and since the bullets were individual loops in the heat or dryness, it could be hard to get the bullets in and they often stuck when you were trying to get them out."

About that time, the Army conducted studies on the equipment load its soldiers carried. One important consideration was the energy required for soldiers to carry their loads and how many calories were burned on a daily basis as a result. By lessening the burden, the Army determined, it would increase the greater fighting potential of the average soldier. Efforts were made to make his load as light as possible.

The resultant 1910 Infantry System would come into use for the next 50 years. The new M1910 cartridge belt featured 10 pouches for the Springfield .30-caliber ammunition. A variation of the belt was produced with stacked two-cell pockets for pistol cartridges, while another version was produced for revolver cartridges. The belts were made almost entirely of khaki webbing, with the few leather items produced in russet brown. The early M1910 pattern features snap fasteners bearing in relief the U.S. coat of arms, as did uniform buttons. All items were designated M1910.

The first major addition to the M1910 system was new equipment for mounted troops. Introduced in 1913 as the M1912, the equipment featured items carried specifically on the saddle. The infantry's equipment was introduced a year later as the M1914; together these were known as the M1912/14 Cavalry Equipment. The biggest notable difference between the infantry version and the cavalry model was that the infantry's cartridge belt was split at the back with a gap between the cartridge pouches. Five were worn on each side around the hips. The cavalry model featured nine cartridge pouches running from the middle of the back to the front, along with an additional two pistol-specific pouches on the left side. Additionally, the standard-issue leather pistol holster remained in use throughout both world wars.

To collectors today the webbing system is universally known as the M1910, but the true 1910 pattern is a little different from what followed. "To a casual observer and even to the Army at the time it was the same," says Jeff Shrader of Advanced Guard Militaria. But collectors note the subtle differences with the M1910 and the World War I-era M1917/18 equipment. "This was a time of great change in color, construction details, and hardware fittings," notes Shrader. "Basically, as we geared up for the AEF, contractors went to simplified and more robust fittings and heavier material in some cases."

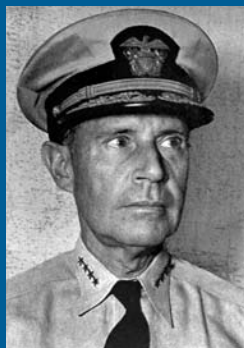
Shrader points out that the U.S. Army did not hesitate, however, to continue use of the older equipment, and this has led to some confusion today. "You see plenty of period photos of doughboys in France wearing the early 'eagle snap' gear," Shrader says, noting the significant difference between the M1910 and the improved 1917 version. The 1910 version did feature the eagle snaps, but this was expensive to produce and resulted in the snaps corroding and tearing off. The new M1917/18 system utilized a "lift-the-dot" fastener, a large egg-shaped "doughnut" snap that fastened to a metal stud and was less prone to jamming by mud. It replaced the smaller snap fastener on most items manufactured after March 1917.

This has led to confusion about what truly constitutes the M1910 belt. "Generally, the M1910 belt is what it is called," says Kraska, "at least by collectors. It was used throughout World War II. There are plenty of differences over the years." Experts agree that this was the first truly practical equipment. "It used wire loops to affix things to, so the belts have plenty of holes to attach equipment," notes Kraska, "and this meant soldiers could wear it in many configurations."

While there was a recommended configuration, soldiers in practice had the ability to wear the equipment as they wanted. The M1910 and its variations proved to be the first great interchangeable system for carrying equipment. Kraska notes that some items still needed improvement. "The downside was that people couldn't figure out the original pack, and soldiers hated it." Eventually the pack was improved and the webbing evolved.

During World War I specialized belts were developed for the Browning Automatic Rifle (BAR), with larger pouches for its cartridges, and for the web pistol belt, which would take the M1910 system in a whole new direction in the following war. "The pistol belt featured no pockets at all," explains Kraska. "It was just a platform for other equipment. It was a narrow, three-inch belt, but it was meant to hang anything you wanted on it. There were pouches for ammunition, and all sorts of pieces were adopted for it, but it still comes out of the M1910 belt." This belt featured a series of three holes evenly spaced out to allow for a variety of attachments at the bottom as

*Continued on page 66*



# MIDWAY:

All: National Archives

DESPITE MORE THAN A DECADE OF TRIUMPHS IN ASIA and the Pacific, by the spring of 1942 the Japanese military establishment was in a somber mood. Although the empire stretched from the Dutch East Indies to the Solomon archipelago, encompassing tiny Wake Island nearly 2,000 miles distant in the Central Pacific and occupying great swaths of Chinese territory, its long-term security remained tenuous at best.

The military prowess of the United States in the region had been crippled by the devastating attack on Pearl Harbor, the capture of Wake Island, and the disastrous fall of the Philippines. Nevertheless, in mid-April 1942, American planes under the command of Lt. Col. Jimmy Doolittle seemingly came out of nowhere and bombed Tokyo. Early the next month, a Japanese offensive against Port Moresby on the southeastern tip of New Guinea was thwarted with the unexpected defeat of the Imperial Navy at the Battle of the Coral Sea.

While the U.S. Navy had been crippled at Pearl Harbor, it was readily apparent to senior Japanese naval commanders that the Americans were far from finished. The repair facilities at Pearl Harbor had survived the attack relatively undamaged, and vast stores of fuel oil were untouched. No American aircraft carriers had been present at Pearl Harbor, and their threat to future Japanese operations demanded immediate attention.

Japanese grand strategy called for maintaining an offensive posture. The setback at Coral Sea and the growing concern following the Doolittle raid heightened the sense of urgency surrounding the next major Japanese move. Slated for early June, it was an elaborate plan to capture Midway atoll, approximately 1,150 miles west of Hawaii, and to seize of the islands of Attu and Kiska in the Aleutians far to the north.

Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, commander of the Imperial Japanese Navy's Combined Fleet, had favored the Midway operation from the beginning. At 58, Yamamoto was familiar with the United States, having studied at Harvard University and served as a naval attaché in Washington, D.C., in the 1920s. A combat veteran, he had lost two fingers from his left hand at the epic Battle of Tsushima Strait during the Russo-Japanese War. An advocate of naval air power, he had earned his pilot's wings at the advanced age of 40. Poker and other card games were favorite pastimes, and Yamamoto had developed a professional reputation as a risk taker.

Japanese seizure of Midway was expected to achieve three key strategic objectives. The perimeter of the empire would be expanded, improving security. The threat to Hawaii would intensify. And the Americans would be compelled to

BY MICHAEL E. HASKEW

# TURNING POINT IN THE PACIFIC

AGAINST LONG ODDS, THE U.S. NAVY INFLICTED A STINGING DEFEAT ON IMPERIAL JAPAN AT MIDWAY ISLAND AND TURNED THE TIDE OF WORLD WAR II IN THE PACIFIC.

**Lieutenant Richard Best and his wingmen roar away after delivering a fatal blow to Japanese aircraft carrier *Akagi* in this R.G. Smith painting, *SBDs Over Akagi.* INSET: (left to right) Isoroku Yamamoto, Raymond A. Spruance, Frank J. Fletcher.**

fight for Midway, committing their precious aircraft carriers to the effort, which Yamamoto was confident would result in their destruction.

As the Midway operation took shape, Yamamoto's principal adversary, Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, had been in command of the U.S. Pacific Fleet for only five months. A native Texan, Nimitz possessed the even temperament and quiet optimism that were critically needed after eight American battleships had been seriously damaged or mired on the shallow bottom of Pearl Harbor. But Nimitz also possessed an aggressive tendency that compelled him to confront the Japanese as soon as conditions were reasonably favorable. Where Yamamoto was a gambler prone to overconfidence, Nimitz was a master of the calculated risk.

Considerable uncertainty existed among the Americans as to exactly where the next Japanese blow would fall. An intelligence coup gave Nimitz the invaluable knowledge that the target was Midway. At Station Hypo on the island of Oahu, Lt. Cmdr. Joseph J. Rochefort ran a crew of cryptanalysts who succeeded in cracking much of the Japanese Navy's operations code, JN-25B. Rochefort's people were eventually reading as much as 85 percent of some Japanese message traffic. As a flurry of Japanese radio communications picked up, Rochefort noticed numerous references to a location known as "AF." Eager to confirm his suspicion that AF was Midway, Rochefort instructed the Midway garrison to send a false message to Pearl Harbor that the atoll's freshwater condenser had broken down. The message was transmitted and the enemy took the bait. Soon, a Japanese message removed all doubt as to the identity of AF.

National Archives

ABOVE: Burning oil tanks on Sand Island, Midway, after a Japanese air attack on June 4, 1942. RIGHT: U.S. Vindicator torpedo planes take off from Midway in this motion picture still made before the battle. OPPOSITE: American and Japanese naval task forces converge on aptly named Midway Island for the climatic battle of the Pacific War. The curving dotted line shows the furthest extent of the Japanese eastward advance, which the American victory at Midway rolled back, less than 1,200 miles west of Hawaii.

Although Nimitz now knew that the Japanese intended to capture Midway, he still confronted many problems. The Japanese carriers and their veteran air crews were a formidable foe. The Japanese also maintained a decided advantage in surface warships. Perhaps most disconcerting was the fact that American carrier strength remained impaired. The 37,000-ton *Saratoga* was in dry dock at Bremerton, Washington, for repairs to damage sustained by a torpedo hit from a Japanese submarine on January 11. Her sister ship, *Lexington,* had been sunk on May 8 at Coral Sea. The 19,800-ton *Yorktown* had taken a single bomb during the Coral Sea action and limped into Pearl Harbor on May 22, trailing a 10-mile oil slick. This left *Enterprise* and *Hornet,* both of the Yorktown class, as the only unscathed American carriers in the Pacific. To make matters worse, the most experienced and aggressive carrier commander in the U.S. Navy, Admiral William F. "Bull" Halsey, was in a Hawaiian hospital suffering from a debilitating outbreak of dermatitis.

It was estimated that 90 days would be needed to repair *Yorktown.* Nimitz gave her skipper, Captain Elliott Buckmaster, a mere 72 hours to get the carrier ready for action. Working around the clock, electricians, ship-fitters, carpenters, and welders patched up the carrier. On May 28, *Hornet* and *Enterprise* sailed out to defend Midway as the nucleus of Task Force 16. Floating free from dry dock, *Yorktown* steamed out of Pearl Harbor the next day as the flagship of Task Force 17.

In overall tactical command of the American forces was Admiral Frank Jack Fletcher, a capable commander with limited experience in carrier aviation who had led the U.S. task force at Coral Sea. As he lay frustrated in a hospital bed, Halsey recommended that Nimitz appoint Admiral Raymond A. Spruance as his replacement to lead Task Force 16. Spruance had earned Halsey's respect while commanding a cruiser escort during earlier operations. While Spruance had no carrier aviation experience, other members of Halsey's command group, particularly chief of staff Captain Miles Browning, did.

Nimitz ordered the two task forces to rendezvous 325 miles northeast of Midway at a location named Point Luck. From there, they would attack the Japanese carriers while the enemy planes were away softening up Midway in preparation for landings on the atoll's two islets, Sand and Eastern. Along with *Hornet* and *Enterprise,* Spruance commanded five

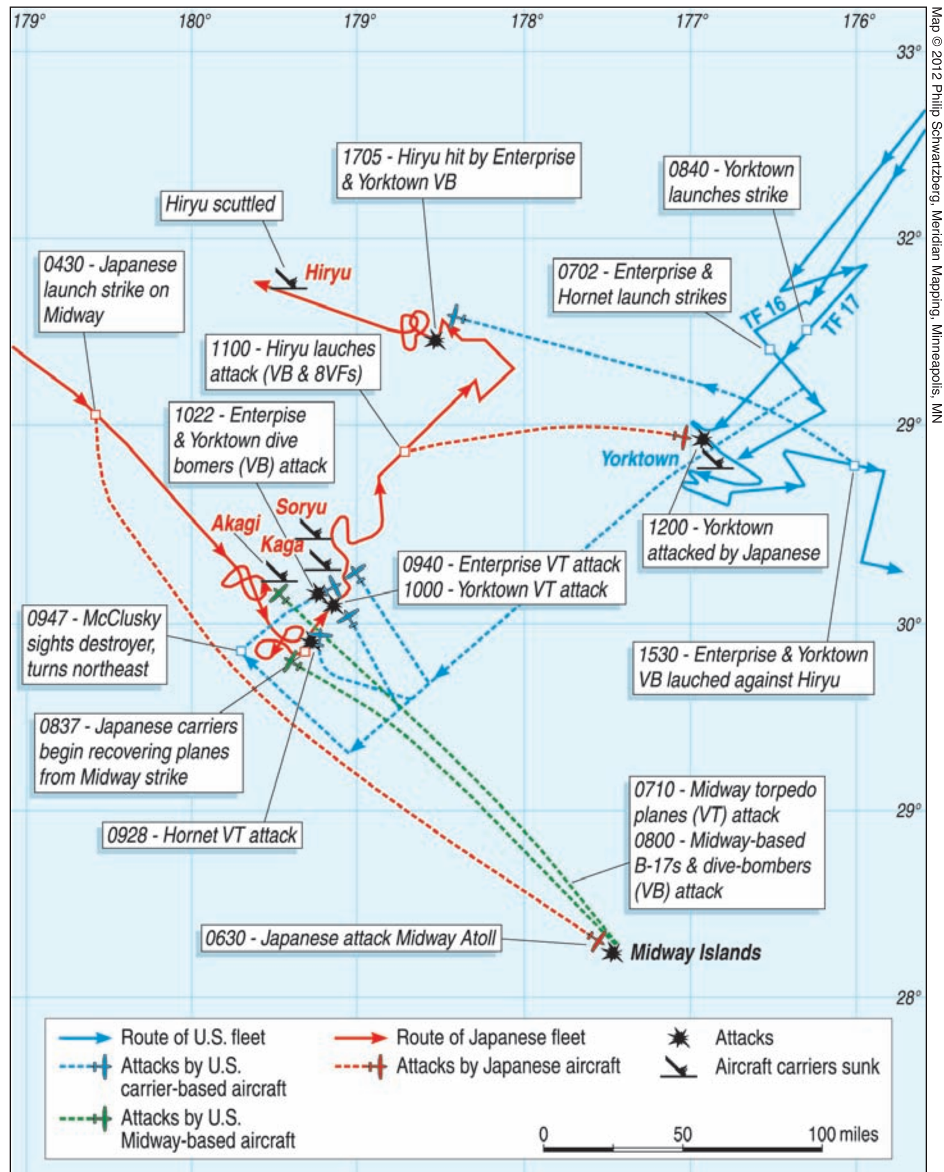
National Archives

heavy cruisers, a single light cruiser and nine destroyers. Fletcher's screening force for *Yorktown* included two cruisers, and six destroyers. In the Aleutians, Admiral R.A. Theobald commanded five cruisers and 13 destroyers.

Yamamoto's penchant for complex planning was evident at Midway. The operation would begin on June 3 with an air raid on the American base at Dutch Harbor in the Aleutians. He expected the Americans to be caught off guard by the Aleutian feint and either rush northward to defend Alaskan territory or remain on guard at Pearl Harbor. In either case, Yamamoto did not expect substantial opposition to the occupation of Midway. When Nimitz did act, Yamamoto believed it would be several days too late. The occupation of Midway would be a fait accompli. The naval forces involved in the Aleutian thrust would be positioned to intercept any move northward, while the Midway forces would be free to take on the Americans in a decisive surface battle. Yamamoto counted on the firepower of the Japanese battleships and cruisers to finish off any American warships that escaped the ravages of his carrier planes.

Yamato assembled an awesome array of naval power to execute his master plan. No fewer than eight carriers, 11 battleships, 20 cruisers, 60 destroyers, and 15 submarines, along with transports and other support vessels, were involved. The Japanese command was divided into numerous major components, some of which were subdivided into smaller units with specific tasks. The heart of the fleet consisted of four of the six aircraft carriers of the Kido Butai, or Striking Force, that had attacked Pearl Harbor the previous December. Under the command of Admiral Chuichi Nagumo, these included his flagship, the 36,500-ton *Akagi,* as well as the 38,800-ton *Kaga,* 15,900-ton *Soryu,* and 17,300-ton *Hiryu.* These were accompanied by two battleships, three cruisers, and 11 destroyers.

The Japanese main body included three new battleships, a light carrier, a cruiser, and eight destroyers. Yamamoto himself was in command aboard the mighty battleship *Yamato,* displacing more than 68,000 tons with a main armament of massive 18.1-inch guns. A second force, under Admiral Takasu Shiro, sailed with Yamamoto and was to take up station to support the Aleutian forces if necessary with four battleships, two cruisers, and 12 destroyers. The Midway invasion force, commanded by Admiral Nobutake Kondo, included a carrier, troop transports, battleships, and cruisers to provide fire support. The Northern Force, under Admiral Boshiro Hosogaya, consisted




Map © 2012 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN

of two carriers, three cruisers, and the troops that eventually would occupy Attu and Kiska.

On May 27, Navy Day for the Combined Fleet in commemoration of the great victory at Tsushima 37 years earlier, Yamamoto's main force and the Kido Butai under Nagumo sailed from their anchorage at Hashirajima, in the Inland Sea south of the naval base at Kure and the city of Hiroshima. Commander Mitsuo Fuchida, the naval aviator who had led the attack on Pearl Harbor, was aboard *Akagi,* but would not be of much help. The most accomplished air leader in the Japanese Navy, Fuchida was confined to the carrier's sick bay with appendicitis. Commander Minoru Genda, who planned the tactical element of the Pearl Harbor attack, was also aboard *Akagi* but he was suffering from pneumonia, and his contribution to the Midway operation likewise was greatly diminished.

Altogether, the four carriers of Nagumo's striking force mustered more than 240 Mitsubishi A6M Zero fighters, Aichi D3A1 Val dive bombers, and Nakajima B5N Kate torpedo bombers. Aboard the three American carriers were a roughly equivalent number of Grumman F4F Wildcat fighters, Douglas SBD Dauntless dive bombers, and Douglas TBD Devastator torpedo bombers. A hodgepodge of about 100 planes was based at Midway.

The Japanese Zero had earned a reputation as the finest fighter plane in the Pacific, nimble and armed with both 7.7mm machine guns and 20mm cannons. Its Achilles heel was a lack of armor protection for the pilot and the absence of self-sealing gasoline tanks. A few hits from the .50-caliber machine guns of an American F4F were often enough to send a Zero down in flames. However, its speed and maneuverability made the Japanese fighter a deadly opponent.

National Archives

American fighter pilots knew their Wildcats could not turn with the Zeros and were reluctant to engage in prolonged dogfights with their Japanese adversaries. Instead, they attempted to attack from above, diving on Zeros with guns blazing and using speed to regain altitude. The Dauntless was a stable dive-bombing platform that could absorb tremendous punishment and still bring its pilot home. By contrast, the slow, short-range Devastator was woefully inadequate, and its crews would pay a terrible price at the hands of the Zeros.

Under the command of Marine Captain Cyril Simard, Midway was defended by 3,652 men of the Sixth Marine Defense Battalion, supplemented by elements of the Third Marine Defense Battalion and two companies of the 2nd Marine Raider Battalion. Its air group included only six operational Wildcat fighters and 21 obsolete Brewster Buffalo aircraft. Among the bombers were 18 Dauntlesses and 21 outdated Vought SB2U Vindicators, 15 four-engine Boeing B-17 Flying Fortresses, four Martin B-26 Marauders modified to carry torpedoes, and the six brand-new TBF Avengers. A total of 29 long-range Consolidated PBY Catalina patrol planes were also available.

At 3 AM on June 3, Midway-based pilots and crewmen of combat air-patrol planes and 22 long-range Catalina flying boats detailed to carry out reconnaissance flights were roused from their bunks. By 4:15 they were climbing into the morning sky. The Catalinas were to cover search areas of approximately 700 miles each, totaling thousands of square miles of ocean. As the Catalinas neared the limits of their range that morning, Ensign Charles R. Eaton and his crew spotted several Japanese vessels and radioed the first confirmed sighting of the enemy: "Two Japanese cargo vessels sighted bearing 247 degrees, distance 470 miles. Fired upon by AA."

Minutes later, the PBY piloted by Ensign Jack Reid, having already extended the outward leg of its search, was nearing a turn for home when three crewmen almost simultaneously spotted the wakes and dim silhouettes of Japanese ships. Reid dashed off a somewhat cryptic message: "Sighted main body." This was quickly followed by "Bearing 262, distance 700." Back at Midway, Simard asked for ship types, course, and speed. Reid turned and trailed the Japanese, attempting to stay out of sight and comply with Simard's orders. An agonizing interval followed before Reid confirmed 11 ships, including a small aircraft carrier, seaplane carrier, two battleships, cruisers, and destroyers. Actually, Reid had not spotted Yamamoto's main body; the ships were heavyweights of the Midway invasion force under Admiral Kondo. Eaton had detected the minesweeper group, also part of the invasion force. Nevertheless, it was enough for Simard to take action.

At 12:30 PM, nine B-17s of the 431st Bombardment Squadron took off to attack the Japanese. Four hours later, the big bombers spotted the Japanese transport group, under Admiral Raizo Tanaka, dropped their 600-pound bombs from altitudes of at least 8,000 feet, and headed for home. Reports of hits proved inaccurate, and no casualties were sustained on either side, but the Japanese knew that they had been discovered. At 1:30 AM on June 4, three Catalinas armed with torpedoes attacked the transport group once again. This time, one succeeded in putting a torpedo into the tanker *Akebono Maru.* Twenty-three Japanese sailors were killed or wounded. Meanwhile, the Japanese had already struck the first blow of the battle as 14 bombers and three fighters attacked Dutch Harbor in the Aleutians in the early morning hours of June 3, destroying a barracks, fuel tank farm, and other installations and killing 25 Americans.

Still unaware that three enemy aircraft carriers were in the vicinity of Midway and had swung northwest toward the most likely approach route of his own striking force, Nagumo turned his carriers into the wind and began launching an air strike against Midway to remove the threat of air attack from the atoll and soften up its defenses for an amphibious landing. As Sweeney's B-17s were taking off to attack Tanaka, 108 Vals, Kates, and Zeros rose from the decks of the Japanese carriers. The planes were under the command of Lieutenant Joichi Tomonaga, a veteran pilot selected to replace the ailing Fuchida as strike leader. Nagumo retained half his aircraft, armed with torpedoes, to meet the threat of any American surface ships.

At 5:20 AM, Midway reconnaissance once again hit pay dirt. Lieutenant Howard F. Ady reported sighting a Japanese aircraft carrier and followed that with a report that enemy aircraft were approaching the atoll. Another search plane, piloted by Lieutenant (j.g.) William A. Chase, spotted the inbound Japanese raid at 5:45 and radioed, "Many planes heading Midway, bearing 320 degrees, distance 150." Within minutes, Midway's antiaircraft defenses were on alert and every aircraft was sent aloft. Midway radar picked up the Japanese at a distance of 93 miles.

During the sharp aerial battle that ensued, 24 American fighters were either shot down or seriously damaged. Under the command of Major Floyd B. "Red" Parks, the pilots of Marine Fighter Squadron VMF-221 fought bravely but could not turn back the Japanese onslaught. Parks himself was among the casualties.

