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MILITARY HERITAGE

MILITARY HERITAGE • SUMMER/AUGUST 2008 Volume 10, No. 1

Allied Landing AT ANZIO

Nathan Bedford Forrest: BRICE'S CROSS ROADS

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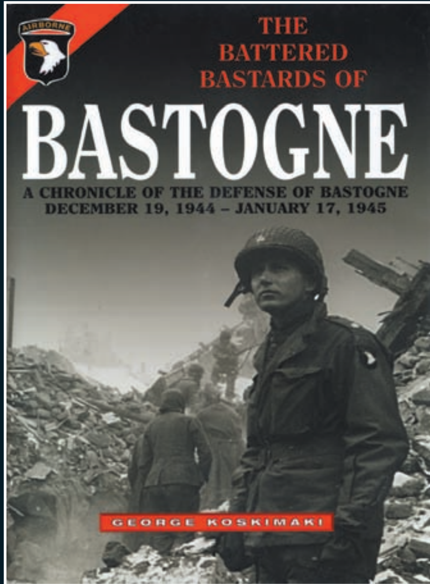

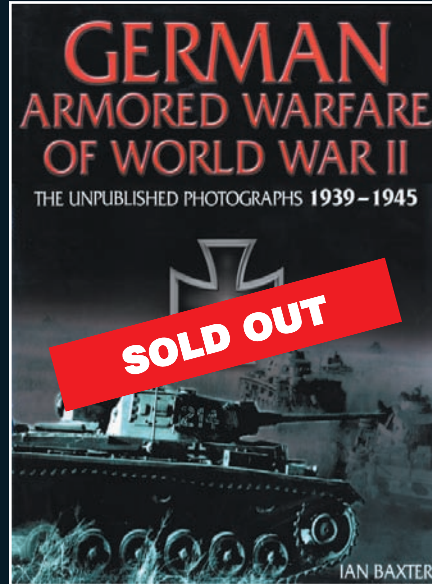

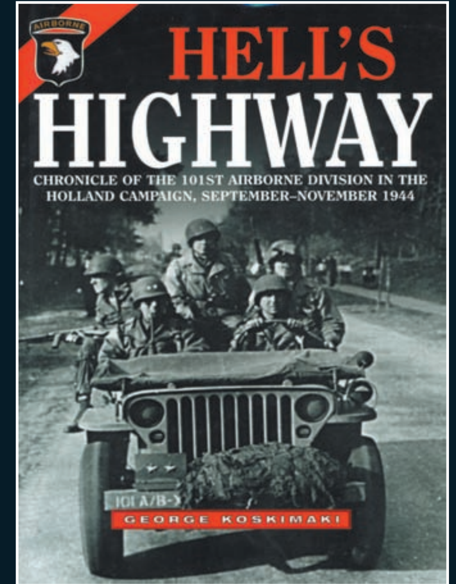

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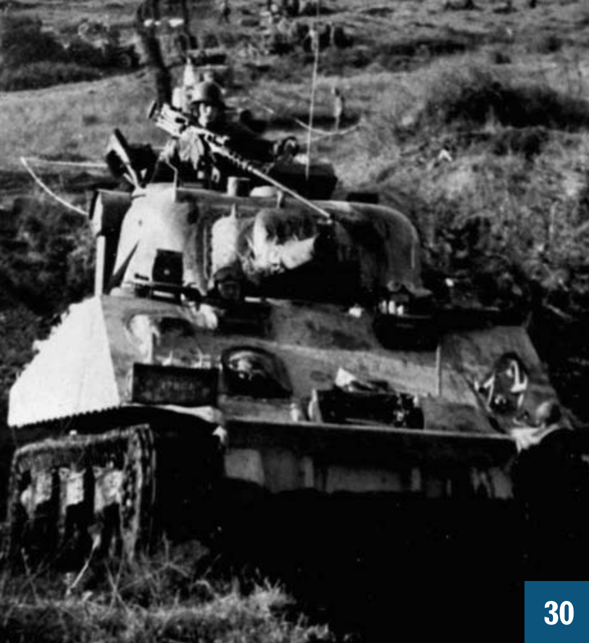

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COVER: John Gilbert's 1890 painting Onward *depicts a victorious medieval knight on horseback. Courtesy of The Bridgeman Art Library/©Manchester Art Gallery, UK.*

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editorial

Sad-faced, war-weary Willie and Joe were as real to American GIs in World War II as the guys sharing a foxhole with them.

AMONG THE THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN SOLDIERS slogging through the miserable winter of 1944 in southern Italy after the Allied landing at Anzio were two GIs who existed only on paper, but who became as real to their readers as the mud-covered, K-ration-eating guys sitting next to them in their foxholes. Willie and Joe, the sad-faced, war-weary creations of soldier-cartoonist Bill Mauldin, first appeared together on the pages of *Stars and Stripes,* the Army's daily newspaper, in late February 1944, two months after their real-life comrades came ashore at Anzio. They were an immediate hit, striking a chord of rueful self-recognition with readers, who saw in the unshaven pair of reluctant warriors an accurate and unsentimental depiction of a soldier's life at the front in the third long year of America's war.

Their creator, a 22-year-old lefthander from the mountains of New Mexico, based Willie and Joe on his fellow southwesterners in Company K, 180th Infantry Regiment, 45th Division. "These guys were based on these Oklahomans I knew," Mauldin said later. "People like that really make ideal infantry soldiers. They're not happy doing what they're doing, but they're not totally fish out of water, either. They know how to walk in the mud and how to shoot. It's a southwestern sort of trait, really. Don't take any crap off anybody."

Sharp-nosed Willie (modeled on Mauldin's hard-drinking father, Pop) and pug-nosed Joe (Mauldin himself) were virtually indistinguishable from their fellow soldiers. That was by design. Their undifferentiated anonymity reflected the impersonal quality of the combat infantryman's life (and death) and made them easier for other soldiers to identify with. Whether Willie and Joe were dodging shells, taking a quick bath in a mud hole, or merely trudging forward, one step at a time, they were the true expression of a particularly American vision of war as something to be endured—and won—but never glorified. The pair suffered rain, pain, fear, boredom, fleas, hunger, thirst, and, not least of all, self-important, rear-echelon officers. "He's right, Joe," says Willie in one cartoon after a spit-and-polish officer criticizes their slovenly dress. "When we ain't fightin' we should ack like sojers."

Willie and Joe struck a universal chord with real-life soldiers because there was no fakery to them, and no false bravado. Offered a medal by the company medic, slightly wounded Willie shrugs: "Just give me the aspirin. I already got a Purple Heart." Mauldin received his own reluctant Purple Heart after being struck in the shoulder by a piece of German shrapnel in the mountains above Venafro, Italy. Characteristically, he tried to give it back. "I had been cut worse sneaking through barbed-wire fences in New Mexico," he said.

Enlisted men loved Willie and Joe, but one high-ranking general emphatically did not. General George S. Patton, Jr., commander of the Third Army, groused about "Mauldin's scurrilous attempts to undermine military discipline." In a face-to-face meeting with the unrepentant cartoonist in Paris, Patton complained that Mauldin was making his soldiers "look like goddamn bums." Mauldin, supported by the less stuffy generals Dwight Eisenhower and Mark Clark, held his ground, arguing that the cartoons allowed the men in the ranks to let off steam.

Mauldin always intended to kill off his wildly popular characters on the last day of the war, but he was overruled by his editors at *Stars and Stripes,* who felt that such a fate, while all too true to life, would have been a cruel blow to American morale. Mauldin was unconvinced. "I should have killed them," he said later. "The dogfaces they were based on were dead anyway, why not kill them?" Instead, Willie and Joe survived the war, shaved off their famous beards, and went home to their unremarkable peacetime lives—just like the millions of other GIs. □

Roy Morris Jr.

ERRATA: In the June 2008 issue of *Military Heritage,* a portion of the text of the article "Shrine of Great Deeds" was accidentally omitted from page 32. To obtain a pdf file of the corrected article please e-mail laura@sovhomestead.com.

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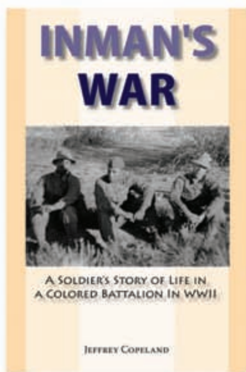

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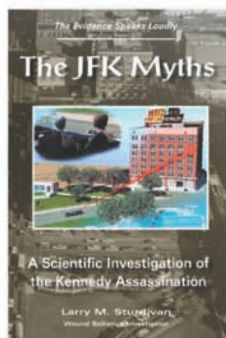

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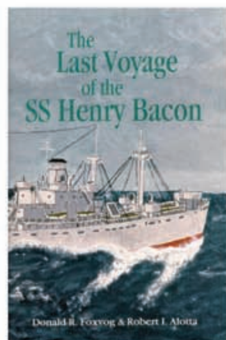

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FIRST LEGION

By Christopher Miskimon

Although it saw relatively short service, the Krag-Jorgensen rifle helped catapult the United States onto the world stage.

IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY, AN ARMS RACE WAS IN EFFECT AMONG THE nations of Europe. Advances in technology were quickly rendering obsolete the weapons that had served relatively unchanged for decades. The muzzle loader gave way to the breech-loading cartridge rifle, which in turn was outclassed by the repeating rifle firing high-velocity cartridges using smokeless powder. Machine guns were still in their infancy, but growing rapidly. Artillery likewise was evolving from brass muzzle-loading guns to quick-firing breechloaders made of steel. These new weapons were expensive to make, but conferred great advantage to those who had them. Resistance to expenditures generally melted away after success on the battlefield.

The ongoing arms race had an effect on the United States, as well. The U.S. Army's only opponents in the late 1800s were the various tribes of Native Americans who were resisting the continuing loss of their lands in the West. There were few areas in which a conflict with European powers might occur, and American planners gave little thought to the prospect. Eventually, as the nation's growing power and status caused its eyes to turn outward, the United States began to recognize that it lagged behind Europe in modern weapons.

The standard American rifle in the 1880s was the Springfield .45-caliber "Trapdoor" Model 1873 and its derivatives. This single-shot, breech-loading weapon fired a .45-70 cartridge using black powder. Despite occasional difficulties, it had effectively gotten the job done in the West, but it was now obsolete. Military strategists following advances in Europe feared that the United States was far behind most European nations in adopting repeating rifles. By the late 1880s, the concern had

American soldiers fight off a surprise attack by Philippine insurrectionists with the help of their Krag-Jorgensen rifles. Painting by H. Charles McBarron.

U.S. Army Art

finally grown serious enough for a new board to convene to discuss developing a modern rifle for the U.S. Army.

In 1889, research began on a new cartridge that would use smokeless powder. In line with recent developments in Europe, it would be a smaller caliber than the current round. Most single-shot breechloaders of the period were .45 caliber or larger. The newer cartridges were smaller, mostly around .30 caliber. After experimentation, the United States settled on a .30-caliber cartridge designated the .30-40 (the "-40" part of the designation refers to the cartridge's load of 40 grains of smokeless gunpowder).

Now it was time to find a weapon to fire the new ammunition. General Daniel W. Flagler, chief of ordnance for the Army, convened a Rifle Board to deliberate on the adoption of a new rifle. It began work on December 23, 1890, stating that it would test any rifle submitted to it. Fifty-three different rifle designs came in from all the major arsenals in Europe. While the lack of an American design was a sign of how far the United States had fallen behind Europe in weapons development, the board decided to view the situation as an opportunity. Because all the other nations had already selected one or more of the new weapons, the U.S. Army could now choose the best. During this period, repeating rifles of various types were flourishing in the civilian market, and several designers had taken their ideas to Europe after American military interest proved lacking. Flagler extended the deadline for submission of a new American design to June 30, 1892, but had no success. Testing continued with only European entries.

The winning design was a Danish weapon, the Krag-Jorgensen. Its designers were actually Norwegians, Ole Krag and Eric Jorgensen. Krag was a colonel in the Norwegian Army and had been developing his rifle since 1868. He had collaborated with Jorgensen, a superintendent at the Kongsberg Arsenal, on an improved Model 1888 of the weapon, which was adopted by the Danish Army in 1889. The U.S. Army designated its Krag as Model 1892, with production to commence at the Springfield Armory in Massachusetts, the primary U.S. military armory at the time.

From the start, the board's decision was steeped in controversy. American gun makers complained that they had not submitted entries because the Rifle Board had already pre-selected the Krag. Eventually Congress, at the urging of gun makers and designers, stepped in and ordered the Army to delay procurement of the

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by Mike Carroll

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Marines armed with Krag-Jorgensen rifles aboard USS *Baltimore* en route to their deployment in China during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. OPPOSITE: American sailors at musketry drill with Krags—presumably to fight off would-be boarders.

Krag for two months, during which time another board would evaluate American designs. This board, whose members were the same as the first, again chose the Krag, causing the gun makers to complain anew of unfair testing. This time, however, the adoption of the Krag went forward. On May 26, 1893, it became the U.S. Army's first repeating, smokeless-powder rifle. Congress appropriated $400,000 toward production of the new weapon.

The Model 1892 Krag-Jorgensen rifle weighed nine pounds, six ounces. Its overall length was just over 49 inches, with a 30-inch barrel. It was a bolt-action weapon, meaning that after each shot the firer turned the bolt upward, pulled it to the rear to eject the fired cartridge case, pushed it forward to chamber a new round, and locked the action back up by turning the bolt back down. The magazine held five rounds and loaded from the side through a gate that the user flipped down. Unlike contemporary rifles that loaded from the top using a five-round clip, the Krag had to be loaded one round at a time. The idea was that soldiers would fire single shots most of the time and save the magazine's contents for emergencies. Critics claimed that the single-load design was due to the obsession of the Ordnance Branch with conserving ammunition.

With the final decision made, it was expected that the controversy would die out. Instead, initial field reports on the new rifle were mixed at best. Criticisms included a poor sight, weak magazine spring, and weak parts that broke often. Even worse, some reported that the Krag, as it was being called, could not handle the pressures of the more powerful ammunition the Army was producing. The Springfield Armory reworked the rifle, coming out with two subsequent types, the Model 1896 and Model 1898. The revised Krag was sturdier, with exterior differences that included new sights, modifications to the magazine, and a new cleaning rod. Most of the 1892 models were eventually upgraded to the new configuration. A carbine version for cavalry troops sported a shorter 22-inch barrel.

The new rifle was about to get a trial by fire. War was simmering between the United States and Spain over Spain's longtime colony, Cuba. With the explosion of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor on February 15, 1898, it boiled over into outright conflict. Congress recognized Cuba as an independent nation on April 19; a few days later, the Spanish declared war. The United States was about to step onto the world stage, and its soldiers—some of them, anyway—would be carrying Krags. The Army was about 25,000 men strong. A call went out for volunteers to bolster the number to 125,000. The problem was that there were only 50,000 Krag rifles and another 15,000 carbines in the entire U.S. Army stock. The Springfield Armory could turn out only a paltry 100 rifles a day, although this would increase to 350 by the end of the conflict. This meant that the majority of American soldiers would go into action carrying the single-shot, black-powder Springfield rifle.

By contrast, the Spanish troops in Cuba were mostly equipped with the German-designed Model 1893 Mauser, which critics claimed was superior to the Krag. The two rifles were about to go head to head in a bloody test. American troops poured ashore in mid-June. The regular regiments and the Rough Riders, an elite volunteer unit whose officers included Theodore Roosevelt, carried Krag repeaters, while National Guard units carried Springfields.

In the combat that followed, the Krag proved two things. First, it was superior to the Springfield. The Krag could be fired much faster and without the telltale puff of smoke that the older black-powder weapon belched with each shot. This not only obscured the shooter's vision but also gave away his position each time he fired. The Krag's .30-40 round also had a much flatter trajectory than the Springfield, particularly at long range, making it easier to aim and giving it a greater depth of fire when used in volleys against massed enemy formations. Soldiers clamored for it over the obsolete Springfield.

Second, the Krag was inferior to the Mauser. The Mauser outranged the Krag and fired a more powerful cartridge. Perhaps most importantly, it could be loaded by means of a five-round clip that fit into a slot on the rifle. A downward push on the rounds in the clip and the Mauser was reloaded and ready for action in seconds, while Krag users had to load their magazines one cartridge at a time. The Spanish troops could put out a volume of fire that far surpassed what the Americans could achieve, to say nothing of the hapless National Guardsmen with their antique Trapdoors. The disparity was not helped by additional American inferiority in both artillery and machine guns. Despite the obstacles, American troops won a relatively quick victory in Cuba, overrunning the Spanish defenses at San Juan and Kettle Hills and El Caney and taking the crucial city of Santiago after a short siege. Spanish forces in Cuba capitulated in July1898.

American soldiers in the Philippines had a somewhat easier time of it, although they too

carried an unfortunate mix of Krags and Springfields. Although the war in the islands ended quickly after the Battle of Manila Bay, troops in the Philippines soon had another war on their hands, this time against Filipino insurgents seeking their independence. American soldiers expecting to fight regular Spanish soldiers instead found themselves fighting a war against native guerrillas. Here, the Krag's problems were not so noticeable. The Filipinos were not uniformly armed with Mausers, but rather used whatever weapons they could scrounge. The superior training and discipline of the Americans put the Krags to effective use.

As the insurrection went on, Krags became more common since the war with Spain was over and there was no need to divide production between two fronts. On June 10, 1899, the 1st Colorado Regiment took part in an assault on a guerrilla-held position near the rebel-controlled town of Paranque. The attack began at 6:30 AM with the regiment massing on the American left. Forming a skirmish line, the Americans initially had hard going through rough terrain until they got within some 800 yards of the Filipino defenses. Under fire, the Americans began their real work. Arthur Johnson, an enlisted man with the regiment who was also a news reporter (the 1st Colorado had two such reporters in its ranks), described the action: "Above the pop and sputter of the Mausers and Remingtons and the loud bang of the Krag-Jorgensens could be heard the shrill commands of the officers. 'Fire by volleys' brought the long even music of war which tells on the enemy." The Colorado soldiers carried the position after a hand-to-hand fight in the trenches.

On December 2, 1899, another correspondent, Richard Little, watched a Krag-carrying American sniper kill rebel General Gregorio del Pilar as he and 60 of his men sought to block a narrow mountain pass. With dramatic prose, Little reported, "Then came the spiteful crack of the Krag rifle and the man on horseback rolled to the ground, and when the troops charging up the mountainside reached him, the boy general of the Filipinos was dead." The Krag became immortalized in a marching song, a popular ditty that said in part, "Underneath the starry flag, civilize them with a Krag, and return us to our beloved homes."

Krags were also carried into battle by American troops during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, when an American force formed part of the Relief Expedition to China to rescue foreign missionaries under siege by the nationalistic Society of the Righteous Harmonious Fists, or Boxers. Some Chinese troops were armed with the Krag's nemesis, the Mauser, but the expedition nevertheless succeeded.

Lasting damage to the Krag's prestige already had been done. Veterans of the Spanish-American War, including Theodore Roosevelt, were now entering politics and demanding that the United States improve its arsenal. A new board convened to find a suitable improvement on the Krag. In the end, the Springfield Model 1903 rifle came into service. An excellent weapon, it would serve the U.S. Army well for decades. It was so close in design to the Mauser that the U.S. government later paid Mauser $200,000 to avoid a lawsuit for patent infringement.

This was not the end of the Krag story, however. Krag rifles continued to serve in reserve units for some time until a sufficient stock of 1903 Springfields was built up. The rifle was also used for training during World War I, when there was a shortage of rifles for frontline use. After the war, the Krags were disposed of, with many being sold as surplus to the public, where they became a popular hunting rifle. Today, Krags are a desirable antique among collectors of military weapons.

While the American-made Krag is the most famous model, two other nations used the rifle for a much longer period of time. Denmark used the Model 1889 Krag rifle as its standard service rifle up to World War II, chambered for an 8x57mm cartridge. A number of variants were made, including a carbine and a sniper rifle; production totaled about 140,000. When Nazi Germany occupied Denmark in 1940, it took over many of the rifles, which later saw second-line use in the Wehrmacht.

The only other major user of the Krag was Norway, which adopted its own version of the rifle in 1894. Like the Danes, the Norwegians continued to use Krags up to World War II, when Norway was defeated and occupied by the Nazis. The Norwegian model fired a smaller 6.5x55mm round. It differed from the American Krag primarily in the absence of the magazine cutoff. The Germans ordered a number of Krags made for them along with several other Norwegian weapons, but only a few thousand were actually manufactured.

The Krag had only a brief service life in the U.S. Army, and the weapon's troubled development story rivals that of any modern weapon system. But in American hands, the Krag-Jorgensen rifle served conspicuously in the war that catapulted the United States onto the world stage and gained it valuable overseas holdings in Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam. The notable victories of the Spanish-American War—San Juan and Kettle Hills, Manila Bay, and El Caney—guarantee the Krag a lasting place in American military history. □

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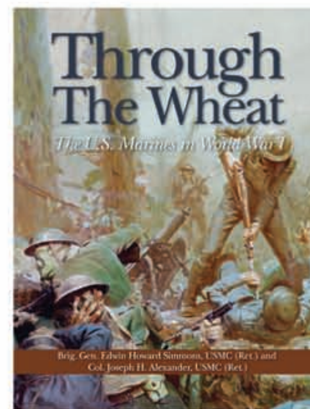

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By Chuck Lyons

Irish inventor and patriot John Phillip Holland designed a submarine for the Fenian Brotherhood to use against British warships.

BY THE 1870s, THE AGITATION FOR IRISH INDEPENDENCE, ALREADY centuries old, had spread to America. The revolutionary Irish Republican Brotherhood, known as the Fenians, began organizing thousands of Irish immigrants trained on both sides during the recent Civil War into its own army. The Fenians held mass meetings and raised funds among the many Irish immigrants residing in the United States. The organization also began work on a secret weapon.

The Fenians already had invaded British-controlled Canada on four separate occasions, hoping to ransom whatever parts they conquered in exchange for the liberation of Ireland. The invasions failed miserably, and the Fenians, looking for another way to twist the tail of the British lion, turned their attention to the development of a new and unique weapon—the submarine. They hoped to develop a sub that could be launched from land or from a larger ship, approach within firing distance of a British warship, and sink it with a self-launched torpedo.

U.S. Navy

Inventor John Phillip Holland in the conning tower of his namesake submarine, *Holland,* the U.S. Navy's first underwater vessel.

The man the Fenians chose to design the secret weapon was an Irish-born schoolteacher and onetime novice of the Christian Brothers holy order, John Phillip Holland of Paterson, New Jersey. Holland was born in County Clare, Ireland, in 1841, the son of a man who patrolled the county's headlands for the British Coast Guard. Holland attended the Christian Brothers School in Ennistymon, where he was influenced by Brother Bernard O'Brien, a scientific, mechanically minded man who had invented several telescopes with mechanisms to follow the rotation of the stars.

In June 1858, Holland joined the Christian Brothers order, and in November he was assigned to the North Monastery School in Cork, where he met Brother James Dominic Burke, a fellow science teacher credited with instituting vocational training in Ireland and a man who was working on the use of electricity for underwater propulsion—an innovation that would loom large in Holland's own future.

Holland's main interest at the time was in ships—and in Ireland. "I was a school master in Cork, Ireland," he later wrote, "when the [American]

civil war was in progress, and about two weeks after the battle between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* it struck me very forcibly that the day of wooden walls for vessels of war had passed and that ironclad ships had come to stay forever." He also realized that Great Britain, with all her many resources, would soon come to dominate the era of ironclad ships. As a loyal Irishman, Holland "wondered how she could be retarded in her designs upon the other peoples of the world and how they would protect themselves against those designs." It was a question he would eventually attempt to answer forcefully on his own.

In 1869, while serving at a school in Dundalk, Holland designed his first submarine. Three years later, he declined to take his final vows and departed for America. He took a job teaching at St. John's Parochial School in Patterson, and in 1876 he was introduced to the Fenian Brotherhood by his brother Michael, who had been involved with the Irish separatist movement in Ireland and had narrowly escaped a British crackdown by immigrating to the United States. The Fenians agreed to finance Holland's scientific investigations from its "skirmishing funds" in the hope of developing a new weapon with which to attack the British.

Although Holland has been called "the Father of the Submarine," he was not the first to dream of underwater travel. The idea went back as far as the third century BC, when Greek thinker and mathematician Archimedes discovered the laws of floating bodies. A practical design did not appear until 1578, when a British inventor proposed a boat that could be submerged and rowed underwater. A similar design was tested in 1605, and in 1620 a Dutch inventor made brief underwater trips in a leather-encased rowboat. In the 1770s, American inventor Davis Bushnell developed a hand-propelled, one-man submarine, the *Turtle,* which was launched during the American Revolution and used unsuccessfully to attack the British battleship *Eagle* in New York harbor.

Robert Fulton, inventor of the steamship, also toyed with submarine ideas in France and on the Hudson River around 1800. Fulton's designs were equipped with a hand-turned screw propeller for undersea operation and a sail for surface use. Work was also begun in the early 19th century on a submarine intended to rescue Napoleon Bonaparte from his exile on St. Helena, but the emperor died before the plan could be executed. During the Civil War, the Confederacy built and used four small submarines, one of which, the *Hunley,* blew up the

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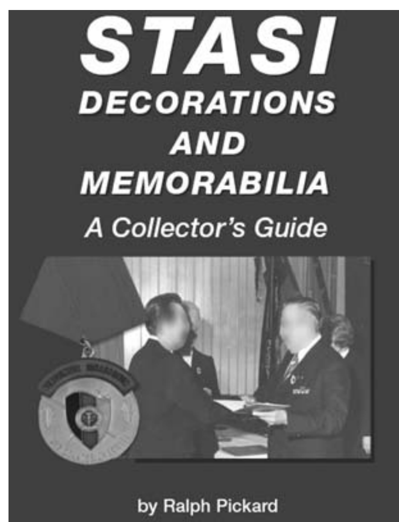

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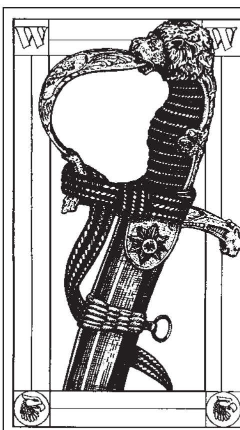

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ABOVE: Five submarines built by the Holland Torpedo Boat Company ride at anchor at a New York dock in 1902. *Plunger*, center, was an improved version of *Holland*. TOP: The submarine *Holland* was constructed by the Crescent Shipyard in Elizabeth, New Jersey, and was commissioned by the Navy in April 1900.

Federal warship *Housatonic* in Charleston harbor by ramming it with a torpedo fixed to its bow. The early subs were difficult to maneuver, slow-moving, and extremely dangerous for those operating them. (The entire eight-man crew of the *Hunley* perished after blowing up the Union ship.) "A submarine boat in order to be effective," Holland wrote, "must steer straight underwater, act quickly, and attack from a distance." His design, he claimed, did all those things.

Holland's first design, called *Holland I,* financed by Fenian skirmishing funds, submerged to a depth of 12 feet in June 1878 while Fenian officials looked on. It was a one-operator vessel, 14 feet, 8 inches long, three feet wide, and displacing 2.5 tons. It had been built in New York City and Paterson and launched from a horse-drawn wagon. Although Holland considered the design a failure, the Fenians were impressed enough to extend funding for Holland's second design.

Construction of the second vessel began on May 3, 1879, at the Delameter Iron Works at the foot of 13th Street in New York City. The new sub, dubbed the *Fenian Ram,* was launched in April 1881. It was 31 feet long, nine feet wide, and it displaced 19 tons. Further tests were begun in June, with its first dive at dockside reaching a depth of 14 feet. On its second dive the next day, the vessel stayed submerged for 2.5 hours.

Holland had learned two things from that first design that he later applied to the *Fenian Ram*. First, he learned that the idea of using air purifiers, which had been intended to supply air for the crew, was impractical. "It was simply folly," he later wrote, "to be bothered with either respirators or air purifying [equipment]. They need lots of attention that can't be spared for them, and a fair supply of compressed air, that can be easily stored, render them superfluous." He also learned that his original idea of opening the hatch and firing a torpedo from the top of the submarine was impractical and would not work.

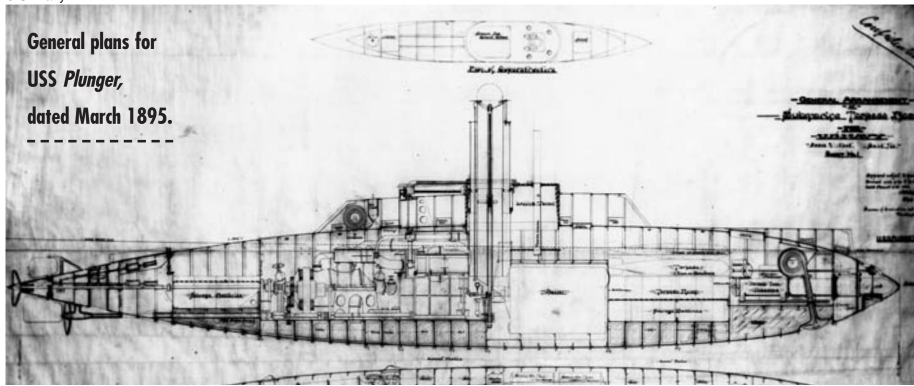
The *Fenian Ram* had two additional features that were to loom prominently in future submarine design and building—the use of water ballast to submerge the craft and the use of horizontal rudders to dive. Holland claimed that the *Ram* could remain submerged for up to three days and shoot a 100-pound torpedo 50 or 60 yards underwater and as far as 300 yards above water. During the tests, the submarine reached depths of 45 feet and surface speeds of nine knots.

The *Ram* was designed to carry a three-man crew, and a large flywheel on each side of the ram operated a compressor mounted over a high-pressure air tank. Compressed air held in the ship's tapered bow and stern ensured buoyancy. Water ballast compartments separated the compressed air from the crew's central compartment. The sub was propelled by a 20-horsepower Brayton gasoline engine for surface use, an engine that represented a technological breakthrough by being small enough to fit into a submarine. It would allow the boat to reach a speed of up to eight knots. For underwater propulsion, the *Ram* used an electric motor that was also used to recharge the vessel's battery.

An operator sat above the engine and worked two joystick levers, the left controlling the rudder, the right the diving planes. An engineer regulated the valves, observed the various gauges, and was able to "blow" the fixed-ballast tanks if an emergency required it. The third crew member was a gunner who operated the submarine's pneumatic gun, an 11-foot-long, nine-inch-diameter tube that ran through the forward ballast tank and compressed-air compartment and fired a six-foot-long torpedo with a 400-pound burst of compressed air.

Firing the torpedo required the gunner to loosen the tube's heavy iron breech, load the torpedo, shut the breech, crank open the bow cap of the tube, and loosen the compressed-air charge by means of a balance valve. He then had to crank closed the bow cap and blow the tube clear of the water that had flooded it, forcing the water out of the tube and into the forward ballast tank. "The *Ram* was submerged," Holland later wrote about a successful firing, "to a depth which put the bow of the pneumatic gun about

U.S. Navy



General plans for USS *Plunger,* dated March 1895.

three feet below the surface. The projectile cleared the muzzle by eight to ten feet. Then, it leaped out of the water and rose sixty to seventy feet in the air to plunge downward and buried itself irretrievably in the mud."

