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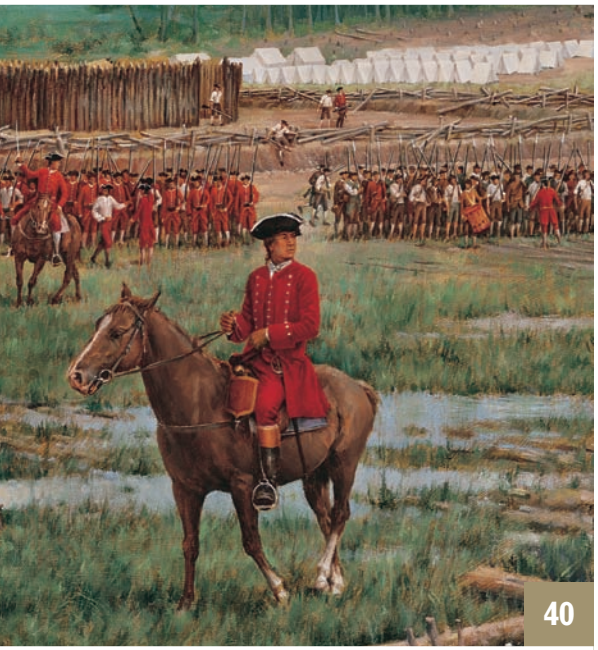

MILITARY HERITAGE

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COVER: A German machine gun crew poses for the camera early in World War I. Another innovative weapon on the Western Front was the French 75mm cannon. See story page 12. Photo © Bettman/Corbis.

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Hoping to set a good example for the country, Abraham Lincoln hired a young Pennsylvania man to be his personal substitute in the Union Army.

WHEN ABRAHAM LINCOLN SIGNED INTO LAW THE first conscription act in American history in March 1863, one of the most unpopular parts of the widely unpopular act was the provision allowing draft-eligible males to hire substitutes to take their place in the army. Since few poor men could afford the going rate of several hundred dollars per substitute, the provision was seen as yet another sign that the war was "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight."

To combat that perception and set a good example for the nation, Lincoln, although long past draft age himself at age 55, decided in the summer of 1864 to hire his own substitute. (Some cynics noted that the presidential election was just around the corner and suggested that Lincoln was simply making a gesture to curry favor with voters, many of whose own sons were away serving in the Union Army at the time.)

In fact, the president was responding to a call by Provost Marshal James Fry for all men legally exempted from the draft to hire substitutes anyway to show support for the Union cause. Lincoln instructed Fry to find "as nearly a perfect man physically and morally" as he could to represent the president. Fry, in turn, asked Noble Larner, president of the Third Ward Draft Club, to locate a suitable substitute for Lincoln. (Draft clubs raised money to pay substitutes to bypass unscrupulous bounty brokers.)

Larner found a willing volunteer in 20-year-old John Summerfield Staples, of Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania, the son of a Methodist minister. As reported by the *Washington Star,* "Staples is not so tall as the President, but is well formed, stout and healthy, and there is every indication that he will prove an excellent soldier." Staples, in fact, was quite short—only 5 feet, 6 inches tall. His company sergeant, on hearing that the new recruit was Lincoln's personal substitute, took one look at the stocky Staples and joked, "Aren't you just the first installment?"

Lincoln met with Staples, Fry, and Larner at the White House. He shook hands with the young man, asked if had been properly mustered in—he had—and remarked, according to the *New York Herald,* "that he was good-looking, stout and healthy-appearing man, and believed he would do his duty." Larner presented the commander-in-chief with a framed notice that he had provided the army with a suitable substitute, and Lincoln took his leave after expressing the hope that Staples would be "one of the fortunate ones" and survive the war.

Staples, in fact, had already survived a brush with the military two years earlier. On November 5, 1862, not yet 18 years of age, he had enlisted in Company C, 176th Pennsylvania Volunteers as a paid substitute for one Robert A. Barry. After seeing combat in North Carolina, Staples contracted typhoid fever and was honorably discharged on May 5, 1863, after a four-month stay in the hospital. He was working as a carpenter at the Washington Navy Yard when Larner happened to encounter him on Pennsylvania Avenue in late September 1864 and asked if he was willing to become a substitute for the president.

Staples duly enrolled in Company H, 2nd District of Columbia Volunteers; his father, Reverend John Long Staples, became regimental chaplain. The unit remained in Washington for the duration of the war, seeing no combat, and Staples served as a guard at Prince Street Prison across the Potomac River in Alexandria. Falling ill again with a recurrence of typhoid fever, he was allowed to return home to recuperate. In the interim, the war ended and he and his father were mustered out of the service in September 1865.

Following the war, Staples worked as a railroad car repair man in several northeastern cities before dying of a heart attack at his boarding house in Dover, N.J., on January 11, 1888. He was not yet 44 years old. He was buried at Stroudsburg Union Cemetery, where a bronze plaque notes, "Within this cemetery are the remains of John S. Staples who served as a substitute recruit for Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War." □

Roy Morris Jr.

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By Blaine Taylor

Wilhelm I, the accidental king of Prussia, became a reluctant German kaiser during Otto von Bismarck's unification wars.

IN MID-OCTOBER 1806, FOUR DAYS AFTER NAPOLEON HAD CRUSHED THE Royal Prussian Army at the twin battles of Jena and Auerstädt, a distraught Queen Louise sat down with her two sons at the royal castle in Schwedt. In tears, she advised them, "Prussia is no more. We are overthrown and demolished. Our national glory is departed. Strive to rescue your people from the disgrace of this hour, from the burden of humiliation under which this nation is now groaning. Aspire to re-conquer from the French the glory of your forefathers."

The two boys were the 11-year-old crown prince, the future King Frederick Wilhelm IV, and his younger brother, Prince Wilhelm, age nine. The latter, in particular, never forgot how the French had devastated their nation by humbling its army, and how Napoleon the following year brought low their father, King Frederick Wilhelm III, at the Treaty of Tilsit. He would keep those memories banked hotly in his mind.

As a boy, the young prince was weak and sickly, but by the time he was seven he was drilling daily under a Prussian Guards sergeant to strengthen his body. He was commissioned a lieutenant in the Guards at the age of 10, like all Hohenzollern princes. Unlike his more volatile, romantic, and intellectual elder brother, Wilhelm was seen by his mother as simple, straightforward, and sensible—attributes that would later endear him to his people. Since his elder brother was already slated to be king, Wilhelm planned his own separate career as a professional soldier. Improbably, he would become both.

Wilhelm was fascinated with military uniforms and their accoutrements, and he carried that fascination over to his military training. In 1814 the young prince made his first cavalry charge, with Prussia's Russian allies, at the Battle of Bar-sur-Aube. He took part in the Waterloo campaign of 1815, and he met the famed Duke of Wellington before visiting Paris and London in triumph. Returning home to Berlin as a hero, Wilhelm continued his military training under the reign of his beloved father, who died in 1840, at which time his elder brother ascended the throne.

The new king, Frederick Wilhelm IV, being childless, named his brother prince of Prussia and heir presumptive, a role that Wilhelm (like King George VI in Great Britain) had never expected to have. When revolution swept Europe in 1848, the prince was serving as governor of Pomerania, where he was regarded by the Junker land-owning conservatives as one of their own. Recalled to Berlin by the king, Wil-

BELOW: At the Battle of Sadowa, on July 3, 1866, the better organized Prussians decisively defeated the Austrian Army and won the Seven Weeks' War.

INSET: Kaiser Wilhelm I.

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helm found a mob ready to storm the palace. He immediately ordered out troops, and shots were fired into the mob. Eighteen soldiers and 183 civilians were killed, and Wilhelm was given the epithet Kartatschenprinz, the "Cartridge Prince," by the bitter citizens.

Wilhelm found himself commanding in a 14-hour-long battle between the people of Berlin on one side and 2,500 soldiers on the other, with cannonballs and grapeshot hurtling into the enraged mob. The prince personally directed an artillery battery in the action. Eventually order was restored after the troops were pulled back and a people's militia was formed to protect the king and safeguard the revolt. Wilhelm again was blamed for the loss of life and was driven into exile in England.

Finally the revolt fizzled out, the king kept his throne after a pledge to accede to the desire for a unified Reich, and the prince was allowed to return home when he too promised to adopt constitutionalism. For a time, there was a demand for Wilhelm to renounce his future claim on the throne, but the sentiment passed.

Nine years later, in the late spring of 1857, the king was found to be suffering from nervous exhaustion; the following summer he suffered a stroke. Within months, his doctors diagnosed him with softening of the brain and incurable insanity. Prince Wilhelm became vice regent for a trio of succeeding 90-day terms, and in September 1858 he was made full regent when the mad king signed an act of abdication. When the king died in 1861, his brother became king of Prussia at the age of 64—an age when most people are making plans to retire.

The following year, during a constitutional crisis involving finances for the army, Otto von Bismarck—a land-owning count from the Junker class—became the king's prime minister, and in effect they would rule Prussia jointly for the next 26 years. Bismarck became known as the "Blood and Iron" chancellor who united Germany and its various principalities around the hard steel core of Prussian militarism.

National Archives

ABOVE: Kaiser Wilhelm I, standing on the dais, proclaims a new German empire in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles on January 18, 1871. He is flanked by Crown Prince Frederick Wilhelm and the Grand Duke of Baden. Otto von Bismarck stands at the base of the steps in a white uniform. RIGHT: Field Marshal Helmuth von Moltke, chief of the Prussian general staff.

This was accomplished in a series of three wars. The first came in 1864, when the Prussians seized the Danish duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The king allowed himself to be talked into the war and dispatched General Count (later Field Marshal) Friedrich von Wrangel to lead a joint Austro-Prussian expedition to invade the territories.

Wilhelm was anxious that Prussian soldiers prove their mettle in action, while Bismarck wanted a spectacular victory to place Prussia in an unassailable position at the impending conference. The Danes, outnumbered 6-to-1, fought bravely, but were forced to capitulate. An armistice came into force for the duration of the London Conference. Finally, on October 30, in the Treaty of Vienna, the king of Denmark handed over to the Prussians and the Austrians the disputed duchies of Holstein, Schleswig, and Lauenberg.

The first step had been taken on the road to German Empire. Ever since the beginning of German history, the empire of Austria had played a predominant role in the affairs of the splintered German lands. Bismarck saw clearly that this influence must be ended if Prussia were ever to unite Germany around it, but it had to be accomplished in such a way that a non-embittered Austria-Hungary would remain an ally of the new German Reich after the conclusion of a war between the two major German states.

Bismarck's second diplomatic and military stroke was the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, a war that almost no one in Prussia—including the king—wanted except for the prime minister. Austria's policy was to uphold the 1815 Congress of Vienna-imposed German Confederation of 39 separate states, while Bismarck wanted a unitary state ruling over the loose-knit confederation that would be bound together at Berlin. In June 1866, Emperor Franz Josef, Prussia's former ally of several decades, declared war on Prussia, ostensibly for administrative encroachments in Schleswig-Holstein but in reality to counteract Bismarck's threat of German unification.

Austria attacked on two fronts, in Bohemia against the Prussians, and in Venetia against their allies the Italians. Overall, the Austrians had an army of 400,000 men to oppose the Prussian force of 300,000, while the Italians had 200,000 troops. Still angered by Frederick the Great's earlier wars, which had taken Silesia away from Austria, Franz Josef planned to partition Prussia and seize its treasure once the expected victory was obtained. But the Austrian emperor failed to fully understand the reforms that had been made in the Prussian Army by the king, the chancellor, and the chief of the Prussian general staff, General Helmuth von Moltke.

The changes included streamlining the old Prussian Landwehr (militia), tripling the active duty strength of the regular army, establishing permanent army corps to speed up mobilization, and adapting both railways and telegraph lines to military usage, advances gleaned from the just-completed U.S. Civil War. The greatest innovation, however, was von Moltke's adap-

Prussians attack French artillery at the battle of Gravelotte Saint-Privat during the Franco Prussian War of 1870. Following the capture of Napoleon III at Sedan and the bombardment of Paris, the French empire fell to King Wilhelm's Prussians.

tation of the breech-loading needle gun, which could fire six shots to the enemy's one. The Austrians were still using muzzle-loading weapons to preserve ammunition, and von Moltke used his rapid fire to devastate Austria's massed columns to good effect at the Battles of Skalice, Jicin, and Koniggratz (Sadowa), all of which were resounding Prussian victories. At Koniggratz alone, the Austrians lost 44,000 men to the Prussians' 9,000.

Wilhelm was ecstatic, and it was all that Bismarck and the monarch's son, Crown Prince Frederick Wilhelm, could do to persuade him not to occupy any Austrian territory. Instead, on July 22, 1866, after what was called the Seven Weeks' War (but really was decided in the opening three), the Austrian emperor acceded to all the Prussian prime minister's demands. These included the dissolution of the former German Confederation, the Prussian annexation of Hanover, the establishment of a Berlin-run North German Confederation, and the elimination of Austria-Hungary from any future say in German affairs.

Now Bismarck was ready for the third of his projected wars, but once again his obstinate sovereign had to be maneuvered into war against his royal cousin, Emperor Napoleon III of France, whom Wilhelm both knew and liked. It came about after the throne of Spain became vacant and a Hohenzollern prince was about to be selected to occupy it. This alarmed France, since Napoleon did not want a Hohenzollern ruler on both his German and Spanish frontiers. The nomination was rescinded, but Wilhelm was offended when he was asked by the French ambassador at Ems never again to allow a Hohenzollern candidate for the post.

Wilhelm refused on the spot, and sent Bismarck a telegram informing him of the action taken. Hoping to instigate a war from the disagreement, the quick-thinking Bismarck edited the telegram and published it in the German press in such a way as to make it appear that the venerable king had been summarily insulted by the haughty French. This became known as the "Ems Dispatch," and before the damage could be corrected, nationalist war fever broke out on both sides.

On paper, the French imperial war machine looked formidable, having weathered conflicts in the Crimea, Italy, Mexico, Indochina, and Algeria, but it had also suffered severe losses. The French nevertheless were overconfident and they declared war on Prussia on July 15, 1870, without securing any allies. Meanwhile, Prussia marched off to hostilities with the North German Confederation as well as the kingdom of Bavaria in southern Germany. The war was basically won within the first 30 days, with overwhelming Prussian victories at Metz and Sedan. King Wilhelm, already a field marshal himself, awarded his son and his cousin, Prussian Prince Frederick Karl, marshal's batons as well.

Napoleon III became a prisoner of war at Sedan, and a revolution began at home in Paris that overthrew the Bonaparte dynasty for a third time. A revolt broke out in the city between local communists and the French Army, while the German armies looked on dispassionately during the protracted peace negotiations. It was a scene all too familiar to the Cartridge Prince of 1848.

A new debate arose: to bombard Paris or not? The king opted for bombardment, believing that it would hasten a French surrender. It began on January 5, 1871, but it proved to be ineffectual, inducing the French to attack again, but ultimately to no avail. An armistice was signed, and for the third time in the king's life a French empire had fallen. On January 18, in the Hall of Mirrors at the Sun King's Palace of Versailles, the assembled German princes proclaimed a new German empire, with Wilhelm himself named as German emperor. Stepping down from the raised dais amidst cheers ringing in his ears, the new emperor refused to shake Bismarck's hand, and would not speak to him for several more days, because he had remained king of Prussia instead of becoming king of all Germany.

Eventually, both his son and grandson warmed to the title, and the new Imperial Germany quickly became the preeminent land power on the European continent. World War I erupted after Wilhelm's successor and namesake, Kaiser Wilhelm II, had overindulged in bombastic speechmaking and built a high-seas fleet that threatened the naval supremacy of Great Britain. Ironically, Bismarck had achieved the Austrian alliance he wanted, but in the end it would drag his new Germany into World War I and destroy the very Second Reich he had created. His old master's grandson would fire him from his post in 1890.