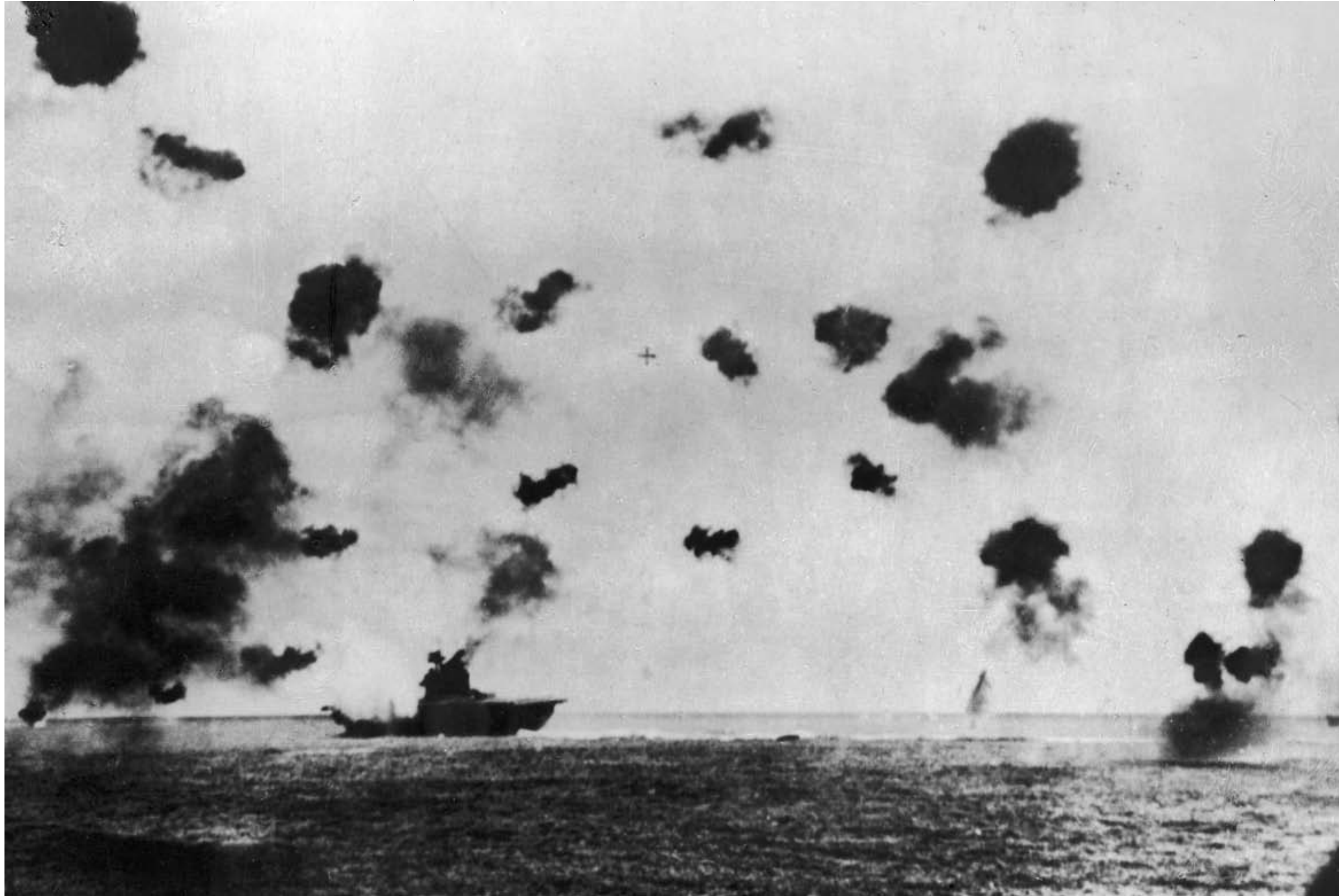
Tomonaga led his planes into withering fire from the Midway defenders and destroyed the seaplane hangar, fuel dump, powerhouse, and freshwater processing facility. Twenty-four Americans were killed and 18 wounded. The Japanese lost 11 attacking planes; another 40 were damaged, some badly enough that they could no longer take part in the battle. More distressing for the Japanese was the assessment

of the raid itself. The airstrip at Midway remained functional, and Tomonaga radioed that a second strike was required.

Ady's sighting of a Japanese carrier had fixed the enemy's location for Fletcher and Spruance while also alerting Simard, who threw every available Midway-based aircraft at the Carrier Striking Force. More than 50 planes without fighter escort mounted four separate attacks against Nagumo's warships. Six U.S. Navy TBF Avengers and four Army Air Corps B-26 Marauders attacked a few minutes after 7 AM, followed less than an hour later by the Marine Corps Dauntless dive bombers of VMSB-241. An additional 14 B-17s attacked from 20,000 feet, their bristling guns keeping the Zeros at bay but scoring no hits.

Eleven Vindicator dive bombers made the final morning attack, targeting Japanese battleships. Their commander, Major Benjamin W. Norris, burst through cloud cover and found himself some distance away from the carriers. Norris knew that his elderly planes, constructed partially of fabric, could not stand up to heavy antiaircraft fire from the carriers and chose to glide bomb the nearest targets. Near misses rocked *Haruna*, and one American bomb narrowly missed the fantail of *Kirishima*, but not a single hit was scored. At least 19 American planes were shot down, and the Japanese lost three Zeros.

Nagumo worried that the surviving Midway-based aircraft continued to pose a threat and had to be neutralized. When he received Tomonaga's request for a second strike at about 7:15 AM, it was all he needed to hit Midway again. The Kates of the first raid had been supplied by *Soryu* and *Hiryu*, while the dive bombers had taken off from *Akagi* and *Kaga*. Nagumo ordered that the Kates aboard *Akagi* and *Kaga* have their torpedoes replaced with high-explosive bombs. The Vals sitting on the hangar decks of *Soryu* and *Hiryu* had not yet been armed, and he ordered them equipped with high-explosive bombs for land targets on Midway rather than the armor-piercing types used against enemy ships.

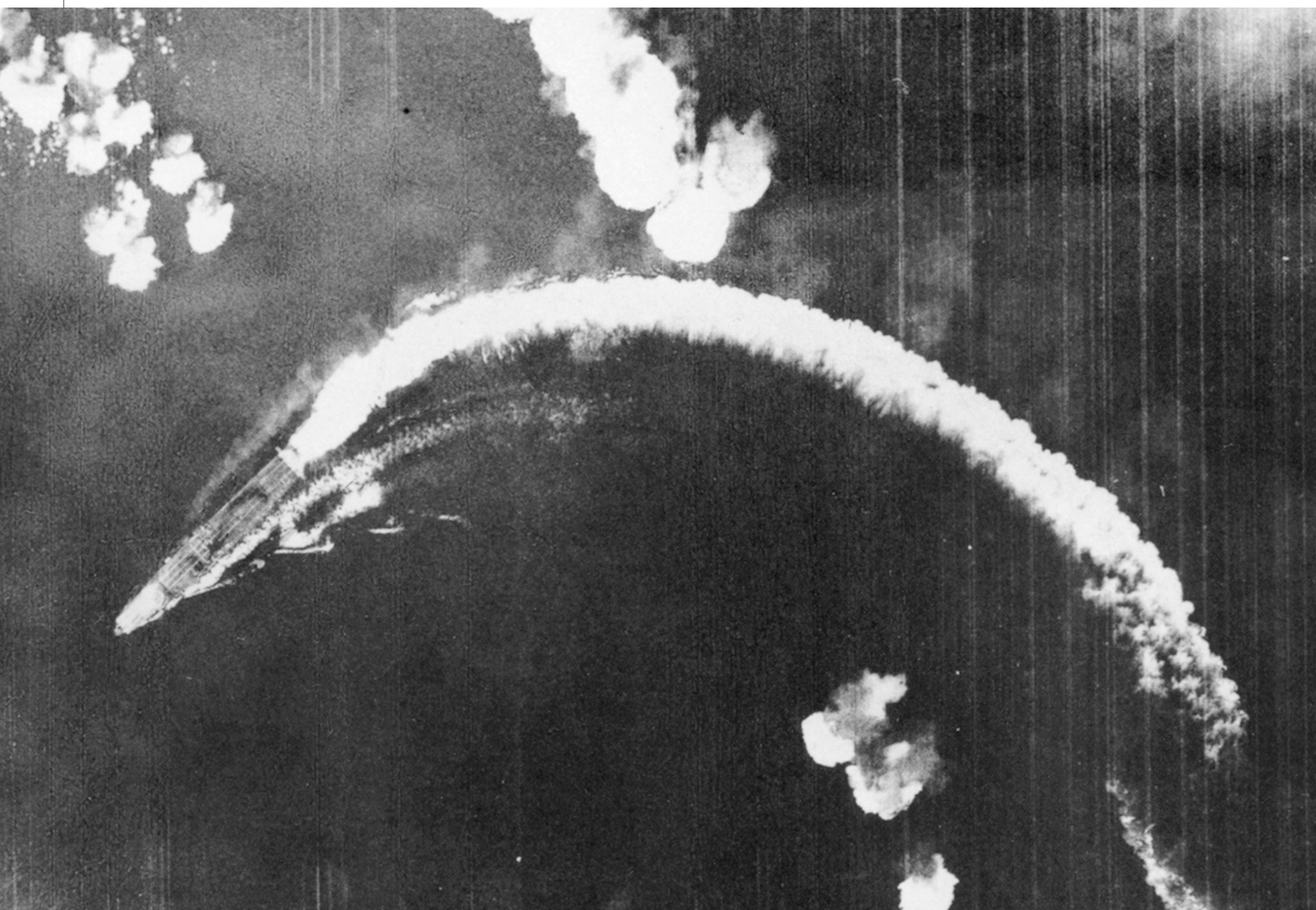


National Archives

**ABOVE: USS *Yorktown,* hit on the port side by a Japanese torpedo from the carrier *Hiryu.* This was the second torpedo hit on the ship during the battle. OPPOSITE: TBD-1 aircraft from Torpedo Squadron 6 prepare for launching on USS *Enterprise* at 7:40 AM on June 4, 1942. Nine squadron aircraft were lost in bombing runs that morning.**

The failure of the Japanese to deploy sufficient numbers of reconnaissance aircraft now came back to haunt Nagumo. The launching of some of the Japanese scout planes had also been delayed, due to engine or catapult problems, and one of these, Number 4, had taken off late from the heavy cruiser *Tone*. As the plane reached the end of its 300-mile search radius, the pilot spotted the wakes of several ships. There was little doubt that these were American.

Consternation gripped the officers aboard *Akagi* when the news was received. "When it reached Admiral Nagumo and his staff on *Akagi*'s bridge," Fuchida wrote, "it struck them like a bolt from the blue. Until this moment no one had anticipated that an enemy force could possibly appear so soon, much less suspected that enemy ships were already in the vicinity waiting to ambush us. Now the entire picture was changed."



National Archives

At 8:20, Scout Number 4 relayed more incredible news: "Enemy force accompanied by what appears to be aircraft carrier bringing up the rear." Nagumo confronted a major dilemma. The rearming of the planes for the second Midway raid would take an hour to complete. At about the same time, Tomonaga's planes would be returning from the first Midway strike, low on fuel and some damaged. These planes would have to be recovered quickly. To complicate matters, his carriers were under intermittent air attack by American planes from Midway, preventing deck crews from adequately preparing to launch or recover their own aircraft.

Nagumo, paralyzed by indecision, allowed precious minutes to tick away before issuing new orders. Once the planes of the first Midway strike were recovered, he intended to turn northeast, racing at 30 knots to close with the Americans and destroy any enemy carriers. He estimated that 89 planes would be available for launch at approximately 10:30 AM. Time, however, was running out for Nagumo and his striking force.

On the evening of June 3, hours after Reid first sighted Japanese warships, Task Forces 16 and 17 closed their distance from Midway to 200 miles and maintained a course to the north of the atoll. Already alerted by Nimitz in far-off Hawaii that Reid's sighting was not the Japanese main body, Fletcher and Spruance still expected the Japanese carriers to approach Midway from the northwest. Radio operators aboard *Enterprise* picked up Ady's message identifying a Japanese carrier early on the morning of June 4. Moments later, another message from Chase confirmed the presence of at least one more carrier.

Fletcher weighed his options. At 6:07 AM, four minutes after receiving the latest report on the Japanese carriers, he ordered Spruance with *Enterprise* and *Hornet* to "proceed southwesterly and attack enemy carriers when definitely located. I will follow as soon as planes recovered." Fletcher had set the stage for Spruance to make the most momentous command decision of the carrier war in the Pacific. Spruance calculated that within three hours his carriers would be approximately 100 miles from Nagumo's ships—but how long could he remain undetected by the Japanese?

**ABOVE: *Hiryu* maneuvers desperately during a high-level bombing attack from American B-17s shortly after 8 AM on June 4. RIGHT: U.S. Navy Douglas SBD-3 Dauntless dive bombers from USS *Hornet* approach the burning heavy cruiser *Mikuma* on June 6.**

Aware that Japanese planes had already attacked Midway, Spruance conferred with Browning and decided to launch every available plane from *Enterprise* and *Hornet*. Launch time was 7:02 AM, and the distance of about 170 miles was at the extreme limit of the range of the carrier planes.

It was a risk, but Spruance knew that the Japanese carriers would have to steam toward Midway for some time to recover the planes returning from Tomonaga's raid. If he had made the right call, American planes could well be in position to attack the Japanese carriers with their decks full of unready aircraft.

Launching carrier planes was usually a well-choreographed endeavor, but several delays kept the Dauntless dive bombers circling above Task Force 16, wasting precious fuel, while engine trouble was corrected and Wildcat fight-

ers and Devastator torpedo bombers were brought up from the hangar decks. Spruance became impatient and ordered the *Enterprise* dive bombers, 37 Dauntlesses of Bombing 6 and Scouting 6 under Lt. Cmdr. Clarence W. "Wade" McClusky, to proceed on their own. When launch operations were finally completed, 67 dive bombers, 29 torpedo planes, and 20 fighters were in the air. Eighteen Wildcats remained on combat air patrol above Task Force 16.

Fletcher followed Spruance on a course of 240 degrees and held his planes aboard *Yorktown* for two additional hours in case a second Japanese carrier group was spotted. Fletcher was still smarting from erroneous information during the Battle of the Coral Sea that had caused him to launch all planes against a secondary target, the light carrier *Shoho*. By 8:40 AM, Fletcher had received no additional reports of Japanese activity and turned *Yorktown* into the wind to launch 17 dive bombers, 12 torpedo planes, and six fighters. As the sun climbed higher on the morning of June 4, air temperatures hovered around 70 degrees and visibility was virtually unlimited, with only a few high clouds in the tropical sky.

The last Japanese plane returning from the Midway strike landed a few minutes after 9 AM, and Nagumo ordered his ships to execute the predetermined change of course to the northeast. The decks of the four Japanese carriers were beehives of activity, some planes being raised and lowered on elevators while others were armed and fuel lines stretched to fill empty tanks.

Nagumo's course change did pay one dividend: the 35 Dauntlesses and 10 Wildcats of *Hornet*'s Bombing 8, Scouting 8, and Fighting 8 reached the anticipated point of interception and found nothing but open ocean. Commander Stanhope Ring led the planes toward Midway in search of the enemy fleet, but came up empty. The entire flight missed the battle, several planes landing to refuel at Midway while a number of others were forced to ditch.

McClusky, too, had flown toward the expected position of the Japanese carriers. When he found nothing, the commander of the *Enterprise* air group, who had turned 40 years old just a few days earlier, opted to maintain course for another 35 miles, rather than turning back toward Midway or his carrier. McClusky headed north at 9:35 AM. Twenty minutes later, he spotted the wake of a Japanese destroyer, *Arashi,* just coming off a depth-charge attack on the American submarine *Nautilus*. McClusky correctly assumed that the destroyer was rushing to catch up with Nagumo. At 10:02, he spotted the Japanese quarry 35 miles to the northeast.

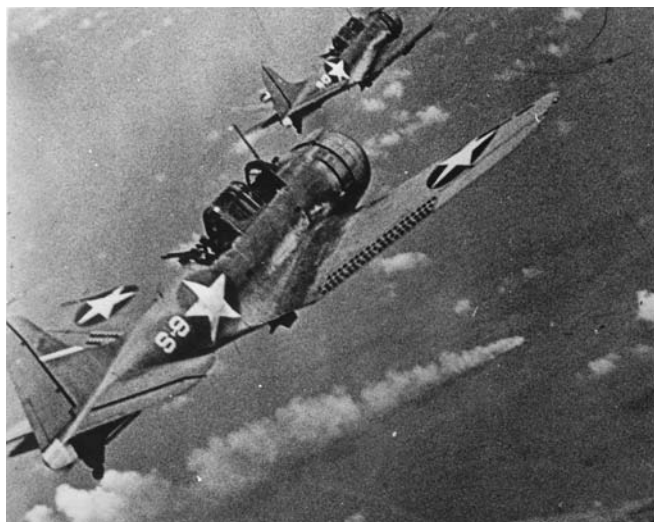
Within seconds, Lt. Cmdr. Maxwell F. Leslie, leading *Yorktown*'s Bombing 3, made visual contact as well. McClusky and the *Enterprise* Dauntlesses were at 19,000 feet, while Leslie's *Yorktown* dive bombers were at 14,500. In the distance, they saw black puffs of antiaircraft fire and streaks of flame as burning planes fell from the sky. Nagumo's ships were maneuvering violently to avoid torpedo attacks from three squadrons of lumbering American torpedo planes.

Lieutenant Commander John C. Waldron led *Hornet*'s Torpedo 8 in the first attack against Nagumo by American carrier planes. At 9:20 AM, Waldron picked out the nearest Japanese carrier, *Soryu*, and began his run. Moments later, his last words were overheard by a member of another squadron: "Watch those fighters! How am I doing? Splash! I'd give a million to know who did that! My two wingmen are going in the water!"

During the next 20 minutes, all 15 Devastators of Torpedo 8 fell victim to Zeros or heavy antiaircraft fire, many without launching their torpedoes. Ensign George Gay was the lone survivor among 30 naval aviators. Gay floated in the water until the following afternoon, when he was picked up by a patrolling Catalina. The previous night, Waldron had updated his attack plan and written a poignant and prophetic message to his men: "Just a word to let you know that I feel we are all ready. We have had a very short time to train and we have worked under the most severe difficulties. But we have done the best humanly possible. I actually believe that under these conditions we are the best in the world. My greatest hope is that we encounter a favorable tactical situation, but if we don't, and the worst comes to worst, I want each of us to do his utmost to destroy our enemies. If there is only one plane left to make a final run-in, I want that man to go in and get a hit. May God be with us all. Good Luck, happy landings, and give 'em hell."

Torpedo 6 from *Enterprise* attacked next. Fourteen Devastators led by Lt. Cmdr. Eugene E. Lindsey were without fighter cover, and the Zeros pounced like wolves. In seconds, Lindsey was shot down; nine others followed quickly. The four surviving torpedo bombers managed to escape only because the Japanese pilots were so busy with new reports of incoming American aircraft.

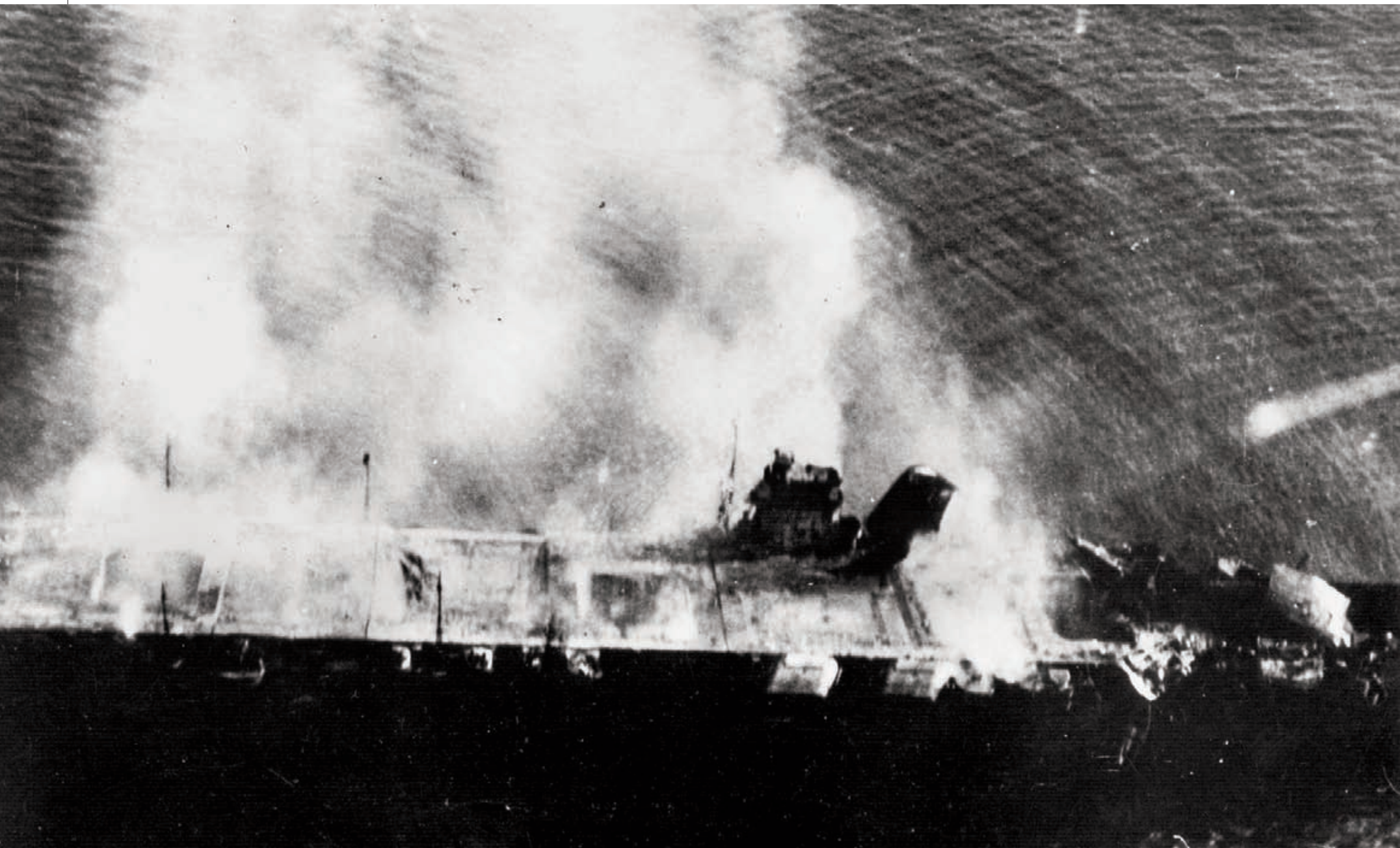
At 10 AM, Lt. Cmdr. Lance E. Massey, at the head of Torpedo 3 from *Yorktown,* sighted the Japanese warships. Zeros jumped the six escorting Wildcats of Fighting 3, under Commander John S. Thach, and a wild melee ensued. Five torpedoes were launched at the Japanese carrier *Hiryu* from starboard, but no hits were scored. Torpedo 3 lost 10 of its 12 Devastators.



Altogether, 41 American torpedo planes had attacked Nagumo's carriers. Thirty-five were shot down. Of the 81 pilots and rear gunners that flew into action, 69 were killed, but the slaughter of the torpedo squadrons was not in vain. In their frantic maneuvering to avoid the attacks, the Japanese had been unable to move their own aircraft to the flight decks for a strike at the American carriers. The Zeros still in the air had been heavily engaged and were low on fuel and ammunition. Even worse, while chasing the slow Devastators, the Japanese planes had been pulled down to low altitude and could not react quickly enough to defend against the dive bombers of McClusky and Leslie, who were spoiling for a fight.