As its name suggested, the *Fenian Ram* could also be used as a ram, something Holland himself discovered during tests. "We had a partial demonstration once by running into the end of our pier at about six miles speed owing to my poor steering or forgetfulness of the tide," he wrote. "We split a 12-inch spile and lifted a horizontal tie having a load of four feet deep of stone ballast over it and hurt nothing but the engineer's respect for good English. The boat was strong enough to endure it." Tests also revealed that the boat's compass was useless when the *Ram* was submerged. To successfully navigate, the sub was required to surface, take a compass bearing, and submerge again. It was virtually undetectable while submerged, Holland wrote, with air bubbles from its exhaust all but invisible except in dead-still water, where they could be seen on the surface several feet behind the *Ram.*

In November 1883, after the submarine had been built and tested, but before the submarine could be used in battle, a dispute erupted between Holland and the Fenian Brotherhood over use of funds that had financed Holland's first two designs and a third submarine that was then being developed. Members of the Brotherhood accused Holland of misusing the funds, and they actually filed a lawsuit to enjoin the spending of additional funds on Holland's projects. Holland in turn claimed that George Brayton, who had supplied the *Ram*'s engine, had asked more for the engine than he had originally expected, and that he was considering court action against Brayton.

Concerned that the pending legal actions would result in attachment of Fenian property, a number of Fenians using a forged pass carrying Holland's signature, entered the dock area where the *Ram* was tied, and seized the *Ram* and a 16-foot model docked nearby. A tug towed the two vessels out of New York harbor and into Long Island Sound, where the model sank in choppy water. The group took the *Ram* to New Haven, Connecticut. Once there, they discovered that they did not have the knowledge needed to operate it. Holland, who of course did have the knowledge, angrily refused to help.

The *Fenian Ram* was never used in battle. It languished in Connecticut, its engine eventually removed to a brass foundry, until 1916, when the vessel was taken to Madison Square Garden in New York City and displayed to raise funds for victims of the Irish Easter Uprising. Later, the vessel moved to the grounds of the New York State Marine School and then to West Side Park in Paterson. Eventually, the *Fenian Ram* was transferred from the park to the Paterson Museum at 2 Market Street in Paterson, where it remains today.

After the disagreement with the Brotherhood, Holland gave up teaching, worked with a pneumatic gun company, married, and had a child who died in infancy. In 1888, he won a United States Navy competition for the design of a functioning submarine. No contract was awarded, however, and Holland took a job as a draftsman. He won a similar Navy contest in 1893 but again no contract was awarded, and he turned his talents to designing a flying machine. His flying machine might well have worked, experts later said, but the Wright Brothers succeeded before he could complete his machine. Holland eventually was involved in creating other submarine designs, including one capable of 22 knots, and when he died of pneumonia at age 73, he held 23 U.S. patents involving submarines and submarine warfare. Ironically, Holland's designs eventually were picked up by the British Navy, which commissioned several submarines, including one named *Holland I.*

Forty days after Holland's death in 1914, Germany's *U-9,* a 450-ton submarine manned by a crew of 26, sank the British cruisers *Aboukir, Cressy,* and *Hogue,* sending 36,000 tons of enemy shipping to the bottom and 1,400 men to their deaths. The era of the modern submarine had begun. □

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By Victor Kamenir

With war looming again with France, Russian General Mikhail Kutuzov had to end quickly the ongoing conflict with Turkey.

A Turkish standard-bearer rides into battle. It was a sight all too familiar to Russian general Mikhail Kutusov, who lost an eye to a Turkish rifleman.

ON APRIL 1, 1811, ONE-EYED GENERAL MIKHAIL KUTUZOV arrived in the Romanian capital of Bucharest to take command of Russia's Moldavian army. The indecisive war with Turkey had dragged on now for five exhausting years. Each year, Russian and Turkish armies marched and countermarched around the fortresses on both banks of the Danube River. During the five years preceding Kutuzov's arrival, command of the Russian army had changed hands six times.

By early 1811, the clouds of war were once again gathering over France and Russia. After the Peace of Tilsit in 1807, the honeymoon between the two powers was over, and both countries were again massing troops on their respective sides of the Nieman River. Czar Alexander I's instructions to Kutuzov were to bring the war against Turkey to an end as rapidly as possible and on acceptable terms. In anticipation of the upcoming conflict with Napoleon, the main Russian army was assembling in Lithuania, along the Polish border.

All photos: The Bridgeman Art Library

Shortly prior to Kutuzov's arrival in Romania, five out of nine infantry divisions in the Moldavian army were recalled north to rejoin the main Russian army. This left Kutuzov with 27,000 infantry, 13,500 regular cavalry and Cossacks, and 4,500 artillery, plus a small rowboat flotilla on the Danube. This force was stretched thin defending more than 650 miles along the north bank of the Danube River, the border between Russian-occupied Romania and Ottoman-controlled Bulgaria.

Immediately after arriving in Bucharest, Kutuzov launched a flurry of activity reorganizing his forces, gathering supplies, and improving training. His efforts did not remain unnoticed by the Turks, and detachments from all over Turkey's European possessions began to arrive on the Danube. Soon, close to 80,000 Ottoman troops under Grand Vizier Akhmed-Bey gathered opposite the main Russian force.

Kutuzov was ideally suited to lead the Russian army against the Turks. The majority of Kutuzov's military career had been spent fighting the

Turks. Mikhail Illarionovich Galinischev-Kutuzov (shortened to Kutuzov) was born on September 16, 1745, into a military family. Kutuzov began his career as an artilleryman, but his first active-duty assignment was as an infantry company commander. Soon, his daring and intelligence won him the patronage of influential General Alexander Suvorov.

Leading from the front, Kutuzov was shot twice in his right temple, the bullet exiting out of his right eye-socket on both occasions. After he was wounded in the head the second time, a British military observer with the Russian army wrote in his report, "They've shot Kutuzov again. That's the last we've heard of him." An ordinary man would have succumbed to just one such injury; Kutuzov survived both although afterward he was blind in his right eye.

General Mikhail Kutusov, as prince of Smolensk, in 1813.

Kutusov distinguished himself in December 1790 during the bloody storming of the Turkish fortress of Izmail. His drive and intelligence served him well in the diplomatic arena as well. During his service as the Russian ambassador in Constantinople between 1792 and 1794, Kutuzov gained significant insights into Turkish society, politics, and the military. This knowledge, especially of Ottoman military strengths and weaknesses, would prove invaluable in the upcoming campaign.

Knowing that only the destruction of its field army would bring the Ottoman Empire to the negotiating table, Kutuzov began to gather his forces for the decisive campaign. Leaving 12 infantry battalions to garrison the Ruschuk fortress on the southern bank of the Danube, he concentrated the bulk of his forces nearby, on the northern bank near the Zhurzha fortress. In a plan known only to a few close aides, the one-eyed Russian general intended to draw the Turkish army after himself, wear it down in defensive fighting, and only then seek a decisive action in the field. Well aware of tumultuous relations between Ottoman provincial governors and the central imperial authority in Constantinople, Kutuzov made subversion and subterfuge a vital part of his strategy. Lt. Gen. A.P. Zass, commanding a division-sized detachment on the extreme right flank opposite the town of Viddin, received instructions from Kutuzov for some behind-the-scenes manipulations.

Zass's primary mission was to prevent the Ottoman forces from using Viddin as a viable base for invasion into a Russian-held section of Romania, known as the Little Walachia. The grand vizier was planning just such an incursion into Romania, gathering up 400 boats of various sizes near Viddin for ferrying his forces across the Danube. A strong force of Turkish troops under Izmail-Bey was marching toward Viddin to make use of the boats gathered there.

The military commandant of Viddin fortress, a corrupt Ottoman official named Mullah-Pasha, was using a large portion of the boats to conduct a profitable personal trade up and down the Danube River. Knowing through his spies that Mullah-Pasha was currently out of favor in Constantinople, Kutuzov had Zass enter into secret negotiations with him. The Russians offered to buy the majority of the boats at Viddin if the Turkish official would conveniently place them within the Russian striking distance. Zass also informed Mullah-Pasha, quite fictitiously, that Izmail-Bey was bringing orders to execute him for graft. The strategy paid off handsomely. Not only did Mullah-Pasha secretly sell the portion of boats under his command to Zass, he also promptly informed the Russians about the Ottoman operational plans for the Viddin sector.

In the middle of June, the Turkish army numbering close to 60,000 men began to advance toward Ruschuk. Akhmed-Bey was well informed that the bulk of the Russian army was located on the northern side of the Danube and was expecting to deal with only the small Russian garrison of Ruschuk on the south side of the river. Unknown to him, upon learning of Turkish advance, Kutuzov recrossed the Danube with his main force and by June 19 began taking up positions roughly three miles south of Ruschuk.

The two forces converging on each other were greatly unequal in numbers. Facing nearly 60,000 Turks, the 18,000-strong Russian force was divided into 32 infantry battalions, 40 reg-

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ular cavalry squadrons, and three Cossack regiments. Only in artillery did the Russians have the qualitative and quantative advantage of 114 cannons versus 78 Turkish ones. In addition, while the Russian cannons were the modern field artillery pieces, the Turks employed mainly much older and bulkier cannons, unwieldy on a battlefield.

The area immediately south of Ruschuk was ill-suited for either defense or offense, with a multitude of ravines, orchards, and vineyards crisscrossing the hilly terrain. Kutuzov's plans were to deploy his troops on a small, low plateau where his disciplined troops could negate the enemy's numerical superiority. The Turkish commander, in turn, planned to work his forces around the Russian flanks, speedily capture Ruschuk and its bridges over the Danube, and, after pinning the Russian army against the river, force it into surrender.

Early in the morning on June 20, a strong body of Turkish cavalry, covered by a thick fog, charged the Russian pickets. Lt. Gen. Alexander Voinov, veteran of the Battle of Austerlitz, personally led forward a force of two cavalry regiments and four infantry battalions. After a sharp clash, the Turkish cavalry withdrew. The next day, both main forces began inching closer to each other. The Turkish force left its fortified camp and halted three miles in front of the Russians. The Russian commander, reinforced by six out of 12 battalions of the Ruschuk garrison, took to the field with his main body. The opposing armies spent the night arrayed in their battle formations.

The Russian army was deployed in three lines. Knowing that Akhmed-Bey would try to take advantage of his numerous cavalry, Kutuzov formed all 11 of his infantry regiments into squares prior to the start of the battle. Unlike the contemporary norm of battalion squares, the Russian commander formed his troops into large regimental squares. The first line consisted of five formations, the second line, four, all arranged in a checkerboard pattern for mutual support, with artillery deployed in the spaces between the squares. The third line of Kutuzov's battle deployment was made up of five cavalry regiments under the command of Voinov.

Ottoman forces opened the battle at the first light on June 22 with an intense bombardment all along the line. A wave of Turkish cavalry launched itself simultaneously at both Russian flanks and the center. In an action reminiscent of Napoleon's Battle at the Pyramids 13 years prior, the furious Ottoman cavalry charges were impotent in the face of European discipline and firepower. The unmovable Russian squares put up spirited musketry and blasted their attackers away with point-blank grapeshot volleys.

Even before the disordered survivors of the first charge retreated, the grand vizier launched the second attack. A strong body of Turkish cavalry, supported by infantry and artillery, advanced against the Russian right flank. While their cavalry and artillery frontally engaged the enemy, Turkish infantry began to work around the Russian right flank, skillfully using the cover of numerous gullies. Soon they were pouring their musket fire onto the two rightmost Russian infantry regiments. Pinned down by the close proximity of Ottoman cavalry, the Russian Archangelski and Schlusselburgski Regiments had to remain in square formations, suffering heavy casualties from Turkish musket and cannon fire.

Observing that his right-hand regiments were being flanked, Kutuzov sent forward the 37th Jaeger Regiment with orders to extend the line. The 37th deployed into a thick skirmish line and, occupying a broken terrain of gardens and vineyards, opened up rapid and effective fire. After a short period of furious fire exchange, the Turkish commander on the scene in turn attempted to extend his line and outflank the 37th Jaegers on the right. The deadly game of leapfrogging could have ended badly for the outnumbered Russians, but the timely arrival of the Liflyandski Dragoon Regiment and one Cossack regiment tilted the balance in Russian favor. Closely following their cavalry, Russian musketeers and jaegers charged with fixed bayonets and succeeded in clearing the Turks from the orchards and gullies.

Despite the intense fighting on the right flank, these actions were merely a feint. Around 9 AM, more than 10,000 Anatolian *sipahis,* feudal cavalry led by the capable commander Bosniak-Aga, launched an all-out attack on the Russian left flank. Ignoring casualties, the impetuous Turkish cavalry burst through both lines of Russian infantry squares and fell upon the Russian cavalry in the third line. The Belorusski Hussars and Kinburnski Dragoons bore the brunt of this attack and were routed. Exploiting their success, the Turkish cavalry split into two parts. One made straight for Ruschuk with all haste; the other veered left and began to threaten the Russian line from the rear.

Sensing the critical moment in battle, Kutuzov sent all the Russian cavalry under Voinov against the second part of the Turkish cavalry that broke through. Blasted by the musketry of the Russian squares and vigorously counter-attacked by Russian cavalry, the Turks gave way. After a series of running fights, the Ottoman cavalry was forced to take shelter behind a small hill on the Russian left flank where it tried to reorganize itself for another attack. At this moment, three Russian reserve infantry battalions in columns charged the hill. Supported by their own cavalry, the Russian infantry cleared the hill of Turks, inflicting heavy casualties on the milling Ottoman horsemen.

Following close on the heels of the retreating Turks, Kutuzov ordered a general advance, and the whole of the Russian line went forward. After clearing the field of the enemy, the Russian infantry stopped short of attacking the heavily fortified Turkish camp and returned to Ruschuk. Despite the fact that the 12-hour battle ended with both armies in essentially the same positions where they started, the Russians were justifiable winners in the struggle. Severely outnumbered, Russian forces had won the day through discipline and tenacity. Turkish casualties amounted to more than 4,000 killed, wounded, and taken prisoner, while Russian casualties came to roughly 800 men.

During the next month, both sides continued to pull in their outlying detachments to bolster their main armies for the upcoming showdown. On his own authority, Kutuzov returned two infantry divisions already departed for the northern front. Knowing that Czar Alexander I wanted the divisions intact for the upcoming struggle against Napoleon, Kutuzov shifted them to the relatively quiet far left flank. After the two divisions were in position, he informed his monarch about this move, assuring Alexander that he would return them immediately should they be urgently needed up north. The czar approved Kutuzov's move.

The Turks were also using this lull in fighting to build up their forces. Approximately 56,000 Turks under direct control of the grand vizier concentrated in the vicinity of Ruschuk. Another 20,000 Turks under commander Izmail-Bey arrived at Viddin by the middle of June. On June 22, Izmail-Bey made the first move. After crossing the Danube at Viddin, his forward elements advanced against the Russian outposts. Mullah-Pasha's treachery resulted in fewer boats available to ferry Izmail-Bey's troops across, slowing down the Ottoman progress. Meanwhile, Zass skillfully used the difficult terrain on the northern bank of the Danube to partially negate Izmail-Bey's numerical superiority. The Ottoman forces were channeled into several narrow defiles among lakes and swamps that the Russians defended for almost eight hours. Unable to push back the stubborn Russian defenders, Izmail-Bey ordered his forces to cross back to the southern bank of the Danube.

After the action at Viddin, both sides once

again settled into a two-month period of inactivity. Finally, constantly egged on by couriers from Constantinople, Akhmed-Bey ordered his forces to cross the Danube on August 28. The main body of the Turkish force, numbering 36,000 men, effected the crossing approximately two miles upriver from Ruschuk and immediately began to dig field fortifications. The other 20,000 Turks remained in their fortified camp on the southern bank of the river.

The opposing forces on the northern bank of the Danube were now practically equal in numbers. Scraping high and low, Kutuzov managed to assemble almost 37,000 men under his direct command. Both sides were frantically digging in and erecting field fortifications, a task at which both the Russians and the Turks traditionally excelled. The Turkish beachhead, with the Danube at its back, was surrounded on the other three sides by a strong chain of Russian redoubts. In turn, the Russian redoubts, built in a semicircle around the Turkish positions, were anchored on the Danube River.

A Turkish warrior of the period sports the familiar turban and pantaloons of the Ottoman Empire.

On September 7 and again on the 30th, Izmail-Bey unsuccessfully attempted to overcome the Russian detachment facing Viddin and break into Kutuzov's rear. Both times the Russian troops under Zass doggedly hung on to their positions, greeting all the Turkish attacks with a hail of grapeshot and musketry. After losing more than 3,000 men, Izmail-Bey finally gave up all attempts to force the Danube.

During the night of September 29, a detachment of 5,000 infantry, 2,500 cavalry and 38 guns left the Russian positions at Slobodzeya under strict discipline. The departing troops left behind their tents, still standing, to deceive the Turkish scouts. The 10-mile night march took them due west to the village of Petroshani and then two more miles south to the Danube River. On September 30, the small flotilla of ferries and boats met up with Markov's troops to carry them to the south bank.

The river crossing was completed in less than a day on October 1. To speed up the process, only men and guns were loaded on the river craft, with the cavalrymen holding the reins of their horses as they swam alongside the boats. In fading daylight, the Russians pushed on toward Ruschuk. When they halted for the night, the Ottoman fortified camp was only three miles away. Miraculously, the Russian forces were still unnoticed by the Turks.

On the morning of October 2, the Ottoman camp awakened to the sound of Russian drums and pounding hooves. The Turks were taken by complete surprise. The Russian cavalry and infantry broke into the Turkish camp practically unopposed and began to deal out severe punishment. Not knowing that they outnumbered their attackers almost 3-to-1, the 20,000 Turks scattered, losing close to 2,000 men killed, wounded, and taken prisoner. The victorious Russians lost fewer than 50 men. The retreating Turks left behind 22 flags and banners, eight cannons, and a large wagon train full of gunpowder, lead, and foodstuffs. The southern portion of Ottoman army had been destroyed.

The 36,000 Turks now were completely surrounded in their beachhead on the northern side of the river as the Russian army began merciless bombardment of their encampment. The Russian Danube flotilla also joined the action, its large-caliber guns causing considerable damage to the Turks. The few Turkish guns that tried to fire back from the northern bank were quickly put out of action by superior Russian firepower.

The Turkish forces on the northern bank of the Danube relied on the flow of supplies from Ruschuk. With their supply base captured, and their food quickly gone, the Ottoman troops were forced to butcher and eat their horses. Hundreds of the Ottoman soldiers began dying of hunger. Small groups of Turks braved the Russian fire and tried to cross the river under cover of darkness. With the Russian gunboats in the water and the Cossacks patrolling both sides of the river, most of these desperate escape attempts ended in disaster.

Having securely locked up the larger portion of the Ottoman Army, Kutuzov turned his attention west toward Izmail-Bey. In a series of sharp engagements he drove the only remaining Turkish force away from the Viddin fortress. Under the unrelenting blows of the Russian aqrmy, the 20,000 men under Izmail-Bey scattered and were finished as a viable fighting force.

On November 14, the remaining Turks on the northern bank of the Danube laid down their arms and surrendered. Out of the 36,000 men who followed the grand vizier just a couple of months earlier, only 12,000 soldiers were still alive. Two-thirds of the Turkish force perished under the Russian guns or starved to death, while the Russians themselves lost less than 200 men. The Ottoman field army, fractured and destroyed piecemeal, ceased to exist.

The Turkish sultan, knowing the desire of Czar Alexander I to reach a peace settlement as soon as possible, held out for better terms for himself. Finally, on May 16, 1812, less than a month before Napoleon's invasion, a peace treaty was signed between the Russian and Ottoman empires. Under the terms of the Bucharest Peace Treaty, Russia gained all of Bessarabia, and Turkey was obligated not to enter into any alliances with Napoleon. The Russian-Turkish border was established along the Pruth River up to its confluence with the Danube River.

The next year, in the culmination point of his career, Kutuzov oversaw the destruction and expulsion of Napoleon's Grand Army from Russia. The one-eyed warrior did not live to see Napoleon's downfall, however. Weakened by exhaustion and pneumonia, the aging general died in April 1813 in Poland. He was buried at St. Petersburg. Beloved by the rank-and-file Russian soldiers and respected by posterity, Kutuzov still occupies a well-earned place on the illustrious roll of Russian commanders. □

By Don Troiani

Personal identification badges were worn by soldiers in the Civil War to avoid the dreaded "nameless grave."

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR MAY WELL HAVE BEEN THE FIRST MAJOR conflict in which soldiers felt the need to wear some sort of a personal identification badge in the event that they were killed or wounded in battle. A great apprehension among soldiers was "the nameless grave," the fear that loved ones might not recover their remains or learn what had become of them. Although handwritten slips of paper with soldiers' names and information were often attached to their uniforms before they went into battle, a more reliable solution quickly took hold—the personal identification badge.

ABOVE: Personal identification badge worn by Private Sylvester Duboyce, Co. I, 26th Pennsylvania Volunteers. Duboyce was wounded twice, at Gettysburg and Spotsylvania. RIGHT: A soldier in the 33rd New Jersey, 2nd Zouaves. Note the star-shaped ID badge on his breast.

All photos: Author's Collection

In the days when military secrets were not so secret, such badges openly proclaimed not only the soldier's rank, but also his regiment and often his corps and division. These badges fell into three categories: identification disks with die-stamped information, identification badges with engraved inscriptions, and corps badges that displayed the same information but within the shape of one of the various army corps symbols.

The first type was a coin-like disk, often stamped with the soldier's hometown and state, that would aid in identifying his body for burial or shipment home. Some consider this type of badge to be the forerunner of the World War II-era "dog tags." Fabricated of gilt brass or white metal, they were typically worn on the chest suspended from a patriotic clasp featuring an eagle or a favorite commander such as George B. McClellan or Philip Kearny. Generally, there was an eagle or hero on one side of the disk, often with the inscription "War of 1861," since no one knew how long the conflict would last. On the reverse side, the soldier's name, company, regiment, and hometown were stamped with

individual letter punches. Occasionally, instead of a patriotic figure on the face of some disks, a blank space was provided for listing the battles in which the soldier had participated. Soldiers and jewelers often used U.S. quarter-dollar silver coins as an inexpensive substitute for commercially produced disks. One side of the coin was shaved smooth to accommodate the engraved information. A hinged T-bar pin was sweat-soldered to the reverse, leaving the coin motif fully visible, possibly as proof of the silver content.

Identification badge for Major E.R. Smith, 169th New York Volunteers.

Early in the war, Maj. Gen. Philip Kearny ordered his troops to wear a red cloth patch on their caps so that he might recognize the soldiers of his command. These were quickly accepted as a proud symbol by the men of his hard-fighting division. In March 1863, Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker, the new commander of the Army of the Potomac, devised a similar system of cloth badges to be worn on the caps of the men in each army corps so that troops from different commands could be easily distinguished by their officers. The cut-out cloth emblems took various shapes: a circle for I Corps, a three-leaf clover for II, a diamond for the III, and a Maltese cross for V. Each badge's shape was also a different color to differentiate the three divisions composing each corps: red for the 1st Division, white for the 2nd, and blue for the 3rd. The concept was immensely popular with the soldiers, who quickly began to have their own customized badges fabricated and engraved by jewelers and pin makers. Not to be outdone, sailors in the Navy also adopted pin-on badges, some adorned with ship profiles such as ironclad monitors.

Northern jewelers nationwide were astonishingly quick to exploit the ready market of soldiers eager to possess such a badge and, indeed, to have a better one than their comrades. Newspaper ads for badges were plentiful, and soldiers were enlisted as "agents in the field" for various firms. Many badges were simple thin-sheet silver stampings or cut-outs, with an engraved inscription, or colored

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enamel-filled center, or both. Some, however, were ornate gold and silver wonders of craftsmanship produced by the most prestigious American firms, such as the farewell badge that famed Brig. Gen. Joshua L. Chamberlain pinned to the chest of Brig. Gen. Charles Griffin in May 1865. Made by Tiffany & Company, which was a premier supplier of military goods of every type imaginable, from uniform buttons to weaponry, the badge was made of enameled gold displaying the Maltese cross of V Corps on a white ground. Edged with diamonds, the badge was crowned with a larger center diamond that was reputed to have cost $1,000—an astounding sum at the time. After the war, Chamberlain commissioned Tiffany to make a gold and enameled charm bracelet for his wife, Fanny, which incorporated military and rank symbols as the primary ornaments.

LEFT: Silver cavalry badge of Lieutenant C.M. Pease, 5th New York.
CENTER: Badge for Drummer William R. Adams, 33rd New Jersey, made from a silver coin.
RIGHT: Andrew N. Kennedy's Signal Corps badge.

Confederate soldiers also used identification badges, but not nearly to the extent of their Yankee foes. Most were made of thin-sheet silver or brass and incorporated designs such as stars and crescents. Surviving examples of these badges are exceedingly rare, and fakes abound. It is wise to assume a guilty-until-proven-innocent approach with all Confederate badges—most are modern forgeries.

Quite a few Union identity disks have survived to the present, a large number having been found by relic hunters on Civil War battlefields and camps. Collectors value these badges primarily by two factors. If the regiment was a famous one, that is a big plus, and if the individual saw extensive service, it is even better. If he was killed or wounded at a famous battle, that is as good as it gets for collectors. Although certain styles of badges are rarer than others, the history is always the major factor in determining desirability. Disks can run from a few hundred dollars to a few thousand.

Identification and corps badges follow pretty much the same factors as the identity disks, with the latter being the most coveted by collectors because both the corps symbol and the soldier's identity are combined in a single item. Some army corps adopted emblems very late in the war, and consequently some (such as the triangle of IV Corps) are exceptionally scarce and are in high demand, even if the soldier himself had a lackluster service record.

As with all antiques of any value, fakery is an incessant problem in the pursuit of Civil War badges. The most flagrant offenders are badges made from coins. Original, well-worn period silver coins of the era are abundant and

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inexpensive, and they provide forgers with an authentic starting point for their fraud. One side is shaved down and appropriately engraved with a soldier's name and unit. The deceivers have become quite clever and often select less well-known regiments to allay suspicions aroused by too-good-to-be-true famous regiments. Frequently, real soldier's names are selected from period rosters so that a search will reveal that he was an actual soldier. Although fake engravings are generally not 19th-century quality, some very accomplished counterfeits have shown up. One should also be wary of silver badges that are cast or on the thick side. Most authentic badges were thin-sheet silver and cut or stamped out.

Most badges attached with a hinged pin-type back. A safety pin type fastener is cause for alarm as a rule because most collectors consider this a postwar feature. A missing pin on the back can reduce value by as much as 20 percent. Additional badges were made for veterans after the war and well into the early 1900s to wear at reunions and to commemorate their proud service. The later versions can often be

Flip sides of Lieutenant Daniel P. Hardy's ID badge. The back lists his battles in the "War of 1861."

difficult to distinguish from pre-1865 specimens, but most are made of German silver and are easy to spot. While still of interest to collectors, they rarely come close to the value of actual wartime specimens.

The best—and regrettably only—book on the topic is *Civil War Corps Badges, and Other Related Awards, Badges, Medals of the Period,* by Stanley S. Phillips. A more extensive and thoroughly researched volume by Michael O'Donnell is in the works and could be ready in 2009.

Many museums do possess some badges, but few have more than two or three on display at any given time. You can see many more at a good Civil War collector show in the dealers' cases or when a collector decides to mount a display of badges. Three of the nation's best specialty Civil War collectors shows are the Gettysburg Civil War Collectors Show, Eisenhower Inn, Gettysburg, PA, usually held on the last weekend in June; the American Civil War Show, Dulles Expo Center, Chantilly, VA, in April; and the Civil War Collectible Show, Tennessee State Fairgrounds, Nashville, in early December.

Authentic badges periodically turn up on eBay, so if you feel confident enough to wade through the minefield of stinkers, a nice item can be bought, often at a reasonable price. Many times dealers in antique jewelry and silver come across the badges mixed in with other trinkets when they buy estate collections, and it is always wise to sift through their lesser offerings at shows. □

Military artist Don Troiani has been a collector of Civil War artifacts for over 40 years and has written numerous books and articles on military artifacts. He lives in Southbury, Connecticut.

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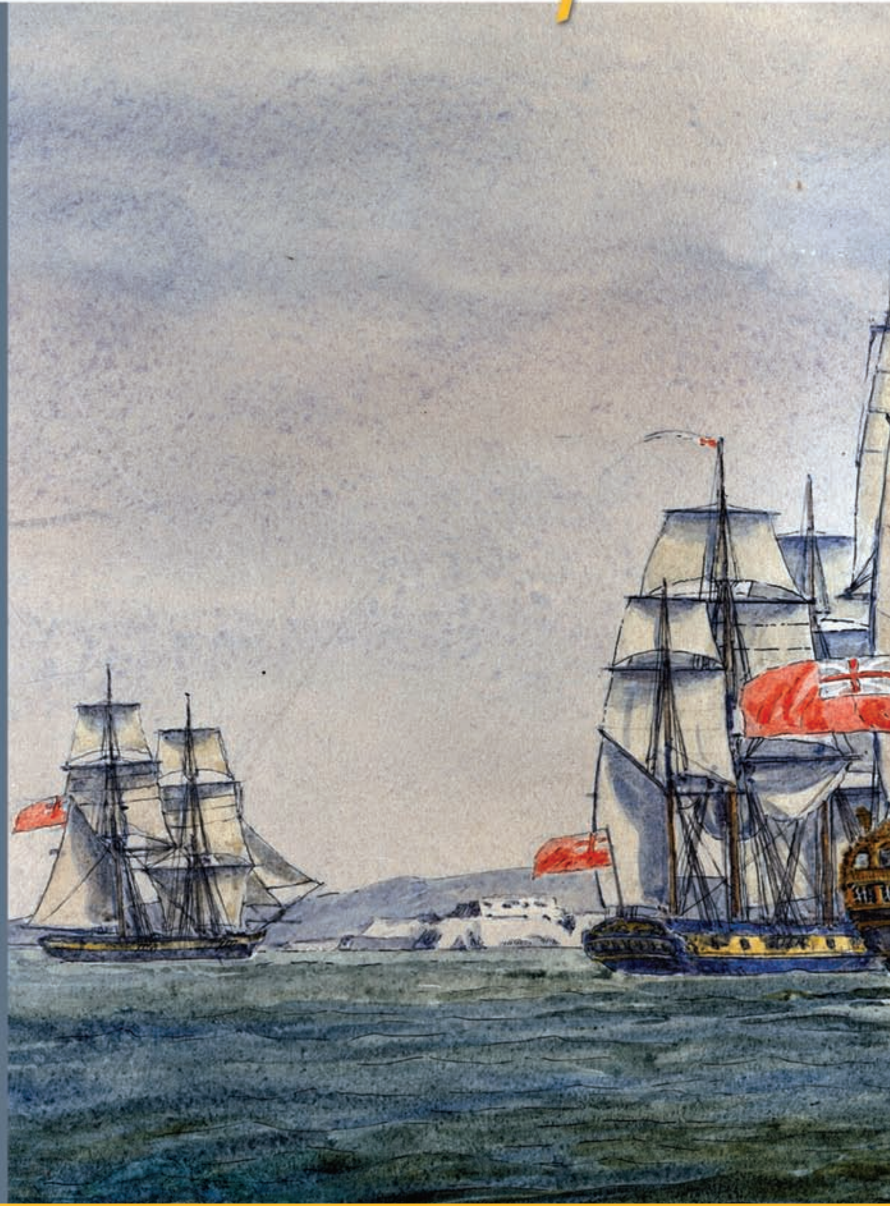
A TERRIBLE DAY *for*

WHILE AMERICAN FORCES DITHERED OUTSIDE FORT GEORGE, AN ARMADA OF BRITISH REINFORCEMENTS APPEARED THROUGH THE FOG IN PENOBSCOT BAY. AN IGNOMINIOUS ROUT WAS SOON UNDER WAY.