The year 1888 became known in Germany as the "Year of the Three Kaisers," because the old Kaiser died in March, followed by his son in June of throat cancer, with both being succeeded by the "last" kaiser, Wilhelm II. By then, the aged kaiser had kept his long-standing pledge to his mother, Queen Louise, by capturing the French eagle standards and tossing them in a heap at the foot of a statue of his late father, King Frederick Wilhelm III. Revenge, as they say, is a dish best served cold. □

By Christopher Miskimon

The versatile and mobile French 75mm cannon was a revolutionary design that saw widespread use during both world wars.

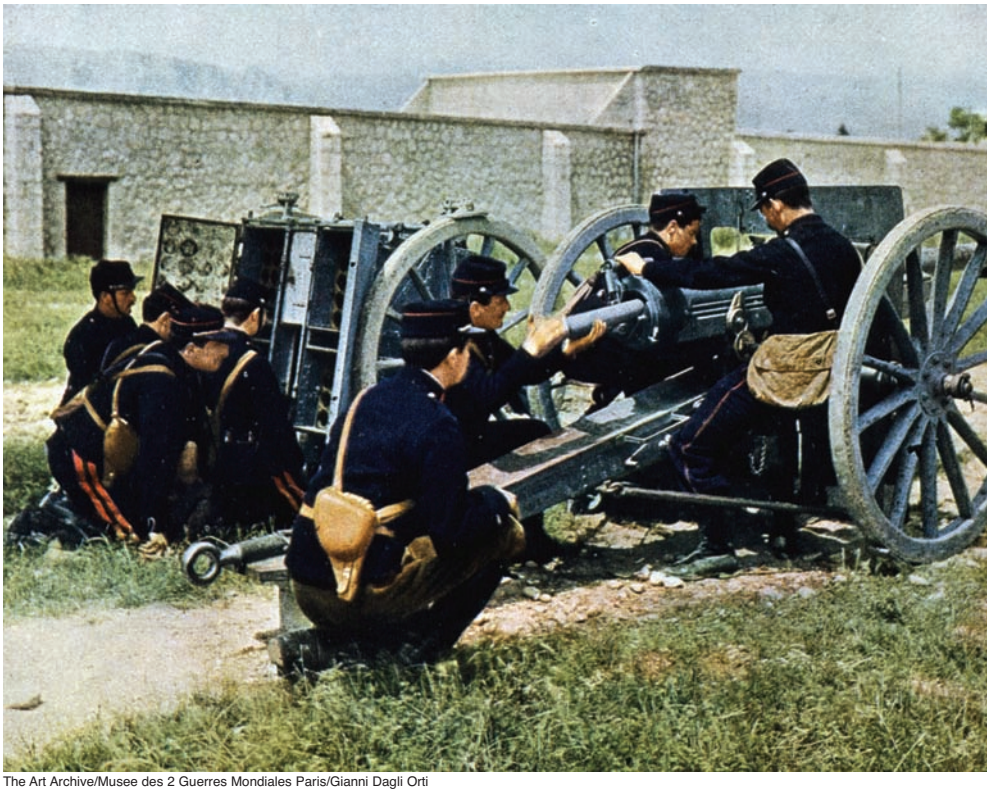
A REGIMENT OF BAVARIAN INFANTRY ADVANCED QUIETLY IN THE dark, rising from its own trenches and moving toward the French lines across the desolate no-man's-land in between. If the German troops could surprise their enemies and gain a foothold, they could break the wretched stalemate that paralyzed the Western Front during World War I. As they inched ever closer to the French position, many of the German infantrymen felt increasingly anxious, hoping they would not be discovered by the enemy while exposed and vulnerable in the open field.

Such hopes were dashed when roving French searchlights pinpointed the German regiment. Nearby sat the means of their undoing—a battery of four Model 1897 75mm guns positioned a mile away but with a clear line of sight. With a direct view of the battlefield, the French battery could pour fire right into the massed German formation. The battery commander gave the order for each gun to fire 30 rounds, and the crews obeyed as fast as they could service their guns. No-man's-land became a hell of high explosives and shrapnel, quickly overwhelming the Germans' ability to continue their attack. A cheer went up from the French lines as the attackers broke and retreated to the comparative safety of their trenches, but the 75s were not yet done. The four guns fired 80 more rounds into the fleeing Germans, completing the rout. The stalemate continued.

The French Model 1897 75mm cannon was a quick-firing, accurate, and dependable artillery piece that became practically the quintessential Allied cannon in World War I. Initially produced under great secrecy, with details of its design jealously guarded by the French government, the *soixante-quinze* went on to have a long, worldwide history of service that lasted well into World War II. It was versatile enough to gain use as an antitank gun, although the tank did not even exist when the cannon was developed in the 1890s. Decades later, the French 75 was still firing shots in anger, continuing to serve in both artillery and antitank roles.

Development of the Model 1897 began as part of the ongoing artillery arms race in the late 1800s. Improvements in explosives and metallurgy made it possible create more powerful cannons than ever before, but one problem plagued designers—recoil. Field guns that were small and light enough for easy transport would literally fly off their wheels at each shot, requiring the gun to be set back into position and aimed again before the next round was fired. If the gun was heavy enough to soak up the recoil forces, it was no longer transportable by a reasonably sized horse team. Recoil-absorbing systems were

French artillerymen efficiently handle a 75mm cannon and caisson at the First Battle of the Marne, September 1914. French artillery was key to holding off the rampaging German Army and keeping it out of Paris.



The Art Archive/Musee des 2 Guerres Mondiales Paris/Gianni Dagli Orti

created, but none of those in general use did the job well enough to solve the problem, and the cannons still jumped upon firing.

In 1892, General Charles Mathieu, the French artillery director, came into possession of a secret German report concerning a revolutionary new cannon that utilized a new "long-recoil" principle. The weapon had advanced to the trial stage but had failed during testing. Still, Mathieu's curiosity was piqued. Summoning the director of the government arsenal at Bourges, Mathieu asked if such a design could be made to work. The director returned to his arsenal to discuss the design with other engineers and officers; they returned after three days of study, saying the weapon's design was simply not feasible. Mathieu was disappointed but not yet ready to give up. He contacted the director of another arsenal in Pateaux, just outside Paris, the Chatillon-Commentry Gun Foundry. The director, Colonel Albert Deport, took the German gun's particulars and studied them for three days. When he returned, he announced to Mathieu that such a gun could indeed be made.

Amber Books

Development began under the strictest secrecy. All correspondence was kept confidential, including the weekly reports Deport made to Mathieu. No contracts were signed, nor did Mathieu seek approval from his superiors. "Misdirected" money from a fund normally used to buy property around Paris paid for the program, to the eventual cost of 300 million francs. Deport's specification called for a weapon of 75mm caliber, but the heart of the new weapon would be the recoil system. Beneath the gun's barrel lay a cradle that held two hydraulic cylinders. The top cylinder held hydraulic fluid, while the bottom held compressed gas. A port connected the two cylinders and a floating piston kept the gas and liquid apart. When the gun fired, the fluid was forced down through the port into the second cylinder, compressing the gas until the recoil energy was expended, at which point the gas pushed against the floating piston and forced the fluid back into the first cylinder. This "counterrecoil" pushed the gun back into firing position, ready for the next shot. The system worked so smoothly that the gun essentially stayed in place after firing without jumping, eliminating the need to re-aim it before firing again. This increased the rate of fire dramatically.

Morris Swett Library, Ft. Sill, OK

American doughboys handle a Model 1897 75mm in battle. The gun on the left is in full recoil, with a shell casing suspended in the air to the let of the tube.

Although the French were attempting to design a whole new class of cannon, they did not hesitate to adopt features from other guns they thought might work. The cannon's breech assembly was of the Nordenfeldt type, a rotating block with a notch cut into one side. When rotated, the notch exposed the chamber so a round could be inserted, then the block was rotated back and closed. It was simple and reliable. The features of other guns were adapted as well. A decade earlier, another French officer had designed a 57mm gun with a number of new details. These included a separate sighting device not attached to the gun tube, which enabled the sight be moved independently of the barrel. They also adopted the concept of the collimator, a fixed telescope used for aiming the gun in direct fire. Additionally, gun shields for crew protection and a seat for the gunner were adapted to the new cannon. The seat was only really useful if the gun's recoil was sufficiently managed by the new recoil system to keep the gun from jumping when fired. Otherwise, the gunner would be thrown off when the gun jumped.

Secrecy about the new 75 was maintained even after the cannon entered service with the French Army. The floating piston was of particular interest to those wanting to copy the gun's design because of the way it was sealed to prevent the fluid and gas from mixing. This was such an important detail that French artillery officers were forbidden to have any knowledge of it—in fact, they were not allowed to see the piston itself when it was disassembled from the gun. Various regulations were put into place to assure the secrecy of the 75's internal mechanism. Only certain maintenance functions could be performed at the battery level, and even these had to be carried out with an officer present. French technical journals obligingly refrained from writing about the new recoil system as well.

In the end, all the efforts paid off. The Model 1897 set a whole new standard of artillery performance. In the hands of a highly trained gun crew, rates of fire as high as 30 rounds per minute were possible. This required great practice and precision in the reloading process, as the gun would scarcely have finished its recoil motion at a rate of one round per two seconds.

Even so, a well-drilled Model 1897 crew could accomplish 10 to 20 rounds per minute without much trouble. The recoil system was so effective, it was said, that one could set a glass of water on the carriage's wheel and it would not spill during firing. The gun itself, including its carriage, weighed just over 2,650 pounds. The tube was eight feet, three inches long, which equated to 33 calibers (the length of the tube divided by the diameter). Range of fire was up to four miles.

The firing capability proved both useful and deadly on the Western Front during World War I, where the Allies' enemies had to fight their way through thick, hellish barrages of 75mm fire. At the war's beginning in 1914, some 4,000 75mm cannons were in the French inventory; thousands more would be produced during the conflict.

As the war progressed, the Germans came to have a healthy respect for the 75. Even civilians gave testament to its power. After seeing a battery of 75s in action near Milhausen, France, one French citizen recalled observing a German artillery battery set up on high ground near a cemetery, posting their horses and limbers on some low ground nearby. As the man watched, a French battery of four 75s opened fire on the Germans and "demolished the material and killed almost all the cannoneers, directed its fire on the limbers posted in the bottom land and killed a great number of horses."

When the Americans entered the war in 1917, there were severe shortages of all sorts of military equipment, including artillery. American factories were still gearing up, and could not provide guns quickly enough for the weapons-starved divisions going overseas. Luckily, the French could produce enough 75s to equip both armies as well as provide ammunition and training facilities for the arriving Americans, who took an immediate liking to their new cannon. The French *soixante-quinze,* in typical American fashion, was pronounced "saucy can," and the doughboys of the American Expeditionary Force found it accurate and reliable. They adopted the French pattern of equipping their batteries with four guns each instead of six, since the 75's rate of fire meant that a four-gun battery had the same firepower as a normal six-gun unit. By the time the first American 75s went into action on October 23, 1917, the AEF possessed some 270 Model 1897s, enough to equip at least 64 batteries.

National Archives

An American gun crew fires the 75mm at Saint-Michel, France, in September 1918. Note the large pile of expended shells and ammunition packing tubes behind the gun, indicating its high rate of fire. A shell casing is still in the air above the cannon.

The guns were quickly put to good use. In the St. Mihiel offensive, the American guns fired a barrage of one million rounds in just four hours. Half the 3,000 guns used were 75s, which fired two-thirds of all the ammunition expended in the offensive. By the war's end, American 75s had fired more than six million rounds in all, mostly in conventional barrages to support attacks or defend against enemy assaults.

The needs of the war gave rise to some interesting and unconventional uses of the 75 as well. One American battalion used its guns individually, taking advantage of the 75's high firing rate to dupe the Germans into thinking an entire battery was in action. It required an experienced gun crew, able to open the cannon's breech when it was extended in full recoil, then load a fresh round into the chamber before the barrel returned to firing position. This would put four rounds on the target in only six seconds, equal to all the guns of a battery firing at once. These roaming sections would move frequently, towing the 75 behind a truck rather than the usual team of horses. This gave the gunners the mobility to make one gun do the work of several different batteries firing from different locations.

One American unit, Battery F of the 149th Field Artillery Battalion, part of the 42nd Infantry Division, came up with the so-called Pirate Gun. This cannon was used to support an attack with direct fire right on the front lines. The night before the assault, the gun was towed by its horse team as close as possible to the trenches, then manhandled to firing position by the gun crew and infantrymen. It was then carefully hidden from German view. When the preparatory barrage began, the gun stayed quiet, taking no part in the initial shelling. When the American infantrymen emerged from their trenches and advanced, they immediately came under heavy fire from a number of enemy machine guns. It was for just this situation that the 75 had been moved up. It now sprang into action. Firing over open sights, the crew picked the closest machine gun nest, only a few hundred yards away, and fired. The enemy machine gun was quickly knocked out of action and the gun crew moved on to the next one. Most of the nests were knocked out with just a single round, and soon all the German nests within a radius of 1,000 yards lay silent.

With the loss of their machine guns, the Germans retreated and the American attack succeeded. After nightfall the gun was again pushed forward, this time to fire on a farm-

Library of Congress

A rare artistic depiction of the 75mm cannon on the move. French forces used the quick-firing cannon in campaigns in China and Morocco in the early 1900s.

house the enemy had occupied. This fortified position was holding up the advance, so the Pirate Gun was called up to destroy it. Waiting until dawn, the gun crew poured fire into the enemy-held building and leveled it. The 75 was credited with helping the attack succeed with far fewer casualties than usual.

After the war, the Model 1897 soldiered on despite attempts to replace it with a newer design. In the U.S. Army, the postwar Westervelt Board recommended a new 75mm cannon that eventually would come to fruition as the M-1 pack howitzer. But in the spartan fiscal atmosphere of the 1920s and 1930s, the new weapon stayed in the experimental phase. Meanwhile, Model 1897s continued to serve because large numbers were still available or in storage.

During World War II, 75s once again fired shots in anger. Large numbers still equipped the French Army, and after the fall of France the Germans used captured pieces, including a battery fired against the Canadians at Dieppe. In the U.S. Army, although newer artillery pieces had started to finally come into service, 75s still found use. A crash program to develop a stopgap antitank gun mated the 75 to a M-3 halftrack chassis until dedicated tank destroyers were fielded. The M-61 armor-piercing round created for the gun could penetrate up to three inches of armor at 1,000 yards, quite respectable for the early years of the war. The design was hurried into service in the days just before Pearl Harbor, with a number being shipped to the Philippines. There they served as both artillery and tank destroyers with good effect during their first combat service. Some were captured and later used by the Japanese before American troops recaptured the islands—and the 75s—later in the war.

The 75s next saw action during the fighting in North Africa in late 1942 and early 1943. The 601st Tank Destroyer Battalion used them in the fighting around El Guettar in March 1943, knocking out 30 German tanks while sustaining the loss of 21 M-3s in the effort. Overall, the M-3 was deemed unsuccessful, largely because it was often used aggressively in direct support of attacking infantry, where its thin armor was a detriment. Quickly phased out of frontline service, some M-3s were transferred to the British Army, which used them as self-propelled artillery in the headquarters troops of tank squadrons for the remainder of the war.

In the Pacific, the Marine Corps used the 75s to better effect during various campaigns. The Marines used them in both the antitank role, where they proved quite effective against the thinly armored Japanese tanks, and in direct fire support roles, destroying enemy bunkers and fixed emplacements, although in this role the 75's thin armor and open top exposed it to attack. The M-3 was replaced late in the war by the M-7 105mm self-propelled gun.

After World War II, the French 75 was quickly retired from most European armies, although some soldiered on in the Third World. Over its long service, the Model 1897 saw action in both of the great conflagrations of the 20th century. At its introduction, the 75 represented a huge leap ahead in artillery technology, heralding in a new era of fast-firing, deadly cannons. By 1945, the weapon had been eclipsed by new designs, but the 75 remains perhaps the quintessential Allied artillery piece of World War I. □

By Joan Wenner

The Confederate provost guard functioned as a combination rear guard and prison keeper during the Civil War.