Just before Massey's ill-fated torpedo attack on *Hiryu,* McClusky and the Dauntlesses of Scouting 6 and Bombing 6 pushed over into steep dives toward *Kaga*. Although their intent had been to split the squadrons and attack *Kaga* and *Akagi* simultaneously, a mistake in communications sent all the dive bombers hurtling toward the same target. Lieutenant Richard Best, commander of Bombing 6, realized the error and aborted his dive along with two other VB-6 Dauntlesses. The three diverted to *Akagi*. At the same time, Leslie's dive bombers from *Yorktown* approached *Soryu* from the northeast.

Within five minutes, three Japanese carriers had become blazing pyres. The flight deck of *Akagi*



National Archives

was packed with aircraft ready to take off and attack the American carriers. "The Air Officer flapped a white flag, and the first Zero fighter gathered speed and whizzed off the deck," Fuchida remembered. "At that instant a lookout screamed: 'Hell-divers!' I looked up to see three black enemy planes plummeting toward our ship. The plump silhouettes of the American 'Dauntless' dive bombers quickly grew larger, and then a number of black objects suddenly floated eerily from their wings. Bombs! Down they came straight toward me! I fell intuitively to the deck and crawled behind a command post mantelet."

The first bomb was a near miss, its splash drenching everyone on the bridge. Best's bomb then hit squarely on the amidships elevator and penetrated to the hangar deck. In their haste, crewmen had not secured the bombs they had removed earlier. As these cooked off, *Akagi* was wracked by internal explosions. Fires raged out of control and sealed many passages below the bridge. A third bomb struck along the edge of the flight deck's port side. Nagumo transferred his flag to the light cruiser *Nagara*. Fuchida broke both ankles and barely escaped with his life.

*Akagi* lost power and was finally abandoned at 5 PM. Yamamoto himself finally ordered destroyers to scuttle the blackened hulk the following morning. Remarkably, only 263 men were killed. The fate of *Kaga* was similar. McClusky's dive bombers screamed down at an angle of roughly 70 degrees. *Kaga*'s air officer, Captain Takahisa Amagai, observed, "Splendid was their tactic of diving upon our force from the direction of the sun, taking advantage of intermittent clouds."

Lieutenant Earl Gallaher dropped his 1,000-pound bomb on the starboard flight deck, immediately turning planes into torches. Two more bombs hit near the forward elevator, igniting a gasoline truck that showered the bridge with flaming shrapnel and killed everyone present. A fourth hit squarely amidships on the port side. Efforts to save the ship were futile, and 811 men perished before torpedoes from destroyers sent *Kaga* to the bottom at 7:25 PM.

When Leslie's 17 planes attacked *Soryu,* only 13 of them still carried bombs. Electric arming switches had malfunctioned, and four bombs had fallen harmlessly into the sea. Leslie blazed away at *Soryu*'s bridge until his guns jammed. Lieutenant (j.g.) Paul "Lefty" Holmberg dropped his bomb from less than 3,000 feet and was satisfied with a hit amidships that exploded on the hangar deck and catapulted the forward elevator against the bridge. A second bomb smashed into the flight deck and blew a Zero into the sea as it was taking off. The third bomb struck near the aft elevator. *Soryu* blazed from bow to stern, and 20 minutes later the order was given to abandon ship. With 718 of her crew dead, the carrier drifted and finally plunged out of sight at 7:13 PM.

As American planes dodged Zeros and headed back toward their carriers, only *Hiryu* emerged from the morning holocaust unscathed. Preparations to retaliate were swift, and by 10:58 AM, 18 dive bombers and six fighters were in the air and heading toward *Yorktown.* Led by Lieutenant Michio Kobayashi, the dive bombers ran the gauntlet of Wildcat fighters and antiaircraft fire, split into two groups, and put three bombs into the carrier. The first struck the flight deck aft near the number two elevator and exploded on the hangar deck. The second penetrated the flight deck, roared through a ready room, squelched the fires in the boilers, and damaged three uptakes. The third hit the number one elevator and exploded on the fourth deck.

*Yorktown* slowed to six knots and billowed smoke, but damage-control parties performed magnificently. Four hours later, the carrier was making a miraculous 19 knots. At approximately 2:30 PM, however, the redoubtable Tomonaga, flying a damaged Kate and fully aware that a ruptured fuel tank sustained dur-

ing his Midway attack meant that he could not make the return flight to *Hiryu,* led 10 torpedo bombers against *Yorktown*. Two hits on the port side knocked out the boilers again and caused serious flooding. The carrier quickly began to list. At 2:55, Buckmaster gave the order to abandon ship.

While *Yorktown* was under torpedo attack, word was received from one of its scout planes that *Hiryu* had been spotted. By 3:30, Spruance had 25 dive bombers in the air and speeding to the northwest. A half hour later, *Hornet* launched another 16 Dauntlesses. *Yorktown*'s damage control had been so effective that surviving pilots of the second *Yorktown* strike believed they had put a second American carrier out of action. Admiral Tamon Yamaguchi aboard *Hiryu* issued orders to prepare five Vals, five Kates, and 10 Zeros, all that remained of the striking force's once-mighty air armada, to attack what he believed to be the only remaining American carrier.

McClusky had been wounded earlier in the day and could not take part in the mission against *Hiryu.* Command of the strike that included both *Enterprise* planes and refugees from the stricken *Yorktown* fell to Gallaher. Although Zeros were on combat air patrol, the dive bombers achieved surprise a second time and hit *Hiryu* with four bombs on the forward section of the flight deck, one of which blew the forward elevator out of its well and against the island. Penetrating to the hangar deck, bombs destroyed the handful of planes being readied for the next Japanese mission. A sheet of flame erupted and spread rapidly throughout the ship. Yamaguchi chose to die with *Hiryu* when the crew was ordered off at 4:30. A single torpedo from a Japanese destroyer was not enough to scuttle the fire ravaged carrier, which drifted until just after 9 the following morning before sinking. A total of 383 sailors were killed.

Despite the news that *Akagi, Kaga, Soryu,* and *Hiryu* were on fire, Yamamoto modified his plan in an attempt to retrieve victory from an apparent crushing defeat by overwhelming the Americans with his superior surface strength during a night engagement. The situation, however, was too chaotic. Moreover, Spruance would have none of it. After *Yorktown* was hit, Fletcher deferred to his junior admiral, and Spruance decided to retire eastward on the night of June 4. Although his decision was criticized in some quarters, his reasoning was sound. The Japanese had suffered devastating losses, but their surface strength was greatly superior to his own and Midway had to be protected. By 11:30 PM, the Japanese had made no contact with American surface units. Yamamoto was compelled to cancel the Midway operation.

Buckmaster and an intrepid salvage party of 170 sailors worked feverishly to save *Yorktown* during the overnight hours of June 5 and the following day. The destroyer *Hammann* stood by to assist, and counter-flooding corrected some of the carrier's list. Dispatched from Pearl Harbor, the fleet tug *Vireo* arrived and took *Yorktown* in tow. It appeared that the carrier might yet live, but it was not to be. At 1:36 PM on June 6, the Japanese submarine I-168 crept to within 1,300 yards and fired a spread of torpedoes. Two struck home, sealing *Yorktown*'s fate. A third broke the back of *Hammann*, which sank in minutes. Despite such tremendous punishment, *Yorktown* lingered until approximately five the next morning and then settled to the bottom of the Pacific.

On the morning of June 5, Spruance and Task Force 16 waited out some bad weather and anticipated the reports of reconnaissance aircraft. Convinced that Midway was in no immediate danger, Spruance turned northwest to search for a possible fifth Japanese carrier that had been erroneously reported. Several air strikes during the day produced no appreciable results.

Closer to Midway, the Japanese heavy cruisers *Mogami* and *Mikuma,* detailed to bombard the atoll's airstrip, received the order to retire. As they turned, an American submarine was sighted.

National Archives

**ABOVE: Japanese heavy cruiser *Mikuma* burns from strikes by *Hornet* and *Enterprise* planes. OPPOSITE: Stricken Japanese carrier *Hiryu* is photographed from a friendly plane as it burns and sinks. Admiral Tamon Yamaguchi chose to go down with his ship.**

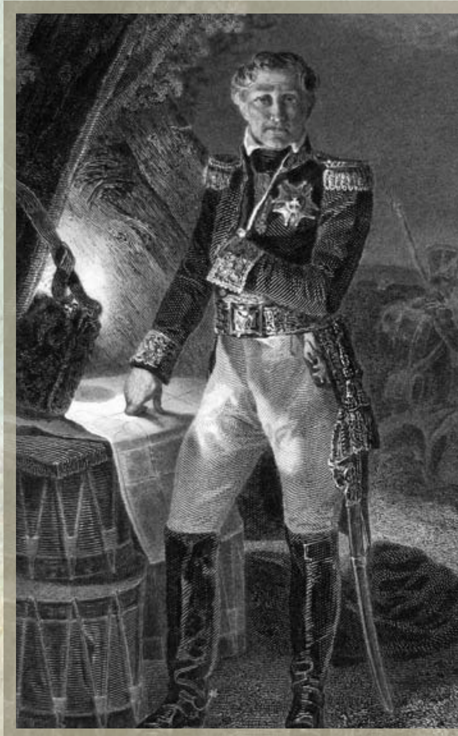
During the ensuing evasive action, *Mogami* knifed into *Mikuma,* heavily damaging *Mogami*'s bow and slowing the cruiser to 12 knots. *Mikuma* remained to escort her sister. An American air strike that afternoon produced no hits. However, the following morning dive bombers from *Hornet* hit *Mogami* with two bombs. In short order, five bombs from *Enterprise* Dauntlesses plastered *Mikuma. Mogami* took another bomb during an afternoon attack but survived. *Mikuma* sank that night, losing 700 crewmen.

By the evening of June 6, Spruance had withdrawn from the battle area. Yamamoto was steaming back to Japan, contemplating his apology to Emperor Hirohito and willing to accept sole responsibility for the disastrous defeat that had befallen the Imperial Japanese Navy. The American victory at Midway was decisive. The Japanese managed to occupy the Aleutian islands of Attu and Kiska on June 7. However, they had lost the soul of their fighting force and the offensive initiative in the Pacific. Four aircraft carriers had been destroyed along with 248 aircraft. Nearly 3,100 sailors and naval aviators had been killed. The Americans had lost *Yorktown, Hammann,* 144 planes, and 362 dead.

In a flash, the entire course of the Pacific war had tilted in America's favor. □

While Marshal Gouvion Saint-Cyr held off the Allies at Dresden, Napoleon force-marched three corps to the rescue. The next day, the emperor counterattacked. It would prove to be his last significant triumph.

**BY ERIC NIDEROST**


Library of Congress

MARSHAL GOUVION SAINT-CYR was in a tight spot, and he knew it. It was the morning of August 26, 1813, and Saint-Cyr and his French XIV Corps were defending Dresden, the capital of Saxony, from a large and menacing Allied army that outnumbered his own by at least four to one. But if Saint-Cyr had any doubts about his ability to hold the city, he kept them to himself. Nicknamed "the Owl," Saint-Cyr was an intellectual whose cold, efficient manner commanded respect, if not love, from his soldiers. The battle had started around 5 AM, with Austro-Russian attacks increasing in scale and intensity. The French had been forced to give ground, but so far their strongpoints had held against all odds.

As the sun rose higher, Dresden was revealed in all its glory, a baroque gem of a city known far and wide as "Florence on the Elbe." It was like a fairy tale come to life, with jewel-like palaces rising at every turn and the city skyline crowded with splendid church domes and fanciful towers that spiked the sky. Saint-Cyr had trained as a painter in his youth and was a fine musician. He might have appreciated the splendors all around him had he not been preoccupied with more urgent military matters.

Indeed, the arts of peace took second place to the necessities of war. A few weeks earlier, Napoleon had ordered a major strengthening of Dresden's defenses. Dresden was a city of some 30,000 souls that straddled the Elbe River. The Altstadt, or Old City, and its patchwork quilt of suburbs lay on the left bank, while the smaller Neustadt (New City) nestled on the right bank. The Old City was ringed by a partly demolished medieval wall. Major streets were barricaded, houses were fitted with gun loopholes, and artillery platforms were erected. The Gross Garten, or Great Garden, a landscaped park that lay to the southeast, surrounded by a wall, guarded Dresden's approaches in that direction and was considered a strongpoint.

Napoleon directed that the seven gates to the suburbs be blocked and the Pirna Gate be strengthened by excavating a ditch in front of it that could be filled with water. Saint-Cyr was counting primarily on the 13 redoubts that ringed the city like a necklace. So far, they had successfully stopped all Allied attacks—but how long could they hold out?

Shortly after 9 AM, Saint-Cyr heard something between the booming cannon reports. At first indistinct, it became clearer as hundreds of soldiers took up the cry: "Vive l'Empereur! Vive

# Napoleon's LAST GREAT VICTORY

Fighting in the picturesque Great Garden in Dresen, white-jacketed Russians briefly had the upper hand before the French counterattacked.
INSET: French Marshal Gouvion Saint-Cyr.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Napoleon, in his familiar gray private's overcoat, enters Dresden on his way as usual to the front lines of the battle. His men sang, "The victory is ours!"

akg-images

l'Empereur! Vive l'Empereur!" Saint-Cyr was elated. The swelling chorus of cheers meant only one thing—Napoleon had arrived in Dresden. With the emperor present, potential defeat might well be changed into victory. Napoleon's charisma was so great that he instilled everyone, from Saint-Cyr down to the lowest private, with newfound confidence in their ultimate triumph.

The contest for Dresden was part of Napoleon's last-ditch effort to shore up the crumbling remains of his grand empire. In 1812 he had invaded Russia with a multinational army of 600,000 men. The Russian campaign played out like a Greek tragedy: Napoleon's hubris led to disaster. He lost more than 500,000 men in the debacle, as well as 200,000 trained cavalry, artillery, and transport horses. Ironically, the men could be replaced, but the horses could not. Cavalry was the eyes and ears of an army, the shock troops that galloped forward to clinch a victory when the enemy retreated. Napoleon's relative lack of cavalry was to figure heavily in the 1813 campaign.

Eager to throw off the French yoke, Prussia joined Russia in what became the nucleus of the Sixth Coalition against France. In those early months of 1813, Austria remained neutral. In spite of its dynastic ties with Napoleon—Austrian-born duchess Marie Louise was his wife and empress—Austria had little love for the man they considered a Corsican upstart. By the same token, Vienna had little affection for Russia either, and feared czarist expansion into central Europe.

For the moment Vienna thought it wise to wait, using the time to play the role of honest broker between the opposing sides. Austria's chief diplomat, Prince Clemens von Metternich, played his cards well, arranging a personal interview with Napoleon while secretly negotiating with Russia and Prussia. By the time the German campaign opened in April 1813, Napoleon had managed to muster an army numbering nearly 200,000 men and 372 guns—a miracle of improvisation under very trying circumstances. Yet on closer inspection, the new Grand Armée bore little resemblance to the famous Grand Armée that had won the Battles of Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland only a few years earlier.

Napoleon glumly acknowledged his lack of cavalry. He wrote that he could finish matters very quickly "if only I had 15,000 more cavalry; but I am rather weak in that arm." The army's troubles went deeper than that. It took time to adequately train cavalry, and time was something in very short supply. Most of the troopers were young, and 80 percent had never even ridden a horse. They were hastily trained and barely knew such basic skills as taking care of a mount. The senior officers were veterans and the ranks were stiffened by old NCOs who had been promoted to lieutenants. In some cases, even retired officers were recalled to the colors.

The infantry wasn't much better. Most were callow youths, eager but lacking the strength and stamina needed for a grueling campaign. An inspection report ruefully admitted that "some of the men are of rather weak appearance." Barely out of their teens—and some much younger—they scarcely knew how to load and fire their Charleville muskets.

Even after the catastrophic Russian campaign, Napoleon's name still retained much of its magic. If the emperor was with them, these young recruits were sure that France would emerge victorious. And despite their youth and inexperience, these new soldiers fought well. French officer Jean Barres recalled: "Our young conscripts behaved very well [in battle]; not one left the ranks. Our company was disorganized: it lost half its sergeants and corporals but we were confident in the genius of the emperor."

In May 1813 Napoleon won two hard-fought battles at Lutzen and Bautzen, but the shortage of cavalry and the sheer exhaustion of his young conscripts prevented them from becoming decisive victories. In June the emperor agreed to an armistice. He later regretted the decision, calling it one of the worst mistakes in his career

At the time there were good reasons to seek breathing space. The French had lost 25,000 men since the beginning of the campaign. Even more significantly, another 90,000 were on the sick lists. Thousands more were stragglers, not deserters but unable to keep up with the marching and countermarching through the length and breadth of Germany. The young recruits had fought well, but if the spirit was willing, the flesh was weak.

Negotiations with Austria soon broke down. Metternich, feeling that Napoleon was vulnerable, secretly cast his lot with the Allies. Austria in effect demanded that the Napoleonic empire be dismantled east of the Rhine. Prussia would be restored to its 1805 boundaries and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and Confederation of the Rhine would be abolished.

The terms were purposely outrageous, and predictably Napoleon rejected them. On August 12, Austria declared war against France and formally joined the Sixth Coalition against the emperor. Sweden also joined the Allies, led by Swedish crown prince—and former French marshal—Jean Baptiste Bernadotte. Counting reserves and second-line troops, the coalition could now field some 800,000 men.

As always, Great Britain was the coalition's paymaster. The island nation pledged two million pounds to Russia and Prussia, and Austria would also share in the largesse. Fueled by British gold and backed by enormous reserves of manpower, the Allies felt confident they could defeat France. But they were still fearful of Napoleon, and there was much debate in Allied headquarters about how to neutralize his genius on the battlefield.

The Allies would have three main field forces: the Army of the North, the Army of Silesia, and the Army of Bohemia. The Army of the North, some 110,000 Prussians and Swedes under the command of Crown Prince Bernadotte, would be in the Berlin region. Marshal Gebhard Leberecht von Blucher's Army of Silesia (95,000 men) would be massed around Breslau. The main Allied force was the Army of Bohemia, 230,000 strong, led by Field Marshal Prince Karl Philip von Schwarzenberg.

The Allies were divided on how to open the new phase of the campaign. Plans were put forward, only to be rejected after passionate squabbling. But one thing united all parties: a healthy fear of Napoleon's genius. They had been given a bloody nose at Lutzen and Bautzen and were not anxious to repeat the experience. Eventually, a plan was adopted that grudgingly acknowledged the emperor's gifts. The Allied armies would assiduously avoid battle if Napoleon was present, and if he was advancing in person with his main army they would retire as quickly as possible. Allied forces would threaten his line of communications and, if possible, defeat Napoleon's subordinates whenever an opportunity to do so presented itself.

The basics of the plan came from Schwarzenberg's chief of staff, General Count Johann Josef Radetzky von Raditz. Radetzky was essentially proposing a war of attrition, wherein Napoleon would be worn down by a series of fruitless marches and countermarches. Radetzky was unknown at the time but was destined to find a sort of immortality many years later when composer Johann Strauss composed "Radetsky's March."

Schwarzenberg was a competent soldier who was prone to moments of hesitation and tended to be overcautious. Archduke Charles of Hapsburg, the Austrian emperor's brother, might have made a better choice as commander in chief. While it was true that Napoleon had defeated Charles at Wagram in 1809, the archduke had a record of notable victories during the course of his 20-year career. Charles had actually defeated Napoleon at Aspern-Essling, a rare accomplishment. Some have said that sibling rivalry might have played a part in the archduke being passed over. In any event, Emperor Francis I decided to give Schwarzenberg the coveted position.

Czar Alexander I of Russia, Emperor Francis I of Austria, and King Frederick William III of Prussia accompanied the Army of Bohemia and were present at Schwarzenberg's headquarters. The harried prince found them three albatrosses around his neck, often intervening at inappropriate times and adding to the confusion when crucial decisions had to be made. The presence of the three monarchs also brought in a host of court flunkies, hangers-on and political parasites. "It is really inhuman," Schwarzenberg complained, "what I must tolerate and bear, surrounded as I am by fools, eccentrics, projectors, intriguers, asses, babblers, and niggling critics."

At first, Schwarzenberg's goal was Leipzig, but eventually Dresden became the target. By August 25, the Army of Bohemia's advance guard under General Peter Wittgenstein was approaching the city's southern fringes. Saint-Cyr launched a desperate attack on Wittgenstein that drove back the Russo-Prussian force and threw Allied plans into confusion. The French marshal had bought some time.

Napoleon had originally had been trying to catch Blucher's Army of Silesia, which was moving over the Bobr River to the east. Blucher was rapidly retiring, conforming to a will-o'- the-wisp strategy of avoiding a pitched battle when Napoleon was present. But when he heard of Saint-Cyr's plight, the emperor eventually decided to bring the bulk of the Grand Armée to Dresden. Not only was Dresden the capital city of his ally, King Frederick Augustus of Saxony, but it was also Napoleon's hub for the entire campaign. Artillery parks and supplies were stockpiled there. If the Allies could be caught napping, Napoleon hoped to make Dresden a second Austerlitz.

Once again, too much discussion and internal wrangling almost wrecked the Allied war effort. After much debate, Schwarzenberg decided that the Army of Bohemia would launch a demonstration or reconnaissance in force against Dresden. A full-scale assault might come later.

Five columns would participate in the effort, but there would be little or no coordination between each column. Worse still, attacking troops had no equipment to help them bridge ditches and no scaling ladders to help them climb the French redoubts. The whole plan was a slapdash affair, typical of the half-baked compromises that all too often came out of Allied councils of war.

The command structure of the demonstration would be simple, as befitted an operation with limited objectives. The Army of Bohemia would be divided into two distinct wings. The left wing, led by Schwarzenberg himself, would consist of the Austrian III Corps, Austrian IV Corps, Austrian Reserve Corps, and Reserve Artillery. Wittgenstein would command the right wing, a multinational force that included the Russian Advance Guard Division, Russian I Corps, Prussian II Corps, and reserve artillery.

Both: Library of Congress

**Legendary French cavalry commander Joachim Murat, left, and the much-beset Austrian Field Marshal Prince Karl Philip von Schwarzenberg.**

When Napoleon arrived in Dresden his mere presence galvanized the city. Crowds gathered and soldiers tried to press near to get a better glimpse of him as he rode by. There he was—the man of destiny in his gray overcoat and legendary black cocked hat, surrounded by a small staff. He had arrived first; the rest of the army was on its way.

The Imperial Guard—both Young and Old—arrived in the city an hour after Napoleon. The roads were choked with dust and the heat was stifling, but the Guard was in good spirits, because here was a chance for action. Although their mouths were dry and parched with thirst, they

entered Dresden singing, “The victory is ours!”

At about the same time, Emperor Francis was engaged in a debate that involved Czar Alexander, King Frederick William of Prussia, and senior Allied officers. When the Allied command realized that Napoleon was in Dresden, the fear and consternation were palpable. Most of the planners favored immediate withdrawal. Only Frederick William insisted that they launch the planned major offensive, an advance that was supposed to involve some 150,000 men. The Prussian king was overruled, but it took time for withdrawal orders to travel down the chain of command. Before that could happen a signal cannon boomed, announcing the start of the general assault. For better or worse, the Allies were now going to take on Napoleon himself.