BY WILLIAM H. LANGENBERG

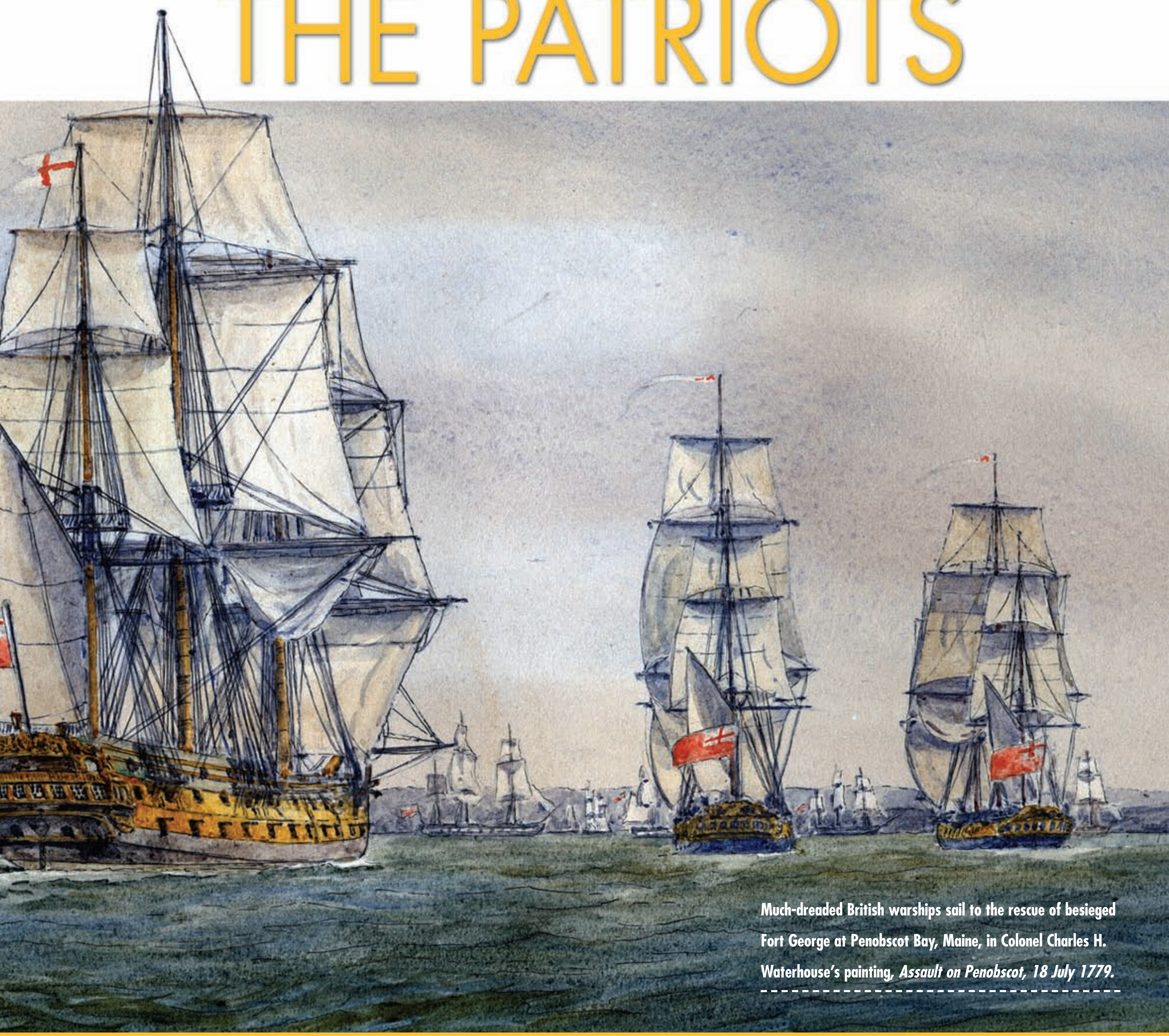


By early 1779, the American Revolution had been under way for more than three years, with no end in sight. That January, the British high command in London conceived a new military strategy designed to supplant its twice-failed attempt to sever New England from the rest of the American colonies. The new strategy envisioned taking the fight to the two Carolinas and Georgia, where southern loyalists and friendly Indians would provide valuable support for Great Britain's powerful army and navy.

To execute this strategy, British leaders concluded that another military base had to be established on the northeastern coast of America, between Boston and the Canadian border. This new bastion would serve three important functions. First, it would provide the British Navy with an operating base to guard the Bay of Fundy and protect Nova Scotian shipping from harassment by New England privateers. Second, it would block an overland American attack on Nova Scotia from the west. Most important—or at least imaginative—the new base would provide a sanctuary for loyalists driven from the rebelling colonies. It would be called New Ireland.

The British decided to establish the new base at Penobscot Bay in the province of Maine, then part of the Massachusetts colony. Accordingly, the high command ordered General Sir Henry Clinton, commander in chief of British forces, to execute the assignment. Clinton in turn tasked the British governor of Nova Scotia, Brig. Gen. Francis McLean, to establish the new post, taking sufficient troops to defend themselves during the construction process. McLean was a veteran soldier, a 62-year-old bachelor who had participated in nearly 20 battles in Europe and Canada. He selected Captain

THE PATRIOTS



Much-dreaded British warships sail to the rescue of besieged Fort George at Penobscot Bay, Maine, in Colonel Charles H. Waterhouse's painting, *Assault on Penobscot, 18 July 1779.*

The Mariner's Museum, Newport News, VA

Henry Mowat as his naval commander. Mowat was an experienced British Navy skipper, having helmed the man-of-war *Canceaux* for several years, patrolling the waters of New England and Nova Scotia.

McLean, commanding nearly 700 British troops, left Halifax, Nova Scotia, for Penobscot Bay on May 30, 1779. His six transport vessels were escorted by six warships, one of which, *Albany,* was skippered by Captain Mowat. Proceeding slowly against prevailing southwesterly winds, the convoy arrived at Penobscot Bay on June 12 and promptly began off-loading troops and supplies. McLean selected a favorable high site on Bagaduce Peninsula to construct a defensive fort, one that kept the Penobscot River between any future American attackers from the west and the new British bastion. The area around the fort was thinly inhabited by American colonists, many of whom had become impoverished by the British navy's blockade off the coast. Limited by topography, harsh climate, and rocky soil, the colonists' farming income was scant. Given their deprived economic status, McLean was able to hire nearly 100 of them to help clear the land and build the new redoubt, dubbed Fort George.

Meanwhile, Mowat persuaded McLean to retain three British warships to help defend the fort during the course of construction. The sloops *Nautilus* and *Albany*, with 18 guns each, and *North*, with 30 guns, remained in Penobscot Bay while the remainder of the warships returned to duty elsewhere in July. Mowat anchored his sloops in line across the entrance to the inner harbor to defend against an American attack. The three ships had spring lines attached to their anchors so that they could turn in place to present their broadsides to an approaching enemy. With his ships

in position, Mowat sent sailors ashore to help the army troops and civilian laborers construct the fort and emplace its cannons.

On July 18, McLean received information that the Americans were raising an expedition to evict the British invaders. Priority was given to placing gun batteries in position for immediate defense against an American incursion. Mowat believed the intelligence was valid, and he sent 180 more seamen ashore from the three ships on July 20 to help finish construction of the fort. The next day, McLean requested troop reinforcements from General Clinton in New York.

While McLean's invading force at Penobscot Bay labored diligently to prepare defenses at the new fort, urgent American countermoves were under way in Boston. News of the British landing had arrived on June 23, while the General Court, Massachusetts's legislative body, was in session. Already badgered by pleas for assistance from residents of Penobscot Bay, the court took prompt action, directing that a naval force be organized and sent to the bay to drive out the enemy before they became entrenched. Creation of the naval force was facilitated when private owners of nine armed sailing vessels volunteered their services. This initial cadre was soon augmented by three Massachusetts colony brigs and three Continental Navy warships then anchored in Boston harbor .

The General Court labored feverishly to organize and equip the naval force, now known as the Penobscot Expedition. The court impressed ships, supplies, militia, and seamen into service. Privateering was common in New England, and armed ships were readily available. Since potential crew members could not expect to match their often lucrative income from privateering, manning the vessels proved to be more difficult. Another challenge was choosing commanders for the sea and ground forces. On July 1 the General Court appointed Massachusetts Brig. Gen. Solomon Lovell, a fellow politician, to command the troops. Lovell had served as a junior officer in the French and Indian War and remained in the militia afterward, advancing in rank to colonel. He became active again in the Revolutionary War and was promoted to brigadier general in 1777.

Two days after selecting Lovell, the General Court appointed Captain Dudley Saltonstall, skipper of the Continental Navy frigate *Warren,* then anchored in Boston harbor with 32 guns, as commander of the Penobscot Expedition's burgeoning armada. Saltonstall had served in the American merchant fleet before becoming captain of the letter-of-marque brigantine *Britannia* during the French and Indian War. When Congress created the Continental Navy in 1775, he was the senior among five captains appointed. During the war he had commanded the flagship *Alfred*, the frigate *Trumbull,* and a Connecticut privateering sloop before becoming *Warren*'s skipper. Saltonstall was well qualified by maritime and combat experience to lead the sea forces to Penobscot Bay. The court, having appointed leaders for both the shore and sea arms of the expedition, failed to designate an overall commander. This omission, almost guaranteed to create uncertainty and vacillation during subsequent combat operations, went unnoticed and uncorrected.

On July 19, still lacking seamen and supplies, Saltonstall got under way in *Warren,* accompanied by his local forces. Saltonstall's armada sailed to Townsend, Maine, where it was joined by

The painful skirmish only added to Saltonstall's reluctance to engage the enemy in a climactic attack.

three more privateers, additional transports, and militia personnel. On July 24, the entire task force set out for Penobscot Bay, 60 miles to the northeast. Included in Saltonstall's fleet were 40 vessels—18 armed warships or privateers and 22 schooners or sloops serving as troop transports. Together, they comprised the largest American fleet yet assembled during the Revolutionary War.

As formidable as the armada seemed, it had several shortcomings. To begin with, most of the 900 officers and enlisted men were militia soldiers from Massachusetts or Maine, augmented by 300 Continental marines. Fully 500 more militia conscripts failed to report at Townsend, nearly one-third of the number ordered to do so. Untrained as a unit, few of the men in the expedition had any experience in making an amphibious landing on a hostile shore. Likewise, the 18 armed warships, mounting 334 cannons and augmented by three colonial vessels and 12 privateers, had no prior training together as a fleet. Even worse, the privateers had no military experience acting under orders from a fleet commodore.

Undaunted or unaware of its weaknesses, the armada formed up to enter Penobscot Bay on Sunday, July 25. Saltonstall sent the brig *Diligent* ahead to reconnoiter Bagaduce Peninsula and the British fort under construction there. Captain Philip Brown, aboard *Diligent*, scanned the still-incomplete fort with his long glass and noted one British artillery battery on Nautilus Island and Mowat's three anchored sloops of war positioned to defend the bay. Reporting back to Saltonstall, Brown urged him to attack immediately, but Saltonstall favored caution. He refused to lead his ships into the inner harbor, which he termed "a damned hole," because Penobscot Bay was sometimes subjected to tides of more than 10 feet, which produced strong currents both into and out of the bay. In addition, light or variable winds inside the sheltered bay made maneuvering difficult for large sailing vessels, particularly square-rigged ships such as Saltonstall's own flagship, *Warren.*

Taking all proper precautions against such nautical hazards, Saltonstall sailed his fleet into Penobscot Bay, arriving opposite Bagaduce Peninsula at 2 PM on July 25. He ordered the shallow-draft transports to proceed farther up the Penobscot River and drop anchor while his armed vessels shelled the three anchored British sloops, now showing their broadsides to the approaching Americans. For the rest of the afternoon, the British and American vessels exchanged long-distance, sporadic gunfire, with negligible damage inflicted by either side. Concurrently, Lovell attempted to land troops on the west side of the peninsula, but aborted the effort owing to high winds.

The next day the Americans attacked a different target. Some 200 marines landed and captured the British gun battery on Nautilus Island. But militia soldiers again attempting to land on the west coast of Bagaduce Peninsula were repulsed. Throughout the night, the Americans strengthened their captured battery on Nautilus Island, building a breastwork facing the British fort across the narrow channel and installing three cannons in the redoubt. During the same period, crafty Captain Mowat repositioned his three British sloops farther inside the harbor so that they were no longer threatened by the American battery on the island. In their new anchorage, however, they could not effectively oppose American troop landings on the peninsula.

The following morning, the American brig *Pallas* shelled Mowat's three stationary sloops, scoring some insignificant hits, and sailors from Saltonstall's vessels replaced the marines who had captured Nautilus Island, establishing a

new battery on its highest point. Concurrently, a petition signed by 32 captains and officers from the Massachusetts colony's ships and privateers was presented to Saltonstall, urging an immediate attack on the three British sloops inside the harbor. Saltonstall did not respond. Meanwhile, Lovell prepared for a night landing on the precipitous western side of Bagaduce Peninsula by his marines and militia.

The new landing began at dawn on July 28, following shore bombardment by the American vessels *Tyrannicide*, *Hunter,* and *Sky Rocket*. Troops landed successfully on the rocky beach; they were led by Lovell and Brig. Gen. Peleg Wadsworth, together with colonels in command of marine and militia units. Clambering with difficulty up the steep slope in the face of intense musket fire, the Americans drove British forces off the high ground and forced them to retreat into the fort. Lovell then ordered cannons emplaced on the newly captured high ground of the peninsula, from which point they could shell the still-unfinished Fort George. Of the 350 attacking Americans, 34 were killed or wounded. Lovell dispatched a report on his progress to the General Court by small boat and horseback.

Capture of the British artillery battery on the crest of Bagaduce Peninsula permitted American warships to move closer to the inner harbor entry. In a rare display of initiative, Saltonstall led three American vessels toward Mowat's three anchored sloops. Handicapped by light northwest winds, Saltonstall could only bring *Warren*'s bow guns to bear. He turned his ship broadside from his target, receiving for his trouble the worst of a subsequent exchange with Fort George and the British sloops and suffering damage that required two days to repair. The painful skirmish only added to Saltonstall's reluctance to engage the enemy in a climactic attack.

Meanwhile, British defenders girded diligently for a renewed American assault. McLean created a light-infantry unit containing 80 men to harass the American positions on Bagaduce Peninsula. Mowat moved his sloops farther into the inner harbor, then ordered all but one of his transports to be beached and burned, thus precluding possible escape of British forces by sea. The one remaining transport, *St. Helena,* was fitted with six guns and added to Mowat's anchored defensive line. Again demonstrating close cooperation with British land forces, Mowat sent most unengaged guns from his four vessels to Fort George, along with enough sailors to man them.

Still, Saltonstall temporized about launching a new attack on the British ships. He called a council of war aboard *Warren,* one of several indecisive meetings to decide the fleet's future actions. Unsurprisingly, the privateer skippers feared excess damage to their ships unless the American land forces could first destroy all opposing British artillery batteries. The only decision reached was to site more cannons in the American battery on the crest of Bagaduce Peninsula to fire on Fort George and the British Half-Moon battery protecting the harbor.

Map © 2008 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN

Captain Dudley Saltonstall led a 40-ship American squadron into Penobscot Bay in July 1779. Saltonstall called the inner harbor "a damned hole" and refused to send his ships farther into it—a crucial mistake.

On July 30, sporadic gunfire raged onshore between the British and American gun emplacements. That afternoon, the American galley *Lincoln* arrived in Penobscot Bay with dispatches from the General Court urging Saltonstall and Lovell to proceed with vigor to expel the British forces. The messages also warned both leaders of the likelihood of the enemy being reinforced. Recognizing the possibility of just such reinforcements, Saltonstall already had assigned the brig *Diligent* to act as a lookout at sea to warn of approaching enemy ships. He now added the brig *Active* and the sloop *Rover* to the scouting team stationed offshore.

To placate the expedition's privateer captains, Saltonstall and Lovell organized a joint land-sea attack. On Sunday, August 1, the American ship *Sky Rocket* commenced shelling the British battery, and Lovell's ground forces attacked via land. British sailors and marines stationed on the peninsula returned fire briskly. The American militia broke and ran, but Lovell's marines surged ahead, surmounted the breastworks, and forced the British defenders to retreat to the fort. The next morning, however, the British counterattacked and regained the battery, dislodging the marines. Lovell sent a message to the General Court stating somewhat optimistically that he had placed Fort George under siege and complaining about problems with the unreliable militia troops under his command.

The repulse sparked Saltonstall to revise his strategy. Reasoning that the British could not be ejected from the seemingly formidable Half-Moon artillery battery, he opted to join Lovell's siege. As a first step, Saltonstall sought to establish battery sites on shore that could bring Mowat's four ships under fire. He placed one such site at the northeast corner of the inner harbor, and Lovell manned the two artillery pieces with militia, hoping to keep the marines available for future assaults against the British defenses. The battery began firing ineffectively at maximum range against the four anchored British ships on August 4.

Neither Saltonstall nor Lovell seemed to question whether they had adequate time for an effec-

Art Collection, National Museum of the Marine Corps, Trangle, VA

American forces send British redcoats scurrying in *Encounter at Penobscot Bay.* Their victory would prove to be fleeting.

tive siege. Lovell did not dare attack the British fort directly until Saltonstall's fleet had neutralized the defending ships and battery. Conversely, Saltonstall did not consider it prudent to attack Mowat's vessels without a concurrent land assault. An impasse had developed within the Penobscot Expedition, resulting in the postponement of any decisive action. Such delay could prove disastrous if formidable enemy reinforcements suddenly appeared on the horizon, borne by British warships.

Reacting to the American siege, British leaders feared that communications might be severed between Fort George and Mowat's sloops in the harbor. To make such an occurrence more difficult, Mowat commenced construction of a shore redoubt on the peninsula between his ships and the fort, manned by 50 seamen serving eight cannons removed from his vessels. On the American side, Lovell planned an escape route for his troops in case reinforcing British warships trapped them inside Penobscot Bay. On August 5, he requested that Saltonstall enter the harbor with his warships and demolish Mowat's defending vessels so that an American land attack could begin against the fort without fear of being decimated by the British ships.

In response to Lovell's request, Saltonstall held another temporizing council of his ship captains, the majority of whom asserted that such a course of action would result in excessive damage to the American fleet. Saltonstall reiterated his reluctance to take *Warren* into "the damned hole" of the harbor. Lovell held a concurrent council with his land-force leaders, who concluded that it was impracticable to support the fleet under present circumstances. He forwarded the minutes of the meeting to Boston. Upon receipt of Lovell's report, the General Court directed Saltonstall "to attack and take or destroy [the British ships] without delay."

On August 7, Saltonstall convened a joint conference for land and sea leaders aboard *Hazard*. There, he proposed two alternative actions. First, the expedition could "strike a bold stroke, by storming the enemy's work and going in with the ships." Alternately, the siege could be lifted—the first time such an option had been raised. Lovell maintained that his troops were in no shape to storm Fort George without reinforcements. Saltonstall countered by saying that the fleet would be unable to mount a successful attack without incurring excessive losses, explaining that impressed seamen among his ships' crews were deserting in increasing numbers. No participant at the conference was yet ready to raise the siege or concede that the assigned mission should be abandoned. The conference, like its predecessors, resulted in no decisive action. In the meantime, powerful British naval reinforcements were under way toward Penobscot Bay from New York, under the command of Vice Admiral Sir George Collier.

To augment the expedition's siege, Lovell commenced construction of a new artillery battery on a site selected by Salstonall. At the same time, Mowat's British sailors, aided by soldiers supplied by the supportive McLean, completed their seamen's redoubt and armed it with eight light cannons from the British ships. On August 9, Saltonstall apparently learned for the first time that the Bagaduce River was deep enough to permit his ships to sail up it nearly two miles northeast of the fort. This was crucial information since it would enable a practical assault plan to be implemented. Why Saltonstall had not already sent a shallow-draft boat or ship upriver to take soundings is unclear. As a result of the revelation, he finally obtained an agreement

from the majority of his ship captains to attack the four anchored British ships—provided that American land forces conduct a concurrent diversionary assault on the fort. A decision was reached to launch a coordinated attack the following morning.

The belated joint attack was again postponed. Although Saltonstall sent 120 marines to bolster Lovell's force, skirmishes with the British Army on August 11 convinced Lovell that his militia forces, plagued by continuing desertions, were inadequate to confront the enemy owing to their "inexpertness and want of courage." The next day, Lovell halted construction of the new battery and issued orders to transfer additional heavy guns to the American transports. Meanwhile, American fishermen and settlers on the west side of Penobscot Bay sighted unidentified vessels offshore in the sea fog.

The next morning, yet another council of war was held aboard *Warren*. Lovell again reversed his position and agreed to another immediate attack. That afternoon, he sent 400 troops ashore to storm the rear of the British fort. At the same time, Saltonstall brought five ships into the harbor, led by *Putnam*. At the time, the wind was light from the southwest, with a beginning flood current—ideal conditions for the delayed climactic assault. Almost immediately the attack was aborted after *Diligent* sailed into the harbor with four warning flags flying from her masthead. The long-dreaded British reinforcements had appeared on the scene. The mysterious vessels reported the previous day shrouded in fog were now identified as six heavily armed British warships. They included the flagship *Raisonable,* with 64 guns, plus the 32-gun frigates *Blonde* and *Virginia,* 28-gun *Greyhound,* and 20-gun *Camilla* and *Galatea.*

Upon learning of the arrival of the British armada—which still included far fewer guns and ships than his own fleet—Saltonstall immediately broke off the belated assault and anchored his five vessels in the bay, forming a defensive crescent together with other American warships. He sent a note to Lovell recommending that he withdraw and retreat up the Penobscot River in the waiting transport vessels. Lovell concurred, and by dawn most of the American troops were aboard or en route to their transports waiting on the river bank. As the transports filled, they were towed offshore to await the expected flood current.

Just after dawn on August 14, a final council of war was held aboard *Warren*. Although some ship captains recommended attempting to escape to sea around the west side of Long Island, Saltonstall decided to flee with the flood current up the Penobscot River, explaining that "the risk of engaging the British was too great" to set out to sea. By now, 21 heavily loaded American transports were rowing or floating slowly upriver. Lovell, in charge of the transports while the British warships were becalmed in the lower harbor, turned over command to Wadsworth, tasking him with locating a new site upriver to fortify and defend while the Americans burned or scuttled their vessels and their crews retreated into the woods. Lovell then took a boat to *Warren* to urge the American fleet to engage the British warships and gain time for the transports to land upriver and set up a defensive position. Saltonstall informed him in no uncertain terms that he was merely waiting for sufficient wind to proceed upriver and scuttle his vessels.

Meanwhile, Mowat prepared to unite his warships with the reinforcing squadron led by Collier. Taking aboard a light-infantry unit supplied by McLean, who anticipated an American defensive stand somewhere up the Penobscot River, Mowat weighed anchor and moved his three sloops into the bay. Shortly thereafter, Saltonstall signaled all American ships to "shift for themselves." The rout was under way. As the British frigates *Blonde, Virginia,* and *Galatea* drove the American ships before them, only one ship returned fire. The privateer *Hampden*, skippered by doughty Captain Titus Salter, simultaneously engaged *Blonde* and *Virginia* until she was forced to strike her colors. American privateers *Hunter* and *Defence* attempted to escape the British attackers by sailing around the west side of Long Island, but *Hunter* was driven ashore on the west bank of the bay and *Defence* was scuttled in Stockton Springs Harbor.

The remaining American vessels fled the oncoming British warships by sailing, rowing, or drifting up the Penobscot River. *Hazard*, with Wadsworth aboard to locate a site upriver to establish a defensive redoubt, unwittingly contributed to the rout by sailing past the slower transports without offering any assistance. This spread panic among the fleeing troops, and many of the vessels were grounded and burned in Mill Cove, along the west bank of the river, and their crews and soldiers fled ingloriously into the woods.

During the flight, Saltonstall's *Warren* went aground on a shoal and was stranded until the next high tide. Just after dawn on the 16th, the remaining American transports and warships were set on fire, while Saltonstall off-loaded stores from the *Warren* and ordered his flagship burned as well. Wadsworth, coming ashore with his troops, discovered to his horror that only about 40 enlisted men remained willing to fight, the remainder having fled into the woods. Wadsworth took the remaining officers and men and headed back to Boston on foot. Lovell opted for a different route. Despite having led a successful landing on Bagaduce Peninsula, Lovell was reluctant to return to Boston without more tangible successes to report to the General Court. He headed north with several officers to make a treaty with the Penobscot Indians to prevent them from allying with the British. In this, at least, he was successful.

The Penobscot Expedition was a total fiasco. Without exception, all the American vessels were captured, scuttled, or burned by their masters. Ironically, the privateer captains who previously had worried about excessive damage to their ships if they attacked the British wound up destroying their own precious vessels. American sailors and soldiers who had fled into the woods without food or supplies were forced to embark on a four- to six-week trudge through unforgiving wilderness back to Boston, where they were received as something less than conquering heroes. Total American losses included 16 warships burned and two captured, 13 transports burned and nine captured. British sources claimed 474 American casualties, against 70 suffered by the defenders.

The Penobscot Expedition was a total fiasco. Without exception, all the American vessels were captured, scuttled, or burned by their masters.

In the end, three British sloops mounting 56 guns and a small garrison of troops had withstood a 21-day siege by an American fleet and army several times their strength. Adverse consequences were immediate. The Massachusetts colony's navy was obliterated, while the Continental Navy lost one of its newest and most formidable warships in *Warren*. Perhaps more lasting, the colony's indebtedness incurred to finance the Penobscot Expedition proved a crushing burden for years in

Continued on page 70

AMPHIBIOUS LANDING AT ANZIO

As the last days of 1943 slipped away, World War II in Italy ground to a miserable stalemate. Below the eminence of Monte Sammucro, the town of San Pietro lay in ruins, its destruction so thorough that surviving civilians rebuilt their homes some distance away, leaving the heaps of rubble as mute testimony to the ravages of war. "For 17 days, we had existed on the peak," wrote one disheartened American soldier, "in freezing weather, constant rain, icy winds and inconceivable danger. In all that time we had never washed our hands or shaved, and had managed to get our boots off three times. Lice were eating the hide off our bodies and desperation was eating out our hearts."

The desperation among the ranks was also being felt on a strategic scale as the agonizing Allied advance toward Rome proceeded at a snail's pace. The majority of Allied resources had been earmarked for England and eventually the Normandy invasion, while the Italian campaign was rapidly becoming a backwater. By mid-December, the offensive of General Mark Clark's Fifth Army had bogged down. The 36th Division had lost 150 dead, 800 wounded, and 250 missing during the fight for San Pietro, which commanded the approach to Rome along Highway 6. To the east, the British Eighth Army, under General Sir Bernard Montgomery, remained stalled before the Nazis' Gustav Line defenses north of the Sangro River around Ortona.

Taking full advantage of the rugged Italian terrain, Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, commanding German forces in the Mediterranean, had personally overseen the construction of three fortified defensive lines, which collectively came to be known as the Winter Line. The first two lines, named Barbara and Bernhard, were considered formidable enough for delaying actions only. But Kesselring, having convinced Adolf Hitler that a firm stand south of the Eternal City was preferable to a general withdrawal to the Alps and abandoning Rome to the Allies, intended to hold tight at the Gustav Line, 12 miles north of the Bernhard Line. General Hans Bessel, an engineer with great talent, had overseen the construction of bunkers, machine gun and artillery emplacements, and the location of minefields along the Gustav Line. A number of ingeniously devised mobile strongpoints, which could be occupied quickly to take on the advancing enemy and then towed to other danger points, had also been built.

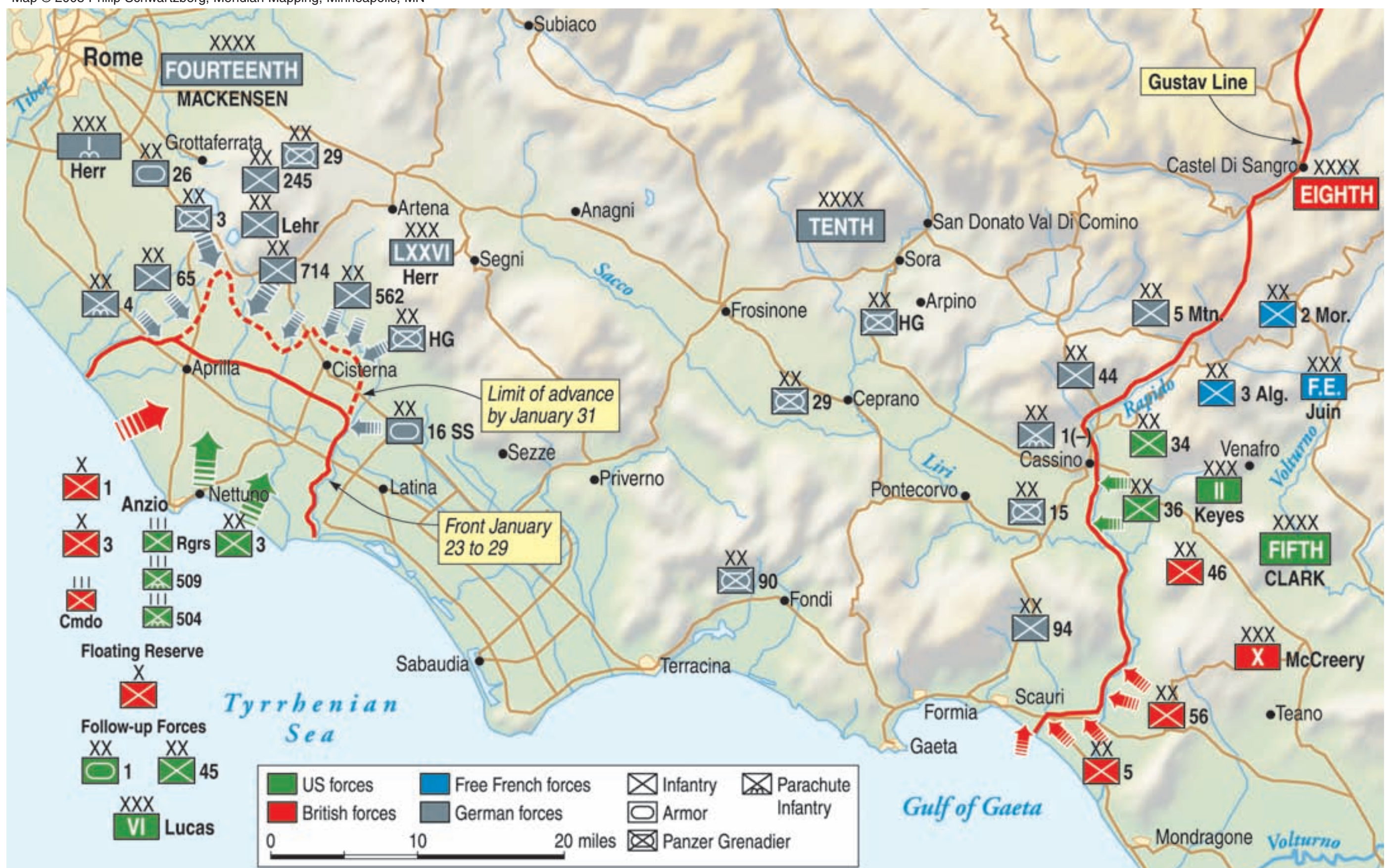
American GIs cavort atop a captured German siege gun after breaking out of their encircled position at Anzio. The landing was code-named Operation Shingle.

U.S. Army Art

An attempt to outflank the Germans at Cassino and make a headlong dash for Rome ended in a bloody stalemate on the beaches of Anzio.

BY MIKE HASKEW

Map © 2008 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN



With Allied forces bogged down along the Gustav Line in Italy, an amphibious landing was mounted at Anzio, 35 miles south of Rome, to outflank the Nazi defenders.

Significant changes in the Allied command structure in the Mediterranean had taken place as 1943 waned. On November 18, General Geoffrey Keyes and the headquarters of the U.S. II Corps arrived from Tunisia. Keyes had taken tactical command of the 36th and 3rd Divisions, the former replacing the latter in the line. On January 8, 1944, General Dwight D. Eisenhower formally assumed his duties as Supreme Commander, Allied Expeditionary Force, and departed for England to direct Operation Overlord. General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson, a Briton, was elevated to Eisenhower's former post as Mediterranean Theater commander, while General Jacob L. Devers, an American, was to serve as his deputy. Montgomery also left the Mediterranean, taking command of the 21st Army Group in England, and was succeeded by General Sir Oliver Leese as commander of Eighth Army. British General Sir Harold R.L.G. Alexander remained in command of the Allied 15th Army Group in Italy, while Clark would continue to lead the Fifth Army.