WITH THE BOMBARDMENT OF FORT SUMTER IN APRIL 1861, the Civil War began in earnest. The first recruits, on both sides, were completely uninitiated in the ways of military life. They had to learn in camp how to be soldiers—living in the open, sharing tents, constructing fortifications, drilling, marching in step and following commands. Included in their training was instruction in proper military conduct, enforced by a system of punishments for infractions that would prove as vexing to the soldiers of the Civil War as it had to every army since the time of Alexander the Great.

The Confederate provost system was one approach to maintaining proper military discipline in the southern armies. The provost system was based largely on British precedents that had existed since the Revolution and was mainly restricted to purely military police functions. Many provost duties initially were performed by civilians, although the Confederate articles of war provided for military provost marshals and military courts to try personnel charged with violating military law.

In 1862, a subsequent act of the Confederate Congress authorized a military court for each army corps and a provost marshal to execute its orders. The jurisdiction of these courts included offenses against the Articles of War and against Confederate and state laws. An 1863 report of the Army of Tennessee mandated: "A provost marshal general will be assigned to duty at army headquarters with one assistant. Corps commanders will detail a field officer, with one assistant, for duty at corps headquarters, a captain for division headquarters, and a lieutenant for brigade headquarters. These officers will report regularly to the provost marshal of the army."

All photos: National Archives

As the war dragged on, Southern governors tried and mostly failed to gain direct control over the provost guard as it increasingly affected the public. They wanted at least to rein in its authority, especially its existence outside the operational sphere of the armies, to prevent abuses against the civilian population. But legislative efforts were generally unsuccessful in limiting the authority of provost marshals over the citi-

BELOW: A provost marshal's office at Aquia Creek, Virginia, in February 1863 draws a desultory crowd. Some soldiers used provost duty to avoid combat.

RIGHT: Brig. Gen. John H. Winder.

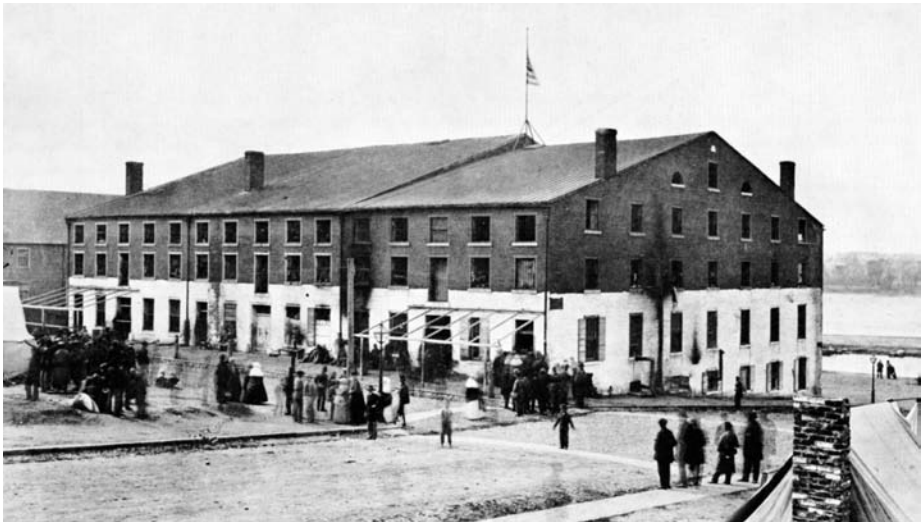
zenry. The governors' fears of such an extension of power would later prove justified as the provost guard's original purpose—to preserve order in the armies—was greatly expanded by the pressures of war.

One example of the provost guard's increased authority was the monitoring of transportation services such as trains. The intention was to decrease the growing rate of desertion within the Confederate Army and to restrict the movement of Union spies. A system of passes was devised to regulate travel, annoying citizens and soldiers alike. Vigorous debate continued among members of the Confederate Congress who believed that provost marshal powers should not extend beyond the army. But as the Confederacy's military fortunes declined, the army often ignored relevant provisions. Military necessities had more weight than the political niceties of catering to strict constitutionalist governors and other state officials.

The widespread unpopularity of civilian passports grew as battlefronts expanded, and Confederate citizens increasingly were subject to the provost guard's control of every individual's right of movement. Even General Robert E. Lee's wife, Mary Anne Custis, was delayed and questioned by provost guards during a trip before her identity was confirmed. Over time, oppressive measures continued to be hotly debated, and provost authority was to a degree curtailed in areas outside the actual fields of military operations. Additionally, provost marshal appointments were carefully controlled in rear areas.

Early on, Confederate commanders requested authority to raise companies of exempt men to be used by the provost marshals to enforce orders. In addition, local defense units were organized from the reserve corps and those unfit for active service. In at least one major department, a provost organization was formalized on a district and subdistrict basis, and necessary police officers were appointed, with militia being used as provost guards to keep order and guard public property, prisons, and bridges. In many regions, the absence of any other manpower made the use of the provost guards inevitable. And while there were some complaints from regular troops about their being detached for provost duty, there were also numerous instances of men using provost duty to avoid the rigors of active service, a practice that reached serious proportions in the last two years of the war.

Confederate congressional representatives called for steps to prevent officers from abusing their power to grant exemptions from conscription in certain areas. It was feared that enrolling officers who stayed too long in one locality (and who themselves were frequently averse to hard, frontline service) would become overly familiar with local citizens and thus more prone to keep eligible men out of the army.



ABOVE: Libby Prison in Richmond, Virginia, was part of the provost marshal's chain of responsibility. It is shown following its liberation by Union troops in April 1865. BELOW: Although the powers of the provost marshall were not intended to extend beyond the army, ordinary citizens were also subjected to its regulations, including the unpopular civilian passport.

In military departments, the provost chain of command was from subdistrict to district and finally to department-level provost marshals. In the field armies, as well, a chain extended through the levels of command from brigade through division and corps. Staff responsibilities were fairly well defined, with provost guards receiving their orders either directly from formation commanders or through the appropriate staff officers. Even in the most remote commands, the provost machinery was firmly in place, and sometimes entire brigades were placed on provost duty.

It was not until February 1865 that a bill was introduced in the Confederate Senate providing for the formal appointment of a provost marshal general. The purpose was to replace the long-serving Brig. Gen. John H. Winder, who had just died, and name Brig. Gen. Daniel Ruggles as his replacement. When Winder placed Richmond under martial law "to ferret out spies and other undesirables," his undiplomatic methods caused further repercussions, and his battles with the city's hospitals and board of surgeons did nothing but increase his unpopularity. Leaving in June 1864 to become the commandant of the infamous Andersonville prison in Georgia, Winder eventually would command additional southern prison

camps and function as provost marshal general until his death on February 7, 1865.

Robert E. Lee never doubted the need for strict discipline. In Lee's opinion, too much reliance was placed on the soldier's innate "merit" and not enough was done to instill instinctive obedience. He believed the primary duty of the Confederate provost guard was the maintenance of discipline. Beyond that, Lee looked to the provosts to perform the time-consuming responsibilities of crime prevention and investigation of crimes committed by military personnel, as well as escorting offenders, apprehending deserters, and rounding up absentees.

In the constant battle against vice, Confederate military policemen encountered looting, pillaging, lax military security, and the soldiers' time-honored pastimes of gambling and prostitution, all complicated by the ever-present liquor-related offenses. In May 1862, the Confederate Congress attempted to control liquor consumption by passing legislation to punish drunkenness in the army. Such enactments, noted one historian, "had about the same deterrent effect as King Canute did in his famous encounter with the North Sea."

A highly visible provost was essential for a measure of acceptable discipline, and provost marshals were charged with functioning as policemen, magistrates, and jailers. The Confederate Articles of War in 1861 provided for provost tribunals to try military personnel accused of offenses against military law. Originally, the procedures for courts-martial were inefficient, but an attempt to correct deficiencies was effected a year and a half later, in October 1862, authorizing a military court for each army corps in the field to exercise unrestricted jurisdiction over military personnel and civil jurisdiction in occupied areas. Each court was permitted to appoint a provost marshal with the rank and pay of a captain of cavalry to execute its orders, and provost jurisdiction was extended to include offenses against the Articles of War, Confederate law, and state law. General courts-martial were also established and they had their own appointed regimental officers serving as provost marshals with duties similar to those of a sheriff in a civilian court.

Although the Articles of War were intended to provide for the trial of military offenders against military law, imprecise wording could be construed as making civilians answerable to military courts. The standards of discipline of the marshals and their subordinate officers, and the degree to which "inhumanity would be tolerated in the imposition of discipline," varied. Problems frequently arose between the provost marshals and various state supreme courts (act-

ing on writs of habeas corpus) concerning the jurisdiction of the military over civilians accused of crimes against the Confederacy. In one instance, Louisianans loudly bemoaned limited efforts to suspend the writ, and citizens protested the suspension of such rights in New Orleans immediately prior to the Union occupation. When Winder put Richmond under martial law, his undiplomatic methods caused further repercussions. Alarmed, the Confederate Congress quashed Jefferson Davis's authority to suspend habeas corpus, and virtually anything that smacked of a threat to states' rights was strenuously resisted.

Provost responsibility extended to the operation of detention facilities and service prisons, with Winder tasked with their administration. Initially appointed inspector general of all camps, including the prisons in the Richmond area, Winder met with constant disapproval from the majority of Richmond civilians, who considered the general "active but outrageous." Said one disgusted citizen, "Evildoers were the only ones the police did not trouble. [They were] oppressive only to the peaceful."

Unceasing efforts to control desertion occupied more and more provost troops as the Confederacy's fortunes deteriorated. Large areas in western North Carolina's rugged Sauratown Mountains and parts of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi became sanctuaries for huge numbers of deserters. Constant appeals to deserters to rejoin the colors fell on deaf ears, in many cases not due to cowardice but to increasing concerns for and acute anxiety over the welfare of their families in the war-ravaged South. In numerous dispatches from November 1864 to March 1865, Lee's message on desertion was virtually the same: "Hundreds of men are deserting nightly. I do not know what can be done to put a stop to it."

The decline in confidence and morale significantly decreased the chances of Confederate victory. It is perhaps telling that one of the last operational tasks performed by the provost guard occurred during the evacuation of Richmond in April 1865, exactly seven days before Lee's surrender to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox. A local defense brigade officer was charged with defending the last bridge over the James River east of the city as the remaining provost troops withdrew. As the last of the cavalry crossed the bridge and an engineer officer set it afire, one of the retreating cavalrymen exclaimed, "All over, goodbye; blow her to hell." It seemed fitting that a provost guard should have been among the last to leave the burning capital, serving as the rear guard of a nation also blown to hell. □

By Raymond E. Bell, Jr.

Luxembourg's privately run Hoffmann Museum houses a unique collection of WWII weapons, uniforms, and memorabilia.

YOU WON'T FIND THE FAMILIAR LITTLE TRIANGULAR SIGNS, "Warnung Minen!" hanging on barbed wire today in Western Europe, with one exception. You might well see them on a garden fence in the vicinity of the small town of Harlange in northwestern Luxembourg, which lay directly in the path of the U.S. 6th Armored and 35th Infantry Divisions during the liberation of Luxembourg.

Photos by Raymond E. Bell, Jr.

A mannequin wearing the uniform of a technical sergeant in the American 359th Infantry Regiment mans the equipment in the Hoffmann Museum's "radio corner."

Today the town sits peaceably in the bucolic countryside, with scarcely a trace of the destruction wrought by the Battle of the Bulge in December 1944. But on the second floor of Deputy Chief of Police Gilbert Hoffmann's home is a unique and compact museum of World War II weaponry, personal equipment, communications gear, uniforms, and other military memorabilia.

To many World War II veterans and their families who have visited Luxembourg in recent years, Hoffmann is a well-known military expert with an intimate knowledge of the terrain and environs of northwest Luxembourg. A veteran of that nation's small army and gendarmerie, Hoffmann for many years has walked the local battlefields on the southern flank of the German advance during the Battle of the Bulge. His work as a gendarme led to close connections to local inhabitants and Hoffmann has collected a large and diverse selection of wartime memorabilia. He happily shares this collection with interested visitors (by appointment only, for security reasons).

Hoffmann and his wife, Diane, greet visitors warmly at the front door of their gracious home overlooking Harlange—once you get past the signs warning about the mines. Mme. Hoffmann is an accomplished cook, but like her husband she also collects World War II memorabilia. Vintage cigarettes, ration cards, razors, tubes of shaving cream, P-38 can openers, and matchbooks sit inside a handsome glass case in the home's vestibule.

On the second floor of the Hoffmann home, visitors immediately see the sign reading "Captain James D. Richter Memorial Collection" on the secured door at the end of the hall. Richter was the artillery liaison officer for the 915th Field Artillery Battery, 359th Infantry Regiment, 90th Infantry Division in January 1945. He was killed by a German Minenwerfer round while crouched at the blown-out window of a farmhouse on the outskirts of the Luxembourg hamlet of Nothum on January 9.

The 90th Division was just commencing an attack against the German 19th Volksgrenadier Division when Maj. Gen. James A. Van Fleet and his entourage arrived at the house to view the attack's launching. Keen German observers noticed the convoy of jeeps arriving at the farmhouse and quickly zeroed in on it.

ABOVE: German machine guns, including the fast-firing MG-42 and the MG-15, mounted on a bipod by paratroopers on the ground. RIGHT: The Hoffmanns' impressive display of light artillery shells. FAR RIGHT: Mannequin dressed as Lt. Col. George B. Randolph, commander of the 712th Tank Battalion, who was killed by German shrapnel at Nothum, Luxembourg, on January 9, 1945.

The author's father, Colonel Raymond E. Bell, the regimental commander of the 359th Infantry, was standing in a doorway adjacent to the window and narrowly missed being hit by the shell. Richter, unfortunately, was fatally struck by shell fragments flying through the window.

Hoffmann got to know the Richter family after the war when Captain Richter's two sons came to Luxembourg in search of their father's place of death. The then Gendarme Hoffmann had been scouring the countryside for abandoned German and American weapons, ammunition, and equipment that littered farmers' fields in the area. Stationed in the village of Bavigne, a few miles from Harlange, Hoffmann and his interest in World War II memorabilia were well known in the surrounding communities, and he and the Richters quickly linked up.

Just inside the door, on the wall, is a photograph of the author's father as a colonel commanding the regiment to which Captain Richter was liaison officer. On display also are Colonel Bell's stars from when he was promoted to general; his ribbons, including the Distinguished Service Cross and four Silver Stars; and his brigadier general's shoulder boards for his formal blue uniform.

The first exhibit one sees in Hoffmann's attic museum is the "radio corner." There is displayed a radio set labeled Signal Corps Radio-300A. Beside it, in front of a 12-line BD-72 telephone switchboard, is a mannequin dressed in the uniform of a technical sergeant of the 359th Infantry Regiment, 90th Division. To his right is a BC-659 Signal Corps transmitter.

In the room, the visitor also notes a touch of the present day. Hanging on the wall is a Belgian-made FN-FAL light automatic rifle, a weapon that played a prominent role in the decades-long confrontation between Western and Communist troops on the border of East and West Germany. The weapon, firing the standard 7.62mm cartridge, was the rifle of choice for many North Atlantic Treaty Organization member nations. It was also popular in countries as far apart as Peru and Burundi.

Located just below the rifle is a row of shells for light artillery pieces in the range of 105mm caliber. Of particular note are the dreaded German 88mm antitank and antiaircraft cannon shells for the lethal Flugabwehrkanone 41 (FLAK) antiaircraft gun. Alongside the 88mm shells sits one for the Panzerabwehrkanone 43 (PAK) antitank gun, which by the end of World War II packed twice the amount of propellant as the original version of the weapon.