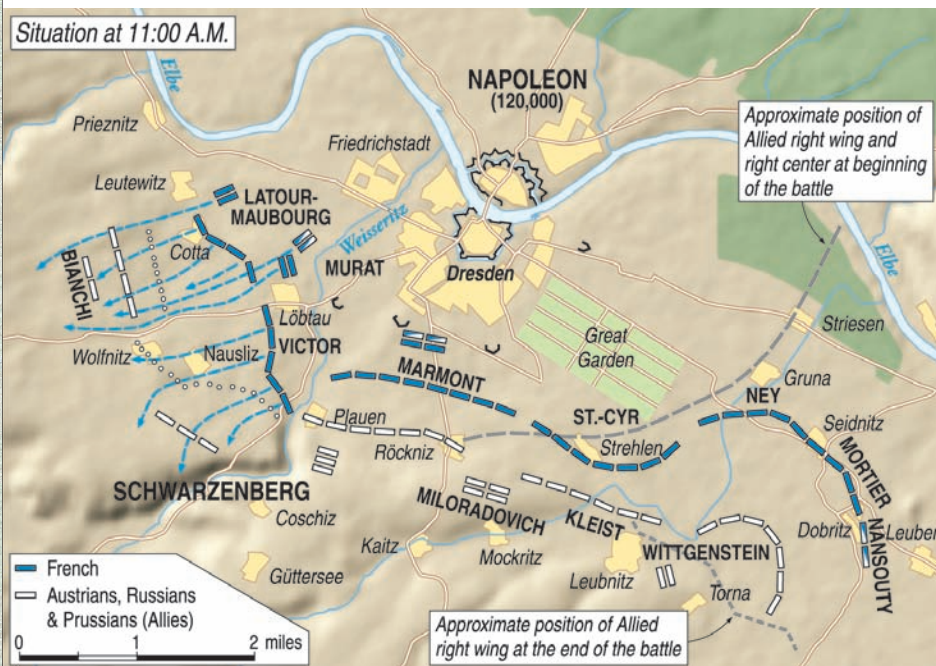
When Napoleon entered Dresden, he made his way to the front lines to inspect French positions and consult with a relieved Saint-Cyr. The emperor swept the horizon with his telescope, taking note of enemy positions and the progress the Allies had made thus far. He wanted to know what had happened before he arrived on the scene. The fighting, he was told, had been uncoordinated but intense. The Prussians had managed to break into the Grand Garden, but their progress was impeded by stubborn French resistance. The attack was seconded by Russians, who came into the garden via its northeastern corner. After two or three hours of see-saw fighting, the Prussians and Russians had managed to secure about half the garden, including a small baroque palace in its landscaped center.

Around 7:30 AM the Russians attacked the ground between the Grand Garden and the Elbe, but their advance was stalled by heavy French artillery fire from the river’s right bank. French shells tore through green-coated ranks, forcing the survivors to fall back in disorder. Although Napoleon’s infantry and cavalry had declined in quality, his artillery was still as formidable as ever. Around 11 AM there was a pause in the fighting that lasted several hours. It gave Napoleon time to finish his inspections and devise his own offensive plans. The emperor generally approved of how Saint-Cyr had conducted the battle thus far, but noted that there had been flaws in the French defenses even before the first shot had been fired. Some of the redoubts were relatively weak, with only one cannon each on their ramparts.

Napoleon was also unhappy that French engineers had failed to demolish a large building that stood in front of Redoubt 4. The Allies had taken advantage of the glaring omission and now occupied the building. Some of the French redoubts had been placed in such a way that they did not have mutually supporting fields of fire. Napoleon saw to it that these strongpoints were made stronger—one redoubt got a battery of 12-pounder cannons.

The French Imperial Guard paused at Neustadt Bridge, one of the spans that crossed the Elbe and linked the New City with the Old City. The guardsmen sank to the ground, weary after the long forced march, and used their knapsacks as pillows. Others gratefully accepted drinks of brandy the locals offered, downing the fiery liquid in one or two gulps.

The French Reserve Cavalry arrived at 2 PM, led by the flamboyant Joachim Murat, former marshal of France and current king of Naples. A legend in his own time, Murat was the finest cavalry commander of the Napoleonic Wars. His cavalry included both heavy and light cavalry, armored cuirassiers, lancers and chasseurs ever ready to engage enemy horsemen and exploit any breakthrough that should occur.



Map © 2012 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN

The battle began again at 3 PM. Once again, the battered Grand Garden was the focus of heavy fighting. The Russians surged forward, men of the 20th, 21st, 24th, 25th, and 26th Jagers and the Selenguinsk Infantry Regiment. They moved forward through the garden, then assaulted French Redoubt 2, a tide of green uniforms lapping at the base of its walls.

To counter the Russian move, Marshal Adolphe Edouard Mortier led Napoleon’s Young Guard into action. The guardsmen lived up to their reputations, driving the czarist troops back with heavy loss and recapturing half the garden. In the center, in the area between Redoubt 3 and Redoubt 4, the Allies initially had better luck. Austrians advanced on Redoubt 3 through a hurricane of French artillery fire and musket volleys. The French 27th Light Infantry was particularly steady, firing and loading with clockwork regularity.

The Austrian advance stalled, but then something like a miracle occurred. French fire from Redoubt 3 weakened, then stopped altogether. The redoubt’s garrison had run out of ammunition. Heartened by this unexpected turn of events, the white-coated Austrians renewed the attack, crossing Redoubt 3’s protective ditch and scrambling up its walls. The French were waiting with fixed bayonets.

After a furious and bloody bayonet fight—rare in the Napoleonic Wars—the French gave way, with survivors retreating into the Maszcynski Garden immediately behind the redoubt. The Austrians followed, but soon the tables were turned. French reserves came to the rescue of their beleaguered comrades, pouring out of the garden like a swarm of angry bees. The Austrians were forced to relinquish their hard-earned prize, and several hundred white coats, trapped by Redoubt 3’s surrounding walls, were compelled to surrender. After the battle, some 180 French and 344 Austrians were found dead in Redoubt 3.

The Allies had little luck on the far left, either. Beyond the Weisseritz River, the Austrians under General Friedrich von Bianchi suffered rough handling by French artillery batteries in front of Friedrichstadt and flanking fire from French Redoubt 5. Some Austrian units managed to reach the Elbe River, but were forced to retire to avoid being cut off by Murat’s French, Polish, and Italian cavalry.

By nightfall most of the Allies' initial gains had been wiped out by successful French counterattacks. Lost redoubts were back in French hands, and even the Great Garden was a French possession. There was a growing sense of jubilation in the Grande Armée, a euphoria enhanced by the arrival of two additional corps—Marshals Auguste Marmont's VI Corps and Claude Victor's II Corps—which arrived that night, footsore but in good spirits.

With the fighting temporarily at an end, Napoleon went back to the king of Saxony's palace to plan for the next day. The addition of Marmont and Victor brought the French army up to about 120,000 effectives. The Allies still outnumbered them at 180,000, but Allied morale was low. The day had started out promising, but they had lost almost all their hard-fought gains. A sense of futility pervaded the Allied camp. The French had lost 2,000 killed and wounded, but Allied losses were much greater—4,000 dead and wounded and another 2,000 taken prisoner. Despondency spread through Allied ranks, and many feared worse was to come

That night torrential rain soaked the battlefield, causing the Weisseritz River to rise and creating a large watery obstacle. With the river in flood, it formed a barrier between the Allied left and center, save for a single bridge at Plauen. If the bridge fell into French hands, communications—indeed, all contact—would be severed between the two Allied groups.

Early the next morning, Napoleon ascended a church tower to analyze Allied positions with his telescope. At dawn the rains had ceased, replaced by a clammy fog that hovered in some areas and covered at least some of the previous day's carnage. The rain would soon return, and would play its part in the events of the day. The emperor was planning a double envelopment with two powerful attacks on the Allied flanks—Marshals Michel Ney and Mortier from the left, Victor and Murat's cavalry from the right. The center would be held by Saint-Cyr and Marmont, the Imperial Guard being held in reserve.

The Allied plan of battle was straightforward, even unimaginative. About two-thirds of their army would attack Napoleon's center. That left Generals Bianchi (left wing) and Wittgenstein (right wing) with 25,000 men each to hold the flanks. But in leaving their flanks relatively weak, the Allies played right into Napoleon's hands. The second day of battle opened at 6 AM with Mortier and Ney pushing Wittgenstein's soldiers out of Blasewitz Woods. The Young Guard tried to take Leubnitz but was repulsed three times by a courageous garrison of Prussians and Russians. The Allied-held village of Seidnitz also successfully resisted Napoleon's onslaught, at least for a time.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

**ABOVE: The story was the same at Redoubt 3, where Austrian troops were also driven off after fierce bayonet combat. TOP: Russian Jagers swarm over French-held Redoubt 2 before being driven back by the hard-fighting Young Guard. OPPOSITE: The Great Garden, center, was the focal point of bitter fighting as the outnumbered French sought to keep their hold on Dresden. Torrential rain slowed the Allied advance—more of Napoleon's fabled luck.**

In general, however, Napoleon's plans were succeeding, and it looked like a major victory was in the cards. The Allies were being forced back, in some cases a mile or more. French artillery proved itself superior again to Allied guns, pounding Allied strongpoints and smashing enemy cavalry and infantry formations.

On the French right the stage was set for one of the greatest cavalry actions of the Napoleonic Wars. It was led by Joachim Murat, dressed in a Polish-style tunic, violet breeches, and canary-yellow boots. The theatrical costume was typical of the man, conveying his devil-may-care, swashbuckling image.

Dresden was going to be Murat's last hurrah. Within a few months he was going to switch sides, abandoning Napoleon's cause to save his own throne. The emperor considered Murat an "imbecile" and "without judgment" off the battlefield, assessments that were harsh but had the ring of

truth. But for now, dripping with gold braid and a feathered hat, he was in his element. Murat marshaled his horsemen into two lines. The first line had two sections. The section near the Elbe River consisted of General Louis Pierre Chastel's 3rd Light Cavalry Division, mostly chasseurs. The section near Cotta was made up of cuirassiers and dragoons of General Jean-Pierre Dourmerc's 3rd Heavy Cavalry Division. The second line was just as powerful, namely General Etienne de Bordesoulle's 1st Heavy Cavalry Division, made up of both French and Saxon cuirassiers.

It was an impressive spectacle—rank after rank of superb horsemen moving with precision and dispatch. Thick, viscous mud from the rains slowed the advance to a fast walk. Five squadrons of Saxon cuirassiers smashed into some Austrian hussars, driving them back in disorder. General Baron Joseph von Mesko's Austrian 3rd Light Infantry Division was the next target of Murat's rampaging horsemen. Mesko stood his ground at first, forming his division into anticavalry squares. A volley or two sent the first French troopers packing, but they soon returned with a horse battery, which unlimbered at close range and fired round after round of canister into the packed squares.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

## NAPOLEON'S HEALTH AND BATTLEFIELD PERFORMANCE

Napoleon won a great victory at Dresden, but many historians believe his sudden illness—uncontrollable diarrhea and vomiting—prevented him from organizing an effective pursuit of the retreating Allied army. It underscores the fact that the emperor was plagued with bouts of ill health during the last decade of his life.

Napoleon had occasional health problems before 1810. He seems to have experienced seizures one or two times, episodes that resembled epilepsy, although most medical historians feel that he did not have the disease—at least not a classic version of it. But in the main his health was good well into his thirties. "Work is my element," Napoleon once declared. "I was born and made for work." Eighteen-hour days were not uncommon, and in one celebrated incident he dictated 102 letters to several teams of secretaries over the course of two days.

Such activities were hardly the workload of a sick man. But Napoleon's health took a turn for the worse after he reached the age of 40. He started getting chubby, a plumpness that soon became real fat. Official portraits, like David's celebrated work, still showed the emperor with a trim waistline. But a few candid sketches—and a few surviving uniforms from the period—tell a different story.

The Russian campaign provided the first real evidence of the emperor's declining health. The night before the Battle of Borodino, Napoleon caught a bad cold, and this in turn triggered an attack of dysuria, a bladder condition. Doctor Mestivier, his personal physician, noted that Napoleon had a bad cough and was having trouble breathing. The doctor noted other symptoms as well. The emperor's legs were swollen, his pulse was irregular, and he had periodic shivering fits. Napoleon himself complained to his valet of feeling sick—a startling admission for someone who rarely admitted any kind of weakness.

Napoleon's illness may have affected his thought processes. He rejected Marshal Louis Nicholas Davout's suggestion that they outflank the Russian forces, opting instead for an unimaginative and bloody frontal assault. For the most part Napoleon was passive, even lethargic, at Borodino, seemingly more interested in nursing his cold than in taking an active part in the unfolding drama.

As Napoleon's health declined, so did his decision-making abilities, although he was still capable of real brilliance in planning and exe-

It was more than flesh and blood could stand, and the shattered remnants surrendered. Some of Mesko's other squares still held out, white-coated islands in a sea of French and Saxon cuirassiers. The armored warriors slashed and stabbed at will with their long swords. In normal situations, cavalry would be powerless to break an infantry square. But the rains had come again, and many of Mesko's men found their muskets were useless because their powder was wet.

Demoralized, hungry, and exhausted, the bedraggled troops on the Allied left also discovered they were trapped. The French had taken Plauen, together with its vital bridge. Regiment after regiment laid down their arms. Two companies of Austrian infantry, their backs against the Weisseritz River, tried to maneuver, but the marching was in vain and only delayed the inevitable. French dragoons followed them, loading their carbines under their cloaks to shield the weapons from the rain. They ploy was successful, and the horsemen managed to shoot a devastating volley into the white-coated ranks. The two companies surrendered, accepting their fate. The Austrian 3rd Light Division had ceased to exist. Mesko himself was captured by a trooper from the French 23rd Dragoons. The Allied left wing was destroyed, with 13,000 prisoners and 150 standards taken.

In the center, Saint-Cyr and Marmont were hard pressed, and when the fighting died down in the late afternoon, Napoleon fully expected a third day's fighting. But the Allies had had enough. There was some talk of an attack to separate the French left from the center, but the proposed ground was a morass. The Allied command knew full well that their entire left wing had been wiped out—hardly an encouraging state of affairs. Czar Alexander narrowly escaped death when a cannonball flew near him. The projectile hit General Jean Moreau, one of Napoleon's enemies who had been exiled from France. The stricken Frenchman had both legs amputated, but the surgery failed to save his life.

Mary Evans Picture Library / The Image Works

**ABOVE: Pressing forward with their customary élan, Murat's French horsemen overwhelm Austrian infantry. It was Murat's last hurrah before switching sides. OPPOSITE: On the second day of the battle, exiled French General Jean Moreau was fatally struck by a cannonball that narrowly missed Russian czar Alexander.**

Schwarzenberg ordered a night retreat. By any standard Dresden was a great French victory, one of the emperor's last unalloyed triumphs. The Allies had lost 38,000 men, the French barely 10,000. For a brief moment it seemed as though Napoleon's star was once again in the ascendant. Early on May 28, the French realized the Allies were gone. Napoleon ordered a pursuit, but he was less attentive to the details because he became gravely ill. Soaked to the skin by the driving rain, he was seized with violent stomach pains. Distracted by illness, he did not supervise the pursuit as closely as he would normally have done. News that his subordinates had been defeated in his absence at Katzbach and Kulm all but canceled out Napoleon's great triumph at Dresden. It would prove to be his last significant victory. □

cuting a campaign. But after 1810 there were more and more moments of indecision, of hesitation, than had been seen in earlier years. After the Battle of Maloyaroslavets in 1812, he agonized over which route the French army could take in retreat. The Russians under Marshal Mikhail Kutusov blocked the way to the southern route, which promised to offer more food. The Napoleon of old would have attacked without hesitation. Instead, the emperor avoided battle and chose the Smolensk-Moscow road, already devastated and stripped bare in the campaign.

The decision sealed the fate of the Grand Armée and turned a crisis into an unmitigated disaster. Ironically, Kutusov retreated shortly thereafter, leaving the door to the southern route open. The tragedy began even earlier, when Napoleon lingered too long in Moscow. Week after precious week was wasted while Napoleon mulled over his options. Wishful thinking had replaced hard-headed reality, as he convinced himself that somehow the czar would see reason and negotiate.

After the Dresden episode, the emperor never seemed to be fully well for the rest of the campaign. Once again, as in Russia, Napoleon seemed incapable of making up his mind. These bouts of indecision were accompanied by periods of despondency and outright depression. During the Battle of Leipzig, on October 17-18, 1813, Napoleon was seized with violent stomach pains, so terrible that he doubled up on his camp bed. "I feel bad," the emperor complained. "My mind resists but my body gives in."

**A defiant Napoleon shortly before exile, by Paul Delaroche.**

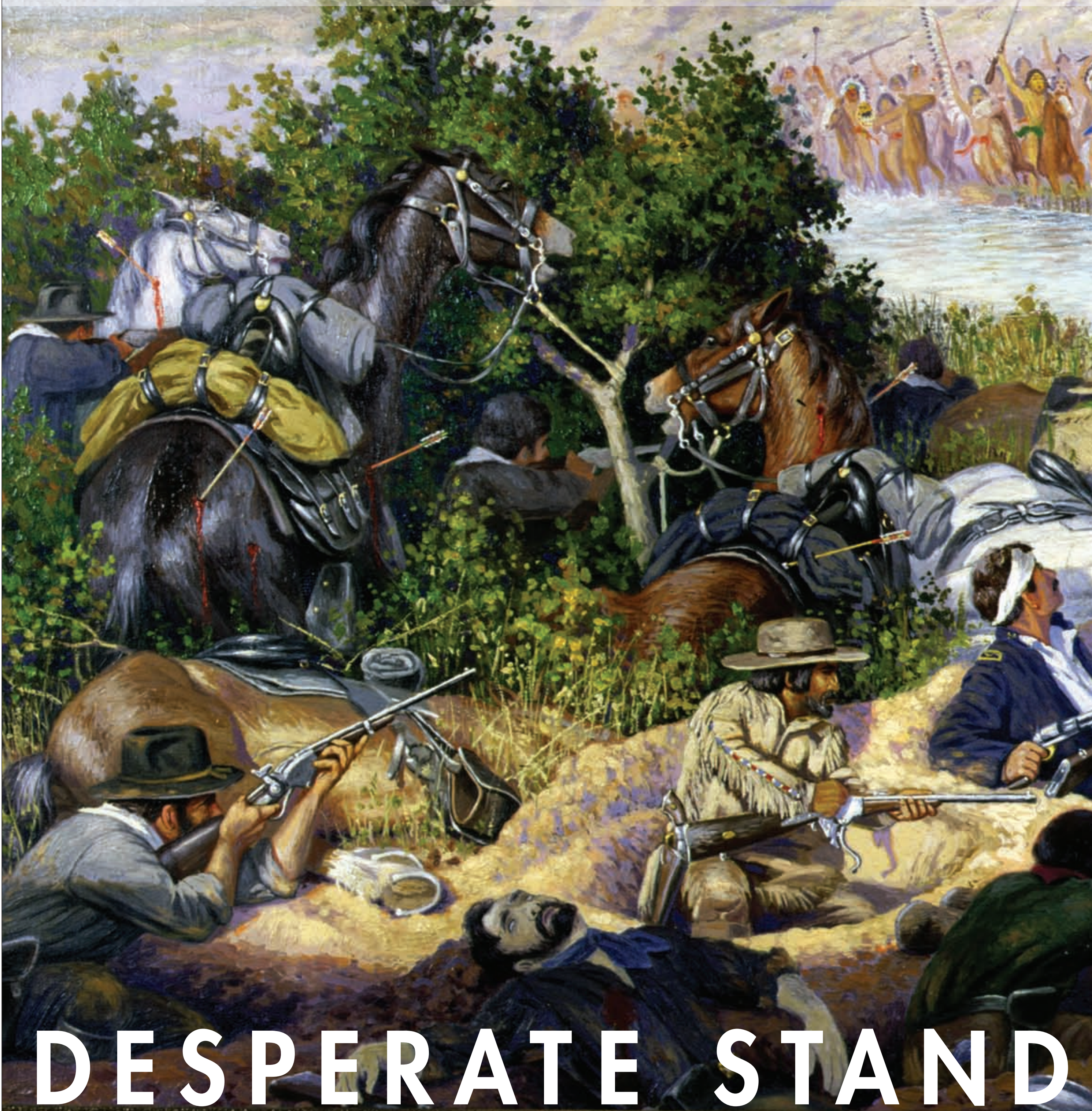
Some have attributed this particular attack to doudentitis, triggered in part by anxiety.

Periods of ill health dogged Napoleon for the rest of his days. He was indisposed the night of June 16-17, 1815, after his victory over the Prussians at Ligny, and wasted the morning of June 17 reviewing the troops instead of seeing how Marshal Michel Ney was doing with the Duke of Wellington at Quatre Bras.

Once again, the emperor's ill health was accompanied by a curious lethargy that was ultimately fatal to his cause. Napoleon once declared that one had only a short time for war. Plagued by illness, lethargy, and indecision, Napoleon in his last decade illustrated the sad truth of his own assertion. □

After Cheyenne, Sioux, and Arapaho warriors ambushed Major George A. Forsyth's scouting party on the Arikaree River, he and his men retreated to a small sandbar in the middle of the river to make a final stand.

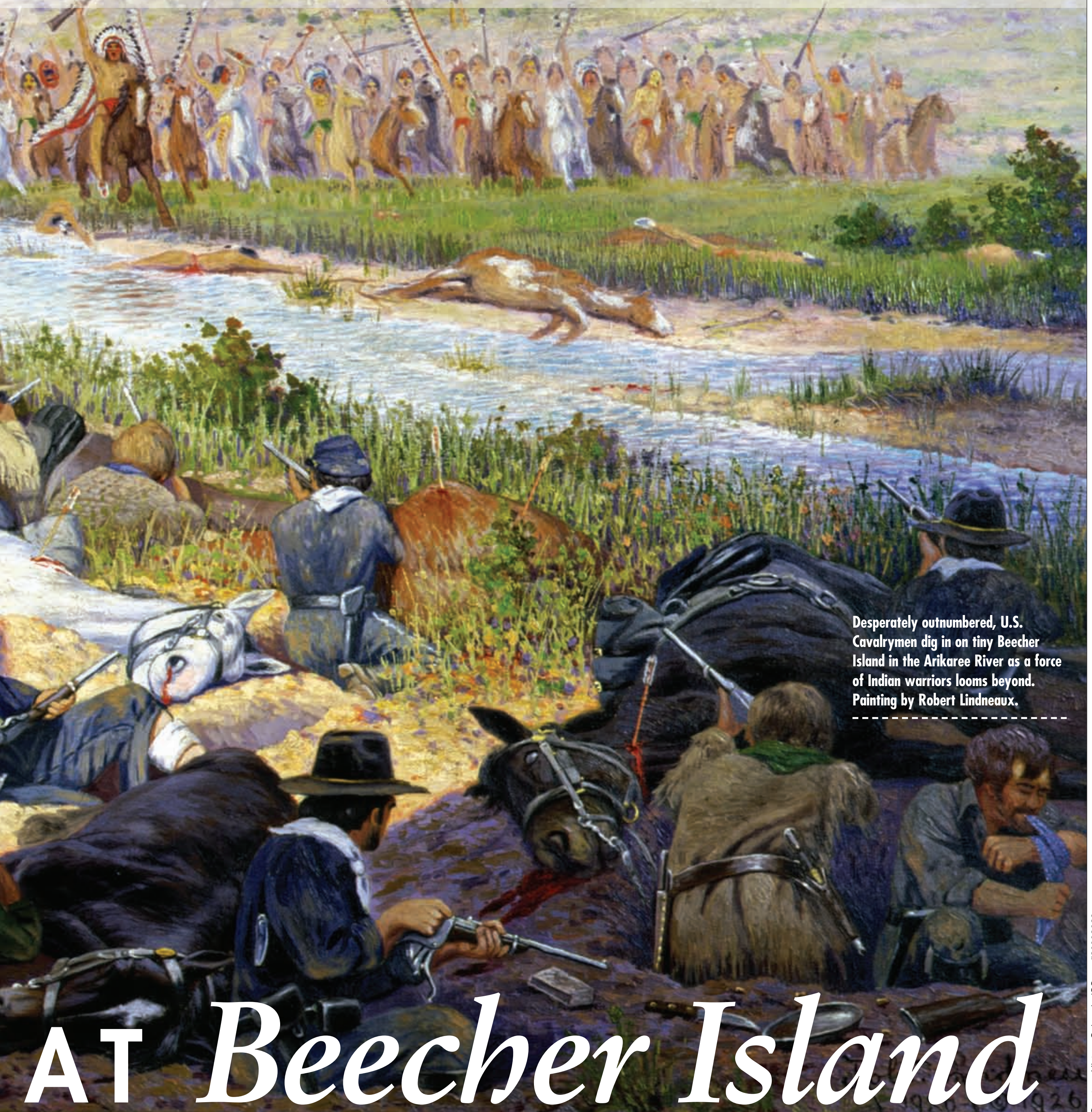
BY DAVID A. NORRIS



# DESPERATE STAND

"INDIANS! INDIANS!" The staple warning from countless cliché-ridden dime novels was all too real at dawn of a Colorado morning in 1868. Pickets guarding the camp of Major George A. Forsyth's U.S. scouts saw a handful of Sioux and Cheyenne warriors making a play for their tethered horses. Seven horses were taken in the surprise dash, but the loss of those animals was nothing compared to the next unwanted surprise. Pouring down from distant hilltops and ridges were several hundred Indian horsemen, bent on overwhelming the small band of three Army officers and 50 civilian volunteers.