Discussions concerning an amphibious landing to outflank the German Winter Line defenses had been ongoing, and as early as November, Eisenhower had considered sending troops ashore at the resort city of Anzio, 35 miles south of Rome. English Prime Minister Winston Churchill was in favor of such an undertaking, and its prospects for success were addressed during the high-level conferences at Cairo and Tehran. Eisenhower harbored lingering misgivings about the endeavor, however, and did not actively pursue its planning. "There was a lack of decisiveness in the preparatory work for the Anzio attack," Eisenhower wrote, "an attack which was to be executed after my own connection with the Mediterranean should be terminated. I learned that the individuals who would bear final responsibility felt some hesitancy in making decisions because my assignment had not yet been officially concluded. Therefore I instantly abandoned the plan for returning to Africa and recommended to General [George] Marshall that prompt action be taken to terminate my connection with the theater and to place all authority in the Mediterranean in the hands of General Wilson."

The British accession to command in the Mediterranean and the continued grinding pace of offensive action against the Winter Line revived the planning for the Anzio landing, code-named Operation Shingle. Subsequently, it was scheduled for January 1944. Although it had once appeared that an amphibious operation to outflank the Gustav Line and drive for Rome had been canceled for good, the stillborn Operation Shingle was rapidly revived as a result of the restructuring of command in the Mediterranean with a distinctive British perspective. Well aware that the window of opportunity for a notable success in Italy was rapidly closing, Churchill departed the conferences at Cairo and Tehran decidedly pessimistic about the prosecution of the war on his favorite front.

Physically exhausted, the prime minister was diagnosed with pneumonia on December 11 while in Tunis to visit with Eisenhower. During a week in bed, Churchill worried that something must be done to energize the Mediterranean campaign. The solution, he reasoned, was the long-delayed amphibious operation. His sights set squarely on the capture of Rome, Churchill cabled his chiefs of staff on December 19 that "the stagnation of the whole campaign on the Italian Front is becoming scandalous."

The availability of landing craft was essential for the execution of an amphibious operation, and twice the deadline for the removal of these scarce vessels to England had been postponed. After lengthy discussions with senior commanders, Churchill sent a telegram to Pres-

ident Franklin D. Roosevelt requesting that the craft be made available in the Mediterranean until February 5. Without them, he warned, "the Italian battle will stagnate and fester on for another three months. If this opportunity is not grasped, we must expect the ruin of the Mediterranean campaign of 1944."

Roosevelt agreed to allow 56 transports to remain, partly due to the fact that Churchill admitted he had already set the plan for Anzio in motion. On Christmas Day, shortly after Churchill's conference with his generals concluded, Alexander contacted Clark and informed him that Operation Shingle was to proceed. Roosevelt's decision had been qualified with an insistence that other landing craft due to arrive in the Mediterranean via the Indian Ocean would instead be diverted directly to England and that a number of others should be released as scheduled. Churchill had agreed at Cairo and Tehran that nothing should be done to interfere with the timetable for the Normandy invasion and a complementary landing in southern France, and Roosevelt tersely reminded him of that agreement.

National Archives

Clark reconsidered his opposition to Anzio and gave his support, while he also assumed command of Seventh Army from General George S. Patton, Jr., who was transferred to England. Clark was also responsible for the planning of the invasion of southern France, which was initially called Operation Anvil (later Operation Dragoon). The demands of planning two amphibious operations in the Mediterranean threatened once again to cause the cancellation of one or the other. However, Clark voiced no strong opposition and was willing to move ahead with both.

National Archives

ABOVE: American troops stream ashore from their landing craft to expand the beachhead at Anzio. LEFT: Lieutenant General Lucian Truscott succeeded Mark Clark as commander of the U.S. Fifth Army.

The risks of Operation Shingle were obvious. A force of approximately two divisions was to be landed at Anzio, 35 miles south of Rome. The last natural defensive barrier before Rome, the Alban Hills, was 20 miles inland. The hills would have to be seized either by the Anzio landing force or by the Fifth Army, which would be required to breach the Gustav Line at Cassino and drive northward to link up with the force at Anzio. Compounding the concern was the fact that the advance positions of the Fifth Army were 70 miles from the beaches at Anzio. Furthermore, each offensive thrust was dependent, it seemed, on the success of the other. Failure of one was likely to result in the failure of both.

VI Corps headquarters, under General John P. Lucas, was to command Operation Shingle. The landing, scheduled for January 22, was to be undertaken by the U.S. 3rd Division, the British 1st Division, and detachments of U.S. Army Rangers, elements of the 504th Parachute Infantry Regiment, and British commandos. Altogether, the assault force would total 40,000 men. Some planners expressed concern that the force was too small to succeed in its assigned task. Clark wrote in his diary, "We are supposed to go up there, dump two divisions ashore with what corps troops we can get in, and wait for the rest of the Army to join up. I am trying to find ways to do it, not ways in which we can not do it. I am convinced that we are going to do it, and that it is going to be a success."

The lure of Rome during the winter of 1943-1944 was intoxicating to Allied leaders, particularly Churchill and Clark. The liberation of the Eternal City might well strike a blow to Axis morale and provide a boost for the war-weary people on the home front. But at what cost? Although the Fifth Army had not reached Frosinone in the Liri Valley, the plan was ordered to proceed. Both the Rapido and the Garigliano Rivers would have to be crossed while soldiers on the heights of Monte Cassino and Sant'Ambrogio, which overlook the Liri Valley, would threaten any troops below. Still, Clark believed that his river crossings would force the Germans to send troops to the south and, at the very least, give the troops at Anzio an easier time.

When Lucas was informed that the Anzio operation was to proceed, he had immediate misgivings. "I felt like a lamb being led to the slaughter," he confided in the pages of his diary. "This whole affair has a strong odor of Gallipoli." He was referencing the disastrous World War I employment of Commonwealth forces against Ottoman Turkey in 1915, an operation ostensibly undertaken to relieve pressure on the faltering armed forces of czarist Russia. During months of protracted fighting along the coast of the Dardanelles, Allied troops had been cut to pieces before eventually being withdrawn. The champion of the Gallipoli offensive was none other than Winston Churchill, who at that time held the office of First Lord of the Admiralty. The debacle in the Dardanelles cost Churchill his job and eventually led to his ouster from the British government. He then spent the succeeding three decades painstakingly rehabilitating his political career with the baggage of Gallipoli ever present.

Eight days before Operation Shingle commenced, Lucas remained less than optimistic. On Jan-

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German soldiers man their positions on the Italian front. They were brutally effective defenders. From *Signal* magazine.

uary 14, he wrote that the "Army has gone nuts again. The general idea seems to be that the Germans are licked and are fleeing in disorder and nothing remains but to mop up. The Hun has pulled back a bit but I haven't seen the desperate fighting I have during the last four months without learning something. We are not (repeat not) in Rome yet. They will end up putting me ashore with inadequate forces and get me in a serious jam. Then, who will take the blame?"

The Fifth Army's December effort to force the gateway to the Liri Valley and capture Frosinone continued in January. Clark devised a plan to accomplish his dual purposes of gaining ground and drawing forces south from the Anzio area. During the first three weeks of 1944, the British X Corps was ordered to capture Cedro Hill, which stood 500 feet high, cross the Garigliano, and secure a bridgehead at Sant'Ambrogio. General Alphonse Juin's French Expeditionary Corps replaced Lucas's VI Corps and was to attack the Cassino area from across the mountains. Success in these efforts would secure the north and south shoulders above the Liri Valley.

II Corps was to capture the towns of Cervaro and San Vittore, as well as the high ground at Monte Trocchio, Monte Porchia, Monte Majo, and La Chiaia. When these objectives had been reached, the 36th Infantry would cross the Rapido, allowing the 1st Armored Division to pass through and speed along the valley floor to Frosinone. It was hoped that the Fifth Army would achieve success rapidly enough to link up with VI Corps at Anzio.

When the British 5th and 56th Divisions launched an assault by boat and amphibious landing craft across the Garigliano on January 17, they were confronted only by the inexperienced German 94th Division, which was thinly stretched from the river to the town of Terracina, 30 miles to the north. German planners had hoped that the natural barrier of the river itself and 24,000 thickly sown mines might provide enough assistance to repulse a crossing. At 9 pm, the attack got under way, and combat engineers worked to clear the mines and mark exits on the far bank while German artillery came down steadily. It was virtually impossible to construct bridges during the first 24 hours. Nevertheless, 10 full battalions of infantry crossed the Garigliano and moved inland.

General Fridolin von Senger und Etterlin, commanding the XIV Panzer Corps, began to realize the gravity of the situation. Bypassing Col. Gen. Heinrich von Vietinghoff gennant Scheel, Kesselring's deputy theater commander, Senger telephoned Kesselring, who immediately realized that a British breakthrough to the Liri Valley would outflank the defenses of Monte Cassino, unhinge the Gustav Line, and force a retreat of the entire XIV Panzer Corps toward Rome. Kesselring called Vietinghoff and barked, "I am convinced that we are now facing the greatest crisis yet encountered." At the risk of weakening the defenses of Rome unnecessarily, the field marshal transferred the 90th and 29th Panzergrenadier Divisions along with the I Parachute Corps to the threatened Garigliano area the next day. He acknowledged that the German 10th Army was "hanging by a slender thread."

As German reinforcements began to stream toward the threatened Garigliano area, the 5th Division had penetrated three miles beyond the river and captured the town of Minturno, while the 56th Division had consolidated a two-mile bridgehead and advanced into the nearby hills. The initial promise, however, was soon tempered by a notable failure. On the night of January 19, the 46th Division attempted to seize the Sant'Ambrogio heights, but fierce German resistance and the swift current at the confluence of the Liri and Gari Rivers doomed the assault. Cables intended to hold rafts and ferries were swept away, and only a few British soldiers managed to reach the far side of the Garigliano. They were withdrawn the next morning.

Clark described the failure as "quite a blow," but deemed it necessary for the 36th Division crossing of the Rapido set for January 20 to go ahead as scheduled to assure that German troops were pinned down and could not disrupt the landings at Anzio two days later. The Rapido

crossing, perilous due to the nature of the terrain and the certainty of heavy German resistance, was further endangered by the fact that neither of its flanks was secure. Although he had succeeded in drawing enemy troops away from Rome and Anzio, Clark was unable to fully grasp the situation. The result was tragic.

In hindsight, the disastrous attempt of the 141st and 143rd Infantry Regiments of the 36th Division to cross the Rapido appears doomed from the start. The attack began in darkness, with heavily laden troops obliged to carry unwieldy wooden boats weighing 400 pounds to the water's edge. Accurate German artillery fire took a tremendous toll, and efforts to bridge the swift current were inadequate. By daylight on January 21, only about 1,000 men of the 141st had reached the far side of the Rapido. These were soon ordered to retire. The 1st Battalion of the 143rd took nine hours to complete its crossing. By 6 PM, it was all over. A handful of those who had crossed the river managed to escape. The operation cost the 36th Division more than 2,000 casualties, with at least 450 dead. Survivors blamed Clark and labeled him incompetent. Ultimately, a congressional investigation cleared him of any charges.

On the heels of the Rapido debacle came the landing at Anzio. Operation Shingle was set in motion on January 21. Three days earlier, a rehearsal had gone badly awry, with the embarrassing result that more than 40 amphibious vessels had been lost along with 28 valuable artillery pieces and antitank weapons. It was a foreshadowing of the frustration to come. In his orders to Lucas, Clark had been deliberately vague, instructing the VI Corps commander to seize and secure a beachhead in the vicinity of Anzio and advance on the Alban Hills. On January 12, General Donald Brann, a Fifth Army staff officer, visited Lucas. Brann made it clear that Lucas's primary mission was to seize and secure a beachhead. This was the extent of Clark's expectations. Clark did not want to force Lucas into a risky advance that might lose the corps. If conditions at Anzio warranted a move to the hills, Lucas was free to do so, but Clark and the Fifth Army staff believed this to be a slim possibility.

Apparently, Churchill and Alexander believed that Operation Shingle was to be a major offensive in itself, while Clark and Lucas considered it a diversionary tactic that would cause the Germans to eventually weaken their defenses at the Gustav Line, where the Fifth Army would make the main effort to capture Rome. Regardless of the confusion, when American and British troops splashed ashore at Anzio behind a heavy naval bombardment, they achieved notable success almost immediately. Three battalions of Rangers captured the port city with hardly a shot fired, and paratroopers moved into the town of Nettuno, two miles down the coast. By the end of the first day, Allied troops had penetrated up to three miles. Lucas bragged: "We achieved what is certainly one of the most complete surprises in history. The *Biscayne* [his headquarters ship] was anchored three and a half miles off shore, and I could not believe my eyes when I stood on the bridge and saw no machine gun or other fire on the beach."

Kesselring had been caught with his pants down. His reserves had been committed to the Garigliano, and there were practically no troops left to oppose a VI Corps advance to the Alban Hills and the gates of Rome. In the face of impending disaster, however, Kesselring did not lose his nerve. Urgently, the field marshal requested that Hitler authorize the transfer of troops from the Balkans and northern Italy to Rome. The 4th Parachute and Hermann Göring Divisions were ordered to contest any advance from Anzio toward the Alban Hills, while the 715th and 114th Divisions were coming from southern France and Yugoslavia, and the 92nd Division was activated. In addition, the Fourteenth Army in northern Italy was instructed to send elements of the 65th, 362nd, and the 16th SS Panzergrenadier Divisions to Anzio. Vietinghoff also sent the headquarters of the I Parachute Corps and elements of the 3rd Panzergrenadier, Hermann Göring, 26th Panzer, and 1st Parachute Divisions northward.

During an exhausting day, Kesselring believed he had accomplished a great deal, staving off a potential disaster and even concluding that he might contain the Anzio beachhead. Kesselring turned down a request from Vietinghoff to abandon the Gustav Line defenses since he believed that his depleted forces would have great difficulty maintaining their positions. The crisis had by no means passed entirely, and a purposeful advance by VI Corps could still have made huge gains. General Siegfried Westphal, Kesselring's chief of staff, wrote later, "On January 22 and even the following day, an audacious and enterprising formation of enemy troops could have penetrated into the city of Rome itself without having to overcome any serious opposition. But the landed enemy forces lost time and hesitated."

During the early phase of Operation Shingle, Lucas concentrated on accumulating supplies and consolidating his beachhead, which expanded to more than 10 miles. While nothing in the way of a major offensive was undertaken, it was still necessary to secure the hills just beyond Anzio. Kesselring, meanwhile, observed his forces growing in strength. Within three days, he had transferred the Fourteenth Army headquarters from Verona to take command of eight divisions assembled at Anzio, while elements of another five were en route. For Vietinghoff to regain his diverted strength, it became of paramount importance for the new commander in the area, General Eberhard von Mackensen, to launch a counterattack and eliminate the beachhead as soon as possible.

On the Fifth Army front, Clark renewed his effort to move into the Liri Valley after he received word that the VI Corps was firmly established at Anzio. Following the stinging reversal at the Rapido, Clark looked to the flanks of the valley entrance and decided to move the 34th Division across the Rapido north of Cassino and over the jagged peaks of the Cassino Massif. With this accomplished, Allied troops would, at long last, be in the Liri Valley nearly four miles north of Monte Cassino and the Rapido.

"AN AUDACIOUS AND ENTERPRISING FORMATION OF ENEMY TROOPS COULD HAVE PENETRATED INTO THE CITY OF ROME ITSELF ... BUT THE LANDED ENEMY FORCES LOST TIME AND HESITATED."

After nearly a month of fighting, the Allied forces achieved limited gains but were unable to continue their advance. During the January battles, Keyes's II Corps sustained 12,000 casualties, while at the Garigliano bridgehead to the south, McCreery's X Corps took more than 1,000 prisoners but lost 4,152 killed, wounded, and captured in an unsuccessful two-week effort to secure an avenue into the Liri Valley from the south. Some of the support companies of the 34th and 36th Divisions—cooks, clerks, and truck drivers—had been given weapons and formed into provisional combat units.

The urgency of the situation was apparent to everyone in senior command. Although the land-

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ABOVE: An American tank rolls uphill from the beach between Anzio and Nettuno. Allied landing craft lie offshore. The Fifth Army pushed inland to menace German supply and communications lines.OPPOSITE: A U.S. infantryman blasts away with a machine gun at German battalions trapped inside the Galleria di Monte Orso tunnel near Fondi. An American M-10 tank adds its firepower.

ing at Anzio had been intended to facilitate a breakthrough and rapid movement toward Rome from the Cassino area, the Anzio beachhead itself had become imperiled. The troops fighting at Cassino could not afford to rest for long and allow the Germans to strike a decisive blow to VI Corps, a few miles to the north.

When VI Corps landed against little opposition at Anzio, Lucas faced a momentous decision. Swift movement might secure the Alban Hills and the road to Rome and bring to an end the bloody stalemate to the south. Failure in such a movement might mean the loss of the entire corps. Playing it safe might ensure that the beachhead threatened the Germans continually, and that option seemed infinitely more palatable. The ambiguity of Clark's orders was still on the commander's mind as he weighed his choices, but the clock was ticking. Lucas fatefully decided to wait nine days before launching any significant offensive against the Alban Hills, although possession of the hills was a key to sustaining the beachhead even in a defensive posture since the Germans who occupied these heights had full view of every major movement within the Allied perimeter.

As it was, whatever opportunity may have been available was quickly extinguished by the swiftness of the German reaction to the Anzio threat. During the first three days of Operation Shingle, elements of the U.S. 3rd Division had moved to within four miles of the town of Cisterna to the northeast, while the British 1st Division captured the town of Aprilia and its cluster of abandoned collective farm buildings, which the troops had nicknamed "the Factory." Lucas believed that his consolidated beachhead was something of an accomplishment. Still, he did not rush to the Alban Hills, nor did he urge the 1st Division on toward the towns of Campoleone or Albano, which stood at the junction of the Albano-Anzio road and Highway 7, the nearest main artery into Rome. He wrote in his diary, "I must keep my feet on the ground and my forces in hand and do nothing foolish."

On January 30, Lucas finally set a coordinated offensive in motion. The British 1st Division, supported by tanks of the U.S. 1st Armored Division, quickly captured Campoleone. The armor, however, could not traverse the waterlogged ground efficiently, and the British gain was tempered by a frustrating inability to exploit it. At the same time, the 3rd Division, the 504th Parachute Infantry Regiment, and three Ranger battalions under Colonel William O. Darby were to take Cisterna and cut Highway 7. Truscott, commanding the 3rd Division, placed the Rangers at the point of his thrust, and all seemed to go well in the beginning. The Rangers crossed an arm of the Mussolini Canal at 1:30 AM, and crept along, apparently undetected, in a nearly dry irrigation ditch. As daylight approached, the Rangers had reached the outskirts of Cisterna.

When they emerged from the confines of the ditch, disaster struck. Veteran German troops of the Hermann Göring and 715th Divisions were waiting, supported by armor and well entrenched in advantageous positions. A total of 767 Rangers had set out for Cisterna. Only six returned. One battalion of the 3rd Division fought for 30 hours, reached Cisterna, and nearly cut Highway 7, but it suffered 650 casualties from an original strength of 800 in the process.

The buildup of German forces at Anzio had reached nearly 100,000 men at the beginning of February, and Mackensen initiated a week-long effort to position his forces for an offensive to eradicate the beachhead. Attacking the British at Campoleone, the Germans compelled Lucas to order a withdrawal, which was executed brilliantly although the 1st Division sustained 1,500 casualties in the process. The attackers retook Aprilia and "the Factory." Hitler railed that the "abscess" of the Anzio beachhead had to be eliminated, while Churchill was also distressed by the lack of Allied progress. "I had hoped that we were hurling a wildcat onto the shore, but all we got was a stranded whale," he groused. Mackensen's preliminary objectives had been achieved, but his forces had taken

substantial casualties and would require reinforcements before a decisive push.

At Cassino, the Fifth Army was proceeding with plans for another attempt to breach the Liri Valley defenses. This time, the New Zealand Corps, as the 2nd New Zealand and 4th Indian Divisions were collectively designated, would lead the effort. The New Zealand Corps commander, General Sir Bernard Freyberg, a combat veteran of World War I, intended to send the 4th Indian against forbidding Monte Cassino, crowned by its ancient Benedictine abbey, while the New Zealanders were to capture the town of Cassino. As a prelude to the movement of his troops, Freyberg considered it essential that the abbey be reduced by aerial bombardment. Freyberg's plan precipitated one of the most controversial decisions of World War II. Beginning at 9:45 AM on February 15, Allied planes began dropping a total of 600 tons of bombs on the abbey, inflicting some 300 civilian casualties. Elite German airborne troops took up strong defensive positions in the rubble and fought stubbornly for days before evacuating.

While the drama at Monte Cassino unfolded, the Allied troops at Anzio were, as Lucas had predicted, fighting for their very lives. Both Allied forces, at Anzio and Cassino, had bogged down, and neither could offer much in the way of support for the other. Mackensen had gained favorable ground early in February to launch his major attack against the Anzio beachhead. On the 16th, he unleashed a powerful blow along the Albano-Anzio road, hitting the three regiments of the 45th Division, which had come ashore a few days earlier. The primary German thrust was to be carried out by the 3rd Panzergrenadier, the 114th, and the 715th Divisions along with the Infantry Lehr Regiment, a demonstration unit which had been used for instructional purposes in Germany but had never seen combat. A diversionary attack against the 3rd Division was stopped cold, but a second against the 56th Division penetrated the defensive line two miles before British reserves plugged the hole.

German artillery fire erupted all along the 45th Division's six-mile front. Those who dared to lift their heads above the rims of their foxholes were greeted by an astonishing sight: scores of Mark IV and Mark VI panzers, accompanied by thousands of men from the 3rd Panzer Grenadier and 715th Infantry Divisions, rushing at them in their ankle-length overcoats, spilling across Anzio's soggy, cratered landscape. Concentrated fire from more than 200 American and British artillery pieces joined the 45th Division infantrymen in the stand against the onrushing enemy. The German tanks were hampered, just as their Allied counterparts had been, by the seeming endless quagmire of mud. Still, the Germans pressed their attack. Some positions of the 157th Infantry were overrun, and the three regiments of German tanks and panzergrenadiers bowled into several companies of the 3rd Battalion, 179th Infantry. Casualties were staggering. Rifles, pistols, and automatic weapons added a staccato punctuation to the overall cacophony. Hand grenades exploded steadily with dull thuds, muffled by the mud. Positions were abandoned, then retaken, again and again.

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A U.S. infantryman blasts away with a machine gun at German battalions trapped inside the Galleria di Monte Orso tunnel near Fondi. An American M-10 tank adds its firepower.

For five days, combat ebbed and flowed along the 45th Division front, with the American veterans, sometimes surrounded in pockets, fighting like demons. The Allied line bent back one and one-half miles but did not crack, and the 45th Division saved the entire perimeter from collapse. Pfc. William Johnston was manning a machine gun on the 18th when about 80 Germans came straight for his position. He cut down 25 of the enemy and killed two others who crawled so close to his gun that he could not depress it to fire accurately. At dawn on the 22nd, 2nd Lt. Jack Montgomery, a Cherokee Indian from Oklahoma, knocked out several enemy machine gun nests, killed 11 Germans, and captured 32 more. Both men received the Medal of Honor for their feats.

On the first night, the untried Infantry Lehr Regiment had been chewed to pieces before fleeing the field in disarray. A number of its soldiers were among the nearly 20,000 dead and wounded the Germans had suffered in three weeks. The 45th Division had lost 400 dead, 2,000 wounded, and 1,000 missing, and another 2,500 were rendered combat ineffective due to illness or exposure.

On February 22, Clark came to VI Corps headquarters and replaced Lucas with Truscott, the former 3rd Division commander. "I thought I was winning something of a victory," complained Lucas, refusing to be second-guessed about his decision at the beachhead, although the ranks of his detractors included Churchill, Alexander, and several American commanders. "Had I done so [advanced quickly] I would have lost my corps and nothing would have been accomplished except to raise the prestige and morale of the enemy," he wrote. "Besides, my orders didn't read that way."

The 3rd Division bore the brunt of the fighting during the last major German counterattack intended to dislodge the Anzio beachhead. On the night of February 29, from Ponte Rotto to the Fosso della Crocetta, the Germans attacked. Some of the heaviest blows overran a forward company of the 509th Parachute Infantry Regiment, with only one officer and 22 men able to fall back 700 yards to the main line. The positions of the 7th and 15th Regiments were assaulted by the 362nd, 26th Panzer, and Hermann Göring Divisions, supported by Mark VI Tiger tanks. Near Ponte Rotto, the 7th Regiment withstood heavy attacks, although at several points the Germans penetrated the lines and their tanks fired directly into the American foxholes. Thirty-five men of the 7th Regiment were killed on March 1 near Ponte Rotto.

The last major offensive against the Anzio beachhead cost the Germans 3,000 casualties and

more than 30 precious tanks. Kesselring intended to contain the Anzio front to the best of his ability, and his artillery and Luftwaffe bombers harassed the Allied soldiers inside the battered perimeter day after day. A pair of gigantic 280mm railway guns, dubbed "Anzio Annie" and "the Anzio Express," were as psychologically demoralizing as they were physically damaging. Bloody February stretched into stalemated March along the wreckage-strewn beach at Anzio.

Alexander, for his part, had seen enough fighting on a relatively narrow front. When the weather improved, he intended to extend the pressure on the Germans with an offensive, code-named Operation Diadem, at four locations along the Gustav Line. With a breakthrough there, the Allied forces at Anzio would launch an effort to break out of the beachhead and trap the German forces. At 11 PM on May 11, Operation Diadem began with a thunderous artillery barrage. More than 1,600 guns of the Fifth and Eighth Armies barked. The entire offensive jumped off during the following two hours. Along the II Corps line, American gains were minimal. No significant breakthrough was achieved. Combined with the limited British gains on the Rapido, the first 24 hours of Operation Diadem appeared to have achieved little.

The French Expeditionary Corps, under General Juin, had fortuitously been tasked with the advance across the Aurunci Mountains. So confident were the Germans that the difficulty of the terrain would dissuade any assault rather easily that they had placed fewer troops in the area than other parts of the Gustav Line. The Algerian and Moroccan soldiers of Juin's command, however, were quite familiar with such rugged country. Within hours of their initial advance, the French troops occupied Monte Majo and raised the tricolor flag on its summit. The threat to the Germans at the Gustav Line was painfully obvious. The 71st Infantry Division had been cut in two, while the left wing of the XIV Panzer Corps was now open to attack. The potential existed for continued advance across ridges running to the northwest, and the French were positioned to attack the right flank of the German positions in the Liri Valley, giving a decisive boost to the Eighth Army just beyond the Rapido. The French might also knife into the Liri Valley and trap many of the Gustav Line defenders.

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An American tank crew looks over a knocked-out German armored vehicle near Itri, Italy, in May 1944.

While Kesselring scrambled to reinforce the 71st Division, the British managed to throw a third bridge across the Rapido and expand their bridgehead up to 2,500 yards. Renewed attacks by elements of the American 85th and 88th Divisions were held up by entrenched defenders on high ground at Hill 109 and Hill 131, but after dark, the American troops were surprised when a subsequent advance encountered only sporadic small-arms fire. The Germans were pulling out.

On May 15, the Eighth Army succeeded in breaking through the Gustav Line in the Liri Valley. The Eighth Army advance of the 15th was followed with a joint attack against Cassino by the 78th Division and the Polish II Corps to cut Highway 6 and capture Monte Cassino. Swiftly, the German positions at Cassino became untenable, and the 1st Parachute Division was pulled out of the ruined abbey.

Hesitation on the part of the German high command, including Kesselring and Hitler in far-off Berlin, contributed to the collapse of the Gustav Line. General Walter Hartmann, the acting commander of the XIV Panzer Corps, realized that substantial reinforcements would be necessary to contain the Allied breakthrough at three separate points. The failure of German intelligence to assess accurately the strength of the Allied armies confronting the Gustav Line defenses, coupled with the threat of another amphibious landing in the vicinity of Rome, kept Kesselring off balance. With such a slow response, it became increasingly unlikely that the Germans could maintain defensive positions south of Rome.

By May 20, the French Expeditionary Corps had punched a hole in the Hitler Line, a string of German fortifications 10 miles north of the Gustav Line. The advance of II Corps toward Anzio was proceeding at a reasonable pace, and on the 23rd the Canadian 1st Division breached the Hitler Line northeast of the town of Pontecorvo.

The situation in southern Italy was clear to the German commanders. II Corps was in position to advance smartly up Highway 7 to effect a junction with VI Corps at Anzio, while the Eighth Army was through the Hitler Line and well into the Liri Valley. The French Expeditionary Corps threatened to complete the encirclement of portions of two German armies, the Fourteenth and the Tenth, and its advance toward the town of Frosinone, astride Highway 6, might actually split the armies in two. Vietinghoff issued orders for a general withdrawal on the German southern front. The LI Mountain Corps vacated its positions opposite the Eighth Army, falling back to the north along several roads parallel to Highway 6. The XIV Panzer Corps withdrew to the Sacco River valley northeast of Pico.

During four months of agony, the VI Corps had languished within the perimeter of the Anzio beachhead. Its strength had grown from two divisions to seven. However, the beachhead was under the constant surveillance of Germans in the Alban Hills. Any appreciable movement during daylight was certain to bring down accurate artillery fire. Some Allied soldiers remember an absolute inability to move about during the day and the necessity of feeding the men under cover of darkness. Often the identities of replacements put into the line were known only vaguely to their noncommissioned officers.

Although the high hopes with which Opera-

tion Shingle had been launched in January were only a distant memory by the spring, a good measure of the scant resources available in the Mediterranean Theater had been allocated to the beachhead in preparation for the opportune time to launch a decisive effort to break out. With the forceful Truscott in command following the relief of Lucas, Alexander expected success. Clark had ordered Truscott to prepare for any of four eventual axes of attack. The one that aligned with Alexander's plan, Operation Buffalo, was to strike northeast through Cisterna to Valmontone, cutting Highway 6 and hopefully trapping a large number of German troops to the south. In this scenario, the capture of Rome would be a secondary consideration to the opportunity to deliver a crippling blow to enemy forces in Italy. Alexander had originally advocated a movement to the north, through the natural barrier of the Alban Hills, and on to Rome, but the prospect of cutting off large numbers of German troops appeared to be of greater benefit to the Allied cause. Since the two directions of attack were at least 20 miles apart, it appeared to Alexander that they could not be accomplished simultaneously.

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ABOVE: A GI cautiously examines a German trench along the Cisterna-Cori highway. Enemy ordnance lies scattered on either side. LEFT: Eight-inch U.S. howitzers bombard German positions at Monte Cassino. The German position was tough to crack.

Clark, however, had his eyes firmly fixed on Rome. He doubted that the seizure of Highway 6 would accomplish much in the way of deterring a German withdrawal over numerous secondary roads in the area of Valmontone. Clark maintained that moving on Valmontone was designed primarily to relieve pressure on the Eighth Army in the Liri Valley. Still, if Clark could make contact with VI Corps, Truscott might move rapidly northward through the Alban Hills and on to Rome. The Fifth Army commander desperately wanted American troops, not British, to capture the Eternal City. And time was of the essence. Rome had to fall before Operation Overlord, the invasion of Normandy, took place on June 6 and once and for all relegated the Mediterranean to a backwater.