While the disarmed shells are interesting, what is perhaps more significant in the display are the two aiming circles, American and German, that allowed gunners to put their rounds accurately on target. American artillerymen, in particular, were quite accurate in their fire direction. Part of the reason was that the American M1 aiming circle was more precise than its German counterpart. That is all the more remarkable because of the German reputation for producing excellent optical equipment. The German Richtkreis 1940, however, had a 5 mil deviation error, which meant that at the range

of 10 kilometers an artillery round would land at least 500 meters wide of its target. While German artillery could be fearsome at times, this deficiency in accuracy undoubtedly had an adverse effect on the results produced by German gunners.

On the other side of the museum, one encounters a more peaceful display—two wine glasses with the letters "PH" engraved on them, standing for the Palace Hotel in the southern Luxembourg town of Mondorf. The hotel was a prisoner-of-war holding location for especially notorious Nazi war criminals awaiting movement to Nuremberg for the famous trials. German air czar Hermann Göring, for one, spent time at the hotel before he was placed on trial. The Allies did not want the hotel to become a rallying site for Nazi adherents after the war, so the hotel was destroyed. Hoffmann managed to salvage two of the heirloom wine glasses from the general destruction.

One of the most interesting parts of the museum is its display of German weapons, uniforms, and equipment. Here, one finds the famous German machine gun, MG-42, which had a very high rate of fire. On the battlefield, it was easy to distinguish the firing of the weapon from the American light machine gun because of the German weapon's distinctive sound. On display also is an MG-15 aircraft machine gun used by German paratroopers on the ground after they added a bipod and butt stock.

The Luftwaffe plays another role in the exhibit of German equipment at the Hoffmann Museum. German parachute troops wore a belt with brown leather pouches and a belt buckle with a Luftwaffe insignia on it. Inside the belt on display are the markings "FLGF.SCH.CL LUST, 2te KOMPANIE," indicating that the wearer was in flight-pilot training school before going on to become a Fallschirmjaeger, or paratrooper.

Poison gas was not used on World War II battlefields by any of the combatants, but both sides were prepared for such warfare, and the preparation extended to children. The Germans developed a gas protective jacket for children too small to wear the standard gas mask. One of these jackets is on display in Hofmann's collection.

For the small-arms aficionado, there is an exhibit of the 70 different types of German small-arms ammunition. Examples include the black-tipped round that indicated a tracer round used for night firing, and a wooden-tipped round used as a blank or practice round. Other examples include the armor-piercing tracer round used in the tropics, the armor-piercing phosphorous round, and the propelling cartridges used for antitank grenades. Of special note is the cutaway of a fused round that was employed for observation and ranging purposes.

German-language leaflets dropped by American planes in the last days of the war, including a safe conduct pass (lower right corner).

Among the displays are several types of German mines. One is the glass mine with explosives encased in a sealed glass bulb. The waterproof mine could be found on the invasion beaches of Normandy. It was designed to explode as Allied troops rushed ashore or to disrupt over-the-beach logistics operations once the landings had taken place. There is also the "Schu" mine, an explosive device designed by the Germans to "jump" when detonated. This was a particularly insidious mine because stepping on it meant losing a leg, at minimum, and often the entire lower part of one's body. The American soldier particularly feared this mine for its disabling effects. During the harsh winter of 1944-1945, however, the detonating mechanisms on such mines often froze when covered with snow and ice, so that a soldier stepping on the mine would not cause it to explode. When the snow and ice melted, however, the mines resumed their deadly roles. Rear-echelon troops advancing behind combat forces that had bypassed the mines during the winter suffered accordingly.

Hoffmann personally found or recovered many of the items in local fields and buildings. Neighbors would call him when they discovered war items, and he would see to it that they were properly disposed of. Some of the items were found in unusual places. A Panzerfaust, or German bazooka, was discovered in the chimney of a local home. To this day Hoffmann finds wartime relics in woods where shrapnel still lies freely on the ground.

The museum, as noted, is dedicated to Captain Richter, but another officer also haunts the collection. On the same day, at the same time, that Richter was killed, Lt. Col. George B. Randolph, the battalion commander of the 712th Tank Battalion, was killed instantly by a piece of shrapnel from a Nebelwerfer round as he stood beside one of his tanks just a few yards from where Richter lost his life. Hoffmann has memorialized Randolph by creating a mannequin dressed as Randolph was dressed when he was killed, complete with helmet and overcoat.

Next to Randolph's mannequin stands another one representing a soldier of the 5th Infantry Division, which held part of the southern shoulder of Maj. Gen. George S. Patton's Third Army during the Battle of the Bulge. This mannequin appears, wearing a long overcoat, fully uniformed as he arrived in the theater of operations. Another mannequin is dressed in an early 1945 camouflage uniform, accessorized with a harness used for carrying boxes of machine-gun ammunition, two in front and two in the rear.

The United States is not the only Allied nation represented in Hoffmann's museum. A Luxembourg artillery unit firing a 105mm/25-pounder artillery piece is on display as well, represented by a Luxembourg soldier wearing British battle dress and a Luxembourg shoulder tab. The unit was integrated into the Belgian Piron Brigade, and it used British equipment and uniforms such as the Belgian soldiers wore.

Hoffmann manages to display his weapons, many still serviceable, along with ammunition and mines, by having a Luxembourg Department of Justice inspector inspect his collection yearly for proper security and storage. One has to wonder what the inspector must have

thought when he first saw the original 20mm German automatic antiaircraft cannon, the FLAK 38, mounted on a wheeled chassis in Hoffmann's garage. The inspector must also have been impressed by the almost complete collection of World War II bayonets on display. The only one missing is the chrome-covered bayonet that West Point cadets carried on the barrels of their M1 rifles in the 1940s and 1950s.

As one continues to tour the museum, one encounters American 60mm and 81mm mortars. The 81mm mortar was employed in the heavy weapons company of an infantry battalion and could fire a diverse array of rounds. The smaller 60mm mortar proved effective at close ranges, but after World War II it was abandoned by the U.S. Army because of its perceived ineffectiveness.

Hoffmann's collection of wartime propaganda is especially interesting. The German leaflets exhibited were very crude and written in poor English. The American leaflets, on the other hand, many of which were dropped by aircraft as well as blasted into enemy lines via artillery rounds, were very detailed and professionally done. Probably the most significant piece of American psychological weaponry was the safe conduct pass. On one side, safe passage was printed in German, on the other in English. These proved quite popular with the Germans as the Allies beat down the foes' defenses and swept into Germany proper in early 1945.

Departing the museum, one sees various helmets on display. One is the U.S. antimagnetic helmet worn by air crew gunners in B-17 Flying Fortresses and B-24 Liberator bombers. These were worn to keep from disturbing the aircrafts' delicate compasses. Of special interest to the son of a 90th Infantry Division officer is the helmet clearly marked with a "TO" (for Texas-Oklahoma) found near the hamlet of Nothum. Through the helmet's right side one can see where a round went in and came out the back in the form of two shell fragments. Its owner's fate is unknown, but it is possible that the bullet was deflected around the inside of the helmet's plastic liner. One can only hope.

Mr. and Mrs. Hoffmann are not the only military memorabilia collectors in their family. Thirteen-year-old daughter Kathy has a nice collection of her own in the Hoffmanns' attic museum. In a number of cans she has collected pieces of shrapnel that she personally dug up in the fields. She has also assembled a variety of cartridges from small arms, most displaying years of exposure to the ravages of nature. She has placed these in an ammunition box that she found near the World War II memorial chapel on the outskirts of Harlange. At Schumann's Eck, a small piece of ground where U.S. Army divisions fought on the southern flank during the Battle of the Bulge, Kathy found a large piece of shrapnel. She has added this to her display, along with a .50-caliber cartridge that her father believes was dropped by an American aircraft strafing a German position. Still another memento is the tail assembly of a 60mm mortar shell used by an American infantry heavy weapons platoon.

There is a plethora of World War II museums in Belgium, France, and Luxembourg that celebrate the remarkable victory over Germany. Some are comprehensive and elaborate, such as the ones at Diekirch, Luxembourg, and Thionville, France. Others are more memorials than museums, such as the one at Bastogne, Belgium. Many private homes are also undoubtedly repositories of World War II memorabilia, but Gilbert Hoffmann's attic museum is one of the best of these small museums. As a bonus, the owner is a hands-on expert on what he displays. Hoffmann can be contacted by e-mail at musee-ardennes@internet.lu. □

WHILE THE 16-YEAR-OLD **PRINCE OF WALES WAITED** UNEASILY WITH A SMALL FORCE **AT SHREWSBURY, HIS FATHER** HURRIED NORTH TO CONFRONT **HIS FURIOUS FORMER ALLY,** HARRY "HOTSPUR" PERCY.

BY AL HEMINGWAY

LIKE APPLES *Fallen In Autumn*

BY THE MIDDLE OF JULY 1403, A SERIES OF SEEMINGLY INEVITABLE EVENTS had led two armies to a field near the small and hitherto unheralded village of Shrewsbury in Shropshire, approximately 150 miles northwest of London. The tiny hamlet was important for several reasons. It was the main town on the road that led south to the capital, it was one of the few spots where the Severn River could be forded, and it could be utilized as a supply base for either army. Whoever managed to seize and hold Shrewsbury might very well rule England.

The political turmoil leading up to the battle had commenced during the reign of King Richard II, who had banished his cousin, Henry Bolingbroke, from England for a period of six years beginning in 1398. Henry was the son of John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster, who in turn was the son of King Edward III and Philippa of Hainault. A stocky man of average height, with a closely trimmed auburn beard, Henry was known around court as something of an intellectual. He openly, if ill-advisedly, claimed that he had more right to the throne than his unpredictable and despotic cousin, Richard. When he was cast out of England for his views, Henry traveled to France, where he was greeted warmly by King Charles VI and other French nobility.

Within a few months, Henry received the devastating news that his father had died. At the same time, he learned that Richard had disowned him and had given all the family's land and money to other nobles who more strongly supported the throne. The king ordered that Henry's exile be changed from six years to life. Stunned by Richard's actions, Henry immediately began plotting his return to England to seize power from his cousin. His spies informed him that the country was seething with discontent. That was not entirely true. Although they loathed the effete and possibly homosexual Richard, many of the English peasants remained loyal to the crown itself, although they feared that the king's volatile behavior might result in further harm to the stability of their homes and farms.

Boiling with anger over his treatment at the king's hands, Henry secretly returned to England in the summer of 1399 while Richard was off campaigning in Ireland. Henry quickly aligned himself with Thomas Arundel, who had also incurred Richard's anger and been removed as Archbishop of Canterbury. Forced into exile, Arundel journeyed to Rome and received an audience with Pope Boniface IX, during which he requested that the pope intercede on his behalf. Boniface sympathized with Arundel's plight and wrote to Richard—one head of state to another—asking that he reconsider and reinstate Arundel as archbishop. Richard's rude reply infuriated the pope, and soon Arundel and Henry were scheming together to overthrow the English monarch.

Henry wanted to raise an army and overthrow the king by force. However, the politically attuned Arundel persuaded him that such a strategy would be unwise. If Richard was forced to step down by military means, all property would immediately become Henry's—the very thing most feared by the commoners. By doing so, Henry's support among the populace would be greatly diminished.

Upon his return from Ireland, Richard was taken prisoner in Wales and transported to London. Throngs of people lined the roads and tossed garbage at him as he rode by. The unpopular king had to be closely guarded because people demanded that he be put to death. Henry, a

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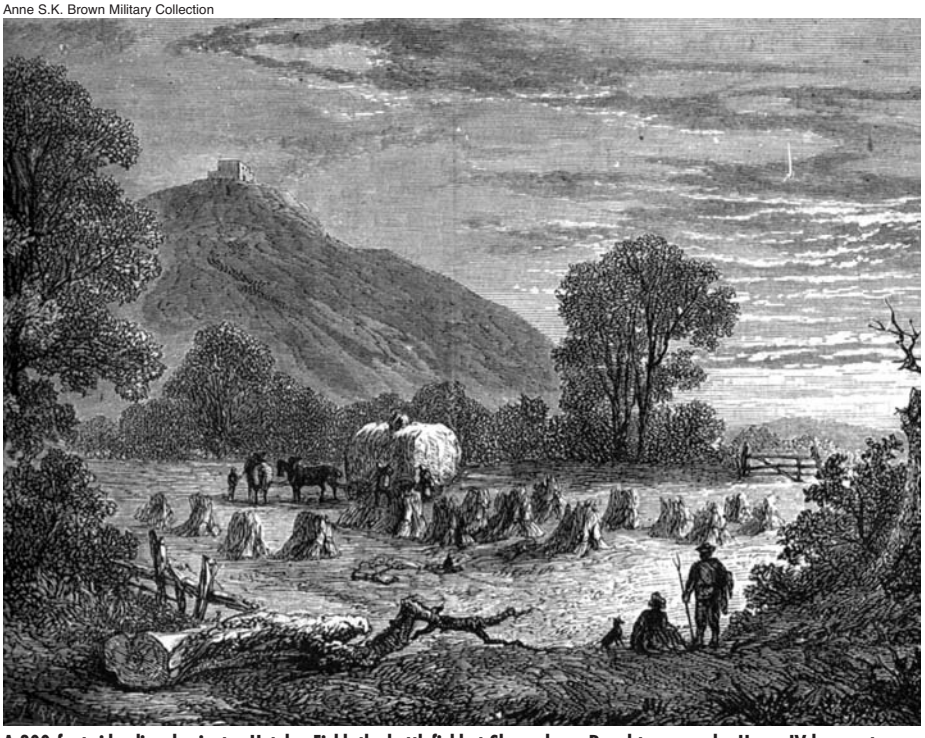


A 300-foot ridge line dominates Hateley Field, the battlefield at Shrewsbury. Royal troops under Henry IV have set up tents on the eve of the battle.

wise politician, resisted for a time, fearing that such an execution would prove detrimental to his own fortunes as the next king of England.

Richard was imprisoned in the infamous Tower of London to await his fate. A document detailing his shortcomings as king, undoubtedly authored by Arundel, was presented to Richard by Henry Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, and Ralph Neville, the Earl of Westmoreland, for his signature. Fearing for his life, the king had no choice but to sign the paper. On September 29, 1399, Henry read the treatise aloud before Parliament, outlining his cousin's gross inadequacies as the country's ruler. After his abdication, Richard was confined to Pontefract Castle, where he died in February 1400. The official cause of death was listed as starvation; whether it was self-imposed or initiated by Henry remains uncertain. Whatever the case, Bolingbroke was soon crowned King Henry IV. To this day, historians argue the legality of the succession. Legal or not, Henry was now the new monarch of England. His tenure as king, he would soon discover, would not be an easy one.

To show his gratitude to the Percy clan of Northumberland, the newly appointed king showered them with land and honors. He named Henry Percy, known as Harry Hotspur by the Scots because of his speed in battle, warden of the Eastern Marches and justiciar of North Wales. Percy was also designated constable of Berwick, Roxburgh, Bamburgh, Chester, Flint, and Carnarvon. The powerful Percys were the controlling family in northeastern England and were cousins to Henry Bolingbroke. They had rallied to his aid when Richard confiscated all his property and exiled him to France. But there was an ulterior motive for the Percy family's assistance to Henry. Hotspur's father, also named Henry, knew full well that his son had an equal claim to the throne because of his blood line. Despite the tributes bestowed upon them, a serious rift developed between the Percys and the House of Lancaster.

The precarious situation in always troublesome Wales was unraveling quickly. Edmund Mortimer had been captured by the Welsh patriot Owen Glendower at the Battle of Pilleth in 1402. Hotspur was enraged that Henry would not ransom him. Hotspur was related to the Mortimers, another family with ancestral claims to the throne. A romance had developed between Mortimer and Glendower's daughter, and they eventually married. Meanwhile, Hotspur was married to Mortimer's sister, Elizabeth. These unions, to be sure, did not escape Henry's attention. Being an astute politician, he realized from the outset that he needed the cooperation of his influential neighbors to the north.