One of the most famous clashes of the Indian wars, the nine-day Battle of Beecher Island, was about to take place. It had been long in the making. By 1868, the U.S. Army had shrunk drastically from the massive million-man force of the Civil War years to just over 50,000 troops. Many of the remaining soldiers were tied up doing Reconstruction duty in the southern states, just as accelerating white encroachments on Indian lands in the Great Plains touched off new conflict on the frontier. White hunters slaughtered thousands of buffalo, sometimes to collect buffalo hides or feed railroad builders, but all too often simply for sport. Plains Indian tribes depended on



**Desperately outnumbered, U.S. Cavalrymen dig in on tiny Beecher Island in the Arikaree River as a force of Indian warriors looms beyond. Painting by Robert Lindneaux.**

# AT *Beecher Island*

Courtesy History Colorado (SScan #20003038

buffalo for food, shelter, and clothing—indeed for their very lives.

In true guerrilla fashion, war parties of Sioux, Cheyenne, and other tribes began to strike back against the travelers, ranches, and settlements that were threatening to destroy their way of life. As the attacks increased, so did the pressure on the Army to stop them. Responsibility fell to Maj. Gen. Phil Sheridan, the former Union cavalry leader who now commanded the sprawling Division of the Missouri. Sheridan had too few men to adequately patrol the vast, sparsely populated frontier regions, and some of the soldiers he did have were infantry or artillerymen who had little chance of catching up to the fast-moving mounted war parties of the various hostile Indian tribes.

One solution came from Sheridan's aide, Pennsylvania-born Major Forsyth, who had accompanied Sheridan on his famous ride at the Battle of Winchester, Virginia, in 1864. Forsyth envisioned a picked force of frontier scouts who were familiar with the Indian way of warfare. Sheridan agreed and drafted orders on August 24, 1868, authorizing Forsyth to "employ 50 first-class, hardy frontiersmen to be used as scouts against the hostile Indians." Although organized along the lines of a company of cavalry, Forsyth's scouts were not officially soldiers. They were tallied in military reports as employees of the quartermaster department. Their base pay was $50 a month, and 18 of the men were allowed an extra $25 a month for providing their own horses and equipment. Some of the men borrowed horses from C.W. Parr, the post scout at Fort Hayes, agreeing to pay Parr the extra money.

Forsyth's second in command was Lieutenant Frederick H. Beecher of the 3rd U.S. Infantry. Beecher's uncle was the famous abolitionist minister Henry Ward Beecher and his aunt was Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Beecher had served in the Union Army and still walked with a slight limp from a bullet wound taken at Gettysburg. Orders had just been drafted for Beecher's transfer to the Signal Corps, but he intended to finish the upcoming expedition before reporting to his new assignment.

Forsyth appointed Abner T. "Sharp" Grover as chief of scouts and chose William H.H. McCall to serve as sergeant of the detachment. McCall was, if anything, overqualified, having commanded a Pennsylvania regiment during the Civil War. By the end of the war he was a brevet brigadier general and was one of the officers assigned to guard the Lincoln conspirators before their trials. Discharged in June 1865, McCall headed west, where his fortunes worsened. Before being picked as sergeant, McCall was one of the $50-a-month scouts, suggesting that he couldn't provide a horse for the expedition.

Each rider had 140 rounds for a Spencer repeating carbine, and another 30 rounds for an Army Colt revolver. The seven-shot Spencer repeaters enabled a rate of fire of about 20 shots per minute. Four pack mules carried camp kettles, medical supplies, picks and shovels, coffee and salt, and another 4,000 rounds of ammunition. Doctor John H. Mooers accompanied the scouts as their medical officer. Mooers had served as a surgeon in the 16th and 188th New York regiments during the Civil War, moving to Kansas after the war. He was a contract surgeon, a physician hired on a temporary basis when a regular Army surgeon was not available.

Forsyth left Fort Harker on August 26, arriving at Fort Hays two days later. On August 30, he headed for Fort Wallace, with orders to scout the headwaters of the Solomon River. As they neared Fort Wallace on September 5, Beecher thought he spotted Indians lurking atop a bluff. Forsyth ordered a charge, but as they drew closer to the Indians, they saw that it was only a train of hay wagons headed for the fort. During the charge, scout Wallace Bennett broke his leg when his horse stumbled in a prairie dog hole.

The expedition stayed at Fort Wallace until September 10, when word reached the fort of an Indian attack on a freight wagon train near the western terminus of the Kansas-Pacific Railroad. In the raid, just 13 miles from the fort, two teamsters were killed and some animals taken. Scout G.W. Chambers was left behind to tend Bennett and another man who had fallen ill at the fort, leaving 51 men ready to ride in pursuit of the hostiles.

At the site of the wagon train attack, the scouts picked up the trail left by about two dozen warriors. They headed toward the Republican River, but signs grew thinner until the trail disappeared entirely. Forsyth decided to ride on to the river anyway. Five days after leaving the fort, they reached the Republican River and ran across another Indian trail. Horses, cattle, and heavy loads of tent poles had worn great ruts into the earth. It suggested

Library of Congress

Library of Congress

Library of Congress

**ABOVE: Sergeant William H.H. McCall (left) held the rank of lieutenant colonel during the Civil War. Major George A. "Sandy" Forsyth (right). LEFT: Fort Wallace, Kansas, where the ill-fated expedition started. OPPOSITE: The Arikaree River, site of the battle, is shown in this 1917 photograph of the annual reunion of Forsyth's Scouts. Beecher Island had washed away by the time the photo was taken.**

that the warriors could not travel fast because their families were with them.

By this time, the scouts' food was running low, and with such a large number of Indians moving ahead of them, there was no game available to supplement the dwindling rations. Grover and McCall advised against heading deeper into Indian territory with such a small force that was running out of supplies. Forsyth, feeling that they were closing in on their quarry, rejected the advice and pushed on. As he wrote later, he felt that "even if we could not defeat them, they could not annihilate us."

Late in the afternoon on September 16, Forsyth's party entered the valley of the Arikaree River, a tributary of the Republican River, in Colorado Territory. About five miles west of the border with Kansas, they passed by a low, sandy island, 200 feet long and 40 feet wide. Much of the Arikaree, as usual for that time of year, had dwindled away, leaving only a small stream flowing through the middle of the wide river bed. At the island, which was only a foot or so above the waters, the river split into two streams 15 feet wide and five inches deep. Sage grass grew at the head of the island and a lone 20-foot-high cottonwood tree stood at the foot, with a four- or five-foot high thicket of scrubby willows and alders in between. The horses were worn down from the hard riding and the valley had abundant grass, so Forsyth decided to call an early halt and camp near the river for the night.

Twelve miles away from the scouts' camp were two large Sioux villages; nearby was another village of Cheyenne Dog Soldiers, a fierce warrior society within the tribe, along with some Arapaho as well. Warning reached the villages by accident. A war party had left a day or two before, and some of its members, returning to the villages, had observed Forsyth and his men while on their way back. Word spread quickly through the villages, and about 600 Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho warriors readied themselves for a united attack on the invading force.

Dawn found several hundred mounted warriors poised to rush down upon the camp of Forsyth's scouts. A small band of warriors, though, made their own plans to stampede the white men's horses during the night. Led by Cheyenne warriors Starving Elk and Little Hawk, the band included one of the Sioux who had discovered Forsyth's force. The raiders could not find their quarry until near daylight, when they spotted the campfires in Forsyth's camp. As Starving Elk and his companions dashed near the picketed horses and mules, "the soft thud of unshod horses' hoofs came to our ears," recalled Forsyth. Gunshots rang out

Denver Library

**"THE GROUND SEEMED TO GROW THEM. THEY APPEARED TO START OUT OF THE VERY EARTH. ON FOOT AND ON HORSEBACK, FROM OVER THE HILLS, OUT OF THE THICKETS, FROM THE BED OF THE STREAM, FROM THE NORTH, SOUTH, AND WEST, ALONG THE OPPOSITE BANK, AND OUT OF THE LONG GRASS ON EVERY SIDE OF US."**

from the guards as the Indians, making all the noise they could and waving robes and blankets, rode through the herd to stampede the animals. The animals had been carefully secured, and only a few broke loose from their picket-pins. Starving Elk got away with seven horses, but the raid thoroughly alerted the scout camp, and all chance of surprise was gone.

There was no respite for the scouts. Forsyth remembered that Sharp Grover placed his hand on his shoulder and said, "Oh, heavens, General, look at the Indians!" Grover's statement was a mild reaction indeed to the sight of hundreds more Cheyenne and Sioux charging down upon them from the distant hills overlooking the camp. "The ground seemed to grow them," Forsyth recalled. "They appeared to start out of the very earth. On foot and on horseback, from over the hills, out of the thickets, from the bed of the stream, from the north, south and west, along the opposite bank, and out of the long grass on every side of us."

Forsyth's party was in danger of being wiped out in a few minutes. Their salvation was the nameless island they had seen in the river. Such as it was, the low sandy island was a natural fortification surrounded by a moat. Beecher, McCall, and Grover provided covering fire as the others made for the island. Scout John Hurst recalled, "We all made a grand rush for cover like a flock of scared quail." Once on the island, the scouts tied their horses to bushes, forming a rough defense perimeter, and started feverishly digging rifle pits with tin plates, knives, or their bare hands.

A few men, all good shots, remained hidden in thick, tall grass on the river bank opposite the tip of the island. One of them, Frank Harrington, was struck by an arrow just above his left eye socket. The arrowhead lodged tightly in his skull without breaking through to puncture his brain, and could not be pulled out. Shortly after Harrington was wounded, a mounted Indian rode near and fired a rifle almost point-blank at the scout's head. The bullet struck the arrowhead and knocked it loose. Covered with blood, Harrington somehow managed to reach his comrades on the island. Wearing a bandage around his head like a red badge of courage, Harrington picked up his carbine and joined the others in returning the Indians' fire.

Mounted or on foot, firing from cover, the Indians poured rifle fire into the island. Fearing that they would be shot down like dogs, some men were ready to make a run for the opposite bank. Forsyth and McCall, seeing the island as their only chance of survival, vowed to "shoot down any man who attempts to leave the island." Beecher backed them up, shouting at the wavering men, "You addle-headed fools, have you no sense?"

Amid the incoming bullets, the scouts managed to dig enough shallow pits to allow for some cover. Forsyth stayed on his feet giving orders until a bullet smashed into his right thigh. Doctor Mooers, who had been busy with his rifle, got several men to enlarge his pit so that he could look after the major and the other wounded men. To caution a man who was firing wildly and using up precious ammunition, Forsyth raised up with his left leg. Another bullet struck him, shattering his shin.

The mounted warriors assembled for an all-out horseback charge to sweep over the island. Most of them were armed with lances and bows, but some had carbines or rifles of various make that they had captured in earlier clashes with the Army. When the Indians got to the tip of the island, the heavy fire from the scouts' repeating Spencers split the massed formation in two as it passed around the island. A warrior named Bad Heart rode completely through the island amid the scouts, emerging unscathed from his bold dash. The rest of the Indians circled the island, firing into the entrenchments, and readied themselves for another charge.

Among the Indian casualties early in the battle was a Cheyenne named White Weasel Bear who was shot by one of the men hidden in the tall grass on the bank opposite the island. Weasel Bear's nephew, White Thunder, came to look for him and was shot dead. Meanwhile, the most famous Indian leader on the scene, Roman Nose, had so far held back from the fighting. Although he was not a chief, Roman Nose's courage, boldness, and phenomenal luck in battle had made him legendary. As a ranking Dog Soldier, he normally was foremost in any fight, but that day on the Arikaree, Roman Nose had a premonition of death. Not long before, he had eaten a meal with a metal fork, and he believed that this faux pas nullified the power of his protective talisman. Many Plains Indians avoided eating food touched by metal utensils, believing that to do so attracted metal bullets in battle.

**Cheyenne warrior Roman Nose, leading a charge at Beecher Island, is fatally struck by a cavalryman's bullet in this modern painting, *Achilles,* by George Capps. INSET: Roman Nose.**

Library of Congress

Roman Nose decided that he had to ride into battle. There was no time for the purification rituals necessary to restore his magic, and he rode down toward the enemy, leading many riders behind him. A bullet fired by one of the scouts hidden in the tall grass along the river bank struck Roman Nose. Knocked from his horse, the stricken warrior managed to drag himself from the battlefield. Other warriors found him and bore him away, but Roman Nose died at the end of the day.

The fall of Roman Nose, the most famous Indian in the battle, became a focal point in later retellings of the fight. But at the time, the scouts may not have recognized him during the battle. Forsyth described seeing him fall, distinguished by a "magnificent war bonnet" with "two short black buffalo horns," but Western artist George Bird Grinnell, in his talks with many Indian veterans of the battle, was told that Roman Nose never wore such a war bonnet.

During the mounted charges made against the rifle pits, Forsyth heard the "peculiar thud" made by a bullet that fatally struck Mooers in the forehead while he was tending to the wounded. Beecher was mortally wounded by a bullet that lodged in his spine. Although more charges followed, the Indians began to settle into a patient siege, peppering the island with gunfire from a greater distance. Concentrating their fire on the mounts tethered on the island, the Indians killed the last of the scouts' horses by early afternoon. By dark, six of Forsyth's men were dead or mortally wounded, and 16 others bore wounds ranging from slight to serious.

A few Cheyenne led by a warrior named Two Crows carefully made their way through the tall grass to recover the bodies of Weasel Bear

© George Capps, www.cappsprints.com

and White Thunder. Three Cheyenne were wounded by scouts firing into the grass. At last the warriors reached White Thunder and went to drag his body away through the grass. Several men lying on the ground formed a line and passed along a rope that was tied around White Thunder's ankles. With the rope, they dragged his body slowly through the grass until they were at last out of range of the scouts' carbines.

Two Crows' party found Weasel Bear still alive, but he told them, "I am badly wounded through the hips and cannot move." In the same way that the dead White Thunder was dragged from the field, Weasel Bear was slowly drawn through the grass by a rope tied to his ankles. Despite the dangerous effort, he was later named as one of the Indian dead of the battle.

The scouts deepened their rifle pits and connected them with trenches. Hungarian-born scout Sigmund Schlesinger said of the long hours spent in his rifle pit: "I have often been asked whether I have killed any Indians, to which my answer must truthfully be that I don't know. I did not consider it safe to watch the result of a shot, the Indians being all around us, shooting at anything moving above ground." Occasionally, he jumped up for a hasty look before quickly dropping back into his hole. Working the barrel of his carbine saw-fashion through the pile of sand in front of him, Schlesinger cut a "sort of loophole through which I could see quite a distance."

After dark, some men slipped away to retrieve saddlebags from dead horses, seeking more ammunition or food. The little food they found would not go far among the 50 men, so others cut strips of meat from the dead horses and mules. Some of the meat was hung on the bushes to dry; the rest was buried in an attempt to preserve it. Scout Martin Burke dug deep into the bottom of his rifle pit, and shouted the good news that his well was filling with water. In their pits behind bulwarks of sand and dead, decaying horses, the scouts endured an eerie foreshadowing of World War I trench warfare.

After the fighting subsided about midnight, scouts Simpson "Jack" Stillwell and Pierre "French Pete" Trudeau slipped away from the island with a dispatch written by Major Forsyth. At 19 years

Denver Library

**ABOVE: Doctor John H. Mooers, right, hands a badly needed cup of water to wounded trooper Frank Harrington in this *Harper's Monthly* illustration. Mooers was fatally shot in the forehead soon afterward. OPPOSITE: Casually reading Oliver Twist, a wounded Forsyth welcomes Captain Louis Henry Carpenter of the 10th Cavalry to Beecher Island in another *Harper's Monthly* illustration.**

of age, Stillwell was one of the youngest men in the party, while Trudeau was nearly 60 and the oldest man among Forsyth's scouts. They carried their boots tied around their necks and started out walking backward in their stocking feet so that any footprints would resemble Indian ones. Eluding and hiding from Indians slowed them down, and they only covered about three miles before it began to get light. By daybreak, they were well hidden under a bank covered with tall grass and sunflowers. The Indians hadn't found them, but Fort Wallace was still 110 miles away.

Stillwell and Trudeau heard firing all day as they remained under cover. Back at the Arikaree, the wounded endured a long day of anguish with their only medical officer lingering near death and their medical supplies lost in the mad rush to the island. No one knew whether Stillwell and Trudeau were dead or alive. About 10 PM, two more volunteers, Chauncey Whitney and Allison J. Piley, slipped out of camp to get help. Unable to find a way though the enemy ringing the island, they returned to the camp in a few hours.

After dark, Stillwell and Trudeau continued their journey for help. As dawn approached, they were appalled to find themselves half a mile from an Indian camp near the south fork of the Republican River. Taking cover by the river bank, they watched as Indians stopped to water their horses barely 30 feet from their hiding place, but no one saw them.

September 19, the third day Forsyth's men spent trapped on the island, was partly cloudy and offered some relief from the sun. About noon Grover reported to Forsyth that some Indian women and children who had been watching the action were leaving. That night, Piley slipped out of camp again, this time with scout Jack Donovan. The men did not return, and the rest could only hope they got past the Indians.

As Donovan and Piley left, Stillwell and Trudeau were miles ahead. At last, certain they were past the Indian camps, they decided it would be safe to keep traveling after sunrise. But soon after dawn, they saw that they were near a Cheyenne village on the move. The best cover they could find was a buffalo carcass. Evidently killed the previous winter, the buffalo bones and the remaining hide formed enough of a tent to shield them as the Cheyenne passed by.

In finding shelter, the scouts found another enemy—a rattlesnake. Killing the rattler could well make enough noise to tip the Indians off to their presence, but the sinister rattling itself could also attract fatal attention. Stillwell evicted the snake by spitting tobacco juice into the snake's face. With its mouth and eyes stinging from the juice, the rattlesnake slithered away and left the scouts in peace.

The fourth day of the siege found the scouts' situation growing more desperate. Mooers died soon after sunrise, and Forsyth was in unbearable pain from the bullet in his leg. No one was willing to cut the bullet out, as it was lodged near an artery. At last, the major had two men hold his leg and he cut the bullet out himself with a razor. The almost immediate relief was cut short for Forsyth when he ordered some men to lift him up so he could survey their defenses. A fusillade of shots rang out, and one of the men holding the corner of the blanket supporting Forsyth's broken leg dropped it and dove for cover. As Forsyth landed on the sand, a broken bone stuck out from his wound.

The remaining horse meat was rotting by this time, and the men in desperation sprinkled gunpowder on it in a futile attempt to cover the putrid smell and taste. One small event helped morale, the shooting of a small gray coyote that the men ate. The animal's skull was boiled three times to extract every iota of possible nourishment.

In the night, Stillwell and Trudeau stepped out of their buffalo carcass. By this time, Trudeau was so sick he could barely walk. After walking all night, they pressed on during the daylight as rain mixed with light snow fell on them. Late in the morning, they stumbled onto a wagon road and soon met two Buffalo Soldiers of the 10th Cavalry, who brought them to Fort Wallace. From the fort, Major Henry Cary Bankhead quickly set out with Stillwell and Trudeau, along with a relief force of

infantrymen in wagons and two cannon. Word was also sent to Captain Louis Henry Carpenter, who had left the fort on patrol two days earlier with a company of the 10th Cavalry.

Donovan also reached Fort Wallace safely not long after Bankhead left with all the available troops. With five volunteers, Donovan headed back to the Arikaree. Piley, sick from eating the rotting horsemeat carried as their only rations, had stopped to rest before heading to the fort. He soon departed, with orders to find a cavalry detachment under Major James Sanks Brisbin to proceed to Forsyth's relief.

On September 23, as the trapped scouts neared starvation on the island, a party from Fort Wallace found Captain Carpenter's company, bringing orders to relieve Forsyth, who was about 75 miles away. Two days later, nearing the Arikaree, Carpenter ran into Jack Donovan and his companions from Fort Wallace. By now, the last of the Indians had gone, although the scouts could not risk leaving the island to confirm their absence.

About 10 AM, lookouts saw horsemen approaching in the distance. The cry "Indians! Indians!" alerted everyone, and several scouts ran after the foragers. Grim forebodings were instantly dispelled when a man shouted, "By the God above us, it's an ambulance!" It was Carpenter's rescue party. Forsyth was nearly overcome with his ordeal, but still managed to put on a show for Carpenter, a wartime comrade. Borrowing a copy of *Oliver Twist* that one of the men carried in his saddlebags, the major looked to be calmly reading the novel in his hospital bed dug into the sand. Seeing Carpenter, Forsyth greeted him by saying, "Welcome to Beecher's Island." The once nameless little sandbar in the Arikaree now had an immortal name.

The survivors eagerly devoured the bacon, hardtack, and coffee brought by the relief party. Tents were pitched some distance away, to allow the wounded to get away from the stench of the rotting horses. Bankhead arrived with more men and supplies. Assistant Surgeon J.A. Fitzgerald arrived with Carpenter and began treating the wounded. Fitzgerald had the single cottonwood tree on the island cut down. The doctor shaped the wood into a split, which he lined with cotton to protect Forsyth's leg. The surgeon managed to save Forsyth's legs, but the major would need two years for a complete recovery. Five men were buried on the island and another wounded scout died soon after, bringing the total number of dead to six. Nearly all of the casualties on both sides happened during the fierce opening hours of the battle, before the scouts were settled in their entrenchments.