Clark believed, not without reason, that an enemy force anchored on the Alban Hills posed a threat to any eastward movement by the Fifth Army. He stressed that the Alban Hills should be secured before a drive to Valmontone. Logically, it followed that if the Alban Hills, the last natural barrier south of Rome, could be taken, then Rome itself would follow. VI Corps would be the spearhead of Fifth Army's drive to take the Italian capital. Clark, like other Allied commanders and the British prime minister himself, regarded the city as the great prize of the Italian campaign. He told Truscott that it was the "only worthwhile objective" for VI Corps. Clark had only an incidental interest in the military value of the Italian capital—he wanted it because of the prestige associated with capturing it and because, in Clark's opinion, the Fifth Army had borne the brunt of the fighting and deserved the honor of capturing Rome.

On the night of May 22, the British 1st Division launched the breakout from the Anzio beachhead with a diversionary attack along the Anzio-Albano road. In the early morning hours of the 23rd, Combat Commands A and B of the U.S. 1st Armored Division launched the main attack. During the first day, the two commands crossed the railroad line to Rome and drove a mile into the defensive perimeter of the German 362nd Infantry Division. They had also reached their first primary objective, a low ridge situated north of the beachhead. The cost was 35 dead, 137 wounded, and one missing. Three soldiers, Technical Sergeant Ernest H. Dervishian, Staff Sergeant George J. Hall, and 2nd Lt. Thomas W. Fowler, received the Medal of Honor for gallantry on May 23.

The attack on Cisterna was launched by the 3rd Infantry Division at 6:30 AM. A task force led by Major Michael Paulick was assigned to cover a gap caused by necessary maneuvers between the 15th Infantry Regiment and the 1st Special Service Force. Paulick lost two tanks and a tank destroyer to German fire from a group of houses 600 yards beyond a bridge over the Cisterna canal. He directed three tanks on a wide arc into the enemy rear, and this concentrated fire routed the Germans. Moving ahead against light resistance, Paulick's task force advanced to within half a mile of Highway 7. After dark, a three-man regimental patrol detected the movement of about 60 German soldiers into a wooded area near a road junction. The Americans retired and passed the word up the line. An ambush was prepared, and the German force was decimated, with 20 killed and 37 taken prisoner.

Two battalions of the 15th Infantry Regiment worked their way toward the town of Cisterna. The 7th Infantry encountered difficulties with mines and stiff German resistance. The 30th Infantry also had trouble with mines, and progress was sluggish. The 3rd Division had lost 107 dead,

Continued on page 70

Brice's CROSS ROADS

After critical victories at Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and Chattanooga in 1863, the Union high command had ambitious plans for the Civil War's vast western theater in the spring of 1864. Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman's 100,000-man army would bisect the Confederacy from Chattanooga to the Atlantic coast and destroy General Joseph Johnston's Army of Tennessee in the process. Sherman's first objective was the invaluable city of Atlanta. His massive troop movement into northern Georgia was supported by single-track railroads in southern and central Tennessee and northern Alabama that linked him to Federal supply depots. This crucial lifeline was particularly vulnerable to attack from the southwest—the area of operations controlled by the redoubtable Maj. Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest, the South's last and best hope of slowing down Sherman's inexorable drive into the heart of the Confederacy.

Sherman's Georgia campaign was well under way by mid-1864. Cognizant of the significant threat Forrest posed, he ordered the newly installed West Tennessee commander, Maj. Gen. Cadwallader Washburn, to launch a "threatening movement from Memphis" into Mississippi to prevent Forrest from "swinging over against my communications." Maj. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis would lead the incursion.

>> BY JOHN WALKER

Washburn assembled a mixed force of 8,300 troops, some of whom had fought against Forrest before: three brigades of infantry under Colonel William McMillen, two brigades of cavalry under Brig. Gen. Benjamin Grierson, and 400 artillerists. Sturgis had 22 artillery pieces of various calibers and 250 wagons and ambulances loaded with a 20-day supply of food and ammunition (northern Mississippi by then was stripped bare of forage). There was also a racial element in the equation—one of McMillen's infantry brigades, commanded by Colonel Edward Bouton, consisted of two black regiments whose members had vowed to avenge the alleged massacre by Forrest's men at Fort Pillow, Tennessee, two months earlier. The black infantrymen wore badges reading "Remember Fort Pillow." Neither Forrest's nor McMillen's troops could expect mercy if the two forces came to grips.

Nathan Bedford Forrest, pistol raised, coolly directs his Confederate troops in Rick Reeves' painting, *Brice's Cross Roads.*

Painting courtesy of Rick Reeves

While he moved into Georgia, Union General William Sherman wanted a covering force in Mississippi to attack fearsome Confederate raider Nathan Bedford Forrest. At Brice's Cross Roads, he would get his wish.

Forrest left Tupelo, Mississippi, on June 1 with 2,400 troopers and six cannons for a strike on Sherman's fragile lifeline below Nashville, the same day the tardy Sturgis left Memphis. With intermittent rain falling, Sturgis's expedition set out on the evening of June 2, Grierson's cavalry brigades in the lead. The Union column was to cross the border into Mississippi and march for Corinth via Salem and Ruckersville. After capturing Corinth and destroying all public property, Sturgis would strike south for Tupelo, tearing up the Mobile & Ohio Railroad as he advanced.

With Confederate regiments scattered widely about Mississippi, departmental commander Maj. Gen. Stephen Dills Lee had no option but to recall Forrest to Mississippi to deal with the threat posed by Sturgis. Unsure if Sturgis's objective was Corinth or Tupelo, Lee instructed Forrest to dispose his troops along the Mobile & Ohio Railroad between the two cities, ready to move in either direction. Meanwhile, Lee would do what he could to gather reinforcements. Lee wanted Forrest to draw Sturgis away from his base of supplies in Memphis and southward toward Okolona, where the two Confederate commanders could combine and fall upon the larger Union column.

Forrest had 4,300 horse soldiers within reach: 2,800 in Colonel Tyree Bell's brigade and about 750 men in each of two small brigades commanded by Colonels Hylan Lyon and Edmund Rucker. In compliance with Lee's orders, Forrest dispatched Bell's large force north to Rienzi on the Mobile & Ohio Railroad, while Rucker, Lyon, and Captain John Morton's artillery marched together to Booneville, nine miles south of Rienzi. A 500-man brigade under the command of Colonel Edmund Johnson, which would enlarge Forrest's corps to 4,800 men, was riding hard from Alabama to lend their aid.

On June 3, the blue column was slowed by heavy rains that flooded fields and turned the narrow roads to mud. McMillen's infantry column, held back by the slow-moving wagon train, managed only seven miles a day and fell far behind Grierson's cavalry column. The rain continued on June 4

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LEFT: Brig. Gen. Benjamin Grierson. CENTER: Maj. Gen. Samuel Sturgis. RIGHT: Maj. Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest.

and 5; at mid-morning on the 5th, the wagon train and infantry made it to Salem, reuniting with the cavalry that had arrived 40 hours earlier. When the rain finally stopped that afternoon, Grierson's horsemen broke camp and rode 13 miles to Dunbar's Mill, a few miles west of Ruckersville. There, Grierson dispatched Colonel Joseph Karge and 400 horsemen to strike the M&O Railroad at Rienzi and cut the telegraph wires to confuse the enemy as to Sturgis's true objective.

Rain continued falling on June 6. Karge's troopers crossed the Hatchie River and galloped into Rienzi, dispersed a small number of Confederates, cut the wires, and continued north up the line of the railroad toward Corinth. High water, however, forced the column to turn back. Karge's mounted force, after being isolated by the flooding Hatchie, would not rejoin Sturgis until the evening of June 8. Sturgis's entire command gathered in Ruckersville on the 6th; the next day, after Sturgis was notified that Corinth was empty of Confederates, he changed direction and marched toward Ripley. Sturgis hoped to interdict the enemy by moving southeast on the Ripley-Guntown Road and seizing the railroad near Baldwyn and Brice's Cross Roads. The entire Union command camped at Ripley that night; in deference to the city's populace, the two colored brigades slept outside the city.

Sturgis, discouraged with the progress of the expedition and afraid that Forrest would use the time to concentrate an overwhelming force against him, contemplated turning back. After he conferred with his division commanders, however, he decided that the Federal column would press on despite the risks involved. Sturgis had no idea of Forrest's location. The local residents he encountered gave him no help, and he discounted the reports he was given by runaway slaves who flocked to his lines. Late in the afternoon of June 8, the Union column resumed the march, traveling about four miles southeast before stopping for the night. The next morning, the blue soldiers continued down the Ripley-Guntown Road through hilly, sparsely populated countryside. After a difficult 10-mile march, the Federals halted at Stubb's Farm, camping on a ridge nine miles northwest of Brice's Cross Roads.

Lee and Forrest met at Booneville on June 9. Lee was now certain that the Federal objective was Tupelo, 12 miles below Guntown. He wanted Forrest to concentrate his men at Okolona. To get there, Forrest's units would have to march through Brice's Cross Roads. After Johnson's Alabama brigade arrived and Forrest met with his staff, he came up with a plan. Although he would be heavily outnumbered and outgunned, he would strike the Union column before it reached Guntown. Orders went out that night to each Confederate command to march for Brice's Cross Roads before dawn the next morning. Forrest's troops were scattered and all but one would have farther to travel to reach their objective than the Union column. Bell was at Rienzi, 25 miles from Brice's; Rucker, Lyon, and Morton were at Booneville, 18 miles distant; and Johnson was at Baldwyn, five and a half miles from the crossroads.

The rain stopped on the morning of June 10, a harbinger of long hours of merciless heat and humidity. Forrest and his men were up well before dawn. When it was light enough to see the road, Forrest rode out the Baldwyn Road at the front of Lyon's lead brigade, followed by Rucker and Morton's artillery. Johnson would come in from the east. Forrest was accompanied by his usual 85-man escort, plus an additional 50-man escort company of Georgia troopers under Captain Henry Gartrell.

Sturgis was pleased that the rain had stopped, but he prepared to continue his march with serious forebodings. Despite his earlier resolution to move forward, keeping his force as compact as possible, Sturgis allowed his infantrymen almost two extra hours to rest, eat, and get ready for what promised to be a long, hot day. Grierson's cavalry brigades, with Colonel G.E. Waring in the lead and Colonel Edward Winslow's Iowans behind him, moved out at 5:30 AM in the direction of the crossroads. The first infantry units did not get under way until well past 7. After a three-mile march, the cavalry began crossing the mile-wide Hatchie River

bottom, where the road was a ribbon of mud. Their horses churned the mud even more, boding ill for the infantry column that would come behind them.

Sturgis joined McMillen at the head of the infantry as it moved out; behind came Colonel George Hoge's brigade, followed by that of Colonel Alexander Wilkin. Bouton's black troops brought up the rear, guarding the more than 200 wagons. When the infantry descended into the river bottom, pioneers were called up to corduroy the road, further delaying the infantry and wagons. Before long, the Union column was strung out, nose to tail, for at least eight miles. As the sun grew warmer, Union and Confederate units, both infantry and cavalry, continued to converge upon the crossroads from various places around Lee County.

Forrest was confident, as always, despite the fact that the enemy held close to a two-to-one advantage in numbers and nearly three times as many guns. "I know they greatly outnumber the troops I have at hand," he told Rucker, who rode with him in advance of his brigade, "but the road along which they will march is narrow and muddy; they will make slow progress. The country is densely wooded and the undergrowth so heavy that when we strike them they will not know how few men we have. Their cavalry will move out ahead of their infantry, and should reach the crossroads three hours in advance. We can whip their cavalry in that time. As soon as the fight opens they will send back to have the infantry hurried in. It is going to be hot as hell, and coming on the run for five or six miles, their infantry will be so tired out we will ride right over them."

Forrest soon found the going difficult as well; it was mid-morning before he reached Old Carrollville, five miles northeast of the crossroads. He called up Lieutenant Robert Black of the 7th Tennessee and told him to ride to Brice's Cross Roads, turn northeast up the Ripley Road, and reconnoiter. After Black and his men reached the crossroads, they rode along the Ripley Road for three-quarters of a mile into the Tishimingo Creek bottom, the road bordered on each side by cornfields. The creek was spanned by a wooden bridge, a quarter-mile west of which the road forked, one road leading to New Albany, the other to Ripley. Moving up the Ripley Road, Black spotted Union cavalry—Waring's advance party—and he and his men quickly wheeled their horses around and galloped away. Waring's men pursued over the bridge and up the slope to the crossroads, where they turned left up the Baldwyn Road after Black's troopers. It was by now about 10 AM.

A short distance up the Baldwyn Road, Black's men encountered Forest riding with his vanguard at the head of Lyon's brigade. The lieutenant reported that 1,500 Union cavalry had arrived at Brice's Cross Roads. Moments later, after he spotted the mounted blue column, Forrest called up Captain C.L. Randle of the 7th Kentucky and told him to take his company and charge the enemy. When they did, Waring, on the other side of the field 400 yards away, halted his column, dismounted his men, and unlimbered two guns, quickly driving the Rebels back. The Battle of Brice's Cross Roads had begun. Waring deployed his 1,450 men astride the Baldwyn Road, half on the north side and half on the south. The large field to the Union front, about 2,000 feet northeast of the crossroads, was surrounded by blackjack and scrub oak, beyond which the ground was heavily timbered.

National Archives

Union cavalry at rest. Forrest would give them little opportunity for that at Brice's Cross Roads.

Forrest had Lyon dismount the 3rd, 7th, and 8th Kentucky Regiments and deploy them astride and south of the Baldwyn Road. He sent orders to the rear for the artillery to be hurried forward and for Colonel Clark Barteau and his 250-man 2nd Tennessee to take to the back roads and attempt to strike the Federal rear. Although he had no artillery closer than eight miles away, Forrest preferred to go on the offensive rather than wait to be attacked. He told Lyon to send his dismounted troopers across the field against the blue line in a strong demonstration. Lyon quickly threw out a double line of skirmishers and sent his men forward. Not only were Lyon's Kentuckians outnumbered, they were outgunned as well. Waring's 2nd New Jersey was armed with Spencer seven-shot repeating carbines, the 3rd and 9th Illinois had Colt revolving rifles, and Waring's other troops wielded single-shot carbines.

Grierson had joined Waring and, surprised by the sudden assault, quickly concluded that he was facing not only cavalry, but infantry as well. Grierson sent a courier hurrying back through the crossroads and across Tishimingo Creek to inform Sturgis that he had encountered a strong enemy force and requested an infantry brigade be sent to his assistance. When the dispatch arrived, Sturgis and his staff were relaxing in the Hatchie bottom, watching the pioneers corduroy the road. Sturgis instructed McMillen to call up Hoge's brigade and make a forced march to the crossroads. The artillery and wagons would follow when the road was ready. Hoge's brigade, joined by Sturgis and his escort, set off for Brice's Cross Roads.

Grierson called up Winslow's brigade from the creek bottom, sending them out the Guntown Road on Waring's right. By 10:45, Winslow's 1,750 troops were in position and Grierson's entire cavalry force was dismounted and ready to do battle. The blue left lay north of the Baldwyn Road and the right extended across the Guntown Road, its extreme right bent back toward the Brice home. After sending a fan of troopers with repeating carbines 100 yards to the front, where they concealed themselves in the thick brush, Grierson unlimbered two mountain howitzers and two rifled guns behind his crescent-shaped line, with six more guns in reserve.

Needing to buy time, Forrest again sent Lyon's brigade forward. Some 800 Kentuckians boldly

leaped over the brush fences to their front, moved across the field, and assailed the blue line. Grierson's men opened up with withering volleys of musket fire and artillery blasts. Lyon continued his demonstration for 20 minutes, then fell back. As he withdrew, more Confederate reinforcements arrived in the persons of Rucker's 750-man command, and Forrest immediately dismounted Rucker's 7th Tennessee and 18th Mississippi and put them in line on Lyon's left. The new arrivals doubled Forrest's numbers—to about 1,630—but he was still outnumbered about two-to-one.

When Rucker's troops were ready, Forrest once again ordered his line forward in a strong demonstration; after some sharp exchanges, the gray line withdrew once more. As the feint ended, Colonel W.A. Johnson arrived from Baldwyn with his 500 Alabama horsemen; Forrest dismounted Johnson's men and sent them north of the Baldwyn Road on Lyon's right, instructing them to move forward and engage the attention of Waring's left. After some desultory firing, Johnson's men fell back, exhausted from their recent trek. It was now almost midday and Forrest decided to try to break Grierson's line with the three brigades he had on hand. Forrest rode along his entire line, encouraging his men, telling them he expected every man to move forward when the bugle sounded. This was not to be a feint but an all-out, desperate fight at close quarters. When the bugle rang out, the entire gray line sprang from the edge of the timber as one and rushed to close with the blue line.

Memorial at Brice's Cross Roads National Battlefield Site, near Baldwyn, Mississippi, established in 1929 by the U.S. Park Service.

The Union cavalrymen fought back viciously, their repeating rifles crackling away into a deafening roar. Rucker, at the head of the 7th Tennessee and 18th Mississippi, carried his line ahead fully 100 yards in advance of Lyon and Johnson and put tremendous pressure on Waring's right unit, the 7th Indiana. Waring's troopers fought heroically, but the Confederates would not be denied. As the enemy rushed toward them, Rucker shouted to his men to draw their six-shot repeating pistols and close with the enemy. After a brief but ferocious struggle, much of it hand-to-hand, Rucker punched a hole through the 7th Indiana's line and Waring's men began to pull back, first by ones and twos, then by squads, then by scores.

Johnson's and Lyon's men closed with the Union forces on the Union far left, while Duff's mounted Mississippi regiment, on the extreme Confederate left, was vigorously engaged on the far right of Grierson's line. As Waring's center collapsed, Johnson and his Alabamians advanced so rapidly that he gained a foothold fully halfway between his original position and the road leading from Ripley to the crossroads. The Union cavalry brigades, exhausted and almost out of ammunition, were hard-pressed all along the line. Forrest was close to achieving his first objective—defeating the Union cavalry prior to the arrival of the infantry.

Meanwhile, Sturgis and McMillen had set a man-killing pace for the Union infantrymen; the roads were beginning to dry out, the sun was broiling, the humidity dreadful. The 113th Illinois, in one 2.5-mile stretch, had five men collapse with sunstroke, two of whom died. At Dry Creek, a short halt was called to allow the men to fill their canteens; then it was up and over the ridge and down a grade into the Tishimingo bottom. They crossed the bridge and double-timed up the opposite slope, a half mile away from the crossroads. Sturgis, his staff, and escort arrived on the field shortly after noon. What he saw was not encouraging; he conferred with Grierson, who pointed toward the Baldwyn Road, where Waring's men were falling back, and toward the Guntown Road where Winslow's men were still holding firm. Grierson implored Sturgis to hurry the infantry forward, reporting that his own troopers were exhausted and almost out of ammunition.

Sturgis's situation was deteriorating rapidly. Word came back from Waring that his men were falling back, and Winslow notified Grierson that if he did not get assistance immediately, he would have to fall back as well. Sturgis turned to Lt. Col. Joseph Hess and told him to hurry out the Baldwyn Road and establish a roadblock to buy time for McMillen's infantry to come up and relieve the cavalry. At this moment, Confederate shells began bursting around the crossroads, filling the air with shrapnel. Sturgis was facing a severe crisis: his cavalry brigades were either in retreat or on the verge of breaking, and two of his three infantry brigades were exhausted from their seven-mile forced march. Turning to McMillen, Sturgis told him to have Hoge's infantry relieve Grierson's cavalry brigades. McMillen rode back along the Ripley Road to urge the infantry forward. At that instant, Waring's brigade collapsed. The two roads converging on the crossroads were "filled with retreating cavalry, led horses, ambulances, and artillery," wrote McMillen, "the whole presenting a scene of confusion and demoralization."

A short lull descended over the field as Forrest aligned his new arrivals. Morton's and Captain T.W. Rice's batteries had arrived after a difficult 18-mile march over narrow, muddy roads, followed shortly by Brig. Gen. Abraham Buford, Colonel Tyree Bell, and the latter's 2,800-man brigade. Morton had moved his guns up in Lyon's rear on the right side of the Baldwyn Road, unlimbered, and had already opened fire with immediate and considerable effect. Forrest put Buford in charge of the Confederate right, where Lyon and Johnson were fighting, and moved with Bell's brigade to Rucker's left, where he dismounted Bell's men and extended the Confederate line westward of the Guntown Road. Farther to the left, mounted and ready to swoop upon the Union flank and rear, were two companies of Kentuckians under Captain H.A. Tyler.

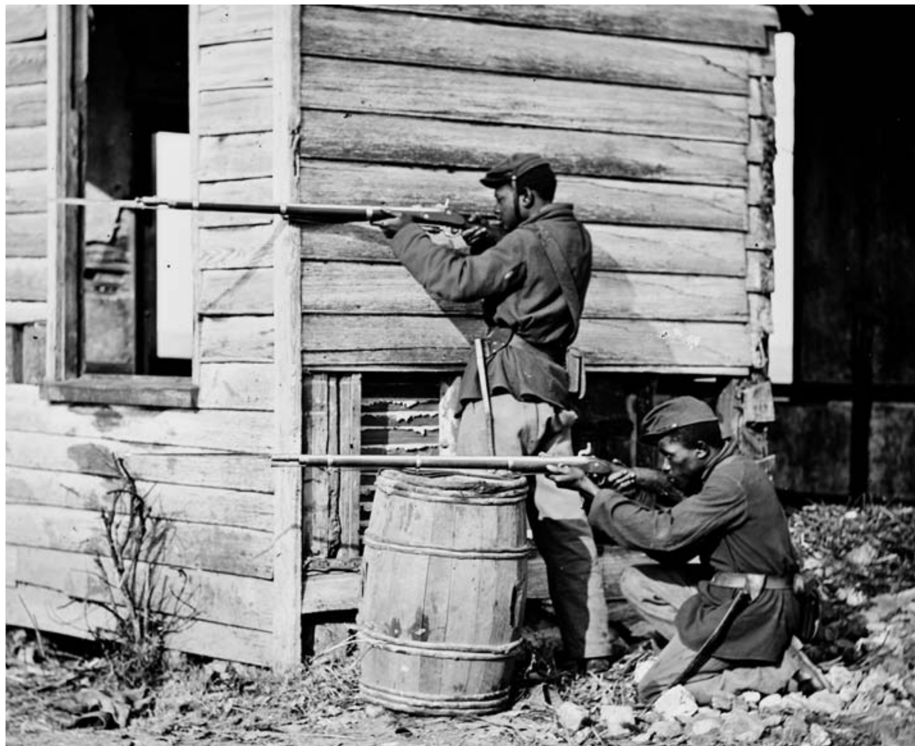
Bouton and his black troops, still guarding the wagon train, had toiled onward. They crossed Little Dry Creek, passed Dr. Samuel Agnew's farm, descended a grade to the Dry Creek ford, and climbed the opposite slope to Ames Ridge overlooking Tishimingo Creek. It was almost 2 PM. There was not a cloud in the sky to blot out the burning rays of the sun, which had already taken a fearful toll on the men and animals on both sides. Forrest once more prepared to move his outnumbered line forward. He told Buford to resume the assault on the Union left and center with Johnson's, Lyon's, and Rucker's brigades the moment he himself hurled Bell's dismounted Tennesseans

against the enemy's right.

Pushing their way through thickets and almost impenetrable undergrowth, the attackers advanced to within just a few paces of the Federal line, where they were hit with a horrific blast from 3,800 rifles fired simultaneously. As the lines closed with one another, the fighting was close and vicious; the men in Bell's three Tennessee regiments employed their Colt navy revolvers—they had extra loaded and capped cylinders in their pockets—and in the thick woods the pistols proved more effective than the Union muskets and bayonets. As the battle ebbed and flowed, Wilkin's 93rd Indiana found its right flank exposed, and, outflanked, retreated toward the crossroads. To support the 93rd, Wilkin committed his reserve, the 9th Minnesota, and suddenly the tide shifted; the 8th Mississippi and 19th Tennessee on Bell's left broke and headed for the rear. Federal officers, seeing this portion of Bell's line giving way, tried to exploit the advantage by making a strong rush upon the gray line with fixed bayonets.

Forrest had correctly surmised that the heaviest fighting would take place in this sector and had remained there. Sensing disaster looming, he dismounted his two escort companies and, pistol in hand, led them into the midst of the heaviest fighting where the breach had occurred, where he was soon joined by the courageous Bell. Massed musket volleys and artillery blasts shrouded the field in smoke as the battle escalated to fever pitch. The hard-hit Tennesseans, seeing Forrest in their midst, rallied and, after being reinforced by 280 reserves under Colonel D.M. Wisdom, checked the Union advance. All along the line, heavy fighting continued; Rucker's troops, on Bell's right, pushed forward, only to see their advance stymied by Hoge's determined troops. Forrest rode along his line, shouting out encouragement to his troops. Arriving in the vicinity of the Baldwyn Road, he saw that only two of Morton's guns, deployed behind the Rebel right, were in action, and he sent orders for more guns to be brought into play.

Forrest was convinced the time had come for the battle to be won or lost. Once again, he rode behind the lines, encouraging his troops, yelling to them that the Yankees were giving way and that one more well-pressed attack would bring victory. Forrest rode over to his young artillerist—Morton had turned 21 on the bloody field at Chickamauga—and told him that another assault would begin in 10 minutes. Morton was to have four of his eight guns double-shotted with canister and limbered. When the bugle sounded, he was to gallop forward as close to the enemy as possible, unlimber his guns into battery, and open fire.



Library of Congress

Colored troops man a picket station near Dutch Gap Canal in November 1864. Many wanted revenge after the Fort Pillow massacre.

At 4 PM, Morton's gunners moved their guns to within 200 yards of the Union line, firing charge after charge of double canister into the horrified enemy ranks. Along an 800-yard arc from north of the Baldwyn Road to south of the Guntown Road, the Confederate line advanced, forcing the Union infantry slowly back toward the crossroads. Rucker's furious attack on the Union center and Bell's push against its right blasted away the last vestiges of organization on the part of the Federals. As Hoge's line was pushed back toward the crossroads, men began leaving the line and slipping away. Wilkin on the right tried to rally several retreating regiments, to no avail. He formed a new line farther to the rear, hoping to hold on long enough for the artillery to be hauled away. Simultaneously, Buford, Rucker, and Lyon closed in on the panicky Union forces from all directions, forcing them back to the crossroads where four Federal guns were captured and turned on their former owners. As the gray wave rolled on, the blue line constricted in length from 800 yards to 600, then 400, and finally 300, until the crossroads became jammed with Union soldiers.

Meanwhile, Bouton had arrived with his two brigades and the wagon train. As he approached the Tishimingo Creek bridge, he saw that Waring's cavalry, having withdrawn, had crossed the bridge and was posted near the intersection of the New Albany and Ripley Roads. Stragglers and skulkers from McMillen's infantry were making their way to the rear. Bouton called up Captain Franklin Ewing and two companies of the 55th U.S. Colored Infantry (USCI) and sent them across the bridge to join the 72nd Ohio fighting Barteau's Tennesseans at the bridgehead. For 30 minutes, the fate of Sturgis's command depended on the Union troops holding Barteau at bay, preventing him from cutting off the escape route of the troops still fighting at the crossroads.

Bouton's troops west of the creek now deployed, the artillerists unlimbering their guns. After he reinforced the Union troops defending the bridgehead with two battalions of the 4th Iowa Cavalry, McMillen crossed the bridge and gave Bouton instructions. He was to form up the 59th USCI, the remaining eight companies of the 55th USCI, and their two cannons on the ridge separating Dry Creek and the Tishimingo Creek bottom. Bouton was to hold his position as long as possible, while McMillen rode on and formed another line on the next ridge.

Back at the crossroads, disaster was about to strike. Sturgis at this juncture rode over to where he believed the head of the colored brigade would be, and as he was doing so watched in horror

as his main line dissolved in several places. "Order soon gave way to confusion," he later wrote, "and confusion to panic. The army drifted toward the rear and was beyond control. The road became jammed with troops and wagons, and artillery sank into the deep mud and became inextricable. No power could check the panic-stricken mass as it swept toward the rear." The battle lost, Sturgis gathered up a small escort and made his way across the Tishimingo Creek bridge.

The Confederates closed on the bridgehead, where some of the most savage fighting of the battle took place; Ewing's black troops, backing up the 72nd Ohio and the 4th Iowa, fought heroically, their wounded refusing to be taken to the rear. Nothing could stem the victorious Confederate tide, however, and the Federals holding the bridgehead finally gave way. Farther to the rear, the bridge over Tishimingo Creek was hopelessly blocked by an overturned wagon and the many wagons that quickly backed up behind it. Fortunately for the Federals, the creek was falling and they crossed upstream from the bridge. Other Union troops forded the creek downstream, and Sturgis's command, except for Bouton's men west of the creek, became a panic-stricken mob moving pell-mell northwest up the Ripley Road.

The sun was just above the horizon; Forrest was as relentless in pursuit as he was fierce in battle. As he was fond of saying, he wanted to "keep the skeer on." With the bridge blocked and the road jammed, Forrest, his escort, and a small group crossed Tishimingo Creek a quarter mile below the bridge. Passing through the cornfields to the Ripley Road-New Albany intersection, the Confederates galloped up the Ripley Road, up the grade to the Ames House ridge where Bouton's men waited astride the road. Forrest, outnumbered, attacked immediately, only to be repulsed. Sturgis, McMillen, and Grierson forged ahead, crossed Dry Creek, and stopped at Dr. Samuel Agnew's home, where a straggler line was formed. With Bouton's line holding to the east, McMillen and his brigade commanders rallied their men and deployed them on both sides of the Ripley Road; out of more than 8,000 troops that Sturgis commanded earlier that morning, only about 1,300 men could now be brought into line.

A sizable number of Confederates, having secured mounts, rode up to join Forrest and his small group assailing Bouton and his colored troops on the Ames House ridge; Confederate artillery moved up as well and opened fire. Bouton, having bought time for the bulk of the Union units to pass through his lines, withdrew and joined the blue troops gathering near the Agnew home. As the sun fell below the horizon, Forrest came up and deployed his men for an attack on the patched-together blue line; artillery boomed, and mounted Confederates stormed forward. For almost an hour, savage, hand-to-hand fighting ensued, much of it between Bouton's and Forrest's soldiers. Having gained time for various shattered commands to continue the retreat and for the wagons to roll on, the Federals evacuated Agnew Ridge as darkness fell, crossing Little Dry Creek and continuing up the Ripley Road. The Confederates captured more than a score of wagons, many loaded with rations and provender. Forrest called a halt, allowing the mules and horses to catch their wind and the soldiers to plunder the wagons and get some rest.

The Federal retreat continued. About three miles from Stubbs Farm, the ragged blue column braced for its descent into the boggy Hatchie bottom; troops and wagons moved cautiously into the murky bottom. In minutes, after many teamsters panicked and cut loose their teams and abandoned their wagons, the road became choked and panic spread. Ambulances filled with wounded became mired in the road along with hundreds of other wagons; soldiers on foot sank knee-deep into the mud. As the column inched slowly ahead, Bouton caught up with Sturgis and beseeched him, "General, for God's sakes, don't let us give up so." Distraught, Sturgis replied, "What can we do?" Bouton insisted that his troops, if resup-

>> PRIVATE CASHIER WAS A WOMAN

PRIVATE ALBERT D.J. CASHIER of the 95th Illinois Infantry Regiment was without a doubt the most unique soldier to fight in the Battle of Brice's Cross Roads on either side. The reason—Private Cashier was actually a woman.

Jennie Irene Hodgers was born in Ireland in 1843 or 1844 and sailed to New York with her family. She was already calling herself Albert D.J. Cashier when she turned up in Belvidere, Illinois, and enlisted in Company G, 95th Illinois Infantry, in 1862. At 5 feet, 3 inches tall, with a slender, lithe body and cropped hair, Hodgers looked and dressed like a young man from Ireland. Given the rudimentary physical exams of the time, she had no problem passing as a man.