The king's reason for not ransoming Mortimer was simple: he believed that it would finance Glendower's ongoing campaign in Wales. The Welsh rebel was enjoying considerable success by using guerrilla tactics against the English. Hotspur, however, had another theory. He believed the king realized that Mortimer's nephew, the Earl of March, had more right to the throne than Henry himself. Soon, Hotspur would use the same guerrilla tactics against Henry.

The king had given the Percys large swaths of countryside in Scotland—the only problem was that the land was still controlled by the Scots. Warfare along the Scottish border was savage and bloody. Fearing an invasion of Northumberland by Scottish forces, Hotspur petitioned the king for funds to fortify Carlisle and Berwick Castles. Henry ignored his request. The Scots did manage to capture Conway Castle but, after a month-long siege, Hotspur drove the invaders back from the structure. Once again Hotspur wrote to the king, this time requesting back pay for his army. Frustrated, Hotspur advised Henry, "Remember how I have repeatedly applied for payment of the king's soldiers who are in such distress as they can no longer endure owing to the lack of money. I therefore implore you to order that they be paid. If better means cannot be found, I shall have you go in person to claim payment, to the neglect of other duties." As before, Henry ignored the plea.

Disgusted, Hotspur resigned the offices that Henry had granted him and returned home to help his father negotiate a separate peace with the Scots. In June 1402, when such talks failed, the Scots slipped back across the border and began to plunder and rape. To avenge these new outrages, Hotspur's men ambushed Scottish forces at Nesbitt Moor and won a stunning victory against the marauders. Thirsting for revenge, the Earl of Douglas enlisted 12,000 soldiers and knights and invaded England that August. Driving deep into English territory, they laid waste to the countryside, killing hundreds of English citizens and seizing anything of value. Slowed by his men's wagonloads of stolen goods, Douglas decided the time was right to make a dash back across the border.

Unfortunately for the Scots, Hotspur, assisted by Lord Dunbar, the Earl of March, who had been banished by Douglas a year earlier, intercepted Douglas's army at Homildon Hill, six miles north of Wooler, in Northumberland. Again, Hotspur won a decisive victory as English bowmen inflicted hundreds of casualties while Hotspur's foot soldiers sat out the battle in relative safety. In the end, five earls, including Douglas, were taken prisoner by the Percys.

Elated by the news, the king immediately sent word that none of the prisoners was to be ransomed or traded for other captives held by the Scots. Henry felt that holding onto the Scottish monarchy might bring some stability to the border and encourage a cessation of

hostilities between the two countries. Deep down, however, Henry knew full well that this course of action contradicted established custom and would infuriate the aptly named Hotspur once again.

Henry's edict soon garnered the stormy response he anticipated. Hotspur was incensed. When Henry ordered his prisoners transported to London, Hotspur sent all the earls with the notable exception of Douglas. Now it was Henry's turn to fume, and he wasted no time in dispatching riders ordering Hotspur to appear

HOTSPUR WAS SHOCKED WHEN **HE REALIZED THAT** THE ROYAL ARMY **HAD REACHED** SHREWSBURY FIRST. **HENRY HAD DONE** THE IMPOSSIBLE.

before him. When he reached London, Hotspur met immediately with the king. The conversation quickly became heated, with Hotspur demanding that Mortimer be released and the king ordering Douglas to be brought before him. Witnesses to the bitter exchange reported that Henry had called Hotspur a "traitor" and struck him in the face. The enraged nobleman did not strike back, but left the room crying, "Not here, but in the field!" The tension between the two houses had finally reached the breaking point—war was inevitable.

Hotspur returned north and informed his father of what had happened The Percys knew that they had no time to waste; rumor had it that a 100,000-man Scottish force under the leadership of the Duke of Albany was preparing to strike at Cocklaw Castle, which had been under siege by the Percys. Before his departure, Hotspur's wife, Elizabeth Mortimer, gave birth to a son. The child further cemented the relationship between the Percys and the Mortimers. Even Henry realized that Hotspur's son "had nearer right to the crown than his own offspring." Fearing for the safety of his family, Hotspur sent them to a safer dwelling and placed them under heavy guard.

Leaving his father in the north to counter the continuing threat from Scotland, Hotspur, together with the captured earls from the Battle of Homildon Hill and his uncle, Thomas Percy, set out for Cheshire County. The inhabitants of Cheshire, located in northwestern England, were still strong supporters of Richard. It was there, and in communities strung along the border with Wales, that Hotspur hoped to raise an army to defeat Henry. Some of the greatest archers in England resided in Cheshire. The always apprehensive Richard had recruited them to serve as his private bodyguards. Many of the archers, in open defiance of the king, still wore the White Hart, Richard's personal emblem.

Soon supporters arrived from Shropshire, Flintshire, Herefordshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Hotspur's own Northumberland to fill the ranks of the rebel force. The size of the army grew to between 5,000 and 7,000 men. At the core of Hotspur's band of soldiers were the famed Cheshire archers. He hoped and believed that their expertise with the longbow would be the decisive factor in a pitched battle with Henry.

Another ally on whom Hotspur was counting for troops was Owen Glendower, the famed Welsh guerrilla fighter who had repeatedly eluded Henry's men. It was unlikely that Glendower would want to meet the English army in open warfare. His lightly equipped force specialized in hit-and-run tactics to keep the more heavily armed royal soldiers off balance. Nevertheless, at the beginning of July, Glendower struck the English in southwest Wales to divert attention and allow Hotspur time to gather and maneuver his own men.

The Bridgeman Art Library

As befitted his violent assumption of the throne, King Henry IV's decade-long reign would be rife with internecine intrigue.

It was Hotspur's aim to link up with Glendower and proceed to the town of Shrewsbury to defeat a small royalist garrison commanded by Henry's 16-year-old son, also named Henry, the Prince of Wales. After this was accomplished, Hotspur would reorganize and advance in force to crush the king.

Hotspur's ranks included many noblemen, including Sir John Browne, a veteran of the Spanish and French campaigns who had served with Hotspur in Wales. Sir Richard Vernon and Sir John Massey also joined him, bringing with them other members of the noble families and local villagers. Hotspur received another boost when Thomas Percy, his uncle, the Earl of Worcester, arrived with nearly 1,000 knights and archers. Percy had been one of King Henry's favorites because of his knowledge of military affairs. He previously had been stationed with Prince Henry at Shrewsbury, and his desertion had greatly depleted the young prince's force.

To help rally his troops, Hotspur told the men that Richard was still alive. The outrageous lie had the desired effect—more men rallied to the Percy cause. At the village of Sandiway, however, Hotspur finally informed his men that Richard was dead, the victim of murder. Furthermore, he charged, King Henry had reneged on his promises not to assume the throne. The time had arrived to oust him from power. On July 17, Hotspur and his uncle delivered a formal decree stating that

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

A contemporary illustration of the battle captures some of the confused fighting at Shrewsbury, as well as the importance of the king's archers to his victory.

the Earl of March was the lawful heir to the throne of England. They announced that Henry should be ousted and that they should fill the "title of joint protectors of the Commonwealth." Again they accused Henry of violating his promise not to pursue the title of king and arraigned him for having a hand in the gentle Richard's suspicious death.

While Hotspur and his cronies were aligning themselves for battle, King Henry was not idle. Receiving reports that Hotspur was raising an army against him, the king decided to move quickly for fear that Hotspur would merge his force with Owen Glendower's. Postponing a military campaign aimed at the Welsh rebels, Henry sent his 25,000-man army toward Shrewsbury to assist his embattled son. Covering 60 miles in three days, Henry arrived at Shrewsbury on July 20, just before Hotspur reached the field, impeding the rebel advance and thwarting Hotspur's plan to link up with the Welsh troops.

Hotspur was shocked when he realized that the royal army had reached Shrewsbury first. Henry had done the impossible. Somehow he had conveyed a clumsy, unwieldy, slow-moving army of 25,000 men, with all their baggage, supplies, and camp followers, a quarter of the way across England in less than three days. Now it was not the Prince of Wales and a hapless skeleton force facing the rebels, but the king of England with all his host who waited to confront them at Shrewsbury.

Vastly outnumbered, Hotspur had no choice but to go on the defensive, as he had done successfully at Homildon Hill. Scouting the area, Hotspur selected a 300-foot-high ridge line just south of the hamlet of Berwick, near the Severn River. Known locally as Hateley Field, the ground constituted two marshy ponds and a large field of pea vines in the front of the rebel army's position, making it extremely difficult for Henry's men to maneuver. To further obstruct the king's advance up the ridge to their position, the rebels twisted the pea vines together to make rudimentary earthworks.

On the morning of July 21, Henry's forces moved toward the rebel army's position. At a distance of 500 yards, the royalists halted their movement, carefully out of range of the archers. The royal forces were divided into three distinct groups: King Henry, with the savvy George Dunbar, commanded the center. On their right was the Earl of Stafford's division, and on the left was the smaller garrison at Shrewsbury, led by Henry's son, the Prince of Wales.

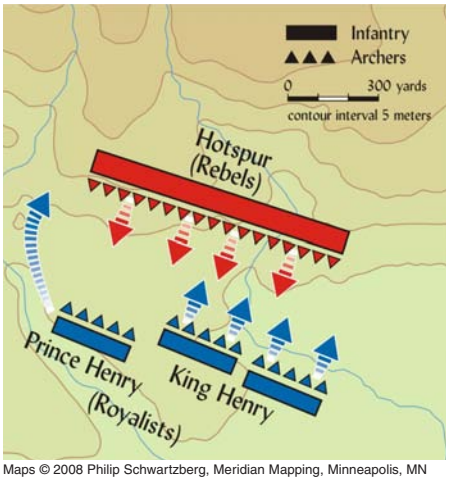
The rebel side was also formed into three units. Hotspur headed the center of the line, while the Earl of Worcester and Sir George Browne were entrusted with the other two wings. The movement by the opposing armies took hours and did not end until early afternoon. Although both sides seemed girded to fight, nothing happened. The combat would pit brother against brother and friend against friend, and no one seemed particularly anxious to trigger hostilities. Realizing this, several monks from Shrewsbury and Haughmond rode out on their donkeys in an attempt to negotiate a last-minute peace settlement.

Not trusting Henry, Hotspur instructed the Earl of Worcester to go on his behalf and meet with the king. Riding into the royalist lines, Worcester explained to Henry the rebels' demands, which at any rate had been put forth a few days before in their haughty proclamation. Of course, the king had no intention of submitting to such unreasonable terms. He

countered with his own proposals, stating that if they laid down their arms he would be lenient with the rebels. The bickering continued for some time until both men knew that it was fruitless to continue. Some of the rebels, however, thought that the king's offer was eminently reasonable and abruptly deserted Hotspur to join him.

Realizing that the peace talks had disintegrated, Hotspur instructed Worcester to end the discussion. He feared that Henry was stalling for time while waiting for additional soldiers to arrive to bolster his force. As Worcester prepared to leave, he yelled back to Henry, "We cannot trust you!" Looking coolly at his former ally, Henry replied, "On you must rest the blood shed this day."

Worcester wasted no time in galloping back to Hotspur to relay the news. Realizing that a



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

battle could no longer be avoided, Hotspur deployed his forces and called for his staunch, crescent-handled weapon. Told that he had left the sword behind at Berwick, the village where he had slept the night before, the prince groaned and cried when he received the news. The superstitious Hotspur had been warned of just such an omen some years before by a soothsayer who had predicted that he would go into battle without his favorite saber and be killed.

With no time now to brood about supernatural prophecies, Hotspur eyed the field before him as the royalist army began their advance. With the cry of "En avent banner!" the royal forces raced forward to engage the rebels. As the soldiers struggled in the mass of contorted pea vines, the attack lost momentum. While men in cumbersome suits of armor and chain mail tried to loosen themselves from their entanglements, the Cheshire archers let loose a broadside. Thousands of arrows rained down upon Henry's men, one observer said, like "a thick

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

ABOVE: Despite having left his favorite sword behind, Hotspur led the rebel charge. The Earl of Douglas rode beside him. LEFT: The village of Shrewsbury, 150 miles northwest of London on the Welsh border, was held originally by the 16-year-old Prince of Wales and a skeleton force of royalists. FAR LEFT: Prince Henry (later Henry V) led a flank attack on the rebel position after Harry "Hotspur" Percy fell.

cloud that blotted out the sun." The royal vanguard dropped "like apples fallen in the autumn when stirred by the south west wind." The king's archers attempted to provide support for the beleaguered soldiers, but they did not have the range. Terrified by the astonishing accuracy of Hotspur's bowmen, Henry's men had no choice but to withdraw and reorganize.

As the king's men ran to the rear to get out of range of the deadly missiles, the Earl of Stafford was killed. At the same time, the young Prince of Wales was struck by an arrow in the face, but he refused to leave the battlefield and continued to shout encouragement to his men.

From his vantage point, Hotspur was overjoyed at the way the battle was unfolding. He realized, however, that he could not gain a decisive victory over King Henry while his army occupied a defensive position. Knowing full well that he was still greatly outnumbered, Hotspur also knew that he must attack. With the royalists retreating in confusion, he calculated that now would be the ideal time to do so. Ironically, Hotspur had wanted to use the same strategy at Homildon Hill, but the Lord Dunbar, who was now on the opposing side, had advised against it. This time the

impetuous prince did not have the advantage of Dunbar's wise counsel, and he recklessly proceeded with his assault.

Although Hotspur's rash move might be viewed as foolish, some historians have suggested that another factor may have played a pivotal role as well: the Cheshire longbowmen may have used the majority of their arrows to break up the initial charge. If Henry's men regrouped and renewed their assault, they could overrun the rebel lines and achieve a victory. The impulsive Hotspur may have realized this and set out to crush Henry before the king could catch his breath.

With the cries of "Esperance! Esperance, Percy!" filling the hot, humid air, the rebel army left its defensive positions and surged down at the enemy. Leading the charge with approximately 100 mounted knights from their household troops were Hotspur and the Earl of Douglas. Their thundering charge caught the royalists completely off guard and they "made an alley in the midst of the army."

Riding through the gauntlet, Hotspur's knights slashed and cut their way through the swirling mass of bewildered soldiers that surrounded them. As the remainder of the rebels reached the melee, vicious hand-to-hand combat began. The clash of swords and broad axes was deafening. Men's limbs were lopped off with shocking ease and pools of blood soaked the ground.

In addition to swords, a wide assortment of weapons was utilized by both armies. The cavalry used a "morning star," which resembled a mace, a spiked wooden ball on a handle that could smash the heads of the enemy. Infantry carried morning stars mounted on longer handles so that they could wield them like a modern baseball bat. Foot soldiers were armed with pikes, razor-sharp curved blades affixed to the end of wooden poles. A large variety of battleaxes and spears were carried by the soldiers as well.

As the fighting swirled in the middle of the field, Hotspur's men routed Stafford's disoriented division, weakening the king even more. Meanwhile, Hotspur hacked his way through to reach Henry's personal standard-bearer and confront Henry in a fight to the death. When Hotspur's men killed Henry, a shout of joy swelled in the rebel ranks. Unbeknownst to them, they had killed an imposter. The wily Dunbar had had the king taken to the rear for his safety. Several look-alike knights dressed in the king's uniform were impersonating him on the battlefield.