Forsyth estimated that 35 Sioux and Cheyenne had been killed, although other accounts pushed the toll to several hundred dead. From interviews complied long afterward, George Bird Grinnell wrote that only nine Indians were killed: six Cheyenne, one Arapaho, and two Sioux. There was no reliable estimate of the number of wounded.

The Battle of Beecher Island was not important in a strategic sense, as it did nothing to halt Indian raids on the Great Plains. Whatever the merits of a company of skilled frontiersmen such as Forsyth's Scouts, the battle showed that such a force was simply not large enough to make much difference in a major campaign. Harking back to the harsh lessons of the Civil War, Sheridan decided on a winter campaign to deprive the Indians of their horses, food, and shelter during the lean months of the year. Relentless attacks in the bitterly cold winter of 1868-1869, including Lt. Col. George Armstrong Custer's victorious attack on a Cheyenne camp at the Washita River, brought a temporary and uneasy peace to the region.

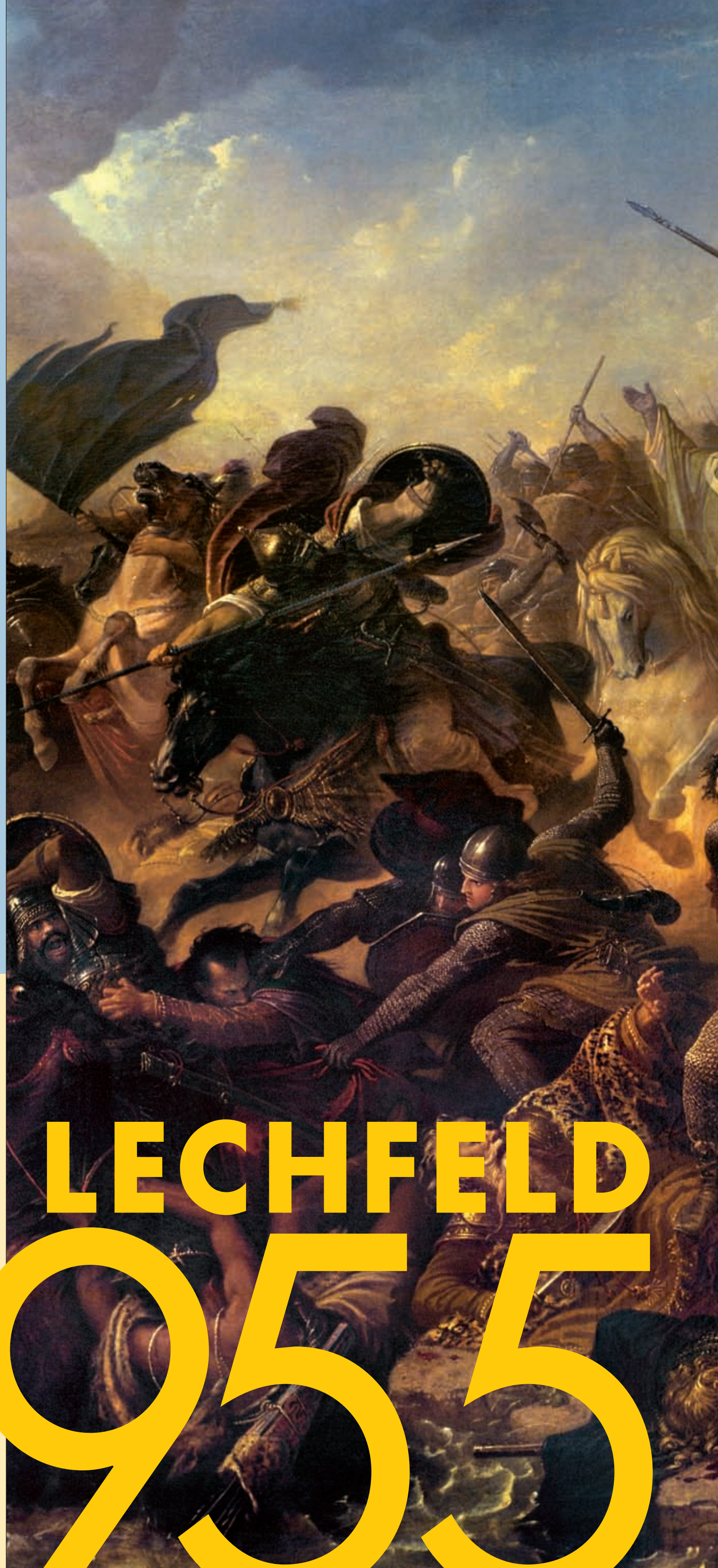
After years of pondering the issue, Congress in 1914 provided the survivors of Forsyth's scouts, or their widows, with pensions. In their later years, survivors of Forsyth's scouts attended reunions and led efforts to place a monument to commemorate the battle. The States of Kansas and Colorado teamed up in 1905 to establish a small battlefield park at the site, but a 1935 flood washed away Beecher Island as well as a stone monument commemorating the battle. In 1976 the location became a National Historic Site. The island itself may be gone, but the fierce battle fought there and the long, grim siege that followed created an imperishable legend that time has not effaced. □

Denver Library

# NOWHERE TO RETREAT: LECHFELD 955

In AD 955, the fierce Magyar nomads of Central Europe invaded Bavaria yet again. This time the newly united Germans under red-haired King Otto were determined they would never return.

BY WILLIAM E. WELSH



WHEN SUMMER ARRIVED IN BAVARIA IN late June AD 955, thousands of unwelcome barbarians from the Carpathian basin were gathering on its eastern fringe, poised to invade the southern part of the East Frankish kingdom once again. The Magyars had slowly migrated west over nearly a millennium from their homeland beyond the Ural Mountains of Central Asia to resettle in the steppes on the fringe of Western Europe. Now they had assembled in force on the eastern bank of the Enns River, ready to fan out across the rolling hills looking for any opportunity to steal and rob those living in exposed villages and farms.

The farmers and peasants had vivid recollections of Magyar raids punctuated by orgies of death and destruction much like those perpetrated by the Huns and Avars who had preceded them centuries before. In mortal fear of the Magyars, the majority of the Bavarian farmers and villagers packed up their belongings and moved into cramped quarters inside walled cities and strongholds scattered throughout the duchy. They awaited salvation from 43-year-old Saxon King Otto, whose sword had been dipped many times in the blood of Magyars, Slavs, and rebels from within his own realm.

The Magyars would be fighting the weather as much as the enemy. Heavy storms had flooded alpine tributaries to the mighty Danube, lessening the effectiveness of the Magyars' deadly composite bows and slowing their movement by horseback across the countryside. The year before, thousands of the fierce mounted bowmen had rampaged through the East Frankish kingdom on the first leg of an epic raid that swept through Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia, on into Lower Lorraine and Burgundy, and back to the Carpathian Basin via Lombardy. Although the raid of 954 was considered remarkable for its scope and duration, it had not gained the Magyars enough booty to support their nomadic

**German heavy cavalry smashes into ax-wielding Magyar infantry in artist Michael Echter's 1860 painting, *The Battle of Lechfeld.***

akg-images

lifestyle, nor had it instilled enough fear in those they plundered to generate a willingness to pay them enough tribute to refrain from similar raids.

Otto had emerged the victor after a two-year civil war against rebellious East Frankish nobles and had returned to fighting his old nemesis, the Transelben Slavs, east of Magdeburg. To the south, one of the king's key allies, Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg, watched as laborers toiled to strengthen the city's ramparts in anticipation of another Magyar attack. To the northeast, Conrad the Red, Duke of Lorraine, one of the nobles who had plotted with Otto, had returned to the king's fold and stood ready in Franconia with 1,000 heavy cavalry to block one of the favorite invasion routes of the Magyars. To the east, Duke Boleslav of Bohemia, another of Otto's allies, had mobilized 2,000 men and stood poised to march to the Germans' assistance.

Throughout the duchy of Bavaria that summer, local troops steadfastly loyal to Otto manned dozens of forts and strongholds located at key crossing points along right-bank tributaries of the Danube awaiting the onslaught. Although Otto was tied down that summer fighting the Slavs, he had established a defense-in-depth strategy designed to slow the Magyars and bring them to battle, something they steadfastly avoided against the more heavily armed German troops.

As light cavalry, the Magyars were loath to fight at close quarters with the more heavily armored German heavy cavalry. The Magyars' primary weapon was the composite bow, which was crafted of sinew, wood, and horn. The nimble horsemen typically fired arrows, which were strong enough to penetrate mail armor, from a safe distance at their opponents. They preferred to fight in wide-open spaces, where, if the battle went against them, they could quickly disperse and escape. This style of fighting had two major drawbacks. First, the bows were not effective in wet weather. Second, they could not fight in heavily wooded terrain that blocked the flight of their arrows. Preying largely on unprotected villages and farms, the Magyars almost never brought along the slow-moving infantry and heavy siege weapons that were essential to capturing fortresses and walled cities.

**Marauding Magyar warriors cross the Lech River near Augsburg, Germany, on August 10, 955. The Magyars long had made a habit of raiding helpless German settlements. OPPOSITE: (top) King Otto I's famous red hair is clearly visible in this mosaic; (middle) Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg in an 18th-century painting; (bottom) period relief of Duke Boleslav of Bohemia.**

The Granger Collection, New York

Unlike previous raids, the Magyar chieftains intended to bring along slaves to stand and fight as infantry and haul great siege engines across the Bavarian plain. The strategy carried great risk, as the Magyar infantry would be inferior to their German counterparts, and also because the foot soldiers and siege train would slow their advance and rule out any element of surprise.

Magyar envoys traveled to Magdeburg, ostensibly to show their support for the German king but in reality to take stock of whether Otto had regained military control of his kingdom. They stayed for about a month, during which time they observed lingering uncertainty among the members of the royal court in the aftermath of the civil war that had only ended two months before. Hoping that Otto would be reluctant to lead his elite force of Saxons and Thuringians into Bavaria for fear another rebellion might break out, the envoys reported back to the Magyar chieftains that the time was ripe for a fresh invasion of Bavaria.

Augsburg, which had been founded by the Romans in 15 BC, was located on the west bank of the Lech River just south of the confluence of the Lech and the Wertach River. It had served over the centuries as a major hub of trade between Germany and southern Europe. Augsburg had the unfortunate distinction of being the least fortified of the major Bavarian cities. The city's walls had been heavily damaged in the recent civil war, it lacked towers to protect its gates, and the gradually sloping ground on which it was located made it accessible by an enemy using heavy siege equipment. Only the city's east gate, which rested on a steep bluff over the Lech, would prove difficult to attack with siege weapons.

After the Magyar envoys safely returned to the Carpathian basin in late June, the 25,000-strong Magyar army led by the chieftains Lel and Bulcsu lunged across the Enns River on July 1 and separated into columns to carry out various missions. The swiftest columns intended to ride beyond the Lech as far as the Iller River in an effort to fool the Germans into thinking they were heading deep into Swabia and Franconia to pin down German forces, while the slower columns escorting the infantry and siege weapons aimed for Augsburg. From mid- to late July, the outriding Magyar columns systematically stripped all of the forage that could be found between the Lech and Iller to feed their army and deny a German relief army any sustenance. Meanwhile, the infantry and siege train progressed slowly across Bavaria, averaging only 11 miles per day. The Magyars ransacked far and wide, once again spreading terror. Those who could take refuge in fortresses or strongholds did so, but many could not escape the barbarians' depredations.

Before falling back to the Lech at the close of July, the commander of the vanguard of the Magyar army had arranged for a spy to watch for Otto's relief army and notify the Magyars of his pending arrival. The traitor, Berthold, established himself at Reisensburg, which was located on the old Roman road between Ulm and Augsburg south of the Danube. If Berthold could provide information as to the direction and timing of Otto's advance on Augsburg, the Magyars might be able to plan an effective ambush.

Following the rebels' defeat, Otto had shifted his base of operations back to Magdeburg to

All: Public Domain

resume his campaign against the Slavs. While conducting operations in that sector in early July, he received an urgent message from his brother, Duke Henry of Bavaria, which read, "Beware, Hungarian war bands, fanning out, have attacked across your frontiers."

Otto's first order of business was to draft dispatches requesting military assistance from his nobles and bishops and also from key allies, such as Duke Boleslav of Bohemia, ruler of a principality that lay outside of the East Frankish kingdom. Once this was done, Otto led his personal legion of 1,000 Saxons and Thuringians south to join forces with other troops assembling in Bavaria to contest the Magyar invasion. Otto might have taken a larger force with him, but he left a sizable army behind to watch the Slavs and prevent a power vacuum in Saxony.

Otto arrived in Ulm, about a two-day march from Augsburg, in late July. The city, situated on the north bank of the Danube, had a large palace and fortress that made it a suitable base of operations. The king initially had contemplated establishing his headquarters at Bopfingen, which lay to the northeast of Ulm, but the Magyar advance toward the Iller indicated that the Magyars intended to turn north into Franconia as they had done the year before. The king deployed the arriving Bavarians and Swabians to guard the crossing points of the upper Danube above Ulm. Below the town, the river was too wide for an army to cross without ferry boats.

In early August, after the Magyars had pulled back to Lechfeld plain below Augsburg, Otto's scouts discerned that Augsburg was the Magyars' real objective, and that the main body of the enemy force intended to seek battle with Otto's relief army on the Lechfeld. By that time, Otto had 8,000 men under his command organized into eight legions: three from Bavaria, two from Swabia, one from Franconia, one from Bohemia, and his own drawn from Saxony and Thuringia. The German army comprised both infantry spearmen and mailed knights armed with swords and lances. The Franconian legion consisted almost entirely of veteran heavy cavalry led by Conrad the Red, who had agreed to support Otto in future campaigns.

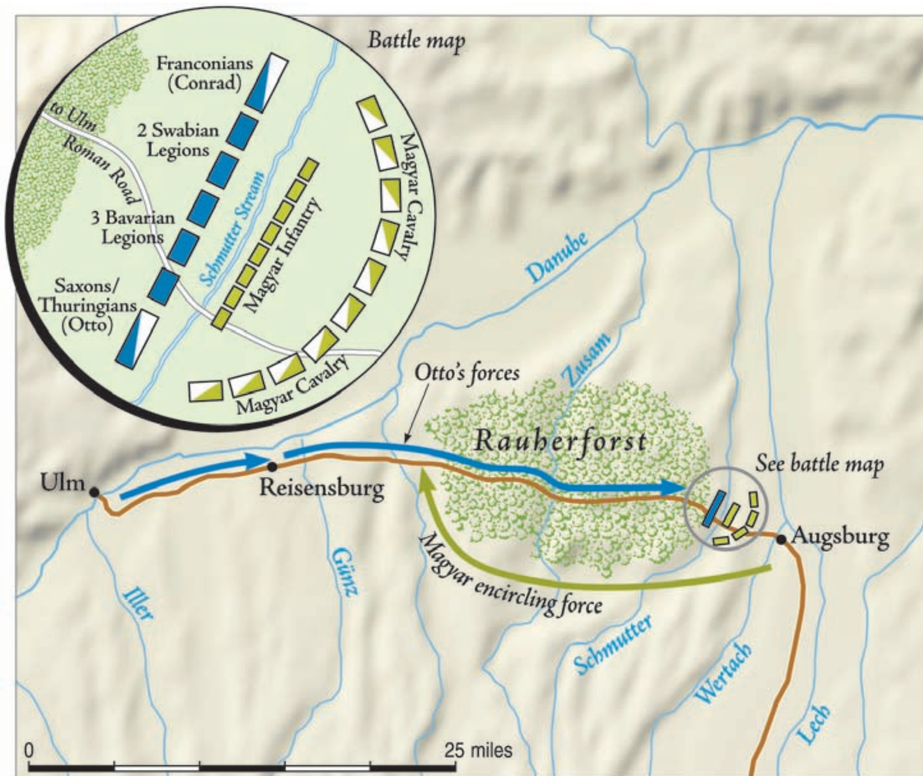
The lead Bohemian legion stumbled into Otto's forward base at Ulm on August 7 after conducting a forced march. The crack troops were exhausted from their long trek, and Otto assigned them to march at the rear of the relief column. He also ordered their commander to closely guard the relief army's supply train. A second Bohemian division, which had farther to march, halted at Regensburg upon learning the German king had left Ulm for Augsburg.

The cities of Ulm, Donauworth, and Augsburg formed a triangle of sorts on the border between Swabia and Bavaria. Ulm was situated at the bottom left, Augsburg at the bottom right, and Donauworth at the top of the triangle. The Magyars hoped that Otto would march northeast from Ulm to Donauworth and then turn south to Augsburg. If the German king took this route of march, the Magyars were confident they could overwhelm the relief army on the open terrain of the Lechfeld.

But Otto had crafted a plan designed to foil the Magyars and lessen their chance of defeating the Germans. Instead of proceeding to Donauworth, he crossed to the south bank of the Danube on August 8 and led his army east along the old Roman road that connected Ulm to Augsburg via Reisensburg. The long German column reached Reisensburg at the end of the day and camped just beyond the town, having marched about 15 miles. The next day the army continued east to Horgau, where it encamped for the night. Horgau was situated on the western edge of a thick wood known as the Rauherforst. At that point, the Germans were within a day's march of Augsburg. Otto planned to march his army on the narrow Roman road through the Rauherforst and assess the tactical situation once he emerged from the forest the following day. Otto believed the dense woods would protect his men from hit-and-run attacks by the Magyars until he was close enough to Augsburg to force them into a close-quarters battle with his more heavily armed force. Although not without its share of risks, it was a much safer route than advancing unprotected on a long march south from Donauworth through the Lechfeld.

When the Magyar main army with light cavalry, infantry, and siege weapons arrived before Augsburg sometime in late July, it camped on the east bank of the Lech, three miles southeast of Bishop Ulrich's city. The Magyar chieftains chose the site because they believed it would be safe from any large-scale sortie that Ulrich might launch from the city in an effort to overrun their base camp. Ulrich had a substantial number of local professional troops inside the city, and it is conceivable that he might have been able to achieve this if the Magyars had camped beneath the city's walls.

The Magyar main army encountered little resistance on its advance from the Enns. Once word spread of another barbarian invasion, many villagers and local forces east of Augsburg sought safety in local fortresses or cities in eastern Bavaria such as Salzburg, Passau, Freising, and Regensburg. Bent on the capture of Augsburg, the Magyar vanguard and main body bypassed the other cities and local strongholds. By doing so, they allowed local forces to quickly regain control of the primary roads and river crossings once the Magyars had passed. If the battle went against the Magyars, they would likely meet substantial resistance and pay a heavy price attempting to get



Map © 2012 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN

**ABOVE: Otto's Germans (in blue) attack the Magyars west of Augsburg after passing through the Rauherforst. Magyar horsemen on the left flank feign retreat, but Otto is too wise to follow. OPPOSITE: This German manuscript illustration from 1457 shows the weltering melee at the Battle of Lechfeld. The heavily armored Germans had the advantage.**

back to the Carpathian Basin by the same route they had traveled to Augsburg. It was a risk of which the Magyar chieftains were probably aware, but they had no other recourse under the circumstances. It made a Magyar victory over Otto's army essential if the barbarians wanted to continue their semi-nomadic lifestyle, which was dependent on wealth accumulated through captured prisoners and stolen treasure.

Once the Magyar main army arrived before Augsburg, it did something completely unexpected. After establishing their camp, on August 8 a small force of Magyars attacked the city's most formidable gate. Correctly guessing that the east gate high above the Lech likely was less well defended than the other entrances to the city, the Magyars hammered at the gate with siege weapons in an attempt to gain a quick foothold inside the city. Bishop Ulrich, astride a majestic warhorse, led the Germans in a counterattack outside the city wall. The fighting raged for a time, but when the Germans killed the Magyar prince leading the attack, the enemy broke off and returned to their camp.

The following morning, the traitor Berthold arrived in the Magyar camp with news that Otto was marching west from Ulm with a relief army. In response, the Magyars turned their attention away from the siege and focused on destroying Otto's relief army. The Magyars were so consumed with their desire to defeat Otto that they failed to leave behind even a token force to keep watch on the Augsburg garrison. As a result, Ulrich's brother, Count Dietpald, led most of the city's garrison away from the city to add their numbers to Otto's army.

The Magyars adapted well to the shifting demands of the campaign and were able to devise a clever plan to ambush Otto's relief army. The swiftest-moving bands of mounted archers would skirt the Rauherforst to the south and conceal themselves until Otto's last legion had entered the woods. When the moment was right, the Magyar ambush party planned to attack the rear of the column and block a German retreat. On the other side of the forest, the Magyar main force stood poised to attack the German vanguard as it emerged from the west side. The plan was to catch the Germans as they tried to deploy from column to line of battle and prevent them from forming a battle line. Once that was accomplished, the Magyar main army would seal off the Roman road on the west. By that time, the Germans remaining in the woods would discover that they were trapped and make a panicked attempt to exit the east side of the Rauherforst. At that point, they would be cut down by Magyar troops waiting for them to exit.

The Magyars broke camp on the afternoon of August 9 to take up their respective positions and await the passage of Otto's army through the Rauherforst. The ambush party rode five miles west from their main camp to a new position south of where the road from Ulm to Augsburg entered the Rauherforst. The ride consumed a good portion of the day as it involved crossing the Lech and Wertach Rivers. Once they arrived at their destination, the ambushers concealed themselves in folds of the landscape and slept next to their mounts on the night of August 9. Their plan for the following morning was to wait until only a single legion at the back of the German column remained in the open. At that point, the mounted bowmen would surround the German rear guard and fire arrows into it from a safe distance. If the legions already inside the forest returned to rescue their fellow soldiers, the Magyars would pick them off too.

As the sun arced slowly across the sky on the morning of August 10, the Magyars waited tensely for the Germans to begin their journey through the Rauherforst. The barbarians west of the forest shifted restlessly in their saddles as they waited or the most opportune moment to attack. The Germans had risen early and had begun tramping east under a scorching sun toward the dense forest. By mid-morning, the vanguard and main body of the German army had disappeared inside the Rauherforst. At that point, the ambushers divided into small bands and began encircling the Bohemians, cutting them off from the Swabians in front of them. The Bohemians ran for cover to escape thick showers of arrows that rained down on them. The advantage was clearly with the Magyars, and the destruction of the Bohemians was swift and efficient. Although a large number of men from the Swabian legion adjacent to the Bohemians tried to reinforce them, they were cut down before they could alter the outcome of the ambush.

It took less than an hour for the ambush party to overwhelm the Bohemians. Most of the Bohemians were killed, but a small number were taken prisoner and the victorious Magyars began sifting through the baggage train for loot that they could carry off. Believing that the feeble attempt of the Swabians was the last they would see of the Germans for the time being, they left the west entrance to the forest unguarded and focused their attention on the treasure that had fallen into their hands. This lack of discipline, something that would likely never have occurred under their more disciplined ancestors, would prove to be a serious blunder.

As the ambush party was rifling through the contents of Otto's supply train at midday, the German vanguard was exiting the Rauherforst on the east side and forming for battle outside the village of Ottmarshausen, a short distance from Augsburg. A messenger brought word of the destruction of the rear guard to the king. Otto and Conrad, who were side by side issuing orders in preparation for battle with the main Magyar army, stopped what they were doing and listened intently to the messenger. The king and his son-in-law conferred briefly. Otto told Conrad that once the vanguard and main body had exited the woods and the road was clear, Conrad should take his mounted legion of Franconians and ride back through the forest to the west side. Once there, he was to rally the remnants of the Swabian legions and counterattack the Magyars.