It is estimated that some 400 women might have served at times in the Union or Confederate armies—for reasons of patriotism, adventure, or the desire to remain with a husband or lover—but Hodgers is unique in that she is the only woman known to have served to the end of the war undetected and to draw a military pension afterward. Not only did she live as a man before the war, but she continued to do so afterward as well.

Hodgers's true gender wasn't discovered until late in 1910, when her leg was broken in an automobile accident and she was examined in a hospital. Senator Ira Lish, who had backed his car over Hodgers accidentally while she was working in his driveway, swore the doctor who made the discovery to secrecy and used his political influence to obtain a room for Hodgers at the Illinois Veterans Home. She became Jennie Hodgers again only after she was transferred in 1913 to the former Watertown State Hospital and psychiatrists forced her to wear female attire. While she was confined, men from her old unit rallied to her defense, convincing the Federal Pension Board to rule in 1914 that she could continue to collect her pension as Private Albert Cashier.

Although the 95th Illinois compiled an impressive record as a hard-fighting unit, the young Irish lass apparently escaped the ravages of combat or disease. She was never wounded, seriously sick, or captured during the entire conflict. Cashier/ Hodgers reportedly made little effort to mingle with her peers, preferring to sit apart from the others smoking a pipe in contemplative silence. In return for assistance in tasks involving heavy lifting, she sewed on buttons and mended torn clothing. At war's end she was mustered out with the remainder of her regiment on August 17, 1865, after serving three years and 11 days in the ranks and taking part in 40 battles.

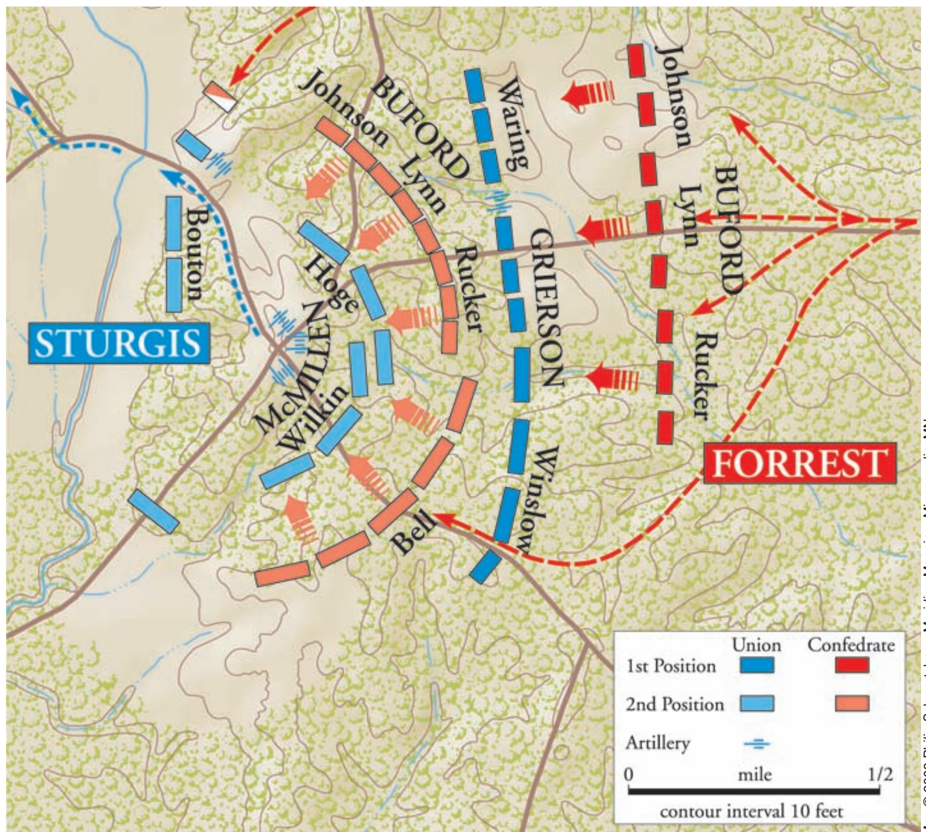
Hodgers carried to her grave the reasons for her charade, but when she died in 1915 at the age of 72, the Grand Army of the Republic provided an impressive military funeral. She was buried in her Civil War uniform. On the headstone over her grave was inscribed the masculine name she had carried into battle and had borne throughout the better part of her life. □

plied with ammunition, would hold Forrest in check on the far side of the bottom while the wagons and artillery were moved ahead to more solid ground; he promised to save the entire column if Sturgis would reinforce him with a white regiment. But Sturgis was too unstrung by the day's events to give this proposal any consideration. "For God's sakes," he told Bouton, "if Mr. Forrest will let me alone, I will let him alone. You have done all you could, and more than was expected of you, and now all you can do is to save yourselves." The retreat continued toward Ripley.

By 1 AM, Forrest had his men back in the saddle and hard on the equipment-littered trail; within two hours they reached the Hatchie bottoms, where they came across the richest haul of all. Despite Bouton's pleas, Sturgis had ordered everything that could move to proceed to Stubbs Farm and beyond, abandoning the remainder of his wagon train, 23 ambulances, many filled with wounded soldiers, and another 14 guns, all that was left of his original 22 except for four small howitzers that had not been used in the battle. Many Federals, especially Bouton's colored troops who had suffered heavily bringing up the rear, were overrun in the Hatchie bottoms. The black troops, who had sworn such vengeance on Forrest and his men, hastily tore off the badges marked "Remember Fort Pillow" and lifted their hands in abject surrender. After detailing men to round up the prisoners and collect the spoils, Forrest pushed on.

Four hours before dawn of June 11, the gray pursuers collided with a rearguard remnant four miles from Ripley and quickly pushed it back upon the town; Sturgis decided to make a stand at Ripley, but when he was notified at 7:30 AM that his small remnant was short of weapons and ammunition, he ordered the retreat resumed. The evacuation of Ripley was disorderly; in their haste to get away, the Federals northwest of town abandoned their few remaining vehicles, one cannon, three caissons, and two ambulances. When they were gone, local citizens gathered up Union dead and wounded.

Beyond Ripley, Forrest turned the main column over to Buford and, knowing the area, swung onto a roundabout adjoining road with Bell's men, hoping to cut the Federals off at Salem. As he approached Salem, however, Forrest's horse, King Phillip, stumbled and fell. Striking his head, the exhausted Forrest lost consciousness and slept for a solid hour. Before Forrest arrived in late afternoon, the blue column cleared Salem, after its rear guard had been savaged by Buford. Forrest called off the chase at that point, turning back to scour the woods for more prisoners, gather up more spoils, and give his men and animals some much-needed rest. Unaware that they were no longer being pursued, Sturgis's command pushed on as darkness fell and rain began to fall. At 8 PM on June 12, Sturgis's van reached Collierville, Tennessee, 26 miles east of Memphis. After being routed from Brice's Cross Roads, the survivors had marched 90 miles in 40 hours; worn out and exhausted, they dropped to the ground in a sodden heap.



Relentless pressure from Forrest's men drove the Union forces across Tishimingo Creek, creating a panicked traffic jam of men, horses, and wagons.

The Battle of Brice's Cross Roads was over—many would call it Forrest's greatest victory—and for Sturgis the recriminations began. Back in Memphis, with rumors swirling that he must have been drunk during the disaster, Sturgis tried to cast a better light on things. He claimed that his army had fought nobly but had been forced to yield to overwhelming numbers; despite reports to the contrary, he insisted that Forrest's forces had numbered between 15,000 and 20,000 men. Sturgis had suffered 223 men killed in the battle, half of them from the black brigades; 394 wounded; and 1,623 missing, the vast majority of whom had been captured. The Confederates, at a cost of 96 killed and 396 wounded, had captured almost the entire Union train of wagons and ambulances, 16 cannon, 28 limbers, 15 caissons, hundreds of rounds of artillery ammunition, 1,500 rifles, and 300,000 rounds of small-arms ammunition.

A disappointed Sherman wondered: "Forrest has only his cavalry. I cannot understand how he could defeat Sturgis with 8,000 men." Sherman did give Sturgis credit for having achieved his chief objective, which had been to hold Forrest in Mississippi away from Sherman's supply lines. Adamant that Forrest must be kept busy west of the Tennessee River, Sherman made plans for another—better-led and stronger— incursion into northern Mississippi, this time using scorched-earth tactics. Maj. Gen. A.J. Smith's three veteran divisions would now be employed to keep Forrest busy in Mississippi. Brig. Gen. Joseph Mower would take part in the mission as well, and Sherman took the unprecedented step of offering him a promotion to major general if Forrest was killed during the incursion. "I will order them to make up a force and go out and follow Forrest to the death," Sherman wrote, "if it costs 10,000 lives and breaks the Treasury. There will never be peace in Tennessee till Forrest is dead." Samuel Sturgis would have agreed completely with that sentiment. □

RED STORM RISING

BY WILLIAM E. WELSH

Ruling on behalf of feeble-minded King Henry VI, Richard of York marched north to quash a rebel army bent on his destruction. At Wakefield, the two sides collided.

Indolent, weak-willed, and prone to periodic fits of madness, King Henry VI had let England slide downhill since coming of age in 1437. Military defeat in France, civil unrest, and royal favoritism had been the shameful hallmarks of his nearly two-decade-long reign. These factors were fertile ground for an explosive rivalry that developed between Richard Plantagenet, the third Duke of York, the most powerful and wealthy noble in the realm, and Edmund Beaufort, the Duke of Somerset, the king's favorite minister.

The only child of Henry V and Catherine Valois, Henry lacked his father's sharp mental faculties and his martial abilities, and he had to depend on others to help him retain England's possessions in France, which consisted of Normandy in the north and Gascony in the south. In 1446, Henry appointed Somerset to serve as Lieutenant of France, replacing York. His opposition to French-born Queen Margaret's push for peace with France had made the Duke of York a powerful enemy at court, and Henry gave in to his wife's wishes to rid the country of the troublesome duke. To do so, in 1447 Henry appointed York to serve as Lieutenant of Ireland. York correctly interpreted the appointment as banishment and stayed in England as long as he could before sailing to Ireland in 1449. Meanwhile, England's grip on its French territories under Somerset's leadership was rapidly slipping away. By August 1450, the French had reconquered Normandy, and by October 1453 they had retaken Gascony as well.

York considered himself the best man to steer England through its unrest. He returned from Ireland in 1450 and assumed a seat on the king's council, where he pushed for reforms and for the prosecution of those, like Somerset, whom he believed responsible for the loss of England's possessions in France. Over the next two years, York sparred continuously with Somerset, who also held a claim to the throne through the Beaufort family, a branch of the House of Lancaster. Fearing that Somerset was out to destroy him, York tried to seize power in 1452. Raising a small army on his Welsh

On December 30, 1460, the heirs to the Lancastrian nobles killed at St. Albans five years earlier at last had their revenge, trapping the Duke of York and the Earl of Salisbury near Wakefield. Painting by Graham Turner.

War 35 English Medieval Knight 1400-1500, by Graham Turner, © Osprey Publishing, Ltd.

estates, he marched toward London but found the city's gates barred. Lacking widespread support from the peerage, York had no choice but to capitulate. To remain free, he was forced to swear an oath of allegiance to Henry in St. Paul's Cathedral, vowing never again to take up arms against the king.

When the king fell prey to mental illness in 1453, Somerset called a meeting of the peers of the realm to decide who would rule on the king's behalf while he was ill. To Somerset's surprise, the Dukes of Salisbury and Warwick put together an alliance whose members favored having York serve as Protector of England. The decision to give the office to York rather than Somerset did not sit well with the Beaufort family, the poweful Percys of Northumberland, or the queen.

During York's 14-month tenure as Protector, he put Somerset in the Tower of London on charges of treason for his conduct in France during the last phase of the Hundred Years' War. But the first protectorate came to an abrupt end in January 1455 when the king recovered enough to retake the throne. One of his first acts was to free Somerset from the Tower. Immediately afterward, York was again out of favor and Beaufort, Percy, and other Lancastrian peers had the king's ear. Sensing that the political tide had turned against them, York, Salisbury, and Warwick quit London for their estates in the North, where they immediately began to raise an army and reclaim power.

Henry left London on May 21 bound for Leicester, where he intended to hold council with the

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Henry VI appoints John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, as Constable of France. Talbot died at the Battle of Castillon in 1453.

highest peers of the realm. Although York, Warwick, and Salisbury were invited to the meeting, they sensed a trap. A dozen nobles and 2,000 troops escorted Henry on his journey. York and his allies, fearing the meeting would go against them, assembled an army in Yorkshire and marched south to intercept the king before the meeting could convene.

Although Somerset was present in the king's entourage, the king had given command of the royal army to Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. On learning that York had put an army into the field within striking distance of the royal army, Buckingham advised the king that the safest bet was to take refuge in St. Albans and try to negotiate with York.

The king's army swept into the town just after sunrise and began fortifying the place. York's 3,000-strong army arrived shortly afterward and deployed on a ridge to the east of the town. The Yorkists, sporting white roses as their battle sign, found the three roads into town from the east heavily guarded. York commanded the right wing; Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, the center; and his father, Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, the left. On the Lancastrian side, Somerset and Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, held the gate at Shropshire Lane that led into the center of town, while Lord Clifford of Craven blocked the southern entrance to town at Sopwell Lane. The king unfurled his banner in the market square with the rest of the army.

York's quarrel with the king that day was relatively simple to resolve: hand over Somerset so that he could be tried for treason. The men in the Yorkist ranks were mostly archers drawn from the northern march along the Scottish border, where raids and skirmishes were as regular as the tides of the sea. These men were armed with longbows as tall as they were. They sported sturdy steel caps and wore either short-sleeved mailed shirts or padded jackets. Stiff leather braces protected their left wrists from chafing bowstrings.

Guarding the roads into town from the east were supporters of the king. Early that morning they had blocked key entry points to the town by sliding heavy beams across the roads. Men-at-arms hefted swords and poleaxes and

MARGARET of ANJOU, the Fighting Queen

The life of Margaret of Anjou was not that of a meek noblewoman content with the companionship of her ladies in waiting. Rather, it was the story of a woman driven by the desire to do everything in her power to ensure that her husband, Henry VI—wracked by fits of madness in which he withdrew from the outer world to do combat with inner demons—remained king of England long enough for her only son to inherit the throne.

From the highs of leading armies into battle, to the lows of wandering penniless along the rockbound coast of Northern England, Margaret led a remarkable life. She was the daughter of Rene, Duke of Anjou, and Isabella, Duchess of Lorraine. At the age of 14, her uncle, King Charles VII, and Henry VI's chief minister, William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, arranged her marriage to the young English king to cement the Truce of Tours in 1444. The two were married on April 23, 1445.

Since she was French, it was only logical that she pushed her husband to make peace, rather than prolong hostilities, with her home country. This quickly brought her into conflict with Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York. He scorned her, and she returned his spite. Margaret's role in political affairs grew rapidly as the royal court was rocked by events in the next decade. The English lost Normandy in 1450 and then Gascony in 1453. After Gascony fell, Henry suffered a severe bout of mental illness that rendered him incapable of ruling for a time.

Margaret moved quickly to ally herself with Edmund Beaufort, second Duke of Somerset, who succeeded Suffolk as Henry's chief minister. The birth of her only child, Edward of Lancaster, Prince of Wales, in October 1453 might have ensured the Lancastrian succession, but York only redoubled his efforts to gain control of the reins of power. Rather than give the regency to Margaret while the king was incapacitated, Parliament chose to award it to York instead.

When Somerset was killed at the Battle of St. Albans in May 1455, Margaret took over as the de facto head of the House of Lancaster. Her strong will filled the vacuum of power resulting from Henry's mental problems and his inability to vanquish internal enemies like York. In the wake of St. Albans, Margaret and Henry spent much of their time in the Midlands rather than London, and she directed the actions of the Lancastrian commanders who defeated the Yorkists at Ludford Bridge in October 1459.

After the Yorkist leaders fled abroad, Margaret pressed to have them stripped of their lands and titles and convicted of treason in their absence. Margaret suffered a reversal of fortune the following year when the Yorkists invaded England and captured Henry at the Battle of Northampton in July 1460. After Henry's capture, Margaret once again defeated the threat to her husband's throne by calling on the Lancastrian nobility to assemble a mighty host in Yorkshire that ambushed York and killed him and 2,500 of his men outside his ancestral home at Sandal Castle.

Despite York's death, the struggle between the two dynastic houses was far from finished. York's eldest son, Edward, Earl of March, continued the struggle, defeating a Welsh Lancastrian army at Mortimor's Cross in February 1460. But the Lancastrian northern army

stood shoulder-to-shoulder with footmen toting billhooks and halberds. The Lancastrians, as they were known, wore red roses as a show of support.

The two sides negotiated for an hour but failed to come to a resolution. When the talks ended, York resorted to arms. At 10 AM, the Yorkists made a sudden rush at the town's gates. Attacking down narrow lanes where they could not bring their superior numbers to bear, the Yorkists were thrown back with heavy losses. A second assault fared no better. While the Lancastrians were fighting at the gates, Warwick led 600 men through gardens behind the houses on the edge of town. Advancing undetected, Warwick's men burst onto Holywell Street behind the men at the gates. A great shout went up: "A Warwick! A Warwick! A Warwick!"

One band of soldiers veered left to attack Clifford's men from the rear, while another group turned right toward the market square where the king was protected by his retainers. The majority of the Lancastrians fled for their lives. Even Henry's standard-bearers abandoned their liege, leaving the king alone to confront his captors. For those few who stood their ground, the battle was bloody and deadly. The abbot of St. Albans, who witnessed the slaughter, recorded the fighting: "Here you saw one fall with his brains dashed out, there another with a broken arm, and a fourth with a pierced chest, and the whole street was full of dead corpses." The battle lasted less than an hour. Henry's chief councilor, Somerset, and two of his top commanders, Northumberland and Clifford, were among the dead who littered the marketplace.

Finding the king sitting dazedly under a tree, the Yorkist commanders kneeled down and asked his forgiveness. The following day, the victorious Yorkists took Henry back to London. Later that year, Parliament and the king agreed to again bestow on York the title of Protector and Defender of the land. The second protectorate had begun.

York had made certain strategic and tactical changes to his military plans that resulted in the victory at St. Albans. Most importantly, he did not allow himself to be stalled by negotiations as he had been when he stopped outside the gates of London in 1452. He also raised a larger army and saw that it was led by experience captains. After they seized power, York and the Nevilles were shrewd enough to make sure that Parliament passed an act pardoning them for taking up arms against the king. Moreover, Henry proved too weak-willed to charge them with treason. But the second protectorate was short-lived. Four months after York was appointed Protector, the king again relieved him of his duties in February 1456.

For the next three years there was acute tension in the realm, as York and Queen Margaret waged a constant political battle to sway the reed-like Henry, who by that time had become noth-

National Portrait Gallery, London

Henry VI's emotional instability and weakness are evident in this contemporary portrait.

under Margaret's direction marched south and defeated a Yorkist army led by Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, at the Second Battle of St. Albans, fought two weeks later. Word of heavy pillaging by the Lancastrians as they tramped through the Midlands spread to London, and its residents refused to allow Margaret and her army to enter the city. With nothing left to do, she retired north to Yorkshire.

Meanwhile, Edward entered the capital and was proclaimed King Edward IV. With the authority of the crown behind him, he marched north with a large Yorkist army and soundly drubbed the Lancastrians at Towton on March 29. With her army destroyed, Margaret and her family fled to Scotland.

Margaret sailed for France in 1462, where she received enough aid from French King Louis XI to return to Northumberland and start a fresh revolt. A seesaw campaign saw the Lancastrians take several key fortresses, only to lose them again later. Margaret gave up and returned to France in August 1463, where she and her young son lived for the next seven years. It was during her down-and-out period in Northumberland that she and her son—shorn of their former titles and wealth—were frequently spotted wandering aimlessly along the coast. Henry, who stayed behind, was found and captured in northern England.

Queen Margaret of Anjou.

Margaret forged an unlikely alliance in 1470. After Warwick, known as "the Kingmaker," had a falling out with King Edward, he beseeched Margaret for help in a bid to regain power. Although she despised him, she agreed to join forces with Warwick, provided he agree to abide by her will. Warwick acquiesced, and to seal the new alliance, called the Treaty of Angers, Edward of Lancaster wed Warwick's daughter, Anne Neville.

Facing the threat of a large Lancastrian invasion, Edward IV fled to safe haven in Burgundy. Warwick arrived in England ahead of Margaret, freed Henry from the Tower of London, and restored him to the throne in fall 1470. Meanwhile, Edward IV returned by ship to Yorkshire, recruited an army, and marched south to fight Warwick. On April 14, 1471, the same day Margaret landed at Weymouth, Warwick was defeated and killed at the Battle of Barnet.

Margaret next joined forces in Exeter with Edmund Beaufort, fourth Duke of Somerset, and set out with a second Lancastrian army for Wales to recruit additional forces. Intercepted at Tewkesbury as it tried to cross the Severn, Margaret's army was defeated by Edward's army. Her son was killed during the rout and both Margaret and Henry were taken to London. Henry was murdered in the Tower on May 12. His death marked the end of the House of Lancaster.

Margaret lived for four lonely years in the Tower of London until Louis XI ransomed her in 1475. As part of the agreement, she was forced to renounce all claims to the English crown. To compensate for the ransom, Louis confiscated her French lands, allowing her only a small pension. Margaret died a broken woman in August 1482 at the age of 52. □

ing more than a figurehead on the throne. In June 1459, Margaret convened a great council meeting in Coventry at which the Yorkist leaders—all three of whom were excluded from the meeting—were found guilty of treason. Alienated by the council's decision, the Yorkists once again resolved to take up arms against the king. York recruited new forces in Wales, Salisbury in the north country, and Warwick in Calais.

Their efforts to unite were not without incident. On September 3, a Lancastrian force under orders to intercept Salisbury's troops on their march from Yorkshire to Shropshire was defeated by Salisbury at the Battle of Blore Heath. Salisbury subsequently united with York and Warwick at Ludlow. With a large army led by Margaret and Henry bearing down on him, York was cornered at Ludford Bridge on October 12. When their best soldiers—the Calais garrison led by Andrew Trollope—defected to the Lancastrian side on the eve of battle, the Yorkist leaders abandoned their small army to its fate and fled abroad. York went to Ireland, while Salisbury, Warwick, and York's eldest son, Edward, Earl of March, all sailed for Calais. At yet another meeting of the great council in November, York, Warwick, and Salisbury were branded traitors and their property declared forfeit.

As a prelude to their return to England, Warwick, and Salisbury launched a propaganda campaign to persuade the English people that they were best qualified to serve as the king's chief ministers. Salisbury, Warwick, and March landed in June 1460 at Sandwich in Kent and marched on London, where they were welcomed warmly by the city's pro-Yorkist residents. The following month they marched north and defeated the Lancastrians, recapturing the ineffectual Henry at the Battle of Northampton on July 18. This time it was Margaret's turn to flee. She decamped to Wales, where she was given safe harbor by Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke.

Warwick escorted Henry back to London, and Parliament canceled the sentences against the Yorkist leaders. York, who returned from Ireland, went before Parliament and claimed the throne for himself, on the grounds that the Yorkist title to the throne was more legitimate than the Lancastrian claim. But Parliament was reluctant to remove a king who had reigned for almost 40 years, regardless of whether that reign was pitifully ineffective. A compromise known as the Act of Accord was signed on October 25, whereby Henry would remain on the throne but York would govern in his behalf. As a concession to York, Parliament agreed that upon Henry's death the crown would pass to York or to one of his sons—not Margaret's son, the Prince of Wales. The act gave York the power to crush rebellion and wage war abroad on behalf of the king. To finance these undertakings, York was given the principality of Wales, the duchy of Cornwall, and the earldom of Chester.

Not surprisingly, Queen Margaret vehemently opposed the accord that would disinherit her son. She immediately set about mobilizing key supporters to overthrow York by force. In a series of letters, she called on those peers of the realm sympathetic to the plight of her son to assemble in the north country. To her supporters in the South, such as Henry Beaufort, Third Duke of Somerset, and Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devon, she sent letters calling on them to march to Yorkshire. Twenty-four-year-old Somerset, who had seen his father slain before his eyes and had been badly wounded himself at St. Albans, had been in France trying unsuccessfully to oust Warwick from his base in Calais. Somerset returned to England in October, landing at Poole, and assembled forces from his base at Corfe Castle in Dorsetshire. Trollope, who had assisted Somerset in trying to pry Warwick from Calais, also returned from France to help the queen and her supporters. Writing to Somerset and Devon, Margaret "prayed them to come to her as hastily as they might, with their tenants as strong in their harness as men of war."

The Lancastrian opposition in the North up until that time had been led primarily by Henry Percy, Third Earl of Northumberland, who had a long-standing feud of his own with the Nevilles, particularly with Salisbury. Other peers whom Margaret called to her side included Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter; James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire; Thomas Roos, Lord Roos; John Clifford, Lord Clifford; Ralph Greystoke, Lord Greystoke; John Neville, Lord Neville; and Henry Fitzhugh, Lord Fitzhugh. Margaret did not limit her request for assistance to those in England. By the time the Act of Accord was passed, she had sailed from Wales to Scotland in search of additional support. Before long, the Lancastrian army assembled in Yorkshire approached 15,000 men.

York knew that Margaret, Somerset, and other loyal Lancastrians nobles had no intention of adhering to the accord and were willing to fight to restore the status quo. Within a matter of weeks, word reached London that a large Lancastrian force was assembling in Yorkshire. This was particularly unpalatable to York and Salisbury, who had substantial hereditary landholdings in the county. York's first objective was to march north to reestablish control over his holdings in West Riding. Once that was done, he would, if necessary, fight the Lancastrians to ensure that the rebellion did not spread south. These were sound objectives, but York seemed to have little idea of the extent of the Lancastrian opposition or the size of its army, which seemed to grow larger with each passing day.

At some point before he set out for the North, York commissioned John Neville, Lord Neville, who was Salisbury's cousin, to raise troops on York's behalf to fight the Lancastrians in the North. York granted him permission to assemble all able-bodied men between the ages of 16 to 60 to fight the rebels. By combining whatever troops Neville might raise with those that York and Salisbury would gather on their march north, York hoped to face the Lancastrians with an equal number of men. Using the power granted him by York, Neville subsequently raised several thousand men.

The troubles York encountered raising troops in London and the surrounding area did not bode well for the upcoming campaign in the North. Not only was he substantially short on funds because of the large sums of money the crown owed him, but before shifting north he was compelled to dispatch his eldest son, the 18-year-old Earl of March, with a substantial force to Shrewsbury to block Pembroke from reinforcing the Lancastrian army in the North.

Before leaving London, York put together his will should he be murdered or fall in battle. While March blocked Pembroke on the Welsh border, Warwick remained in London to watch over Henry and defend the coast against any raids across the English Channel by the French. In addition to the forces he expected Neville to raise, York also planned to rely on a number of longtime supporters such as Richard Hanson, Edward Bourchier, and Henry Retford, as well as northern knights Thomas Parr, Thomas Harrington, and James Pickering.

York left London on December 9, accompanied by 60-year-old Salisbury and York's second son, 17-year-old Edmund, Earl of Rutland. Between them, Salisbury and York began the expedition with fewer than 500 men. York planned to recruit the majority of his army on the way north, and therefore was not in a position to contest the advance of Somerset and Devon, who were en route to Yorkshire from the west country via Bath, Evesham, and Conventry. York also took with him guns from the royal arsenal in the Tower of London.

His army traveled along the Great North Road that passed just west of Cambridge and ran through Stamford and Newark. The men who joined his ranks were probably drawn from East Anglia, the Midlands, and Yorkshire.

The Granger Collection, New York

Buckingham and Clifford lead Lancastrian forces in this illustration by Sir John Gilbert for Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part II.*

Altogether York and Salisbury were ultimately able to raise an army of between 5,000 to 6,000 men. It was a modest force for the time and sufficient to restore order in a region, but far short of what would be needed to win a set-piece battle against a well-organized and well-led foe. York and Somerset traveled separately in order to find places to camp more easily.

By the fall of 1460, Yorkshire had fallen into a state of anarchy that allowed the Lancastrians to gain the upper hand. The Yorkists, lacking a strong northern champion, were on the defensive. In November, Northumberland, Clifford, and Roos held a council in the city of York, at which they agreed to kill or drive off the tenants of York and Salisbury in West Riding (the western portion of Yorkshire). At the same time, Northumberland and the other Lancastrian nobles in Yorkshire were actively recruiting an army to regain control of the crown for Margaret. The subsequent arrival in mid-November of Devon and Somerset, who had been joined by Exeter and Wiltshire on their march north, dramatically tipped the scales in the county in favor of the Lancastrians. The remarkable feat of fielding such a large army was testimony to the outrage felt by many common Englishmen toward the Act of Accord. When the Lancastrians from the south joined Northumberland's already large army, the Lancastrians probably had more than 20,000 men under arms, ready to do battle with York.

York's army marched north in dismal weather. The sky was bruised black and purple, and rain fell heavily on the soldiers. The Yorkists had to contend with streams and rivers in flood, with many bridges out. Worse still, enemy scouts shadowed their columns as they neared Yorkshire. At Worksop in Nottingham, the two sides clashed when York's fore riders ran headlong into a mounted enemy troop led by Trollope. In the short but deadly clash that followed, Trollope's men massacred York's scouts, leaving his army without eyes and slowing its progress to a crawl.

York arrived in Sandal Castle on December 21. Although the march normally took less than a week, the miserable weather, the recruiting effort, and the artillery train stretched the trip considerably. Margaret had been so successful in mobilizing the Lancastrian nobles that York had no chance to substantially increase his manpower. He soon learned that most of his and Salisbury's tenants in West Riding had been run off and their property burned and looted. The castle was a good defensive position at which York could wait for reinforcements from other areas. Lord Neville was thought to be operating in the area and might bring a considerable force, and at some point the Earl of March was expected to quit his blocking position at Shrewsbury and march to his father's aid with a sizable force.

The dilemma York faced was whether he had enough provisions to hold out until reinforcements arrived. The ranking Lancastrian in the area, Somerset, had established his base at Pontefract Castle, nine miles north of Sandal. Somerset had stationed his forces in the immediate vicinity of Sandal Castle to prohibit the Yorkists from obtaining supplies from the town of Wakefield and to block any reinforcements attempting to join York. For this reason, the keeper of the castle had been unable to collect sufficient provisions to feed York's army. Lacking any artillery to conduct a siege, Somerset hoped to force York to quit the castle. The only good news was that York's ally Edmund Fitzwilliam still held another stronghold, Conisburgh Castle, to the southeast. That position was nearly impregnable, as Fitzwilliam had improved its defenses considerably with Lancastrian artillery captured at Northampton.

Mary Evans Picture Library

ABOVE: Seventeen-year-old Edmund, Earl of Rutland, is killed by Lord Clifford on Wakefield Bridge. His head was later displayed with his father's on the Micklegate Bar in York. OPPOSITE: While the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Devon attacked a Yorkist foraging party south of the Calder River, turncoat Lord Neville joined the attack. The Duke of York rode into battle—and ambush—from Sandal Castle.

Once he arrived at the castle, York set his men to work improving an already strong position. From his experience in France, York was well acquainted with the advantages of strong field fortifications. Without any artillery to conduct a formal siege, Somerset would be forced to wait for an opportunity to strike some or all of the Yorkist forces on open ground when they ventured away from the castle and outer works. Somerset's plan was to strike the Yorkists from all sides if they ventured from the castle.

The town of Wakefield lay within view of Sandal Castle to the north, just beyond the Calder River. Somerset, Devon, and Northumberland were encamped on the south bank of the Calder, directly opposite the castle. Somerset and Devon were deployed east of the road from Sandal to Wakefield, while Northumberland was deployed on the west. Exeter and Trollope were positioned farther south of the Calder on the west side of the road, and Roos was farther south of the Calder on the east side of the road, hidden in a deep wood. To the south of Exeter and Trollope, and also on the west side of the road, Wiltshire was deployed. Clifford covered the village of Sandal Magna, just east of the castle.