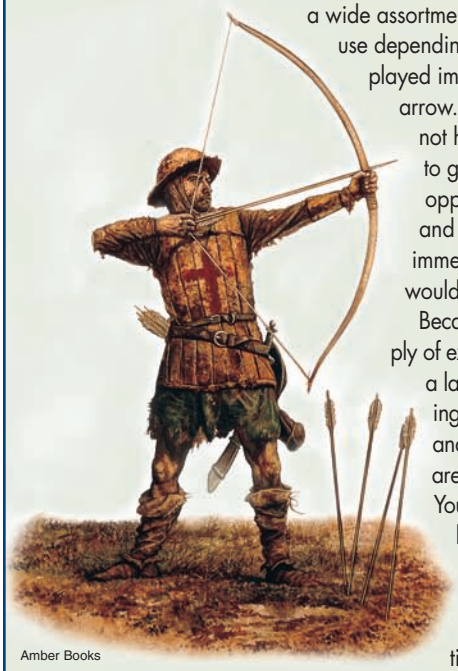
It was Hotspur, not Henry, who would be killed. Accounts differ on the manner of his death, but the most common version had him lifting the visor of his helmet to gain a better view of the battlefield and get a much-needed breath of fresh air. At that exact instant an arrow pierced his face. When word spread that Hotspur had been slain, the impetus of the rebel attack sputtered. Before the rebels could withdraw from the field, the left wing, commanded by the Prince of Wales, fell upon them with a vengeance. With the arrival of the king's rein-

THE ENGLISH LONGBOW

In the hands of an experienced archer, the longbow was a formidable weapon. Its first recorded use was in South Wales in 1188, during a battle between the English and Welsh. An English knight named William De Braose claimed an arrow "had penetrated his chain mail and clothing, passed through his thigh and saddle and finally entered his horse."

Realizing its potential, the English army soon enlisted bowmen within its ranks. A longbow could be over six feet in length, which usually made it longer than the individual who was carrying it was tall. It was constructed from yew, an evergreen tree indigenous to Great Britain. The draw weight of the bow was anywhere from 80 to 160 pounds, and it had a range of 300 yards. If the archer used a heavier arrow that could penetrate armor or chain mail, the range was naturally less.

Archers usually carried two quivers, or sheaths, each holding 24 arrows. The arrowheads were forged from iron and were approximately two inches long. The longbowman would bring a wide assortment of arrows into battle with him that he would use depending on the situation. Both weather and distance played important roles in his selection of the appropriate arrow. If the archer depleted his ammunition and did not have time to replenish his supply, he would have to go into battle as a foot soldier. If seized by opposing forces, archers would have their thumbs and several fingers on their right hands removed in immediate retribution. Their days as a bowman would be finished forever.



Amber Books

Because of the importance on having an ample supply of experienced bowmen to fill the ranks of the army, a law was enacted in England requiring all men making 100 pence a year to have a bow. Every village and hamlet in the country was told to reserve an area where the villagers could practice their archery. Youngsters were taught from an early age how to handle the weapon. When a bowman could strike down a squirrel at 100 paces, he was judged proficient enough to enlist in the army.

The best bowmen were bred along the Scottish and Welsh borders, where wars, skirmishes, and raids were commonplace. The ruling parties in these regions maintained household troops, and many archers were paid by the government to keep a watchful eye on their adversaries. Since the long-ago day that William De Braose was struck first by an arrow, English forces utilized the longbow in numerous battles. At Crecy in 1346, Poitiers in 1356, and Agincourt in 1415, the effectiveness of the English archers won the day.

At the Battle of Shrewsbury, the longbowmen also played a key role. "The average archer could be expected to fire at a rate of about ten shots per minute," historian John Barrett states. "Assuming that Percy's men opened at a range of 300 yards, and that about 3,000 archers were involved, they could in theory have fired some 60,000 arrows in the time it would have taken the Royalist troops to reach their position."

It was an archer who supposedly brought down the great Hotspur in the thick of the fighting at Shrewsbury. "True or not," writes Robert Hardy in his book, *Longbow: A Social and Military History*, "it was a likely enough way for any knight to go, who was rash enough to present any vulnerable part of himself to a quick-eyed longbowman." □

forcements, the insurgents broke and fled. Many of them were killed by King Henry's soldiers, who raced after them and cut them down without mercy. Even those incapacitated by their wounds were butchered where they lay—no quarter was given. The fighting continued until nightfall. The entire battle, from start to finish, had lasted only three hours.

As the sun rose the following day, townspeople were horrified by the sights that awaited them. Even the most hardened person was sickened by the wholesale slaughter that had occurred outside Shrewsbury. For three miles, mutilated corpses were strewn over the battlefield. One chronicler later penned, "Those who were present said they never saw or read in the records of Christian times of so furious a battle in so short a time or of larger casualties than happened here."

Approximately 1,600 soldiers and knights were killed outright, with many others dying later from their wounds. The majority of those slain were royalist soldiers, most of whom had been killed by the deadly barrages from the rebel archers. Henry had a mass grave dug to dispose of the bodies. Three years after the battle, he ordered that the Church of St. Mary Magdalene be constructed on the site to commemorate those who had died there.

"THOSE WHO WERE PRESENT SAID THEY **NEVER SAW OR** READ ... OF SO **FURIOUS A BATTLE** IN SO SHORT A TIME **OR OF LARGER** CASUALTIES ..."

When Henry found the body of Hotspur, he supposedly cried. He had the rebel leader buried in Whitechurch, which was in close proximity to the battlefield. However, when rumors circulated that Hotspur had survived, the king had his remains exhumed and strung between two millstones just outside the gates of Shrewsbury for everyone to view. Then the corpse was beheaded and quartered, with the parts scattered throughout the country. Hotspur's gory head was put on display in York.

Mary Evans Picture Library

Hotspur had as good a claim to the throne as Henry Bolingbroke, but a well-aimed arrow fatally struck him in the face when he raised his visor.

When his father was summoned to receive his pardon from Henry, he was no doubt horrified at the sight of his son's head, publicly displayed for all to see. This did not deter the Earl of Northumberland from continuing to scheme against Henry until his own death in battle at Bramham Moor in 1408.

Henry dealt severely with Hotspur's erstwhile allies. The Earl of Worcester, Sir Richard Vernon, and Sir Richard Venable were hanged, beheaded, and quartered as traitors. The Earl of Douglas, who fell and shattered his kneecap while trying to escape, was ransomed instead of executed. Many of the surviving common soldiers were spared. Cheshire fighting men, in particular, were essential to the continuing war in Wales, and Henry craftily sought to win their allegiance by gentler means.

With the defeat of the rebel army at Shrewsbury, the Percy clan's influence was broken for good. Now Henry could consolidate his forces and concentrate his efforts in quashing the Welsh rebellion. In 1409, with the capture of Harlech Castle, the English were victorious and Owen Glendower disappeared into the countryside and passed away quietly a few years later. King Henry's health soon declined as well, no doubt ruined by his spending so much time in the field putting down the many revolts that preoccupied much of his reign. In 1413, just a decade after his stunning victory at Shrewsbury, Henry died and his son, the Prince of Wales, ascended to the throne as the soon to be legendary Henry V.

Little did Henry realize that his overthrow of the ineffectual Richard II would anger so many and plunge England into a bloody civil war. It would flare up again a half century later in what would become known as the War of the Roses, when members of the House of York challenged the continuing claim to the throne of Henry's descendants in the House of Lancaster. For the next three decades armies from both sides would fight a series of pitched battles that drained the country of its manpower, eroded English power in France, and signaled the end of the medieval era and the beginning of the Renaissance. □

FREEDOM

In October 1956, Hungarian citizens began a spontaneous uprising against the Soviet-controlled puppet government. By the time Soviet tanks rolled into Budapest two weeks later, the revolt had cost the lives of nearly 3,000 Hungarians. Where was America?

BY TODD AVERY RAFFENSPERGER

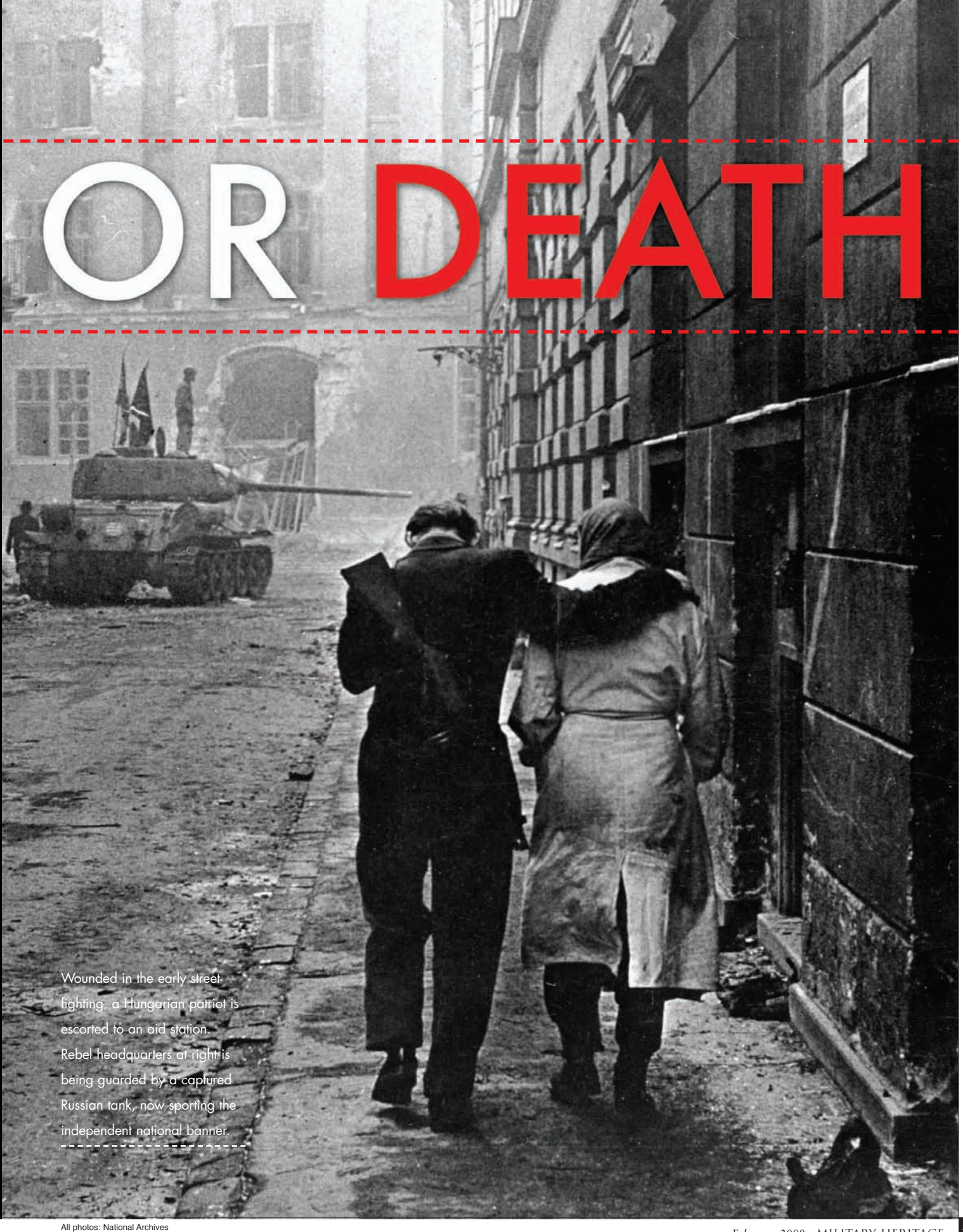
"To the Great Stalin, from the grateful Hungarian People," read the inscription on a 24-foot-high bronze statue of Joseph Stalin on the grounds of Budapest City Park, erected in 1951 to honor the tyrant of the Soviet Union. Now, on the evening of October 23, 1956, some 5,000 students threw ropes around the statue's neck, melted the knees with welding torches, and tore down the structure amid a thunderous chorus of "Russians go home, Russians go home!"

The symbolic act was tantamount to the first shots fired at Lexington or the storming of the Bastille: an expression of open, courageous defiance against injustice and oppression. Such a protest was not unforeseen by Communist authorities. Three years earlier, the Soviet bloc had found itself racked by unrest and discord across Eastern Europe, with riots in East Germany in 1953 and in Poland in the summer of 1956. While the leaders of the Kremlin, the heirs to Stalin's empire, were grappling with the Polish crisis, they also cast wary eyes on the increasingly precarious situation in the Hungarian People's Republic.

Of all the Central and Eastern European countries under the Soviet boot, Hungary had the reputation of being ruled by the regime that most closely emulated the tactics and philosophy of Stalinism. Since the Communists seized power in 1947, Hungary's prime minister and secretary of the Communist Hungarian Workers' Party (HWP) had been Matyos Rakosi, a man who—not for nothing—had earned the nickname of "Little Stalin." Like his Soviet idol, Rakosi had instituted a series of austere and crude economic programs that emphasized heavy industrialization and agricultural collectivization. His policies predictably led to low wages, high prices, and a meager standard of living for his people. In his methodical brutality, Rakosi emulated his Soviet master as well, creating the Allamvelmi Hatosag, or AVH, the Hungarian political police, referred to by the people as "Avos." Numbering up to 50,000 dedicated, ideologically driven men and women, the AVH quickly developed a reputation for cruelty and ruthlessness that rivaled even that of its Soviet counterpart, the KGB. It had an extensive network of informants throughout the country, invading every area of society, from university classrooms to factory floors and farmyards in the countryside. Its mission was simple: to root out any and all supposed "enemies of the people," whoever and however they were defined by the party.

Farmers who complained about collectives, writers who criticized the lack of creative freedom, even fellow Communists who expressed admiration for Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia (who had broken with Stalin in the 1940s and refused to join the Warsaw Pact) were just a few of the many groups that the Rakosi regime ordered the AVH to arrest. Such unfortunate victims usually found themselves sent to a labor camp in the Hungarian countryside or the Soviet Union, or else sent to the infamous address of AVH headquarters in Budapest, Andrassy Ut 60. People sent to this address for questioning were rarely seen again. On average, nearly 300,000 Hungarians were arrested each year. For Rakosi and other Stalinist-style dictators in Eastern Europe, everything began to change after Stalin's death in 1953. The leadership that followed in his wake tried to embark upon a more moderate course, a policy summarized by the euphonious phrase, "Socialism with a Smiling Face." Three years

OR DEATH



Wounded in the early street fighting, a Hungarian patriot is escorted to an aid station. Rebel headquarters at right is being guarded by a captured Russian tank, now sporting the independent national banner.

All photos: National Archives

ABOVE: A long, ominous line of Soviet tanks rumbles through an intersection in downtown Budapest during the height of the rebellion. RIGHT: A husband and wife patrol the streets after the freedom fighters' short-lived victory in October 1956.

ater, on February 25, 1956, the secretary for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, gave a speech to the Twentieth Party Congress in which he formally denounced Stalin, his policies, tactics, and excesses. In what is remembered as Khrushchev's famous "secret speech," he condemned Stalin for using what he regarded as "extreme methods." The new leader flatly stated that Stalin "showed in a whole series of cases his intolerance, his brutality, and his abuse of power." Khrushchev excoriated Stalin for choosing "the path of repression and physical annihilation, not only against actual enemies, but also against individuals who had not committed any crimes against the Party and the Soviet government." In condemning Stalin's methods, the newly emerging leader of the Soviet Union was giving Rakosi and the other "little Stalins" of Eastern Europe open notice that the old days were over.

Five months later, Central Committee member Anastos Mikoyan traveled to Budapest to meet with Rakosi and the leaders of the HWP and assess the political situation in Hungary. He did not like what he found. Instead of intimidating his critics, Rakosi's Stalinist-style rule had only managed to stimulate growing opposition to his regime, to the point where even members of his own party were openly criticizing him in newspapers and on the radio. On the streets, the Hungarian people were becoming less and less afraid to speak their minds about the deplorable economic conditions in which they lived. Among the country's intelligentsia, writers, university students, and intellectuals were forming discussion groups, the most famous being the Petolfi Circle, which held regular meetings where speakers, before audiences of thousands of people, delivered diatribes against Rakosi, the AVH, and the Soviets.

Mikoyan reported back to Khrushchev and the Central Committee that the growing discontent was the result of three things—political agitation by the United States and other Western powers, the influence of "Titoist" propaganda from Yugoslavia, and lack of confidence in Rakosi's leadership. To the Soviets, the first step to remedy the situation was obvious. Rakosi was forced to resign his posts and was succeeded by committee member Erno Gero, who was, in terms of policy, no different from his hard-line predecessor.