By mid-afternoon, Conrad had ridden back through the forest, rallied the Swabians, and launched a counterattack on the disorganized Magyar ambush party. The Magyars fled at the first glimpse of Conrad's heavy cavalry galloping toward them. A large number were slain by the revenge-hungry Franconians. Infuriated by the cunning nature of the Magyars, the Franconians overran the Magyar position, hacking down many before they could escape. Once the Magyars were driven off, Conrad ordered his men to round up a small number of prisoners, secure what remained of the ransacked provisions, and prepare to countermarch to rejoin Otto's army.

As Otto's troops passed from the forest to the open ground, they were exposed to the searing midday sun. Less than a mile away, on high ground on the far side of a small stream known as the Schmutter, the Magyar main army drew up in its classic crescent formation. They had chosen their ground well, and their formation was designed to allow them to bring maximum firepower on an attacking enemy. In the center, the Magyar chieftains had placed their lowly infantry as bait with which they hoped to entice the German heavy cavalry to charge. If the German cavalry was foolhardy enough to do so, the Magyars planned to close in on them from all sides until they were completely encircled. The mounted bowmen would then fire volleys of arrows high into the sky that would plummet downward with a force capable of piercing any armor.

The Magyar chieftains decided at the last minute to await the German attack rather than try to destroy Otto's troops before they could deploy. By waiting, they had less to lose than the German king. The Magyars had a larger army, which was better supplied than the German army. Therefore, the burden was on Otto to press the attack because he could not afford to wait. Otto wasted no time preparing for battle. The German king arrayed his troops, then gave them a rousing speech designed to motivate them to perform great feats against a numerically superior foe.

Otto placed Conrad's cavalry, which was exhausted from its defeat of the Magyar ambushers, on the left flank, where it was protected by the cliff wall. In the center, Otto deployed the remnants of the two Swabian and three Bavarian legions, which totaled about 4,000 spearmen. The far right flank was held by the crack cavalry of Otto's combined Saxon-Thuringian legion.

The German infantry, as the Magyars had hoped, would lead the attack. However, Otto also planned to launch his cavalry simultaneously against the Magyar left flank. The success of the attack would not depend on the infantry alone. Otto instructed Conrad to remain out of range of the Magyars' arrows, making just enough of a demonstration against their right flank to convince them that he might charge any minute. This would stretch the enemy line and pin down the Magyar right flank so it could not shift forces to support the center or left flank. The two flanking attacks by German cavalry—Conrad's feigned attack and Otto's real one—were designed to flatten out the horns of the crescent into a straight battle line. Otto believed this would foil the Magyars' battle plan and prevent them from encircling and destroying the German center.

The Granger Collection, New York

When the heat of the day was at its most intense in the mid-afternoon, the German heavy infantry advanced in a tight formation toward the less-experienced Magyar infantry. When the melee began, the Germans were able in a matter of minutes to slay large numbers of the enemy infantry; the survivors melted away. Fearful of a direct attack by German cavalry on either flank, the mounted bowmen refused to come to the aid of the infantry.

Once the infantry advanced, Otto waved forward his legion of mounted heavy cavalry. The ground shook as the fresh legion of Saxon and Thuringian horsemen galloped toward the Magyar left flank. The Magyar horsemen launched a volley of arrows, then turned and fled east. Conrad, on the opposite flank, having seen the enemy left and center give way, ordered his Franconian heavy cavalry to complete the rout of the Magyar army. With the same élan they had showed routing the enemy ambush party, the Franconians pursued and hacked down as many of the enemy riders as they could reach. The horsemen on the Magyar right flank had no place to escape. Otto's cavalry, having dispersed the enemy left flank, had circled around behind them and stood ready to cut them off as they tried to break off contact.

A fearful slaughter occurred beneath the frowning cliff that overlooked the Magyar right, where their horsemen were trapped between two large groups of German cavalry.

Foto Marburg / Art Resource, NY

Elsewhere, the survivors of the Magyar center and right flank fled for their lives with the Germans in close pursuit. The hapless Magyar infantrymen, who had been forced against their will to participate in the campaign, had no chance to escape the Germans. They sought refuge in nearby barns or farmhouses, only to be burned alive when the Germans hunted them down and torched the buildings.

The German cavalry that had overwhelmed the Magyar right flank in less than two hours found themselves in possession of a landscape blanketed by large number of dead from both sides that testified to the ferocity of the fighting and an unwillingness to take prisoners. Unfortunately for the Germans, as the fighting ebbed on the battlefield and the blood of both sides turned the waters of the Schmutter an eerie red, a single Magyar archer inflicted a deep wound on the German psyche. After leading his men in a victorious charge, Conrad had unhooked the buckles on his armor to get some relief from the heat. Not long after, a retreating Magyar bowman took one last shot at the victors. The arrow he fired arced through the sky and struck Conrad in the throat, killing him instantly. It was a crushing blow to his fellow soldiers, many of whom had fought with him for years.

The Magyar cavalry that had been fortunate enough to have been posted on the left flank managed to escape when Otto swung north into the rear of the enemy army rather than pursue them east. Those horsemen withdrew in good order, regrouped a short distance away, and rode a few miles east, keeping their formation in the hope that the German cavalry would give chase. But Otto was too wise to fall for their familiar tactic of feigned retreat. He eventually rode east with his men as far as the Lech, then broke off pursuit at that point.

A severe thunderstorm passed through the region that evening. The following day the Alpine rivers rose considerably in height. As a result, the major right-bank tributaries to the Danube—the Lech, Isar, Inn, and Enns—and their respective tributaries became treacherous to cross.

On the morning of August 11, the day after the hard-fought battle, Otto sent mounted messengers to local forces east of the Lech, informing them that the Magyars were in full retreat. He ordered them to do everything within their power to kill the marauders so that they would not return the following year. Otto also sent messengers to Duke Boleslav, leading a second Bohemian legion encamped at Regensburg, and to the leading nobles of Carinthia, which had been under Otto's control since 952, appealing to them to intercept the retreating Magyars and destroy them. Boleslav immediately ferried his forces across the Danube and marched toward the city of Freising in the Isar valley, while a Carinthian force east of Freising, at Salzburg, prepared to block Magyar forces attempting to cross the Inn.

Between the right tributaries to the Danube and the smaller rivers that fed them, the Magyar bands retreating to their base in the Carpathian Basin had to contend with as many as a dozen river crossings on their retreat. They found these crossings protected by not only Bohemian and Carinthian forces, but also by mixes of Bavarian professional and militia forces situated at nine major fortresses throughout central and eastern Bavaria.

The heavy downpour on the night of August 10 spelled doom for the retreating Magyars. The next afternoon a large body of Magyars forded the Amper near the Bavarian fortress of Sunderburg and pressed east toward a major ford on the Isar, a mile south of Freising. Just before dusk, the Magyars reached the ford and attempted to negotiate the river. As the Isar approaches Freising, it narrows between steep embankments that channel its waters and increase the speed of the river's current. The long column of mounted bowmen waiting to

ford the Isar was assailed by forces from Sunderburg and Freising, supplemented by fast-arriving Bohemians.

The barbarian troops were weary from the long, hard ride necessary to distance themselves from the German heavy cavalry. The troops in the front of the column unsuccessfully tried to ford the river; many were swept downstream to their deaths. Even many of those who managed to gain the far embankment tumbled back into the water and drowned. Other Magyars trying to commandeer ferryboats to get across wide or treacherous rivers discovered that local boatmen loyal to Otto were not receptive to being bribed. Many of the desperate Magyar horsemen were cut down or pitched into the water by those manning the ships.

The Bavarians and their allies took no prisoners except for the most exalted of Magyar princes and chiefs, who were rounded up and taken to Regensburg. Within a few days the noble prisoners, including chiefs Lel and Bulcsu, were hanged on the gallows alongside many of their less-exalted compatriots. A pitiful remnant of the Magyar army escaped to the Carpathian basin, but the majority were killed. As for Otto's army, it lost upward of 3,000 killed. Across Europe, Otto's triumph over the Magyars was favorably compared to Charles Martel's victory over the Spanish Muslims at the Battle of Tours in AD 732.

After the destruction of the retreating barbarian army, one of the first measures Otto undertook upon returning to Magdeburg was to distribute lands and titles to the Bavarian and Carinthian nobles who had assisted him in his hour of need. After that, he resumed his ongoing war with the Transelben Slavs. In October of the same year, Otto won a decisive victory over the Slavs at Recknitz. The pair of great victories over the pagan eastern peoples made possible the further spread of Christianity into regions that hitherto had remained outside of its grip. In 962, a grateful Pope John XII crowned Otto as Holy Roman Emperor in a ceremony at St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. The act united the kingdoms of Germany and Italy into the newly constituted Holy Roman Empire.

The Magyar defeat in 955 laid the groundwork for major political and religious changes in the years to follow for the peoples of the Carpathian basin. No longer would the Magyars, living a semi-nomadic lifestyle on the steppes, hold sway over the region. The German victory at Lechfeld signaled the military and political end of the Magyar menace. The Magyars lost so many veterans in the 955 campaign that few survived to train the next generation in the art of nomadic warfare, which reduced the Magyars to the ranks of second-rate warriors. By the end of the millennium, under King Stephen I, the principality of Hungary had become the Kingdom of Hungary and the majority of its people had embraced Christianity, signaling the ultimate end of the Magyars and their barbarian ways. □

**BELOW: After the battle, German soldiers and civilians took brutal revenge on the beaten Magyars, as this 17th-century engraving graphically depicts. Few raiders escaped. OPPOSITE: Another illustration from the 1457 manuscript shows the deceptively peaceful town of Augsburg with the Lech River in the background.**

akg-images

By Al Hemingway

# A former Navy SEAL reveals the truth behind the daring operation to kill Osama bin Laden in 2011.

IN THE EARLY MORNING HOURS OF MAY 2, 2011, STEALTH HAWK helicopters maneuvered their way through the inky blackness toward their target, a walled compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan, to capture or kill the person who masterminded the September 11 attacks against the United States, Osama bin Laden, codenamed Geronimo. The operation, called Neptune's Spear, was a combined effort of the entire intelligence community and carried out by a group of America's best warriors, SEAL Team Six.

In his new book, ***Seal Target Geronimo: The Inside Mission to Kill Osama bin Laden*** (St. Martin's Press, New York, 2011, 228 pp., photographs, glossary, $25.99, hardcover), former SEAL Team Six member Chuck Pfarrer has written a factual account of the operation that will keep readers on the edge of their seats. Not only does he give a blow-by-blow description of how it was planned, but he also gives important background information on bin Laden himself, how he became involved in terrorist activities, how he created the Sunni Islamic terrorist organization Al Qaeda, and the in-fighting between the group's hierarchy.

Although not a religious zealot in his early life, bin Laden hated Israel and the United States for supplying them with weapons and supplies. His hatred reached a zenith during the crises in Lebanon in the early 1980s. Ironically, it was in Afghanistan where bin Laden saw his first combat, in a manner of speaking. His leadership and military skills were sorely lacking but that did not matter—it was his family's money that people were after. Bin Laden was the son of a Saudi Arabian multimillionaire who had made his cash in the construction business.

Pfarrer uncovers the petty jealousies and in-fighting within the Al Qaeda leadership. Much of the unrest came from Ayman al-Zawahiri, an Egyptian physician who eventually rose to be the number-two man in the group. His outright lies and treachery caused the deaths of many in the group's inner circle as he lusted for bin Laden's seemingly unending cash flow. Ironically, it may have been Zawahiri who schemed to have bin Laden's secret hideout located after he learned that the courier he was using to keep bin Laden informed was being watched. Today, the nefarious doctor is the current head of Al Qaeda.

Pfarrer clears up the "forty-five minute" firefight fallacy surrounding the operation, in which SEALs reportedly had to shoot their way upstairs into bin Laden's bedroom, where they gunned him down. The author received firsthand information from SEAL Team Six members who told him they fired only 12 rounds and killed bin Laden as he was reaching for his weapon. One of his countless wives was accidentally

A Navy Seal Black Hawk helicopter went down at the scene of the raid on Osama bin Laden's compound in Pakistan. Team members attempted to destroy the Black Hawk to prevent discovery of secret equipment.

STR/AFP/Getty Images

Advertisement

*You deserve a factual look at . . .*

# The Two-State Illusion

## Would it solve the Middle East problem?

There seems to be almost universal consensus that in order to bring peace to the Middle East the creation of a Palestinian state is unavoidable. What is more, such a "solution" is the policy of the United States.

### What are the facts?

**The lesson of Gaza.** In previous *hasbarah* (educating and clarifying) messages we made clear that a Palestinian state would be impossible for Israel to accept. It would lead inevitably to Israel's destruction. The reason is primarily the lesson learned from the Gaza experiment. Under pressure from most of the world, Israel evacuated Gaza, displacing hundreds of families who had lived there for generations and who had built substantial communities and extensive agricultural installations. Instead of making even the least gesture of acknowledgment and gratitude, the Palestinians, almost from the very first day of their "liberation" from the hated Jews, began to lob rockets into Israel. Ultimately, Israel was forced to defend itself against those attacks and invaded Gaza in force. There was much damage and many casualties. As could be expected, "world opinion" condemned Israel's defensive action and called it "disproportionate."

If Israel were foolish enough to yield to the unrelenting pressure and were to turn Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank") over to the Palestinians, it would find itself surrounded by enemies, whose ultimate goal is not the creation of a Palestinian state but the destruction of Israel – to use the common rhetoric, to wipe Israel off the map and push the Jews into the sea.

> "...the ultimate goal is not... a Palestinian state... but the destruction of Israel."

**Statehood opportunities rejected.** The reality is that the Palestinians are not really interested in their own independent state. Such a state never existed and the concept of a "Palestinian" people is a fairly new one. If the Palestinians were really interested in their own state, if that were their aspiration, they could have had such a state side-by-side with Israel, for a very long time. The first partition of Palestine – all of which, by the Balfour Declaration and by the mandate of the League of Nations was to be the Jewish home – occurred in 1921. Winston Churchill, who was then the Colonial Secretary, split the mandated territory, allocating the great bulk to the Arabs for the creation of what is now the Kingdom of Jordan. But, of course, that did not satisfy the Arabs. After much bloody fighting over the decades, other efforts were made to create an additional state for the Arabs (who by then called themselves "Palestinians"). There was the Peel Partition Plan of 1937, and, most importantly perhaps, the United Nations Partition Plan of 1947. Under the UN plan, the territory west of the Jordan River was to be split, with the major portion to be allocated to the Arabs and the smaller, disconnected, portion going to the Jews. Jerusalem, a bone of contention, was to be "internationalized" – it would not belong to either. The Jews, anxious to form their state, accepted this plan under which they were granted only a small fraction of the "Palestine" that they had been promised to be their homeland by the Balfour Declaration and by the mandate of the League of Nations. But the Arabs rejected the partition out of hand. Almost the same day that Israel declared its statehood and its independence, six Arab armies invaded Israel from north, east and south. In what could be called a Biblical miracle, the ragtag Jewish forces defeated the combined Arab might.

Following the Six-Day War of 1967, in which Israeli forces defeated the combined invasion forces of Egypt, Syria and Jordan, Israel offered generous terms for the formation of a Palestinian state. But it was not accepted. Instead, the Arabs convened in Khartoum (Sudan) and pronounced their famous Three No's: No peace with Israel, No negotiations with Israel, No recognition of Israel. Other offers of statehood were made over the course of the years. Ehud Barak, then prime minister of Israel, and U.S. President Bill Clinton offered the Palestinians almost total withdrawal to the 1967 armistice lines. The Palestinians rejected the offer, presumably because it did not include Israel's willingness to accept hundreds of thousands of Palestinian "refugees," who would with one stroke accomplish what the Arabs had not accomplished in their wars: the destruction of Israel. The creation of a Palestinian state could have been accomplished many times. But it is the unalterable goal of the Palestinians, indeed of most Arabs and most Muslims, to destroy the Jewish state and never to recognize and legitimize Israel in whatever shape and size as a Jewish state.

It is important to understand that the creation of a Palestinian state is not the true ultimate goal of the Arabs. It is, at best, meant to be a stepping stone toward the ultimate goal: the destruction, the disappearance of Israel and of the hated Jews from any portion of what they consider "holy Muslim soil." The Arabs are not interested in putting an end to the suffering of the Palestinian people. That could have been accomplished long ago. On the contrary, to be martyrs is a source of pride and assurance of victory to the Arabs. They compare their willingness to sacrifice hundreds of thousands of their own with the Zionist enemy, who is concerned about combat losses or even the fate of one single abducted soldier.

**This message has been published and paid for by**

**FLAME**

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

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

116A

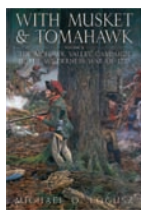
**To receive free FLAME updates, visit our website: www.factsandlogic.org**

wounded when he was hiding behind her. Bin Laden's son and two bodyguards were killed when they attempted to fire back at the SEALs. The wife of Abu Ahmed al Kuwaiti, the courier, was also killed accidentally when the bullet that brought him down passed through his body and hit her. No true innocents were harmed—the SEALs were up the stairwell and into bin Laden's room in a matter of seconds. There was no prolonged firefight.

Pfarrer's book reads like a thriller, with the added advantage of being true. He rightly praises the men of SEAL Team Six, calling them a modern-day band of brothers. At a private ceremony, when President Barack Obama asked which one of the SEALs had killed bin Laden, one of the team's leaders simply replied: "We all did it, sir. It was all of us."

---

***With Musket & Tomahawk, Volume II, The Mohawk Valley Campaign in the Wilderness War of 1777*** by Michael O. Logusz, Casemate Publishers, Havertown, PA, 2012, 262 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, index, $32.95, hardcover.




By 1777, the Mohawk Valley was a hotbed of military activity, with British and Colonial spies abuzz with information on the impending British invasion of the region. The raids were on several fronts. British General John Burgoyne would strike southward toward Albany. Meanwhile, from the west, another force of British regulars, Loyalist units, and Indians, led by Brig. Gen. Barry St. Leger, would make their way toward Burgoyne in a pincer-type movement, destroying everything in their path.

The only viable patriot force standing against the British invaders was the Northern Army, a polyglot force consisting of Continental Army regulars, farmers, settlers, blacks, and some friendly Indians—a diverse group to say the least.

St. Leger's army quickly laid siege to Fort Stanwix. Outnumbered, Brig. Gen. Nicholas Herkimer led an 800-man militia unit to reinforce the beleaguered defenders of Fort Stanwix. Instead, St. Leger's men ambushed them at Oriskany, a few miles from the fort. A bloody battle ensued and, despite being surprised, Herkimer's soldiers quickly organized a defense and fought extremely well, inflicting heavy casualties on the British and driving them off. St. Léger's Indian contingent was disgusted by the false promises made by the British and the fact that they were doing the lion's share of the fighting. Many fled, some even killing British soldiers and Loyalists before they did.

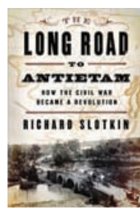
After his humiliating defeat at Oriskany and his failure to seize Fort Stanwix, St. Leger was forced to return to Canada with a small remnant of his command. With little knowledge of frontier warfare and even less of the various Indian tribes that accompanied him, St. Leger's plan was doomed to failure.

With the Mohawk Valley and surrounding territory in American hands after Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga in October, the British threat had been thwarted. The flow of supplies, so desperately needed by General George Washington's army, could now continue without fear of reprisals.

Logusz has written a colorful and accurate account of the bloody struggle between a powerful professional army and a small band of American patriots who were determined to stop them—and did.

---

***The Long Road to Antietam: How the Civil War Became a Revolution*** by Richard Slotkin, Liveright Publishing, New York, 2012, 496 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, $32.95, hardcover.



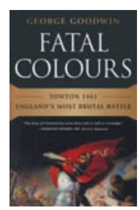

The year 1862 was a crucial one in the Civil War. Confederate President Jefferson Davis had decided on a three-pronged offensive strategy to take the war to the North. General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia would invade Maryland, hoping that Southern sympathizers in the border state would flock to the Confederate cause. Meanwhile, General Braxton Bragg's Army of Tennessee would crush Maj. Gen. Don Carlos Buell's Army of the Ohio while Maj. Gen. Earl van Dorn's Rebel forces attacked the Federals at the important rail junction of Corinth, Mississippi.

Slotkin does an excellent job of tracing the strategies used by both sides. By this time, President Abraham Lincoln realized that there was no chance the two sides could hammer out a peaceful solution to the question of slavery and the preservation of the Union. Lincoln knew that he had to commit to total war, even if it cost him re-election. There were even rumors of a military coup or dictatorship with egotistical Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan at its head.

In spite of all of this, Lincoln wrote the Emancipation Proclamation in the summer of 1862, although he would not issue it until there was a Union victory. And that victory—albeit a slim one—came at Antietam. Even though the edict clearly defined that the abolishment of slavery was intrinsically linked to the preservation of the Union, it still took nearly three more years of bloody war to bring it to fruition—and another 100 years before African Americans were on an even footing with white Americans.

---

***Fatal Colours: Towton1461, England's Most Brutal Battle*** by George Goodwin, W.W. Norton, New York, 288 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, $27.95, hardcover.




The author delivers a vivid description of one of the biggest and most pivotal battles ever fought on English soil—the Battle of Towton, on Palm Sunday, 1461. The savage combat took place amid a raging sleet and snowstorm that ultimately had a decided effect on the outcome. England at the time was in the throes of a great civil war, the War of the Roses, fought between 1455 and 1487. The opposing sides, the royal Houses of York and Lancaster, were contesting the future leadership of the country. Whoever was victorious on the battlefield of Towton would control England.

Leading the troops on the Lancaster side was King Henry VI (although he was absent from the battlefield), an ineffective king who struggled with bouts of insanity that many historians believe may have been caused by schizophrenia. Edward IV, a muscular, 6-foot, 4-inch knight, was in command of the troops of the House of York and was an altogether more imposing figure on the battlefield than the slightly built Henry.

The battle opened with the Lancastrians having the edge in troops and the Yorkist army awaiting the arrival of reinforcements. However, William Neville, first Earl of Kent, was an adept military strategist who knew his archers could reach the Lancaster lines because of the strong wind at their backs. When their deadly missiles found their mark, the Lancastrian army quickly withdrew but regrouped and attacked. The two sides fought for hours in the terrible weather, and the tide turned when additional men arrived for the House of York. As the Lancastrian soldiers fled, they were chased and cut down by Yorkist horsemen. Others were trampled to death or drowned attempting to cross the Aire River. The death toll was an estimated 28,000 killed outright. In the aftermath of the sickening carnage, Edward IV ascended to the throne and altered English politics forever.

---

***Outlaw Platoon: Heroes, Renegades, Infidels, and the Brotherhood of War in Afghanistan*** by Sean Parnell with John R. Bruning, William Morrow, New York, 2012, 374 pp., photographs, glossary, $26.99, hardcover.

This book, dealing with the

infantrymen's war in Afghanistan, is nothing short of outstanding. Sean Parnell, an infantry platoon leader with Bravo Company, 2nd Battalion, 87th Infantry Regiment, 10th Mountain Division, has delivered a hard-hitting account of close-quarter combat in a remote region of that battle-scarred country. A canny junior infantry officer, Parnell could read his men well and learned to listen carefully to those who had already served there, especially Staff Sgt. Phillip Baldwin, a mature NCO who had left civilian life and entered the military after the September 11 attacks.

One of the most riveting sections of Parnell's book concerns his personal baptism under fire. His thoughts drift back to his time with his friends and family, but soon he realizes that he must act quickly to get his men out of the ambush that had them trapped. Only a combat veteran can truly understand the adrenaline that pulsates through a soldier's body when under fire. Parnell rallied his troops and ignited those around him to fight their way out, sustaining relatively few casualties and routing the enemy.