York and his men passed a dreary and somber Christmas at Sandal Castle. After the holiday, the duke had no choice but to send out foraging parties while he waited for reinforcements to arrive. Somerset and Devon waited as well for one of the parties to approach Wakefield in order to spring an ambush that might lure York out of his castle. They got their opportunity on the afternoon of December 30. Without the usual trumpet blasts that would signal an attack, the Lancastrians under Somerset and Devon formed up. Tramping south across open fields, they overtook the foraging party before it could escape. A desperate struggle ensued as the band of Yorkists fought for its survival.

As York watched the attack on the foraging party unfold, he observed another large force marching southwest toward the melee on the south side of the river. These men marched out quickly from behind a large tract of forest and joined the fight. York believed these men were reinforcements led by Lord Neville coming to his aid. York sallied forth at once in an attempt to unite with Neville and crush the Lancastrians. In a hastily convened council, Salisbury and the other captains advised against a sortie, but York was not intimidated by his enemy, thundering, "I think that I have there as many friends as enemies, which at joining will either flee or take my part. Therefore advance my banner in the name of God and St. George, for surely, I will fight with them, though I should fight alone."

Orders were given to prepare for battle. But Neville, unknown to York, had aligned himself instead with the Lancastrians. Observing Neville's force maneuver behind Somerset's troops, York thought he was attacking the Lancastrians from the rear, when actually Neville was merging with the enemy.

York mustered his men and, accompanied by Rutland and Sir David Hall, his chief military adviser, led his troops away from the castle and onto the road toward Wakefield. He did not fully realize that Neville had switched sides until he drew closer to the action and observed them fighting alongside the other Lancastrians. Still confident in his ability to carry the day, York ordered his men into battle. Encouraged by the confidence of their leader, the Yorkists charged into battle and the enemy reeled under their onslaught.

The battle did not favor the Yorkists for long. Those Lancastrian commanders not yet engaged waited patiently until York was exposed on level ground between the castle and the river before they advanced from hidden positions in the forest. Once York committed himself, Northumberland advanced and struck York's left flank. Northumberland's men soon joined the battle, and Roos emerged from the woods to the east of the road to strike York's right flank. The Yorkists struggled to maintain their flanks as the battle quickly expanded. With casualties piling up, York's line began to waver and his men gave up the ground that they had gained in their initial assault. York

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was now at least a half mile from the castle, and to retreat would mean complete disaster. His one hope was for Salisbury to gather the remaining troops at the castle and march to his assistance.

From the safety of the castle, Salisbury watched the disaster unfold before his eyes. Hastily assembling the few remaining troops who had stayed behind, Salisbury and his son, Thomas Neville, marched quickly off the hill where the castle was perched and across the flat ground to York's assistance. About the same time that Salisbury reached the beleaguered Yorkists, the force led by Exeter and Trollope delivered a second hammer blow to York's left flank. York's presence on the front line with his men helped maintain their morale, and the addition of Salisbury's small reserve enabled York to hold on for a short while in the face of overwhelming odds.

Realizing that his men were soon going to be completely surrounded, York somehow managed in the growing chaos to gather Rutland and his tutor, Sir Robert Aspall, and order them to try to make their way back to Wakefield and continue until they reached a safe haven. Spying Rutland and his tutor making their way toward Wakefield, Clifford took a handful of men and pursued them.

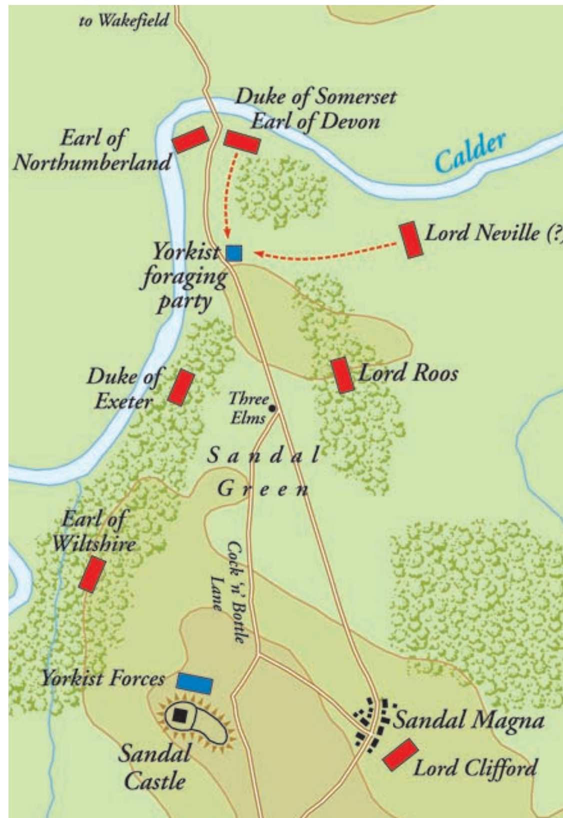
Within minutes of speaking his last words to his son, York and his men were attacked from behind by Clifford's men advancing from Sandal Magna. An eyewitness described the outcome of the battle: "When [York] was in the plain ground between his castle and the town of Wakefield, he was environed on every side, like a fish in a net or a deer in a buckstall." Assailed from all sides, York's line crumbled. Those remaining alive fought in isolated pockets as the last of York's force was crushed between the enemy like grain between millstones.

With no cohesive force left to lead, York threw himself into the melee. All around him men were dying. Disdaining to surrender, York took up his last position against a stand of three elm trees, where he fought gallantly until he was hacked to death. Once York was dead, all remaining resistance evaporated, and surviving Yorkists fled for their lives, discarding equipment and weapons that would slow their escape. Eager to settle scores that had festered over the past five years, the Lancastrians chased the defeated Yorkists and struck down a large number of them before they could get away. Other Lancastrian forces occupied Sandal Castle. The red rose had won the day.

The bodies of the dead were thrown into a large ditch next to the battlefield dug by the victors. That night a gentle snow fell on the battlefield where the dead were stacked together like cords of wood. The scene was recorded by a Yorkist soldier who survived the slaughter and was scouring the field for his slain father. "At midnight the kindly snow fell like a mantle on the dead and covered the battlefield with a blanket of white, which when it had finished gave no trace of what had gone before."

The Lancastrians thirst for revenge was not quenched with the death of York. Clifford caught up with Rutland and Aspall on Wakefield Bridge. Despite the youth's pleas from bended knee, Clifford was merciless. "By God's blood, thy father slew mine, and I will do thee and all thy kin," he said, thrusting his sword completely through the boy's throat until it came out the back of his neck. Salisbury was captured and led off to Pontefract, where he was beheaded the following day. The heads of the three Yorkist nobles were then taken to the city of York and stuck on spikes atop Micklegate Bar, the gateway into the city. In a further gesture of contempt, the Lancastrians placed a paper crown atop Richard's head to mock his claim to the throne.

Map © 2008 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN



The Yorkist army at Wakefield lost 3,000 men. Lancastrian losses were far fewer. The knights who fell fighting for York include Bourchier, Hall, Harrington, Parr, Pickering, Retford, and Salisbury's son, Thomas Neville. The Lancastrians were able to bask in their victory for only a short time. After the beginning of the year, Margaret joined Somerset's army in Yorkshire, bringing with her both Scottish and French mercenaries. By extensive pillaging on its march south, the large Lancastrian army alienated the population of the Midlands. To keep them out of London, Warwick fanned the flames by spreading propaganda about alleged atrocities committed by the mercenaries and claiming that they planned to sack the city.

The 18-year-old Earl of March learned of his father's demise while in Gloucester, having redeployed south from Shrewsbury. With the encouragement of Warwick and others, he resolved to take the crown from Henry. But before he could do so, he needed to not only defeat the Lancastrian northern army under Margaret and Somerset, but also a Lancastrian western army under Pembroke. At the Battle of Mortimer's Cross fought February 2, Edward smashed Pembroke, removing the threat from Wales.

Warwick, who still had Henry in his custody, entrenched at St. Albans in an attempt to block the Lancastrians from entering the city before Edward could arrive. In a confused battle fought in the city's streets, Somerset drove off the Yorkists and reunited Henry with his wife and son. When the Lancastrians arrived at the gates of London, they were denied entry by the frightened townspeople. Unwilling to assault the city, Margaret retreated to Lancastrian strongholds in the North. March subsequently entered London and was proclaimed King Edward IV on March 4.

This set the stage for a showdown between the two monarchs. Edward marched north later that month and defeated Henry's army under Somerset at the Battle of Towton, fought in Yorkshire on March 29 in the middle of a snowstorm. The decisive victory dispersed the Lancastrians, and Henry and his family, along with Somerset, fled to Scotland.

During the next four years, the Yorkists fought two more battles in the North, eventually wiping out the last vestiges of Lancastrian support. When Margaret and the Prince of Wales fled to France, Henry slipped back into northern England but was caught and imprisoned in the Tower of London. The first phase of the Wars of the Roses was over. □

Costly British Victory at

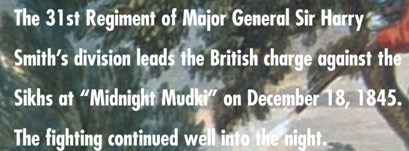
BY JOHN BROWN

When the formidable Sikh army, the Khalsa, crossed the Sutlej River in the Punjab, it set up an immediate confrontation with British forces. The First Sikh War had begun.

A little over five centuries ago, a guru named Nanak founded a new faith among the Hindu communities that farmed the rich agricultural areas of northern India known as the Punjab, the Land of the Five Rivers. The new faith blended aspects of Hindu compassion and Islamic brotherhood; preached equality among all human beings; rejected varna, the Hindu system of caste; and banned suttee, the burning of a dead man's wife on his funeral pyre. Nanak called his faith "Sikhism" after "Sikh," which evolved from the Sanskrit word *shishya,* meaning disciple or devoted follower. Soon Muslims and others began converting to the faith.

For three centuries the Sikhs withstood persecution, violence, and atrocities, fighting many battles against Mughal rulers, Afghan invaders, rajas of neighboring hill states, and Brahmins,

FEROZESHAH


The 31st Regiment of Major General Sir Harry Smith's division leads the British charge against the Sikhs at "Midnight Mudki" on December 18, 1845. The fighting continued well into the night.

The Bridgeman Art Library

the elite in the caste system who considered the Sikh principle of equality an assault on their position of privilege. To defend themselves, the Sikhs sent far and wide for the finest horses and weapons and introduced intensive training in swordsmanship, archery, and physical endurance. This training became an integral part of the Sikh ideal, as skill in combat was necessary if the religion was to be saved from those wanting to destroy it. The Sikhs brought to their battles, it was said, "a raw courage, a powerful sense of kinship, and an absolute commitment to the religious ideals enunciated by the Gurus, for which they were willing to sacrifice their lives."

In 1699, Gobind Singh, the 10th and last guru of Sikhism, baptized Sikhs into a brotherhood he called Khalsa, or "pure ones." At least 50,000 were baptized in the first few days and given the surname Singh, or Lion. The baptism ceremony signified the birth of a new martial race.

The Khalsa was largely a self-defense brotherhood. It developed into a confederacy of 10 *misls,* or groupings, each led by a chief with absolute power over the territory and soldiers he ruled. These *misls* would combine in times of war to face a common enemy. They were, in effect, the army of the Sikhs.

Throughout the 1700s, the Khalsa continued fighting battles against the rajas of the hill states, Mughal rulers, and others, and toward the end of the century it had driven out the Afghans, who had invaded and settled in large areas of the Punjab. With control over most of the

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ABOVE: Perfectly disciplined British troops hold their formation in the face of a withering attack by bearded Sikhs in this 19th-century Indian watercolor on paper. BELOW: Lieutenant General Sir Hugh Gough.

Punjab, the Sikhs declared sovereignty over all of it. In 1799 a one-eyed, hard-fighting, hard-drinking general of one of the *misls,* Ranjit Singh, made himself the undisputed leader of all the *misls.* He established a power base around the two cities of Lahore and Amritsar and, by subjugating other chiefs and weaker neighbors by force or craft, gained sovereignty over all the Punjab, assuming the title of maharaja with his *darbar* (court) at Lahore.

Ranjit, illiterate, inquisitive, and above all pragmatic, had 20 wives and a colorful harem of nubile women and graceful painted boys. He was often drunk (his favorite drink was a cocktail of brandy, opium, meat juices, sauces, spices, and powdered pearls) and enjoyed riding around Lahore on the back of an elephant in the company of a ravishing harlot. He was a master horseman and swordsman, a veteran of many battles, and he built the Khalsa into a powerful army. But contact with the British East India Company and its Bengal Army led him to realize that the Khalsa, powerful as it was, required modern arms and training. He set about modeling it on European lines.

With the ending of the Napoleonic Wars, there were large numbers of experienced military officers available for hire as mercenaries, and Ranjit hired more than 200 of them, ranging from gunnery corporals to generals. They organized, armed, and trained the Khalsa infantry, including Hindu Dogras, Rajputs, Baluchis, and Gurkhas, along British lines. They also built a factory at Lahore that produced excellent small arms and cannons of all sizes. The Khalsa artillery, with more than 400 pieces ranging from 48-pounder siege guns drawn by elephants to three-pounder swivel guns carried by camels, was officered by Sikhs, with the gun crews composed almost entirely of Punjabi Muslims. The guns were noted for accuracy and high rates of fire. The regular cavalry never reached a standard comparable with the infantry, and neither did the more numerous irregular cavalries, or *gorchurras,* which were raised by land-owning knights who led them into battle in chain mail and shining armor. They were masters of the hit-and-run and ambush, but in set-piece battles they were no match for the Bengal Army's disciplined cavalry brigades. In all, the Khalsa numbered about 75,000 men.

When Ranjit died of a stroke in June 1839, drunkenly magnificent to the last, the Sikh nation he had built up with such skill over 40 years began to unravel. Fratricide among his natural heirs left his five-year-old son, Dalip Singh, with Dalip's mother, Rani Jind Kaur, as regent, to succeed him as maharaja in a court in which a number of factions jockeyed for power in the Punjab. Sikhs, who lorded it over the Hindus and Muslims, accounted for only 7 percent of the population of about 22 million, with Muslims accounting for just over 50 percent and Hindus a little less than 42 percent. It was one of Rangit's great achievements that he had expanded the Punjab and held it together as a nation for many years.

During the reign of Ranjit Singh, the soldiers of the Khalsa considered British soldiers to be fellow warriors and held them in the highest regard. While their regard for Indian soldiers of the East India Company was not as high, they still believed the Anglo-Indian armies to be quite formidable. But in 1842 the Khalsa's opinion changed when the British were forced out of Afghanistan and refugees from Kabul, some 4,500 soldiers and 12,000 civilians, were massacred in the Khyber Pass. For the Khalsa it posed a question: if the Sikhs could beat their former Afghan overlords and keep the northwestern frontier tribes

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

in check, how could the British have been so easily defeated by the Afghans?

While the Khalsa's regard for British soldiers was only slightly diminished, it began to regard the East India Company's native troops with contempt, and many among the Khalsa looked forward to testing themselves against the Bengal Army. Some at the Sikh court encouraged the Khalsa in the hope that it would cut the Bengal Army down to size. The British and Sikh powers were about to collide.

While the Punjab drifted into anarchy, no military or political figure emerged to lead the Khalsa. The soldiers therefore created their own command structure, with each battalion electing five representatives who formed a governing committee. The governing committee, however, concerned itself primarily with ensuring that the Khalsa was paid. Still, for the people of the Punjab, the Khalsa was the champion of the Sikh community. It was a blend of the Praetorian Guard and the New Model Army.

Lieutenant General Sir Henry Hardinge took over as governor-general of India in September 1844. He had a varied military background: he had campaigned in the Peninsular War, in which he was twice wounded, losing a hand, and had served as deputy quartermaster general of the Portuguese Army. During the Waterloo campaign, he was again badly wounded. Hardinge was active in British politics, serving as the Duke of Wellington's secretary for war before being sent to India as governor-general. Upon his arrival in India, Hardinge was quickly caught up in the problem of dealing with the Punjab, particularly the Khalsa, which he later described as Britain's "bravest and most warlike and most disruptive enemy in Asia."

The commander in chief of the army was Lt. Gen. Sir Hugh Gough, a 66-year-old Anglo-Irishman who had made his name in the Opium Wars. The gallant old campaigner had been commissioned into the army at age 14, had fought engagements as far afield as Surinam and Nanking, and had led his regiment from Talavera to Vittoria in the Peninsular War. He had fought under Wellington but had learned little from him. He believed that "cold steel"—the bayonet, saber, and lance—solved all tactical problems. "He is brave as a lion but has no headpiece," one of his officers said of Gough. Others commented, only partly in jest, that his vocabulary was restricted to the word "Charge" and a few other words such as "At 'em wi' the bayonet, lads." But he was popular with the rank and file, who nicknamed him "Tipperary Joe," and he was always to be seen in the thick of battle in his long, white "fighting coat" visible to both friend and foe.

The Art Archive/British Library

Mounted bodyguards of Ranjit Singh, founder of the Sikh kingdom of Punjab, sport matchlock rifles and curved swords in this 1838 watercolor by an unknown Indian artist.

Major George Broadfoot, the political agent at Ludhiana, was known for his hostility toward the Sikhs. Aware of the Khalsa's antipathy to the British, he took several provocative actions aimed at goading the Khalsa into precipitating a confrontation with the British. One was to pronounce Sikh possessions south of the Sutlej to be under British protection and declare that they would revert to the British in the event of Dalip Singh's death. Broadfoot's actions, combined with British troop movements south of the Sutlej, left the Khalsa with little doubt as to British intentions for the region.

By November 1845, two conspirators, both Brahmins, had emerged from among the factions at the Lahore *darbar* and taken power. Lal Singh became prime minister and Tej Singh assumed the post of commander in chief of the army. The pair formed a triumvirate with the sexually debauched regent, Rani Jind Kaur, to rule the Punjab. But they ruled in name only—the real power in the land remained with the Khalsa. During September 1845, spies in Lahore reported to the British that talk in the Khalsa was about mounting a raid into British territory south of the Sutlej. The regent, it was said, was giving the raid every encouragement in order to get the soldiers away from Lahore. Upon hearing this, Hardinge immediately dispatched an additional 5,000 troops to the region south of the Sutlej and set off from Calcutta with his entourage to join them.

On December 11, some 50,000 Khalsa under the command of experienced generals Tej Singh and Lal Singh crossed the Sutlej into British territory. This was an open infraction of the 1809 Anglo-Punjabi treaty that cited the Sutlej as the division between Sikh and British spheres of influence, and the governor-general declared war on the Lahore government the next day. About 20,000 of the Khalsa, led by Tej Singh, took up positions close to Maj. Gen. Sir John Littler and

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

his division in the cantonment at Ferozepore, but they did not attack the small, nearly defenseless garrison. A few days later, about 30,000 Khalsa troops led by Lal Singh crossed the Sutlej and moved into place at the nearby village of Ferozeshah.

The British Army of the Sutlej was widely dispersed in the region. A division of six Indian infantry regiments, two Indian cavalry regiments, the 62nd Foot, and some artillery, about 7,000 in all, was at Ferozepore. At Ludhiana, about 80 miles from Ferozepore, were five Indian infantry regiments, an Indian cavalry regiment, and the 50th Foot, about 5,000 in all. And at Ambala, 80 miles from Ludhiana and 160 from Ferozepore, was the remainder of the army, numbering about 10,000 men. Gough was with the troops at Ambala when he heard the news that the Khalsa had crossed the Sutlej and taken up positions at Ferozepore and Ferozeshah. He ordered an immediate march on the enemy forces.

It was a grueling 150-mile forced march along roads of heavy sand, through scrub and thorn bush, with water scarce, no bread, and halts so brief that there was no time to cook the meat ration. The dust was appalling. Days were hot, nights bitterly cold, and the troops had no heavy clothing or blankets. Nevertheless, they linked up with the Ludhiana garrison and reached the village of Mudki, 20 miles from Ferozepore and about 12 miles from Ferozeshah, at noon on December 18. Many of the troops instantly fell down, exhausted or asleep. Gough decided to make camp for the night.

"With the Sikhs having a two to one advantage in men and guns and are in cover, an attack on them without the support of Littler's division is too much a risk."

Three hours after their arrival at Mudki, reports came in that a detachment of the Khalsa—some 15,000 cavalry and 5,000 infantry—was moving on Mudki from Ferozeshah. Gough immediately unleashed his cavalry. The 4th Light Cavalry and 9th Irregular hit the Khalsa cavalry on the right flank, while the 3rd Light Dragoons swept around the Khalsa left flank, driving into them and putting some of their guns out of action. As the sun was going down, Gough ordered in the infantry.

The Khalsa infantry and its guns were in thick scrub and jungle. The Anglo-Bengali infantry advanced into the jungle as darkness fell and a vicious hand-to-hand battle began in dust and dark. No quarter was asked or given; it was slaughter on both sides, bayonet against *tulwar.* The Khalsa fought with fanatical courage, but by midnight they had been forced to fall back to Ferozeshah. Behind them they left 17 guns. The victorious British dubbed the battle "Midnight Mudki."

Gough had been in the thick of the confused fighting; he did not leave the field until 2 AM. At dawn he was ready to go again, but his troops were so exhausted and disorganized that an immediate attack on the Khalsa at Ferozeshah was out of the question. The next two days, December 19 and 20, were taken up with rest, care of the wounded, burial of the dead, reorganization, and scouting by staff officers of the Kalsa position. Gough reorganized his army, totaling 16,700 troops (6,000 of them British) and 69 guns, into four divisions—the 1st commanded by Maj. Gen. Sir Harry Smith, the 2nd by Maj. Gen. Walter Raleigh Gilbert, the 3rd by Brig. Gen. William Wallace, and the 4th by Littler at Ferozepore. During the night of December 20, Gough sent a message to Littler ordering him to leave a small garrison at Ferozepore and bring his division to Ferozeshah to join the main army.

At 4 AM on December 21, the Army of the Sutlej moved out from Mudki for Ferozeshah. They arrived in front of the Khalsa position at 10 AM, when the troops were allowed a cold

ABOVE: The 3rd Light Dragoons, sporting tall shakos, charge the center of the Khalsa position at Ferozeshah on December 21, 1845. OPPOSITE: British and Bengali infantry, flourishing cold steel and supported by artillery, overrun the Sikh camp during the second day of the Battle of Ferozeshah.

breakfast. Lal Singh's Khalsa position was roughly a mile square around the village of Ferozeshah. It was ringed with trenches and field fortifications on a line of hillocks, with guns emplaced among the mounds and ditches. Fifteen thousand regulars and the same number of militia, with 102 guns, were packed into the position. On three sides of the position patches of jungle would hinder an attack, but on the eastern side, facing the British, it was flat *maidan* (plain). Gough intended, as soon as his troops finished breakfast, to launch a headlong charge across the maidan and into the Khalsa position. "I promise you," he told Hardinge, "a splendid victory."

To Gough's astonishment, Hardinge told him he must wait for Littler. "With the Sikhs having a two to one advantage in men and guns and are in cover," Hardinge said, "an attack on them without the support of Littler's division is too much a risk." Gough argued that this was the shortest day of the year and that waiting for Littler would force his troops to fight again in darkness and chaos as they had at Mudki. Hardinge was adamant—wait for Littler.

Littler arrived at 1:30 in the afternoon, and Hardinge told Gough, "Now the army is at your disposal." Another two hours were taken up before Gough had the army formed up and ready to fight. Gilbert's 2nd Division was on the right; next to him were the massed guns under Brooke. Wallace's 3rd Division was in the center, and Littler's 4th Division was on the left. Smith's 1st Division was in reserve. British cavalry was on the flanks. Deployment was not complete until 3:30 PM, leaving only two hours of daylight for the battle.

Artillery on both sides opened fire, and the British immediately found themselves outgunned in both numbers and firepower. The British guns were quickly moved forward, and Littler began to advance ahead of the rest of the army. Littler's Bengalis and the 62nd Foot, hungry and footsore as they were after their march from Ferozepore, closed to within 150 yards of the Khalsa entrenchments in the face of savage fire. They were about to launch a final charge when they were blasted with a hail of grapeshot. Seven officers and 97 men fell dead and another 200 were wounded. Seeing this happen to the British regiment, the Bengali regiments collapsed. Littler had to pull them back to reorganize.

On the right, where Gough had placed himself, the 29th Foot and 80th Foot charged forward in the face of murderous fire, crossed the entrenchments, captured the guns on their front, and broke through into the Khalsa camp. There, a group of Akalis (fanatical ascetics known as the Children of God the Immortal) in chain armor fought with great valor until British bayonets killed them all. The Sikh gunners, wielding *tulwars,* fought to the last man.

In the center, the 3rd Division met with such devastating fire that their left fell back. But Smith threw in a brigade from the reserve and restored the situation. The 50th Foot was attacked by the pride of the Khalsa, Italian General Paolo Avitabile's four battalions. The 50th beat them back in a hand-to-hand fight and captured their guns. Smith now charged with his reserve division and, joined by troops who had lost contact with their own units, burst into Ferozeshah. The Khalsa refused to surrender; they fought until they were slaughtered.

As night was falling, the 3rd Light Dragoons charged through the center of the Khalsa position, creating more havoc. Then a huge explosion lit up the position as a Khalsa powder magazine went up in flames. Fires quickly spread, setting off more explosions as the flames reached stocks of powder and ammunition. Many on both sides were killed or injured in the explosions. Smith pushed on to an area of the Khalsa camp about half a mile to the north of the village. There

he rallied many soldiers who had lost contact with their units in a semicircle on the 50th Foot. He now had about 3,000 troops in all.

When the moon rose just after midnight, Smith's isolated force was revealed to the Khalsa, who closed in and opened fire on them. Casualties were heavy among the British troops, including many who were killed or wounded without waking up while they slept an exhausted sleep. His losses mounting, Smith decided that he could not hold the position. He made a feint attack and fought his way out under cover of the smoke and dust. Guided by the dead from his original line of advance, Smith brought his force safely to the rear.

During the cold night, Gough decided to reform his mixed-up divisions and retire. All units withdrew from Ferozeshah, picking up the wounded and returning to their original positions before the attack. Despite their heavy losses, the Khalsa immediately reoccupied the entrenchments the Anglo-Bengalis had taken at fearful cost and opened fire again. The night of December 21 was one of gloom for the British soldiers, who were close to annihilation. The Sikhs had practically recovered the whole of their entrenched camp; exhausted and decimated British divisions bivouacked without cohesion over a wide area. The situation was so critical that Hardinge packed up his papers and valuables for dispatch to the rear, including a sword that had belonged to Napoleon and had been given to him by Wellington at Waterloo.

At daybreak Gough lined up his forces for another assault on Ferozeshah. His infantry, in the center, was supported by heavy guns and a rocket battery and on both flanks by horse artillery and cavalry. Gough placed himself at the head of the right of the line, with Hardinge at the head of the left. The British artillery opened fire and the army lunged forward.

British and Bengali soldiers moved forward in ragged lines, with the horse guns thundering ahead of them. Khalsa gunners battered them and picked off the ammunition wagons. Undaunted, the British forces fought their way into Ferozeshah, driving the Khalsa before them and sweeping irresistibly through the Khalsa camp, bayoneting all enemies in their path. At the far end of the camp the attack halted and the troops, displaying captured Khalsa standards, presented arms and cheered as Gough and Hardinge rode along the ranks.

The ferocity of the fighting became the stuff of legend. Captain Joseph Cunningham, an East India Company political agent, wrote that "guns were dismounted and their ammunition was blown into the air. Squadrons were checked in mid career. Battalion after battalion was hurled back with shattered ranks. The obstinacy of the contest threw the English into confusion. Men of all regiments and arms were mixed together. Generals were doubtful of their own success, and colonels knew not what had become of the regiments they commanded or of the army of which they formed a part." But they had taken Ferozeshah and captured 73 cannons and a huge booty of ammunition, cattle, and grain. The troops were so parched with thirst that they drank from wells choked with enemy corpses and from earthenware pots of water the Khalsa had used for washing wounds. Many were so exhausted that they lay down where they were.

Two hours after the end of the battle, when the British troops were assembling around their standards, Tej Singh's 20,000-strong force from Ferozepore suddenly appeared, a tide of cavalry with heavy squadrons with *tulwars* in the center, lancers on the flanks, and massed ranks of infantry behind them. Fewer than 10,000

Maps © 2008 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN

ABOVE: Some 24,000 British troops faced over 30,000 Sikhs at the well-fortified village of Ferozeshah. TOP: The Sikh-claimed kingdom of Punjab, in northern India, was defended by the Khalsa, or "pure ones."

Britons and Bengalis—exhausted, starving, and almost out of ammunition—fixed bayonets and awaited the onslaught. If the British lost the battle, the road would be open to Meerut, Delhi, and Calcutta.

Two things now happened that turned almost certain defeat into a lucky victory. The assistant adjutant general, a Captain Lumley, suffering from sunstroke and battle stress, had the previous day been trying to persuade some of the officers to retire their regiments on Ferozepore, but he had been ignored. Now, at the height of the crisis, he ordered the commanders of most of the cavalry and horse artillery regiments, in the name of the governor-general, to fall back on Ferozepore. Some of them immediately began to do so.

The other was an order from Gough to Brig. Gen. Michael White to charge the Khalsa cavalry that was advancing on Gough's right. White got the timing of his charge exactly right. Forcing their blown horses forward into a charge, the Dragoons, Lancers, and Irregulars struck the enemy flank as they moved from the gallop to the charge, throwing them off course, breaking their momentum, and driving them into blundering confusion. The British horsemen charged in among the Khalsa with lances and sabers flashing in the sun. While Khalsa guns

continued their bombardment, what was left of the British and Bengali cavalry began leaving the battlefield following Lumley's order (in Hardinge's name) to retire on Ferozepore. The Khalsa guns stopped firing and the great mass of Khalsa infantry began marching on the exhausted, battered, and bloody ranks of the British and Bengali infantry. "The fate of India," one observer remarked, "trembles in the balance."

Suddenly, to the utter surprise of the British, the Khalsa advance halted and voices could be heard shouting orders. The British and Bengalis watched in dumbfounded silence as the Khalsa ranks turned around in clouds of dust and 20,000 of the best native troops in India turned their backs on an almost helpless enemy and marched off the battlefield. "India has been saved by a miracle," Major Henry Havelock muttered in awe.

The British victory was assisted in large part by the treachery of the two commanders of the Khalsa, Lal Singh and Tej Singh. Before the war began, both had concluded that the Punjab would eventually come under British rule, either by force or by diplomacy, and both wanted to be assured of positions of importance in a dependent Punjab. To this end they were prepared to do all they could to sabotage the Khalsa attack on the British. In fact, Lal Singh let it be known to the British that he had not come over the Sutlej to gain a victory over the British; his object was to solicit their goodwill and continue as prime minister in the Punjab.

When Tej Singh and nearly half of the Khalsa crossed the Sutlej and took up position near Ferozepore with the intention of attacking, Lal Singh refused to cross the river with his part of the Khalsa to reinforce him until he was compelled by his commanders and troops to do so. His intention had been to leave Tej Singh's force alone in the hope the British would annihilate it. When he did cross, he and Tej Singh urged their troops not to attack Ferozepore, but to move south to take on the main Bengal Army so that "the fame of the Khalsa would be exalted by the capture or death of a governor-general." The British were secretly assured that although Ferozepore would be an easy victory for the Khalsa, it would not be attacked. Tej Singh maintained his watch on Ferozepore while Lal Singh and a detachment of his force moved south from Ferozeshah to meet the British divisions advancing from Ambala on Mudki.