But the Soviets also made a major concession to the party's reformers by calling for the reinstatement of Imre Nagy. Nagy had been Hungary's minister for agriculture, but he had been removed from office and expelled from the party because of his opposition to Rakosi's collectivist policy. He was a Moscow-trained Communist through and through, but his lack of popularity with the party hierarchy made him a hero to growing numbers of opponents to the government. If the Hungarians and Soviets had hoped that Nagy's "rehabilitation" would help to calm the rough political seas in Budapest, they were sorely mistaken.On the evening of October 23, a large gathering of demonstrators, most of whom were college students, converged on the broadcasting building for Radio Kossuth, the state-run radio station in Budapest. They had come with a list of demands, 16 to be exact, that they wished to

read on the air. Among the demands were the installation of Nagy to the premiership, the holding of free elections, and the withdrawal of Soviet occupation forces from Hungary. Greeting them were representatives of the radio station, along with 300 well-armed AVH troops. The students were admitted into the building—and promptly arrested. Realizing this, demonstrators began chanting for the release of their representatives. As the evening wore on, tension, rhetoric, and emotions on both sides escalated. Suddenly, a shot rang out. Exactly who fired the first shot will never be known. What is known, however, is what happened next.

Units of the Hungarian 8th Tank Regiment quickly arrived on the scene, ordered by the government to help quell the growing chaos. But instead of interceding on behalf of the besieged AVH contingent inside the building, the troops simply sat in their trucks and watched the unfolding chain of events. Meanwhile, throughout the city, all hell was collectively breaking loose. Demonstrators began arming themselves, some grabbing their old hunting rifles or taking weapons from the soldiers who were standing aside. Others broke into government-owned weapons factories and arsenals. By the early hours of October 24, demonstrators had seized the lower level of the radio building, while the AVH held the upper level. What had started out as a civil, disciplined expression of mass discontent had quickly turned into an armed uprising.

One key factor in the revolt would be the action—or inaction—by units of the Hungarian People's Army. First established in 1945, the army numbered approximately 140,000 men organized into 12 divisions, two of them armored. In doctrine, training, organization, and equipment, the Hungarian Army was a Soviet creation, with many of its officer corps trained in the USSR, while the bulk of the enlisted men came from the rural population, conscripted for two years of duty. Now the army was caught in the middle, trapped between the orders of the government and the soldiers' proletarian sympathy for the demonstrators.

It did not take long for the uprising to spread to the other parts of the country. In the city of Magyarovar, located in the northwestern part of the country close to the Austrian border, demonstrators converged on the local headquarters of the AVH, demanding the removal of Soviet symbols from the headquarters building. The AVH defending the area did not wait for orders; they simply opened fire. Eighty-five people were killed, among them several women and children. The demonstrators did not hesitate to retaliate for the atrocity, and with the help of Hungarian troops they captured or killed many of the AVH personnel responsible. One AVH officer tried to escape from custody and was subsequently beaten to death by the infuriated crowd. Like other towns and cities throughout Hungary, Magyarovar came under control of a local citizens' council, which promptly seized power from local government and party officials.

As the outbreak continued to grow throughout Hungary, the HWP Central Committee held an emergency meeting. By the end of the emergency session, two critical decisions were made that would shape the course of events to come. First, Nagy was appointed to the premiership, as the throngs of demonstrators had been demanding. Second, as a condition for his acceptance, Nagy had to agree to outgoing premier Gero's standing request for Soviet assistance. Such a request went through the office of the Soviet ambassador, Yuri Andropov, and reached the Soviet minister of defense, the legendary World War II hero, General Georgi Zhukov. By the time the order was given,

WHILE FIGHTING RAGED IN THE STREETS, INDECISION SWEPT THE CORRIDORS OF POWER IN BUDAPEST AND MOSCOW.

at approximately 2 AM on the morning of the 24th, Soviet tanks were already deploying in Budapest. At that time, the Soviet military presence in Hungary comprised two mechanized divisions, the 2nd Guards stationed at Cegled, 50 miles southeast of Budapest, and the 17th Guards, 43 miles southwest. Their combined strength was 20,000 combat troops, supplemented by 600 tanks and other armored vehicles. But only 700 soldiers and 50 tanks were initially deployed at key locations around the capital. It was hoped that the token show of force would be enough to intimidate the demonstrators and restore order. Beyond this act, Soviet commanders were at a loss as to what to do next. They had received no rules of engagement or orders to attack any rebel strongpoints, and they were totally unprepared for the reception they were about to receive.

As the Hungarian Army sat on the sidelines and the government was paralyzed with inaction, the defense of the ancient cultural center of Eastern Europe fell to a motley collection of citizens that the Soviets in their field reports were describing as "bandits." In reality, they were factory workers, apprentices, and students, the same people the regime had always declared it was serving. There also were Hungarian soldiers who had deserted their units, troublemakers looking to take advantage of the chaos, and even some AVH personnel who saw it as prudent to switch sides at the most propitious time. Young and old, men and women, all became part of what was beginning to look like a true "people's army." This army started to concentrate around several regions throughout Budapest. Of varying size and strength, most the groups often took on the names of the city streets where they were located, such as the Prater Street, Kisfaludy Street, and Vajdahunyad Street groups. Far and away the largest concentration of forces in the city centered on the Corvin Cinema, ultimately reaching the approximate strength of 1,200 insurgents. It would constitute the most formidable resistance faced by Soviet and police forces.

Several spontaneous leaders started to come forward. One of the leaders of the Corvin Group was Janos Mesz, nicknamed "Wooden Leg Johnny," who had lost his left leg in an accident years before. The tall, lanky factory worker was easily distinguishable as he hobbled around the streets of Budapest, a Mosin-Nagant rifle slung over his shoulder, his jaw bandaged from a wound he had received, and his head adorned with a jaunty fedora hat. The most prominent rebel leader to emerge at this time was a tank officer from the Hungarian Army, Colonel Pal Maleter. Ordered by the government to secure the Killian Barracks and keep it from becoming a base for insurgents, Maleter instead added his tanks to the insurgents and managed to decimate a Soviet column of nearly 80 soldiers and a dozen tanks.

Throughout the city, the situation varied from neighborhood to neighborhood. Some areas were completely peaceful, with the city's residents going about their daily routines, while in other areas resistance fighters fraternized with Soviet soldiers, at least those of Ukrainian or non-Russian origin who were in sympathy with the resistance. There were even instances of Soviet soldiers going over to the insurgents.

But in other parts of the city, the fighting was vicious and without quarter. In many instances AVH personnel, surrounded and out of ammunition, would surrender, only to be shot down by resistance forces as they stepped out from their strongholds, one by one. On several occasions,

ABOVE: Two female Hungarian patriots take aim with their submachine guns in the window of a house. RIGHT TOP: AVH secret policemen, hands raised to protect themselves, are gunned down by Hungarian rebels. RIGHT BOTTOM: The bodies of security policemen line the rubble-strewn sidewalks. The fighting was without quarter on either side.

the bodies of AVH officers were hung upside down from trees to be spat upon and beaten by crowds of Hungarians who had come to fear and hate the very mention of the AVH. There were also many instances of Soviet tank crews, frustrated with the course of the fighting, turning the 85mm guns of their T-34 tanks onto residential neighborhoods and blindly firing round after round into apartment buildings, killing untold numbers of people, most of whom merely wished to stay out of the way of the bullets. One of the worst excesses perpetrated by either side occurred in front of the Parliament building at Kossuth Square on the morning of the 25th, when Soviet tank crews opened fire on a mass of people congregating in the square. Seventy-five civilians were killed and hundreds more were injured.

While fighting raged in the streets, indecision swept the corridors of power in Budapest and Moscow. In the Hungarian capital, Prime Minister Nagy found himself in an increasingly difficult situation. A self-styled reformer in the Communist hierarchy, Nagy did not consider himself a rebel and certainly did not wish to destroy the socialist system that he fully supported. But coming to power as he did on the heels of his predecessor's request for Soviet intervention, Nagy found himself associated with an act of which he personally did not approve. On his first full day as premier, Nagy went on Radio Kossuth to beseech the insurgents to lay down their arms and cease fighting, while he equally urged Soviet representatives Anastas Mikoyan and Mikhail Suslov to give him permission to openly disassociate himself with the intervention. Both pleas fell on deaf ears. In the days that followed, a steadier, more confident Nagy set about to solidify the government's position. On October 27, he announced the formation of a government that, while comprising mostly Communists, also included representatives of the newly formed National Peasant and Shareholders Parties. For the first time since 1947, the government was not controlled entirely by one party. On October 28, the Soviet forces withdrew from Budapest.

The impetus for the unexpected development arose from the increasingly nervous attitude in the Kremlin. In spite of the rosy reports coming from Mikoyan about Soviet forces dealing with only a few groups of "bandits," it was becoming clear to the world that the situation was far from under control and that insurgents controlled most of the countryside. Meanwhile, international condemnation was increasing, not only from the usual quarters of Washington, London, and other Western capitals, but also from Third World countries, and pressure was mounting for the United Nations to get involved. It was being duly noted by the world's press that, barely one year before, the Warsaw Pact agreement had stipulated, among other things, respect for the internal affairs of all the member nations. When Nagy beseeched Khrushchev to pull his forces back so that the government could restore order, Khrushchev was forced to agree.

By the end of October, Budapest was peaceful for the first time in over a week. Soviet soldiers who were seen on the streets appeared to be withdrawing. For a brief moment, it looked as if the protesters had achieved the impossible. The Soviets had been beaten. Hungary was free. For Nagy and his government, it now seemed only to be a matter of stabilizing the situation. They started to meet with representatives of the provisional revolutionary committees to coordinate their activities and restore public services.

On the military side, Nagy created a new command apparatus called the Revolutionary National Defense Committee (RNDC) to centralize the activities of the Ministry of Defense with the activities of the hodgepodge of insur-

gent forces. The elected head of the RNDC was the former chief of military training, General Bela Kiraly, and one of Kiraly's first steps was to clean out any leaders whose loyalty was in question, including the deputy and first deputy ministers of defense, the Army chief of staff, and the chiefs of the political department. Kiraly also took the symbolic step of reinstating the army's original name, the Honved, and restored all traditional ranks, symbols, and epaulets of the Hungarian military.

Before leaving his post, the outgoing Army chief of staff (and staunch Stalinist), General Lajos Toth, had one last card to play. Without informing Nagy or Kiraly, Toth issued a flurry of orders to the Honved units stationed in and around Budapest to redeploy from their current positions. Kiraly believed that the original positions had been ideal for defending the capital, and he immediately issued orders to countermand Toth's moves. Unfortunately for Kiraly, Nagy, and the people of Hungary, the confusing orders and counterorders would not be resolved in time to prevent a catastrophe.

Meanwhile, Soviet representatives Suslov and Mikoyan continued to meet with representatives of the new government to discuss future relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union. Among the government's representatives was newly promoted Maj. Gen. Maleter, who also was now Nagy's minister of defense. Nagy got a hopeful sign on October 30, when the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* ran a declaration from the Central Committee in Moscow stating, among other things, that "the Soviet Government is prepared to enter into the appropriate negotiations with the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and other members of the Warsaw Pact on the question of the presence of Soviet troops on the territory of Hungary." The statement seemed to Hungarians to presage a future for their country that was separate from the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet model of Communism. One day after the *Pravda* declaration, Nagy and his minister of state, Zoltan Tildy, broached to Suslov and Mikoyan the subject of a complete troop withdrawal. Meanwhile, Kiraly started to get strange reports from railroad stations throughout the country that the Soviet forces were indeed getting ready to leave Hungary. Other reports came in of Soviet units crossing the border from Romania and Ukraine and occupying the airfields of the Hungarian Air Force. When confronted with these reports, future Soviet premier Yuri Andropov explained that the new units were simply relieving units that had borne the brunt of the fighting. But by November 3, a force of approximately 15 divisions, some of which were equipped with new T-54 battle tanks, had entered Hungarian territory and formed a defensive semicircle around Budapest. What had changed?

A series of events far beyond Hungary's borders was changing the overall dynamics of the situation in a way that ultimately spelled Nagy's downfall. On October 27, U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles had made an offer of economic aid to the countries of Eastern Europe, regardless of their form of government. To the Soviets, this was far from an act of selflessness, but rather a blatant effort by Washington to exploit the ongoing crisis by encouraging dissent within the Eastern bloc. Several members of the Central Committee were already of the opinion that the Hungarian uprising had been instigated by Western intelligence operatives, reinforcing the growing fear that Hungary could become a democratic foothold in Eastern Europe.

This fear was further heightened by reports of student demonstrations in Romania, which forced the Romanian government to close its borders with Hungary. Concern grew that unrest would spread to Czechoslovakia and even East Germany. The Communist leaders of these countries increasingly urged Moscow to do something about Hungary—and fast.

The last straw apparently came on October 31, when Minister of State Tildy met with Mikoyan and Suslov, suggesting the idea that Hungary withdraw from the Warsaw Pact and declare a state of neutrality, along the lines of Yugoslavia's status. The surviving minutes from Nagy's cabinet meetings show that it was indeed their intention to withdraw from the pact and establish a non-aligned socialist republic based on the model of Marshal Tito's Yugoslavia. But to the Kremlin, the idea of Hungary leaving the alliance would set into motion the unraveling of the entire Warsaw Pact alliance, a nightmare scenario for Moscow.

Soviet tankers are forced at gunpoint to disable their vehicle. The freedom fighters disabled the tanks by throwing stones and steel bars into their wheel treads.

Khrushchev was later to reflect that the Budapest situation was "like a nail in my head." He could not sleep, and he constantly fretted about the options open to him. He knew that a full-scale invasion of Hungary by Soviet forces would fly in the face of everything he had been trying to do to reform the Soviet Union's image before the world, and it would be a page right out of the book of Stalinism. But by the beginning of November, he had made his decision.

For his part, Nagy was not totally unaware of what was going on. At a November 1 cabinet meeting, he and his military advisers were duly apprised of the growing number of Soviet formations coming into the country from Romania and Czechoslovakia. Nagy demanded an explanation from Ambassador Andropov. The very model of composure, Andropov reassured the cabinet that it was all part of a careful, phased withdrawal.

While Andropov assured Nagy and his cabinet of his government's good intentions, the secretary of the HWP, Janos Kadar, left the Parliament building to go to dinner, or so he told his colleagues. But in truth, Kadar had been engaged in secret negotiations with Moscow. Kadar had been a Nagy ally, but he realized that the Russians would not tolerate the government's intention of withdrawing from the Warsaw Pact. On the eve of the coming storm, Kadar crossed the border into Romania, where he made plans to declare the creation of a new government, one more in line with the Soviet agenda.

As Kadar, with the assistance of Suslov and Mikoyan, lay the groundwork for a new government, the Soviet Army made its final preparations. The operation, codenamed Vichr (Whirlwind), would have the Soviets invade Hungary with such force and speed that there would be almost no time to resist. The Soviet forces already inside Hungary were organized into two armies. The Eighth Army was deployed around the eastern city of Debrecen and numbered six divisions,

including the 31st Tank Division. The Thirty-Eighth Guards Army, stationed around the western city of Szekesfehrvar, comprised another seven divisions.

The heart of the operation was a separate formation stationed in Romania. It was known simply as "Special Corps," originally formed in 1955 by the Soviet high command, with dual missions of defending the Hungarian border with Austria in the event of an invasion by NATO and of restoring order in Hungary in the event of an uprising. It comprised two mechanized divisions, one infantry division, a fighter air division, one bomber air division, and a pontoon bridge regiment. They were all Guards divisions, the elite of the Soviet Army. This force was further beefed up by the allocation of four Guards tank divisions and two Guards mechanized divisions. They were directed to seize the Hungarian capital quickly and brutally.