Kudos to Parnell. This is a well-written, suspenseful, and poignant book that gives the reader a powerful insight to those who endure the true brunt of the fighting in every war—the rifleman with the bayonet attached to the end of his weapon.

---

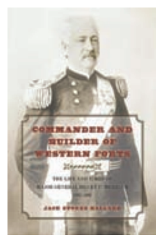
***Stealth Fighter: A Year in the Life of an F-117 Pilot*** by Lt. Col. William B. O'Connor, USAF (Ret.), Zenith Press, Minneapolis, MN, 2012, 424 pp., maps, photographs, glossary, $30.00, hardcover.

Here's another great book written by a pilot who flew the F-117 Stealth fighter during the Bosnian War in the late 1990s. The Nighthawk was officially retired by the Air Force in the late 1980s, allowing O'Connor to write his account. He traces his training at Holloman AFB in New Mexico and his top-secret missions over Iraq, the Panama Canal, and Serbia. The Nighthawk, because of its unique design, has always been surrounded in myth. O'Connor's fascinating story puts the reader in the cockpit as he describes his hazardous flights over hostile skies. Always flying at night to avoid detection, the Stealth fighter could deliver its ordnance on an unsuspecting enemy and be homeward bound before they knew what hit them.

O'Connor admits a feeling of accomplishment when he scrutinized photographs of his bomb damage assessment. His missile had done serious damage to the Serbian headquarters structure at Kragujevac, Serbia's fourth largest city. O'Connor was proud of that.

---

***Commander and Builder of Western Forts: The Life and Times of Major General Henry C. Merriam, 1862-1901*** by Jack Stokes Ballard, Texas A&M Press, College Station, 2012, 252 pp., maps, photographs, notes, index, $35.00, hardcover.



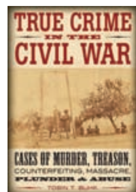

Henry C. Merriam served in the U.S. Army for nearly 40 years. Although his name is not as easily recognizable as those of the flamboyant George Armstrong Custer or Philip Sheridan, his contributions during the postwar westward expansion were nonetheless every bit as important as the battles fought on the Great Plains, Texas, and the Pacific Northwest.

A native of Maine, Merriam served in the Civil War as a commander of black troops, earning the Medal of Honor in the waning days of the conflict. He decided on the life of a career army officer and traveled to the West after the war. His first wife and daughter tragically drowned when an unexpected rainstorm hit his men as they were traveling near the Concho River. Merriam spent decades planning and supervising the construction of a string of forts throughout the West. His sharp eye and keen vision established locations that could serve the needs of both military and civilian interests.

A man of the highest integrity, Merriam rose through the ranks and retired a major general. He was a prolific writer and his notes survived, giving historians a clear picture of his significant contributions to 19th-century America. As the author states, Merriam did not just sit idly by, his leadership skills and courage made him a "shaper of the times."

---

***True Crime in the Civil War: Cases of Murder, Treason, Counterfeiting, Massacre, Plunder & Abuse*** by Tobin T. Buhk, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, PA, 2012, 312 pp., photographs, notes, index, $21.95, softcover.




In any armed conflict in human history, crimes have been committed by military personnel ranging from desertion to rape and murder. The Civil War was no different. Many Americans have a glamorized vision of Northern and Southern boys gloriously fighting for their respective causes, gallant knights embodying courage and righteousness. And while this was true for the most part, every army has its small percentage of losers and outright criminals. The crimes

Your Ship, Your Plane
When you served on her.
Free Personalization
www.totalnavy.com
718-471-5464

MILITARY HERITAGE

Have a question about your subscription? Need To Change Your Address? Want to buy a gift subscription? Now, it's easier than ever!

**FAX US:** 570-322-2063, c/o: Customer Service.
**CALL US:** 800-219-1187.
**EMAIL US:** Kathyp@sovhomestead.com

Sovereign Media Company,
c/o: Customer Service,
1000 Commerce Park Drive, Suite 300,
Williamsport, PA 17701

**Keep *Military Heritage* Looking Brand New**

Preserve, protect and organize your issues. Slipcases are library quality. Constructed with heavy bookbinder's board and covered in a rich flag blue leatherette material. A custom silver label with the ***Military Heritage*** logo is included.

**One - $18 Three - $45 Six - $80**
***Add $3.50 per case for P & H.***

Send to: **TNC Enterprises Dept. MH
P.O. Box 2475, Warminster, PA 18974**
Enclose name, address (No P.O. Boxes) and payment with your order. USA orders only.
You can even call **215-674-8476**.

***Credit Card Orders***
**AmEx, Visa, MC** accepted. Send name, number exp. date and signature.
PA residents add 6% sales tax.
**Satisfaction Guaranteed**

**To Order Online:
www.tncenterprises.net/mh**

mentioned in the title did not start with the Vietnam War. Good and bad soldiers have existed during every period of world history, and the Civil War was no different.

Buhk has selected various crimes, some extremely heinous, that occurred during the Civil War. Some are well-known to war enthusiasts, including the Fort Pillow massacre, the Lawrence, Kansas, raid, and the Confederate plot to burn down New York City. But the author has also documented some unusual crimes, such as the terrible mass murder of the Beckham family in Tennessee in 1863, the draft riot in Detroit that was sparked when a dark-skinned man was wrongly charged with raping a nine-year old girl, and the exploits of Sue Mundy, the notorious female guerrilla who was, in reality, a male.

As Buhk notes, we will never know the full extent of the crimes that were committed during the conflict. Records were lost and some of the felonies were probably never reported, especially in the case of sexual assault. Still, the author has done a marvelous job of portraying a slice of history that is rarely reported or written about.

---

***Battle Story: Ypres, 1914-15*** by Will Fowler, Spellmount, Gloucestershire, England, 2012, 160 pp., illustrations, index, $17.95, hardcover.

This short and concise book pays tribute to the nearly 55,000 British and Commonwealth soldiers who perished at the first and second battles for Ypres, Belgium, from October 1914 until the following May. The battle was noteworthy for being the first time that poisonous gas was used by the Germans, in April 1915, and the first time a flamethrower was used in combat. A young German corporal who fought there was temporarily blinded by mustard gas and evacuated to a hospital to recover. His name was Adolf Hitler.

The small hamlet of Ypres was strategically important because it could block the Germans' northern advance into France. It was symbolic to the Belgians as well because it was the last section of their country that had not been overrun by the German juggernaut.

Today, visitors to Ypres are overwhelmed by the horrific loss of life in the many months of fighting there. Since the late 1920s, a ceremony has been held every day to commemorate the fallen, especially those whose remains were never found. Poet Laurence Binyon remembers the dead by writng, "At the going down of the sun and in the morning, we will remember them."

---

***Utmost Gallantry: The U.S. and Royal Navies at Sea in the War of 1812*** by Kevin D. McCranie, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2011, 384 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, index, bibliography, $39.95, hardcover.

A professor at the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island, McCranie has written a fine book on the War of 1812 from the perspective of both the American and British navies. Great Britain did not believe that the fledgling United States would dare match its miniscule navy

## *Tom Clancy's Ghost Recon: Future Soldier* Is a Fantastic Addition to the Series.

I've long had a back-and-forth relationship with the *Ghost Recon* franchise. On one hand, the presentation has always been top notch, and the tactical elements are perfect for those who want a more methodically paced shooter. On the other hand, I've always been absolutely terrible at them. *Ghost Recon: Advanced Warfighter*—then and now affectionately known as *GRAW,* like an animal's snarl—was one of the very first games I picked up for Xbox 360. As far as making me feel good about dropping major loot on a fancy new HD console, it did its job, but *GRAW* was quick to smack me up when I didn't feel like playing by its own brand of delicately strategic rules. Enter *Ghost Recon: Future Soldier,* the latest entry in the series, which, for better or worse, takes things in a decidedly more "shooty" direction.

PUBLISHER
Ubisoft

SYSTEM(S)
Xbox 360, PS3, PC

AVAILABLE
Now

This is one of those things that can rope in new people while simultaneously alienating established fans, but it worked wonders for me. Yes, *Future Soldier* is still a squad-based shooter that rewards quiet and calculated kills, but it's also much more forgiving, with an even heavier focus on handy futuristic war tech for getting through tough situations. The equipment is the star here, with you and your teammates taking the backseat in a brief but exciting campaign.

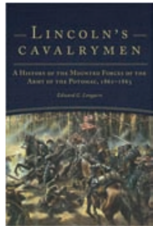
That campaign has you running, gunning, and escorting from Nigeria to Norway and beyond, taking down weapons traffickers, destroying arms shipments, and seeking out the source of a launched and narrowly averted nuclear attack. Story scenes are infrequent and largely inconsequential. I have a hard time keeping track of what's going on in most war games—partly because they all tend to spin a very similar yarn—but I seemed to have even worse visibility when it came to *Future Soldier*'s narrative. Everything pertinent is doled out in premission briefings, and I'm just here to do my duty for the good of the nation, okay? With that in mind, it's still nice to see that, despite all its celebration of advanced battle tech, *Future Soldier* isn't one of those insane, gung-ho "Yeah! War!" stories tagged with a limp attempt at a message to the contrary. It's very straightforward and doesn't waste the player's time.

Missions typically start off with an emphasis on stealth, gradually ditching the need to be silent. Stealth can be a tricky thing to pull off, but *Future Soldier* manages not to make it too much of a pain thanks to all the equipment at your disposal. Walking slowly, crouching, and not firing automatically turns on your optical camouflage, making you almost completely invisible to the enemy. From this advantageous position, you can coordinate kills with the rest of your squad efficiently. Tagging enemies causes teammates to line up shots on them, so you can have three kills lined up, saving the fourth for yourself, and execute them all simultaneously to remain unseen. If enemies find dead bodies you're screwed, but careful and patient playing makes even the strictest of "No Alert Allowed" scenarios a breeze to complete.

From drones, both airborne and ground-based, to optical camouflage and even small-scale quadraped mechs like The Warhound, there's no shortage of covert ways to go about missions. Drones even make tagging enemies easier, as you can simply toss them in the sky, target opposing soldiers from the air, and let your teammates take them out. As for the mech? One of the most memorable missions in the game centers on that hefty, impressive tech. Snow whips through the air at sharp angles, obscuring vision as you and your squad make your way from base to base, taking out enemies with extreme prejudice thanks to The Warhound's mortar. It's a blast to control your character and duck

against the most powerful armada in the world at that time. But the upstart Americans did just that, and with leaders such as Stephen Decatur, William Bainbridge, and Isaac Hull they gave the British men-of-war a run for their money.

Examining both countries' strategies and decisions for maritime operations, McCranie describes in great detail the various engagements fought on the high seas. America's small navy gave a good showing of itself, especially in the early phases of the conflict, and easily outshone the dismal efforts of the American Army in what has been called the nation's second war of independence.




***Lincoln's Cavalrymen: A History of the Mounted Forces of the Army of the Potomac, 1861-1865*** by Edward G. Longacre, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2012, 470 pp., maps, photographs, notes, index, $26.95, softcover.

It has long been thought that the Southern horse soldier in the Civil War far surpassed his Northern counterpart in riding ability, tactical skills, and overall horsemanship. In this groundbreaking book, being reissued to coincide with the 150th anniversary of the conflict, historian Edward Longacre gives a new interpretation of the cavalry capabilities of the Union horsemen and how at times they equaled and even outperformed their Confederate adversaries.

There is no doubt that the North's considerable advantage in horses and hay played a key role in helping defeat the Confederacy, which was sorely lacking in both commodities. Longacre also discusses the improving Union leadership in the Army of the Potomac's cavalry, from the brash and arrogant George Armstrong Custer to the bandy-legged Irishman Phil Sheridan and the inept and scheming Judson "Kill Cavalry" Kilpatrick.

Longacre's book gives a clear and concise understanding of the development of the Union Army in the eastern theater of operations—a development that was helped immeasurably by the rapid improvement of its mounted forces. □

behind cover while simultaneously aiming mortars and raining down a succession of hellish fire.

While the game is flush with awe-inspiring gadgets, it's telling that some of the most thrilling moments come when it's time to protect a VIP and escort them out of a deadly situation. Your squad gets in a diamond formation and the cinematic camera kicks into overdrive. Suddenly things become almost like an on-rails shooter, with player movement controlled by the computer as you concentrate on holding the VIP and firing at the converging threats. It's not exactly challenging, but it's effective. Brief segments like this really emphasize the dirt-blanketed, camera-scratched combat photographer style of the third-person perspective.

Everything would fall apart were it not for some pretty intuitive controls, which can be tough to pull off in this sort of game. I always found myself forgetting certain commands in past *Ghost Recons*, especially when it came to directing my squad. That's not an issue here, though again, that's something that may rub longtime fans the wrong way. I imagine *Future Soldier* will be divisive overall; barrier of entry is never lifted without a price to pay. There's also the occasional bug that rears its head into an otherwise smooth and glitch-free experience. One found me waiting at a breaching point for the fourth AI teammate so we could move on to the next room … only he never showed up. This odd bug forced me to reload the checkpoint and lose a decent chunk of progress along the way.

Of course, issues like this are easily sidestepped thanks to the increased focus on multiplayer. It's so simple to start or continue your campaign with friends that it's essentially the default option. While I had very few complaints about the friendly AI, it's much more refreshing and exciting to play with people you know. Even with the addition of co-op, those who plunk down the money for *Future Soldier* are going to be spending most of their time in the multiplayer, which is host to a variety of modes that keep the guns blazing long after the relatively concise campaign ends. The usual pitfalls are there to greet you among the good stuff—you'll have to play with strangers (read: obnoxious kids), which, nine times out of ten is terrible, and those who buy used or borrow will need to pay for a UPlay passport to hop online—but there's plenty to do here, and more downloadable content is on the way for those who decide to stick with it.

*Ghost Recon: Future Soldier* is ultimately a fantastic addition to the series… if you're like me and don't mind things becoming a bit more streamlined and action-oriented. Those hoping to see the series progress more along the lines of *Advanced Warfighter* will come away disappointed, but don't let that stop you from giving it a spin for yourself first. □

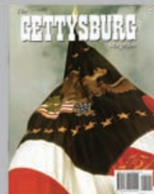
The Gettysburg Magazine

Since July 1989, *The Gettysburg Magazine* has continued to bring readers the best material covering the Gettysburg Campaign of the Civil War.

Each issue is 128 pages and there is no advertising. Every issue is like a new book on Gettysburg.

See our website to subscribe or give us a call.

Back Issue Sale!




Most back issues of *The Gettysburg Magazine* are available. Order back issues now for just $3 each. See our website to order or give us a call.

937-461-6736
gettysburgmagazine.net

PzG - Your Third Reich HQ!
Books • CDs • Videos • Flags • Pins
T-shirts • Posters • Daggers & more

Paratrooper Knife - Silver

4924-007-002 - Paratrooper Knife - Silver
German SS Reproduction Paratrooper knife, all stainless steel construction, closed length 5-3/4", open length 8", swastika & inscriptions.

Only $15.00 +s/h

SS Pocket Knife - Silver

DG009 - SS Pocket Knife
Reproduction, Germany military SS pocket knife, Nazi Stamps & inscription on the handle, 3" blade, closed length 3-3/4", heavy brass handle.

Only $12.00 +s/h

Shipping / handling just $8.00 per order.
CATALOG / COLOR FLYER SHEETS
send $1.00

PzG Inc.
P.O. Box 3972
Rapid City, SD 57709-3972
www.pzg.biz

*Continued from page 25*

well as suspenders from the top. It was adjustable in length from one end.

One of the more subtle changes to the various belts over the years was the buckle system. The original system had larger openings and featured curves with a "T" closure system. Gradually this changed to a tighter bend in the metal, and finally to more a reinforced metal buckle in 1936. Interestingly, the color of the belts also changed over time. The original belts were produced in a khaki color that faded to a light tan, but when American forces arrived in France in 1917 they wore green belts, although many earlier tan belts were issued as well. In the postwar years the belts went back to khaki and then back to green in 1943.

The belts continued to be worn through the Korean War, but following that conflict the Army adopted the M1956 Load Carrying Equipment (LCE) System, which saw the introduction of a new harness-suspender system that helped spread out the weight on the shoulders more than earlier suspenders. The ammunition pouches were also dropped, and the M1956 system was essentially based around the pistol belt, which allowed for a variety of items to be attached. The LCE was produced in olive green and was adjustable from both ends. It featured a rounded male-end buckle fastener. In 1961 experiments were conducted for a quick-release belt, called the Davis Belt. This featured a stamped-metal buckle with a bent tab that fitted through an opposing slot and remained closed through friction. The new belt was never widely adopted.

During the Vietnam War the equipment was upgraded again as the M1967 Modernized Load Carrying Equipment (MLCE) System. The MLCE improved the harness and featured improved pouches for ammunition and other equipment. It was another attempt to reduce the weight of the soldier's load, and aluminum and plastic were introduced to replace the heavier metals of the LCE system. The new system was originally designed for use in tropical environments but eventually saw widespread use elsewhere as well.

Much was learned during the Vietnam War, and the MLCE was updated as the All-Purpose Lightweight Individual Carrying Equipment (ALICE) in the 1970s. Some of the improvements and changes remained in subsequent systems. The most notable change was the reduction of holes in the web belt, from rows of three to only a top and bottom hole, thus eliminating the seldom-used middle hole, and the addition of a plastic quick-release belt from the metal "T" loop buckle.

Both photos Author's Collection

**ABOVE: The M1967 Modernized Load Carrying Equipment Belt was used during the latter stages of the Vietnam War. LEFT: An early World War II improved M1912 web pistol included a leather holster for the standard-issue .45.**

A special Individual Tactical Load Bearing Vest (ITLBV) was designed to replace the ALICE system, but its usage was limited to Special Forces and other select units. It was notable for featuring woodland-pattern camouflage made from Kevlar ballistic fabric and OG woodland-pattern nylon. The Army also adopted the Modular Lightweight Load-carrying Equipment (MOLLE) system, which features modularity through the use of PALS (Pouch Attachment Ladder System) webbing that allows for rows of heavy-duty nylon stitched onto the vest for attachment of accessories. It was first introduced in 1997 and has seen use by American troops in Afghanistan and Iraq.

As with anything, prices have continued going up. "Good quality World War II field equipment is all more expensive than it was a decade ago," says Shrader. "Very rare stuff and items in particularly nice condition are still good sellers. What we used to call 'meat and potatoes' militaria—common field gear in average worn condition but still okay for display—has to be inexpensive to sell. In the absence of solid provenance linking an item to a specific important event or noteworthy individual, this type of stuff just won't bring the same money it did a few years ago."

Prices have risen for early M1910 equipment with the eagle snaps and "U.S.M.C." stamped items. While the Marines followed the Army's lead with equipment development, in World War II there was specific Marine-issued equipment. Those stamped with the "U.S.M.C." are considered far rarer and thus more desirable than the Army versions.

Unfortunately, as with everything else, there are fakes and copies. The good news is that the fakes lack the quality of the real deal. "Mostly the quality is low and easy to spot," says Shrader. He warns that some companies "have items that are just as good as the originals, and made in exactly the same way. Any serious collector is well-served to acquire some samples of the reproductions, or at the very least to familiarize themselves with some of the contract maker marks used at the front." He adds that reproductions are a real double-edged sword. While these are certainly a minefield for future collectors, the availability of reproductions also means that fewer re-enactors are taking original material into the field to damage and destroy.

While not as desirable as a helmet or jacket, web gear is essential for anyone looking to do a complete uniform. The belts themselves are easily found, but collectors can add as much or as little detail as they desire, and the hobby can be quite specialized. The MOLLE system essentially ended the run of the old-style wear gear, but it is very much a direct descendant of equipment first issued more than 100 years ago. "We are really back to that turn-of-the century with mix and match scenario for the soldier's individual field equipment," says Shrader. "Today it seems like we are back to where we were in the period leading up to World War I, trying new things, lots of simple details on simple systems being revised and improved constantly." □

**John D. Hoptak | Faculty, School of Arts & Humanities**

John D. Hoptak is an American and Civil War historian and educator. Author of *The Battle of South Mountain*, *Our Boys Did Nobly*, *First in Defense of the Union*, and *Antietam: September 17, 1862*, Hoptak brings to life the riveting conflicts that divided a nation. Hoptak's laboratory is the Antietam National Battlefield, where as a Park Ranger he shares his vast knowledge about the bloodiest day of battle in U.S. history.

**Learn More at www.amuonline.com/military-heritage**

**Art & Humanities | Business | Education | Management | Public Service & Health**
**Science & Technology | Security & Global Studies**

# ★ ★ NEW ★ ★

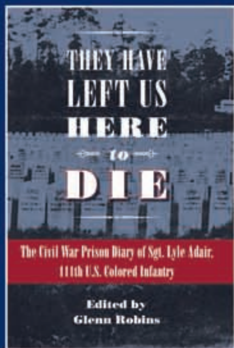
*from*

## THE KENT STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS

### THEY HAVE LEFT US HERE TO DIE

The Civil War Prison Diary of Sgt. Lyle Adair, 11th U.S. Colored Infantry

**Edited by Glenn Robins**

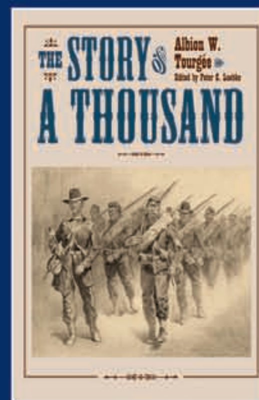



An edited and annotated version of the diary Sergeant Adair kept of his seven months as a POW in five different Confederate camps. As a white soldier serving with African American troops, Adair makes revealing observations about the influence of race on the experience of captivity.

### THE STORY OF A THOUSAND

**Albion W. Tourgée**

**Edited by Peter C. Luebke**

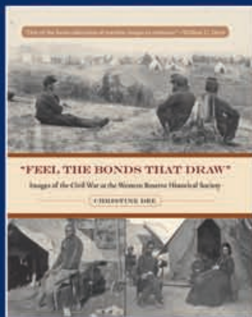



This facsimile edition of Tourgée's regimental history of the 105th Ohio Volunteer Infantry was first published in 1826. The text is enhanced by the inclusion of illustrator Frederic Remington's engravings, which accompanied the book's serialization in *The Cosmopolitan* magazine in 1894 and 1895.

### "FEEL THE BONDS THAT DRAW"

Images of the Civil War at the Western Reserve Historical Society

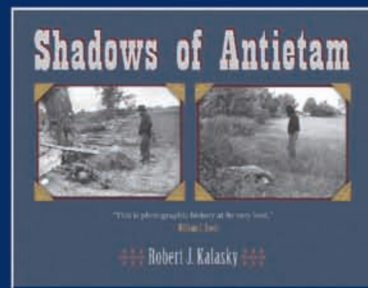
**Christine Dee**




Nearly 200 images from the Western Reserve Historical Society, whose extensive Civil War photographic archive historian William C. Davis calls "one of the finest collections of wartime images in existence," are made available.

### SHADOWS OF ANTIETAM

**Robert J. Kalasky**




With the help of reenactors and using black-and-white photography, Kalasky painstakingly recreates the 74 known glass plates shot by Alexander Gardner and James Gibson at Antietam, retracing their footsteps by location, date, and time to chronologically and sequentially place their images.

Available from your bookstore or from **www.KentStateUniversityPress.com** ★ 800-247-6553