On the final day of the Battle of Ferozeshah, when Tej Singh and his Khalsa arrived on the battlefield from Ferozepore, he refused to attack the British although urged to do so by his commanders who were sure they could defeat the British. He did little more than send out skirmishers, delaying a full assault until Lal Singh's forces were driven back and the British and Bengali line had time to reform and range themselves around their colors. And when the British cavalry regiments and horse guns began leaving the battlefield under orders from the deranged Captain Lumley, instead of it being a sign for Tej Singh to attack the remaining enemy troops, it gave him the excuse he needed to stop the attack. He convinced his commanders that the British planned to drive around them to attack them on the flanks and at the rear. Unaware that the exhausted British and Bengali troops were down to their last shot and shell, his subordinates agreed with him. The attack was called off and the Khalsa left the field, making their way back to the Sutlej.

The body-strewn Sikh camp at Ferozeshah gives mute testimony to the ferocity of the fighting, which accounted for a combined butcher's list of 7,415 casualties.

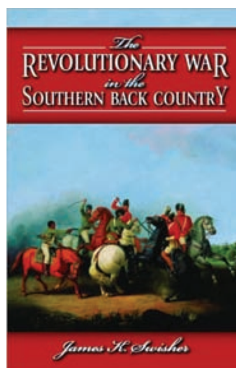
Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

British losses were high in the opening battle of the First Sikh War—215 officers and men killed and 655 wounded at Mudki and another 2,415 killed or wounded at Ferozeshah. Khalsa losses were about the same as the British at Mudki, and an estimated 5,000 more fell at Ferozeshah. British officer losses were heavy and included some senior officers, among them Sir Robert Sale, Sir John McCaskill, Brigadier Wallace, and Major George Broadfoot, the political agent. Captain Lumley was medically discharged from the army.

The battle was summed up by a speaker in Parliament, who called it "a high cost for a victory that was not very far removed from failure." Hardinge shuddered: "Another such victory and we are lost." The Khalsa and the Bengal Army were left facing each other across the Sutlej, battered and bleeding, while reinforcements and supplies were rushed in for the next battle. Although not decisive, Ferozeshah would prove to be one of the bloodiest battles of the century in the Far East. □

By Al Hemingway

After the American victory at Saratoga, the British took the war to the South in an attempt to defeat the colonists.



The undisciplined Daniel Morgan (inset) ignored orders from General Nathaniel Greene and took on the British at Cowpens, South Carolina, January 17, 1781. He was victorious.

WHEN HISTORIANS DISCUSS THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, they give scant attention to the hard fighting that occurred in the southern states. When British General John Burgoyne suffered a humiliating defeat at Saratoga in 1777, Sir Henry Clinton and his strategists decided to invade Dixie, starting with Georgia, then moving northward and occupying South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia.

In his latest book, ***The Revolutionary War in the Southern Back Country*** (Pelican Publishing, Gretna, Louisiana, 2008, 380 pp., maps, notes, index, $24.95, hardcover), author James K. Swisher traces the origins of the British invasion of the southern states and how a new type of combat, as well as military leaders, emerged from the bloody fighting.

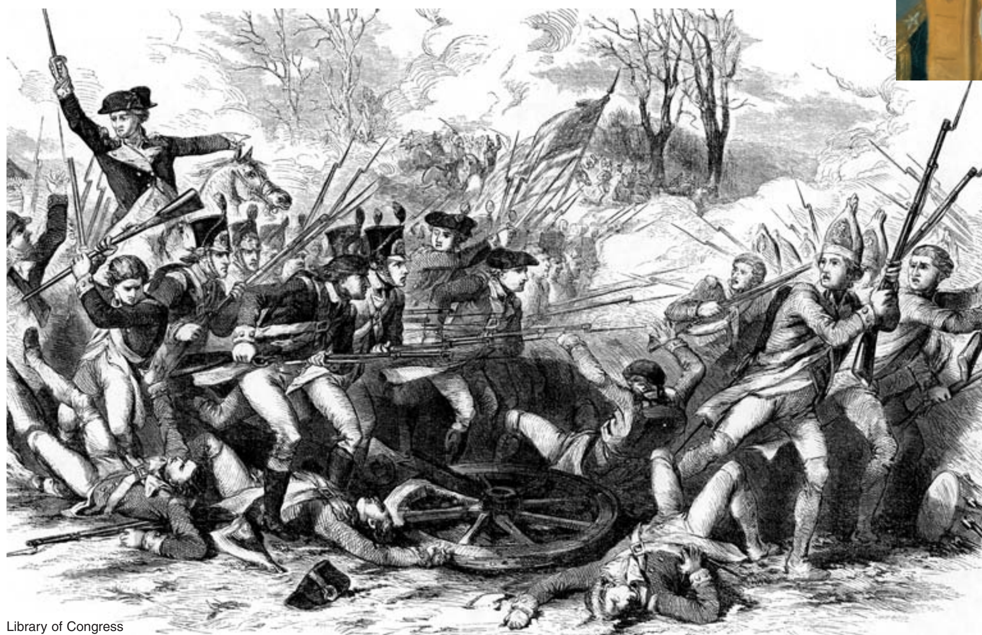
The southern back country was a vast territory that stretched from Maryland to the western sections of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. Settlers, hearing of the lush farmland, soon made their way into the region to raise their crops. It was not an easy life; only the roughest and most persistent could survive the harsh countryside. These hardy pioneers had to stave off Indian attacks as well as their British masters as the revolution neared.

These backwoodsmen honed their fighting skills in several prior military engagements before hostilities between Great Britain and the restless colonies erupted. In the fall of 1774, Virginia Governor John Murray, the fourth Earl of Dunmore, provoked a war with the Shawnees to acquire more land, predominately in Ohio. What became known as Dunmore's War depleted the Virginia militia and ultimately helped the Virginia loyalists. By 1776, Dunmore was forced to flee and return to England.

Independence Hall National Historic Park

That same year, another series of pitched battles against the Cherokees began. From this campaign, three gifted military leaders would emerge: Francis Marion, better known as the "Swamp Fox," Thomas Sumter, and Andrew Pickens, a stern Presbyterian minister. All of these men had learned how to fight by utilizing new tactics while engaged against the Cherokees. Such tactics as hit-and-run attacks, ambushes, and raiding behind British lines would prove quite effective in defeating the redcoats.

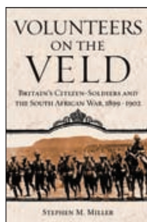
Another dynamic personality to surface at that time was Daniel Morgan. Born in New Jersey, Morgan left home and made his way to the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia to settle. A tough and rowdy individual, he soon became accustomed to the Spartan life of the southern back country, accompanying Burgoyne's troops to Fort Pitt during the French and Indian War. The undisciplined Morgan was soon in trouble, however, and received hundreds of lashes from a British cat-o-nine tails. From that day forward, he hated the British.


Library of Congress

When he was transferred to the South after participating in the battles for Quebec and Saratoga, Morgan disobeyed orders from department commander General Nathaniel Greene and confronted the enemy at Cowpens in South Carolina. On January 17, 1781, Morgan's army fought a pitched battle against brutal Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton's command. Using his Virginia long rifles to inflict massive casualties, he enveloped the redcoats and won a decisive victory.

Southern leaders would soon whip the British again at the Battles of Kings Mountain and Guilford Court House. Clinton's scheme to seize each state and isolate the American army in New York would fizzle because of bold officers such as Morgan. As Swisher states, "From Dunmore's War and the Cherokee War came the experience that produced worthy foes for the British campaign of 1780."

Volunteers on the Veld: Britain's Citizen-Soldiers and the South African War, 1899-1902



by Stephen M. Miller, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 2007, 236 pp., maps, photos, notes, index, $29.95, hardcover.

At the outbreak of the Boer War in October 1899, Great Britain had over a quarter of a million men in uniform. Ten thousand of these regulars were already stationed in South Africa and another 12,000 were quickly dispatched to the region as reinforcements.

In December 1899, however, the British Tommies suffered three humiliating defeats at the hands of the Dutch-speaking Afrikaners. At Stormberg, Magersfontein, and Colenso, the Boer forces inflicted thousands of casualties on the Brits. When news reached England, the populace were in disbelief that "the flower of the British Army [could be] outmaneuvered and repulsed three times in one week by undisciplined Boer farmers." The public soon referred to it as Black Week.

The call went out for volunteers to augment the army in South Africa, and on Christmas Eve 1899, a royal warrant was decreed creating the Imperial Yeomanry. Recruits came from the standing yeoman units already serving. Between February and April 1900, thousands of volunteers poured into the country and were immediately dispatched to the Transvaal to fight the Boers.

Although there were setbacks at times, the volunteer forces performed reasonably well and

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contributed to England's victory over the elusive Afrikaners. The British involvement in South Africa closely resembled that of the United States in Vietnam and present-day Iraq, wars with no clear objectives or decisive strategy to achieve victory and guarantee safe withdrawal.

Despite this, the British volunteers who served in the harsh countryside known as the Veld were instrumental in assisting the regular army in time of conflict. Using first-hand accounts from letters and diaries, historian Stephen Miller illustrates the reasons why young, middle-class Englishmen volunteered for such hazardous duty. They donned the uniform and fought a bloody guerrilla war for queen and Empire and achieved notoriety back home as well.

"The South African War was a pivotal event in the history of Great Britain, its empire, and its military," writes Miller. "Citizens were transformed into soldiers; conventional war gave way to low-intensity conflict; and as the nineteenth century ended, the twentieth century ushered in modern warfare."

Co-ed Combat: The New Evidence That Women Shouldn't Fight the Nation's Wars by Kingsley Browne, Sentinel, New York, New York, 2007, 352 pp., notes, index, $26.95, hardcover.

Should women be allowed to serve in com-

bat units and become directly involved in the fighting? This divisive topic has plagued the nation's military for decades. Many believe it is time for true integration of the military. Just as African Americans were allowed to join the ranks of the military on equal terms, so should America's female population.

Kingsley Browne, a law professor at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan, does not think so and points out the possible pitfalls that await the military if complete integration of the armed services is achieved by allowing women to join combat units. Citing various sources, Browne dispels the myths that women possess the same upper-body strength as their male counterparts and that with the proper training women can achieve the same physical strength.

The author commends those women on active duty who have performed admirably during both Gulf Wars. He questions, however, statements made by our political leaders through the years concerning women in various wars. President Woodrow Wilson commented at the end of World War I in 1918 that the war could not have been fought if it had not been for the services of the women. Also, then Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney during the first Gulf War asserted that "women have made a major contribution to this effort." Certainly, this was a statement that no one could deny. But then he continued: "We could not have won without them." It was a typical Cheney misstatement, considering that women made up a mere 6.8 percent of the total force in the Gulf.

Under heavy pressure from politicians to change the system, military leaders are finding it increasingly difficult to keep disagreeing with them. Many officers will acquiesce rather than risk their careers. No matter what your beliefs, *Co-Ed Combat* is an intriguing account of this controversial subject. Accepting women in combat roles will continue to be a heated debate. If full integration becomes a reality, how will it affect our national defense? Can an army comprised of female GIs win a war?

Rampant Raider: An A-4 Skyhawk Pilot in Vietnam by Stephen R. Gray, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2007, 284 pp., notes, index, $32.50, hardcover.

There is no duty more hazardous then flying jet fighters from an aircraft carrier. It takes a special individual to master the intricacies of guiding a high-powered jet back onto the moving deck of a carrier after a bombing mission.

Author Stephen Gray performed this difficult

SIMULATION GAMING *By Eric T. Baker*

Reshape the course of the two world wars in *Aggression: Reign Over Europe.*

Somehow the higher the scale of a historical simulation, the more likely it is to give players a chance to write their own history. **Aggression: Reign Over Europe**, for the PC from Playlogic, starts in 1910 with a map that includes all of western Europe, North Africa, and western Russia. From that year, it mixes macro strategy with RTS tactical combat to let players reshape the course of the two world wars.

Players take the role of one of four powers: France, the United Kingdom, Russia, or Germany. There are also smaller nations that can be allied with or conquered: Italy, Spain, Turkey, and Hungary. Each starting nation has a different advantage.

Germany, for instance, starts with a technology edge, but Russia starts with a population one. On this macro level, the map is divided up into 92 cities, each with their own stats and infrastructure. It's not as complicated as it sounds, however, since the player will only be in control of a fraction of those cities. At least to start out.

Broadly, there are two types of "units" in the game. One is the military units that the player builds and moves around in the strategic part of the game and fights with in the tactical part. The others are 200 historical characters who each have up to 15 skill slots that can be assigned as the game goes along and they earn experience. The characters can use their skills as appropriate in either the strategic or the tactical game. The characters don't have to conform to their historical backgrounds any more than the battles do, so it is possible to have a Nazi England led by a diplomacy-focused Montgomery while a combat-focused Churchill leads armored columns across the Rhine.

Don't worry if you weren't one of the tens of people who went to see *Flyboys* in the summer of 2006. You don't need to have seen the film to play the game, **Flyboys Squadron** for the PC from Matrix Games and iEntertainment. In fact, most players are probably better off not having seen the movie and coming to the game expecting a fairly hardcore simulation of just how tricky it is to pilot a WWI-era biplane. This game is not an arcade style "push the joystick and shoot" simulation.

Despite its simulation chops, the flaw in *FS* is that other than trying and dying, the game doesn't really teach the player how to fly the planes. There are three tutorial missions, but they are more training films than interactive help. When they are

task during his two cruises to Vietnam aboard the USS *Bonhomme Richard* in 1967 and 1968. Gray compiled an impressive 300-plus carrier landings and over 250 combat missions into North Vietnam. Gray gives a compelling account of his time in the cockpit flying the Douglas A-4 Skyhawk with VA-212, and of life aboard the Essex-class carrier during those years.

One chapter describes in detail his squadron's role in destroying the Thanh Hoa thermal power plant in North Vietnam. After the strike, Gray and his comrades had the opportunity to view photographs taken by a reconnaissance aircraft just minutes after they had unloaded their bombs. "His photos showed the main power plant building to be cratered rubble, completely destroyed," he wrote. "One of the steam boilers had been blasted several yards outside the confines of the power plant yard, and huge craters pocked the transformer field. It would be a long time before Thanh Hoa had any electricity."

For those who enjoy reading about the air war in Southeast Asia, *Rampant Raider* is your kind of book. The Skyhawk was a true workhorse during the Vietnam conflict, and the author was in the thick of the action over the skies of North Vietnam.

War Stories of the Tankers: American Armored Combat, 1918 to Today by Michael Green, Zenith Press, Minneapolis, MN, 2008, 319 pp., photos, $24.95, hardcover.

Many say that the infantry is the worst job in the military. But ask anyone who served in an armored unit, and they would probably disagree with that assessment. Being confined to such a small area was very uncomfortable for crew members. The ironclad machines were also very good targets, and heightened one's chances of getting killed in combat.

As the title implies, author Michael Green has collected oral histories from men who served in armored units from World War I to the present. Tanks first appeared on the battlefields of World War I and were cumbersome, to say the least. The French Renault FT-17, used by the U.S. Army during the conflict, had a top speed of five miles per hour. The British Heavy Tank was larger and had a crew of eight, but its lack of a suspension system made for an extremely bumpy ride.

From these humble beginnings, the tank has evolved into a superior fighting machine. The M1A1 Abrams now being used in the Middle East can reach speeds of 40 miles per hour and sports a 1,500-horsepower gas engine. Its main armament is a lethal 120mm gun, a .50-caliber heavy machine gun, and a 7.62mm light machine gun. On both sides of the turret, the vehicle has smoke grenade launchers to shield its movement.

War Stories of the Tankers is an excellent book told by the men who manned tanks during wartime. From its infancy in the Great War to the high-tech ongoing conflict in Iraq and Afghanistan, the reader will understand what it is like to be a part of a combat tank crew.

Go If You Think It Your Duty: A Minnesota Couple's Civil War Letters by Andrea R. Foroughi, Minnesota Historical Society Press, St. Paul, MN, 2008, 336 pp., photos, index, $32.95, hardcover.

It is always fascinating to read personal letters or diaries from soldiers who fought in our nation's wars. Their insight and observations provide a valuable glimpse into another era, and are a welcome change from the often dry accounts of battles and campaigns where there is no mention of the common foot soldier. In such accounts, regiments, battalions, and companies are shifted like chess pieces, but these units were comprised of human beings, and their stories are valuable sources of a better understanding into America's history. There was a plethora of correspondence during the Civil War. Both blue and gray wrote of their experiences during that turbulent time.

James Madison Bowler enlisted in the Union Army and served with the 3rd Minnesota Vol-

over, the player is still going to need lots of practice to be able to actually hit another aircraft with the plane's guns. It is said that the Red Baron was more a marksman than a flier; *FS* is a game that will make the player appreciate the compliment in that distinction.

While the single-player game in *FS* is both very difficult and very short on actual combat, the game also gives the player access to iEntertainment's Total Simulation Series servers where, for a monthly fee, the player can engage in dogfights with other humans. Some of these will be using the *FS* game, but most will be using *Dawn of Aces III,* which is part of the bundle of combat sim games that come with the TSS service. In fact, for players who just want the multiplayer dogfights, it makes more sense to to subscribe to TSS as it is cheaper than the *FS*'s pricetag.

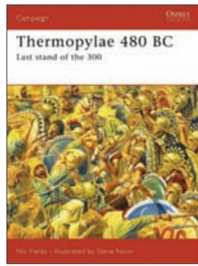
The good of **Imperium Romanum** is its simple interface and easy-to-use controls. Both its city building and its combat are easy to learn and easy to keep track of. The game comes with s everal modes which let the player pick and choose what sort of game he wants to play and what sort of objectives he wants to achieve.

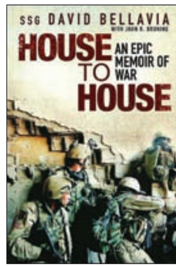
The not so good of *IR* is that its combat is not detailed enough. The Total War series and its imitators have spoiled most players for what it is possible to do in simulations of ancients combat. The focus in *IR* is on the building and managing of towns and cities and so the combat is more of an after thought. Players who are used to sending tens of units with hundreds of animated men across the battlefield will be frustrated by how hard it is to build up an army in *IR*. They will also

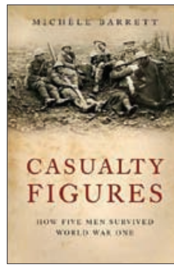
be let down at how little control they have over the units once they engage the enemy.

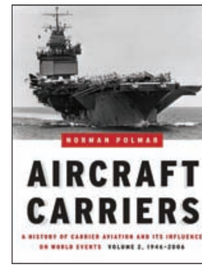
In the end, *IR* is a game that is more for players who like economy and building civilizations than it is for players who like the march of armies. □

unteer Regiment for four years. He was later given a commission and was discharged as a major with the 113th Colored Infantry. He penned hundreds of letters to his wife, Elizabeth "Lizzie" Caleff Bowler, describing camp life, people and battles.









Bowler's strong sense of duty and patriotism is evident in his writings. Lizzie agreed that he should go off to fight and help preserve the Union. After the many months of separation, however, her patience was waning and she begged him to come home. This ongoing argument became the central theme in many of the letters.

Bowler survived the war and came home to Lizzie, dying in 1916 at the age of 78. Lizzie outlived her husband by 15 years, passing away in 1931 at the age of 90. Their letters to each other, however, will be with us forever.

Thermopylae 480 BC: Last Stand of the 300 by Nic Fields, Osprey Publishing, New York, New York, 2007, 96 pp., photos, maps, illustrations, index, $18.95, softcover.

The last stand of the Spartan force at the pass of Thermopylae is arguably one of the greatest stands in military history. Although the small band led by Spartan King Leonidas was defeated, they bought precious time for the other Greek states to prepare themselves against the Persian Army commanded by King Xerxes I.

For 72 hours, the heroic group repelled assault after assault, holding the vital strongpoint in central Greece until Ephialtes, a local resident, betrayed them and showed Xerxes a small path that would put his army in the Spartan's rear. Although they eventually wiped out the defenders, the Persians sustained extremely heavy losses.

This newest edition into the Osprey campaign series of battles gives a good, concise account of the origins of the battle, the leaders, the battle itself, and its aftermath. As with all of Osprey's books, this one is full of detailed maps, photographs, and paintings.

House to House: An Epic Memoir of War by Staff Sgt. David Bellavia with John R. Bruning, Free Press, New York, New York, 2007, 321 pp., photos, glossary, $26.00, hardcover.

There is a multitude of books being published about the current situation in the Middle East. Although many that deal with the strategy—or lack of it—behind the fighting, others are written on a more personal level and concentrate on an individual's tour in the combat zone.

House to House is a cut above many when it comes to frontline combat stories. The author, David Bellavia, was a member of the 2nd Battalion, 2nd Infantry, 3rd Brigade, 1st Infantry Division. Known as Task Force 2-2, he and his squad participated in numerous operations in Iraq, including the horrific urban fighting at the insurgent stronghold in Fallujah.

Bellavia describes in graphic detail the close-quarter, house-to-house struggle to oust the determined terrorists from their hidden lairs within the city. His own hand-to-hand encounter with half a dozen enemy soldiers will leave the reader spellbound. It allows those who have never served in a war to gain an understanding of the cohesion that develops between soldiers who face death on a daily basis, and how they manage to overcome their fears through unit loyalty and support.

The book is not for the faint-hearted. Bellavia pulls no punches when he writes of his near-death experiences in Iraq. "I don't have nightmares that I read other veterans are having," he writes. "None of my old friends do either. I don't dream about seven-foot insurgents chasing me down Iraqi streets. And yet I think about Iraq almost every day of my life. Almost every dream I have is about Iraq, but none of them are bad. There will constantly be regret, sorrow for those we lost, but never nightmares. I will always hate war, but will be forever proud of mine."

Casualty Figures: How Five Men Survived the First World War by Michele Barrett, Verso, London, 2007, photos, index, $24.95, hardcover.

"It is heartbreaking to watch a shell-shock case," wrote World War I veteran Corporal Henry Gregory. "The terror is indescribable. The flesh on their faces shakes in fear, and their teeth continually chatter. Shell shock was brought about in many ways: loss of sleep, continually being under heavy shell fire, the torment of the lice, irregular meals, nerves always on end, and the thought always in the man's mind that the next minute was going to be his last."

The dead and wounded of any conflict are not the only casualties. Those who survive the carnage should also be included in that mournful number. And it some ways, their fate is much worse than their comrades who paid the supreme sacrifice on the battlefield. This book examines five British soldiers and how the effects of shell shock altered their lives after the war. Many soldiers could not escape the nightmares and horrors they had witnessed. No amount of training could have prepared them for the killing fields of France or Gallipoli.

Initially, senior officers dismissed shell shock as cowardice, and men were summarily executed for refusing to go back into combat. It was not until medical personnel began to closely examine the battle-induced mental illness that any significant change occurred in people's attitudes toward the condition.

"The war to end all wars" was the first conflict to illicit this behavior in combat soldiers on a large scale. Whether it is called combat fatigue, post-traumatic stress disorder, or Gulf War illness, the symptoms are similar. And after all the hoopla at war's end, the endless stream of patriotic parades and noble-sounding rhetoric spewed out by politicians on town greens across the country, it is the combat veteran who bears the brunt of the suffering—often in private.

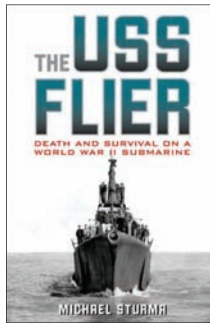
Aircraft Carriers: A History of Carrier Aviation and its Influence on World Events, Vol. II, 1946-2006 by Norman Polmar, Potomac Books, Dulles, VA, 2008, 548 pp., photos, maps, glossary, notes, index, $49.95, hardcover.

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese empire struck American forces at Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands. When it was over, hundreds of enemy aircraft had sunk or damaged numerous American vessels, including the ill-fated USS *Arizona*. All of this was accomplished by aircraft carriers that secretly made their way undetected to their destination. Fortunately for the Americans, their own carrier fleet was out to sea on that fateful day and would survive to defeat the Japanese Navy at the Battle of Midway a mere six months later.

The importance of a carrier fleet in today's world cannot be overstressed. Their constant vigilance maintains our nation's "forward presence" in combat zones and in assisting our allies with their fighting capabilities. *Aircraft Carriers* traces the lineage of the World War II-era carrier to become the supercarrier of today. The book has a multitude of photos depicting various models of ships and the wide assortment of aircraft that are launched from their decks. For the naval aficionado who cannot get enough of the history of the carrier, this coffee

table-size book is indispensable.

The USS Flier: Death and Survival on a World War II Submarine by Michael Sturma, The University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, KY, 2008, 209 pp., notes, index, $29.95, hardcover.



This is an amazing story of survival during wartime. What makes it so fascinating is that the survivors managed to escape a sinking submarine after it hit a mine in the Balabac Strait separating Borneo from the Philippines on August 12, 1944. Eight crew members, including the skipper, Lt. Cmdr. John Crowley, managed to swim from the sinking sub and eventually made it to land. They were picked up by Filipino guerrillas and rescued 18 days later.

Controversy still surrounds the incident. It seems that this was not the first such incident the *Flier* had endured while under Crowley's command. Subsequently, he underwent two boards of inquiry before being exonerated and given another submarine command. He retired in March 1961.

But the tragic affair of the *Flier* also demonstrates exceptional courage and cooperation between American and Allied forces. Had it not been for the intrepid Filipinos and a small group of coast watchers, the crew would almost certainly have died of exhaustion and hunger or fallen into enemy hands. It is an incredible tale that was almost forgotten, but that Sturma has revived in this vivid account.

Mr. Gatling's Terrible Marvel: The Gun That Changed Everything and the Misunderstood Genius Who Invented It by Julia Keller, Viking Books, New York, New York, 2008, 283 pp., notes, index, $29.95, hardcover.

Perhaps no other invention altered warfare more than the Gatling gun. Invented by Dr. Richard J. Gatling, it was first introduced in 1862. President Abraham Lincoln was immediately enthralled by the new weapon. By using a hand crank, it could fire between 500 to 1,000 rounds per minute. Later, the inventor diverted some of the gas that propelled the rotating cluster barrels and even built in electric motors to turn them.

After the turn of the century, the Gatling gun became obsolete before making a surprising resurgence in the 1950s and 1960s. Mini-guns were installed on the old C-47 aircraft, known as "Spooky" or "Puff the Magic Dragon," and they were used as close-air support in Vietnam. AC-119s and C-130 Spectre gunships used them as well. Each gun could fire 6,000 per minute and was a formidable weapon on the battlefield.

It was the original design, however, that brought fame to its inventor and helped propel the United States onto the world scene as a military force to be reckoned with. Julia Keller, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist on the *Chicago Tribune*, has written a marvelous book about the creation of the first modern machine gun and the gentleman who invented it—ironically—as a deterrent to war.

50 Aircraft That Changed the World by Ron Dick and Dan Patterson, Firefly Books, Buffalo, New York, 2007, 208 pp., photos, index, $39.95, hardcover.

If you had to pick 50 aircraft that changed the world, which ones would they be? Authors Ron Dick and Dan Patterson have made their own choices, and the results are included in a coffee table book rich with archival and color photographs of the planes that they believe altered history.

Topping the list is the 1905 Wright Flyer III flown at Huffman Prarie, an 80-acre meadow near Dayton, Ohio. On October 5, 1905, Wilbur Wright flew 24 miles in 39.5 minutes, an astonishing feat in the world's first practical flying machine.

Not all the planes selected by the authors are American-made. Credit is given to the Mitsubishi Zero A6M, a formidable fighter in its own right. Known as the Zero, the plane had a distinct advantage early in World War II because of its long-range capabilities. It was not until the United States Army Air Force introduced the Corsair and the Mustang in the Pacific that the Japanese Zero had a true competitor in the skies.

The new, innovative fighter jet for the 21st century is the F-35 Lightning II. In the opinion of the authors, it "represents a major advance in military aviation." A high-tech electro-optical targeting system, thermal imaging system, lasers, pneumatic weapon delivery system, and lift-fan anti-icing system, are just a few of the reasons making the F-35 a state-of-the-art aircraft in air combat today. □

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Continued from page 29

the future, and the humiliating defeat left a lasting stigma upon most of those involved in its creation and execution.

Upon receiving news of the ignominious defeat, the General Court began a prompt search for scapegoats. A special court of inquiry unanimously concluded that Generals Lovell and Wadsworth had acted with "proper courage and spirit" throughout the expedition and retreat, but that Commodore Saltonstall had been "want of proper spirit and energy." Two weeks later, Saltonstall was court-martialed aboard the frigate *Deane* in Boston harbor and summarily cashiered from the Continental Navy.

Saltonstall was not the only senior leader of the expedition to suffer disgrace as a result of his performance. Lt. Col. Paul Revere, the legendary patriot who had ridden through Boston warning "the British are coming!" before the battles at Lexington and Concord, was also implicated in the debacle. Having led the artillery train on the Penobscot Expedition under Lovell, Revere was relieved of command and placed under house arrest shortly after returning to Boston. Serious charges of misconduct, including "disobedience of orders and unsoldierlike behavior tending to cowardice," were lodged against him by Marine Captain Thomas J. Carnes and Brig. Gen. Peleg Wadsworth. In November 1779, an inquiry board found Revere guilty of culpable behavior. Displeased with the outcome, Revere petitioned the General Court to convene a court-martial. After several delays, the court-martial was finally held in February 1782. The court acquitted Revere "with equal honor as the other officers in the expedition"—hardly a glowing restoration of his reputation. His accusers refused to retract their charges, resulting in continued unseemly public debate played out in issues of the *Boston Globe*.

It was not until nearly a century later, in 1863, that Revere reassumed his position in the pantheon of Revolutionary War heroes. That year, beloved poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, the grandson of Revere's former accuser, Peleg Wadsworth, published the adulatory poem "Paul Revere's Ride,"memorized by generations of American schoolchildren. By then the Penobscot Expedition, perhaps the most ignominious defeat in the long, proud history of the American Navy, had faded from memory. As President John F. Kennedy, himself a Massachusetts native, noted in another context in 1961, "Victory has a thousand fathers, but defeat is an orphan." □

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Continued from page 39

642 wounded, and 812 missing, and 65 had been taken prisoner. Although there had been no decisive breakthrough against German positions, Clark and Truscott were encouraged that the day's gains were significant and would lead shortly to the capture of Cisterna. Against strong opposition on the 24th, the 3rd Division surrounded Cisterna, but an attack against its north flank was unsuccessful. Supported by tanks, troops of the 7th Regiment managed to enter the town the following morning.

Near daybreak on May 25, combat engineers of the 36th Division, moving south from Anzio across the Mussolini Canal, made contact with an 85th Division task force. After 125 frustrating days, VI Corps was no longer isolated. Now, it was the left flank of the Fifth Army. On that same day, Clark issued a controversial order shifting the VI Corps axis of attack northwest toward Rome. While the 3rd Division and the 1st Special Service Force continued eastward toward Valmontone, the bulk of the Fifth Army—the 34th, 36th, 45th, 85th and 88th Divisions—was to drive for the Italian capital.

On the morning of June 3, Kesselring declared Rome an open city. A day later, elements of both II and VI Corps finally entered Rome, which became the first Axis capital city to fall to the Allies. Operation Diadem had succeeded in breaking the back of the stubborn German defenses in southern Italy. In a little more than three weeks, the Fifth and Eighth Armies had driven the Germans from the Gustav Line, linked up with the Anzio beachhead, and captured Rome. The price had been high. Allied casualties totaled nearly 44,000, while the Germans had suffered more than 38,000 plus 15,600 taken prisoner.

In a note of supreme irony, German forces were too weak to contest a drive to Valmontone by VI Corps, even by a secondary effort. Had Clark continued northeastward as Alexander had directed and cut Highway 6, his forces would probably have reached Rome more quickly than they did by hammering directly at the Caesar Line. As it was, German Army Group C had been battered and beaten, but it had not surrendered or been destroyed. The fighting in Italy would continue for several more months. However, after an initial splash of headlines celebrating the fall of Rome, the eyes of the world turned to Normandy. On June 6, the longest day of the war dawned on the coast of France, and the brutal if underpublicized campaign in Italy exited center stage for good. □

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