As the clock was running out for his government, Nagy placed his hope for a peaceful resolution to the crisis on two possibilities—one, that the United Nations would intervene, and, two, that his ongoing negotiations with the Soviets would produce an acceptable settlement. But before the United Nations could focus on the Hungarian situation, the world's attention was diverted by a new crisis in the Middle East, where Israel had invaded the Sinai Peninsula while British and French troops landed in Port Said to seize the Suez Canal from the Egyptians. The Suez crisis immediately became the principal issue confronting the UN, and Hungary got pushed aside. On November 3, a Hungarian delegation led by General Maleter met with a Soviet delegation led by General Mikhail Malinin, deputy chief of the General Staff, at Soviet headquarters at Tokol, a village located on a small Danube island just south of Budapest. By 5:30 that evening, it seemed to the Hungarians that an agreement had finally been hammered out setting a timetable for total Soviet withdrawal from Hungary. The deadline was January 15, 1957. In the meantime, the Hungarian government was to provide food and shelter for Soviet troops, and all Soviet memorials within the country were to be restored and preserved. The agreement was to be signed at 10 PM that very night.

As the charade at Tokol went on, Nagy and his cabinet got the first report of the existence of Kadar's new pro-Soviet government. At 5 AM on November 4, Kadar's de facto foreign minister went on the radio announcing the creation of the "Hungarian Revolutionary Worker Peasant Government," operating out of Szolnok. He denounced Nagy as being weak and unable to control the forces of "fascism" and "counterrevolution," and promised that his new government would restore order to the capital. Nagy tried to contact the delegation in Tokol, but all communications had been cut off. By this time, KGB forces, led by KGB head General Ivan Serov, had stormed the meeting room and arrested Maleter and the rest of the Hungarian delegation. Nagy and his advisers now realized that they had been deceived. Kiraly strongly urged the prime minister to issue a formal declaration of war with Russia. But by now it far too late for that. In the morning gloom of November 4, Operation Whirlwind began, to the din and thunder of tank engines and artillery fire. The Special Corps raced across the Hungarian border and moved into Budapest with hardly any resistance encountered. Other Soviet units seized Hungarian air bases, communications centers, and key bridges along their path

More Russian tanks stand ready for action in Budapest on October 30, 1956. Citizens look on warily.

of advance, and the Honved was caught unprepared. Upon reaching the capital, Soviet mechanized columns raced down the main thoroughfares and descended on the key Hungarian strongpoints. The 128th Guards Infantry and the 2nd and 33rd Guards Mechanized Divisions, supported by more than 350 combat aircraft, proceeded to attack strongpoints in the classic Soviet Army style, working in combat groups of around 150 men supported by a dozen tanks, pulverizing every Hungarian position with air strikes and artillery bombardments and following up with tanks and supporting infantry. The Soviets were shooting at anything that moved. Even as the first explosions could be heard at Parliament Square, Kiraly was on the phone with Nagy, still pleading with prime minister to order Hungarian forces to fight back and to declare war. "No, no," Nagy replied. "Calm down. The Russian ambassador is here in my office. He is calling Moscow right now. There is some misunderstanding. You must not open fire." It was the last time that Kiraly would get to talk with Nagy. When he finally did come to grips with reality, Nagy went on Radio Kossuth and denounced the attack as an attempt to "overthrow the legal Hungarian democratic government." It was the last time his fellow Hungarians would hear from their prime minister.

By the evening of November 4, Soviet Special Corps had occupied most of the key points in Budapest, including the railroad stations, most of the Danube River bridges, and the Parliament building. The 33rd Guards stormed the southeastern and central areas of the city, while the 2nd Guards captured the northeastern and central area that included the government district, and the 128th Guards occupied the west side. Throughout the rest of the country, the Soviet Eighth and Thirty-Eighth armies fanned out to seize important positions, towns, and cities, usually doing so with little or no resistance.

WASHINGTON WAS FOCUSED ON THE SUEZ CRISIS AND KNEW FULL WELL THAT ANY INVOLVEMENT WITH HUNGARY MIGHT TRIGGER WORLD WAR III.

Without any warning or orders from Budapest, the Honved was caught almost entirely flat-footed. Most Hungarian units surrendered their weapons to the oncoming Soviet formations, sometimes without firing a shot. It was much the same for the Hungarian Army in Budapest, with the Special Corps sweeping in with such speed that they quickly overran the positions of the Hungarian 7th Mechanized and 27th Infantry Divisions and captured most of their equipment, including 105 tanks.

It had been hoped by many on the streets of Budapest that the West would come to their aid. There had even been rumors of American soldiers marching toward the city. But that faint hope quickly proved to be a vain one. Washington was focused on the Suez crisis and knew full well that any direct involvement with Hungary might trigger World War III. That left only the insurgents themselves. Some of them turned themselves in, believing that continued resistance would only cause more carnage and destruction in a war whose outcome was now a foregone conclusion. But many fought on with whatever weapons they had, alongside a few Hungarian Army units still able to resist. As the day drew to a close, the two remaining bastions of resistance in Budapest, the Corvin Cinema and the Killian Barracks, had fallen, pounded into rubble by Soviet guns. Those insurgents who were still left formed mobile guerrilla groups, launching forlorn hit-and-run attacks on Soviet patrols and columns. The Soviets answered the attacks by leveling entire neighborhoods—any place where even a semblance of resistance remained.

After November 4, the fighting slowly ebbed away. Those of the Nagy government and the insurgency who had not been captured or killed crossed the border into Austria. In all, a total of 200,000 dislocated persons fled to the West. Nagy would not be among them. The legitimate leader of the Hungarian Peoples Republic fled to the Yugoslavian embassy to seek asylum. There he stayed for 18 days until, on November 22, he reemerged with a written promise by Kadar that he could return home with immunity. No sooner had Nagy left embassy grounds than he was arrested by Soviet agents and held in prison until his eventual execution on June 16, 1958. General Maleter shared the same fate, on the same day.

The Hungarian uprising had cost the lives of an estimated 2,500 Hungarians and 700 Soviet troops. In its wake, the Kadar regime hoped to attain the trust of the Hungarian people by maintaining most of the economic reforms of his predecessor, while repealing the political ones. But the Hungarians never forgot those days in 1956, and any effort to repress the memory of what the uprising had attempted would ultimately fail.

Thirty years later, in 1989, the remains of Nagy, Maleter, and two other leaders of the 1956 uprising were reburied with full honors at Heroes Square in Budapest. More than 200,000 Hungarians attended the funeral. Not long after this symbolic reconciliation with its past, the Hungarian government became the first Warsaw Pact nation to dismantle the heavily guarded fences along its border with the West. It marked the beginning of a rapid series of events that would spell the end of Communist rule in Eastern Europe and, ultimately, the collapse of the Soviet Union itself.

It may not have pleased Nagy to know that his memory would help end a system of socialism he devoted his life to supporting. Naïve as he was, Nagy wanted to believe in a socialist world without the need for oppression and fear, socialism without Stalinism, a true "people's democracy." It was never to be. Only when the Cold War finally ended did Stalin's shadow fall, the same way his statue had fallen in Budapest City Park on October 23, 1956. □

FORT NECESSITY GEORGE

GEORGE WASHINGTON looked down at the surrender documents. They were soaked from pouring rain and the ink was splotched. Washington's forces were surrounded and a third of his men were sick or wounded and unable to take up arms. Resigned to his helpless plight, he signed the documents. What Washington did not realize was that, by signing the document, he was admitting to an assassination.

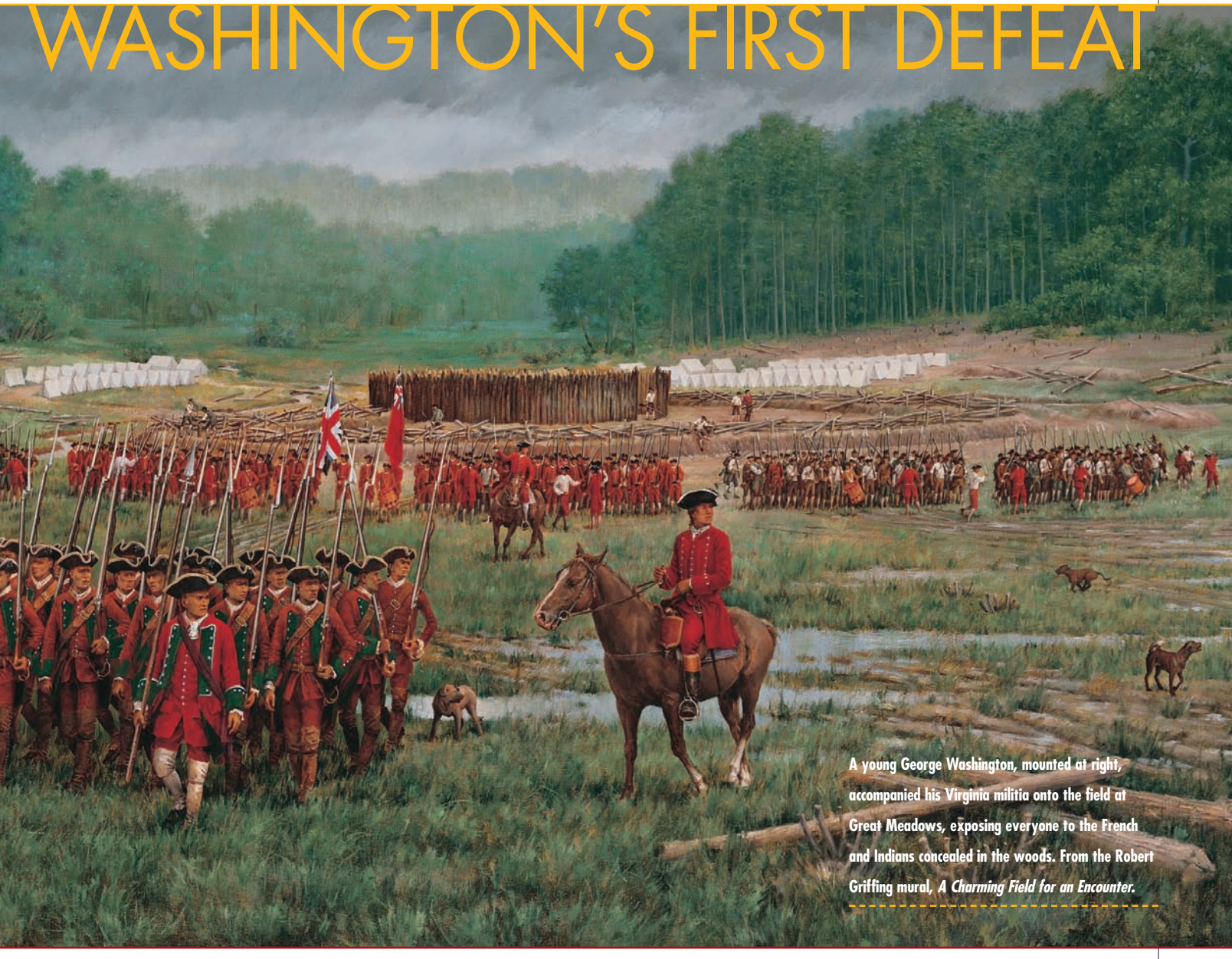
Fortunately for Washington and the cause he would come to represent, this was not the American Revolution—it was 1754. The British and French were competing for domination of the area north of the Ohio River between French-controlled Canada and the British-controlled colonies along the East Coast. The two countries were not in a shooting war, but in a cold war of expansion that constantly threatened to get hot on a global scale. With colonies in Africa, Asia, and the New World, the two world powers were bound to collide somewhere.

Along with Canada, the French controlled lands in the West and as far south as Mexico. They were using the Ohio Valley's rivers to connect their possessions, hem in the British colonies, and eventually push the British off the continent altogether. By 1749, the French had sent troops into the Ohio Valley to build strategic forts along its rivers. As French influence grew, the British became increasingly worried. They wanted the Ohio Valley for themselves. An editorial in a Boston newspaper declared that if the British did nothing to stop this encroachment, the French would eventually "lay a solid and lasting foundation for making themselves Masters of America." When stories of French

BY KEVIN M. HYMEL

George Washington's first combat command resulted in a victory, a defeat, and a confession. Fortunately for America, it came in 1754, 21 years before the Revolution.

WASHINGTON'S FIRST DEFEAT



A young George Washington, mounted at right, accompanied his Virginia militia onto the field at Great Meadows, exposing everyone to the French and Indians concealed in the woods. From the Robert Griffing mural, *A Charming Field for an Encounter.*

atrocities reached Virginia in January 1754, Governor Robert Dinwiddie sent a small force under the command of Captain William Trent north to build a fort at the fork of the Ohio River, near present-day Pittsburgh. The Virginians had barely begun construction when French soldiers forced them out of the area and began building their own fortification, Fort Duquesne.

Dinwiddie immediately upped the ante. Concerned about British settlements—and his investments in the Ohio Company that facilitated those settlements—he decided to send another force of Virginians marching north. At the head of this force he placed 22-year-old George Washington, a lieutenant colonel in the Virginia militia who had never before seen combat. Dressed in a red British officer's uniform with white lace cuffs, riding breeches, black boots, a tri-cornered hat, and with a silver gorget around his neck, Washington stood an impressive six feet, two inches tall. The only military training he had received came from his constant reading of military texts. He was, however, familiar with the Ohio Valley—he had helped survey the area when he was 18. In addition, he had traveled to the area the previous November to deliver a letter from Dinwiddie to French officers on the north bank of the Allegheny River. The letter ordered the French to evacuate the area. They refused, but invited the young courier to dine with them. Over dinner, the French officers drunkenly boasted to Washington that they intended to take the entire Ohio Valley.

On April 2, Washington started off from Alexandria, Virginia, with over 130 men. His mission was to build forts and roads until reinforced by Colonel Joshua Fry, who would join him, take

command, and complete the work. The troops mostly wore a red regimental uniform with gray stockings and black, tri-cornered hats, but many were clad in hunting shirts and a combination of uniform and civilian clothes. They were armed with muskets, but only a few had bayonets. The recruits, candidly described by Washington as "loose, Idle Persons, that are quite destitute in House, and Home," had been promised an equal share of 200,000 acres of land in the Trans-Allegheny for their trouble.

The journey north was arduous. At one point, the column was able to traverse only 20 miles in 15 days. On April 20, when he reached Wills Creek, Washington learned that Trent had been forced from the area by the French and that the fort Trent's men were supposed to be building had been replaced by Fort Duquesne. Washington decided to push on alone.

On May 24, the Virginians reached the Great Meadows, which Washington called "a charming field for an encounter." The well-known meeting site, 50 miles north of Wills Creek, was flat and open, nestled between two ridges. Two small streams connected in the meadow, providing ample drinking water for his men. Washington decided to make camp and await developments.

Four days later, Washington received word from Mingo Indian chief Tanaghrisson, also known as Half-King, that a French spying party was concealed just west of the Virginians. Reacting quickly, Washington gathered 40 men and led them west along a narrow trail. After hiking three miles in pitch-black darkness and pouring rain, he met up with Half-King, who showed him the French camp. Washington conferred with the Indian and decided to attack.

The French were encamped at the bottom of a ravine. The group of 33 men was preparing breakfast and had not mounted a guard—some were not even dressed. Their arms were either stacked or leaning against rocks. Utilizing the high ground, Washington had his men and the Indian reinforcements encircle the camp. Whoever fired the first shot, French or English, is disputed, but the results are not. It was a slaughter. Washington's men fired a volley. The French, according to Washington, "ran to their arms and fir'd briskly." But they were surrounded and caught off guard, and could not react quickly enough. Washington's men fired another volley and the battle was over. Ten Frenchmen had been killed, one wounded and one escaped. Twenty-one others were captured.

The skirmish had lasted only 15 minutes. After the two volleys from Washington's men, the French threw down their weapons and ran to the rear, but upon encountering the Indians, turned around and rushed toward the Virginians. The wounded French commander, Joseph Coulon de Villiers, the Sieur of Jumonville, called to Washington and showed him his orders, which said he was on a mission of surveillance, not engagement. As the letter was being translated, Half-King ran up to Jumonville and said in French, "You are not dead yet, my father." He then raised his tomahawk and brought it down hard, splitting open Jumonville's skull. He then reached into the gaping wound, scooped out a handful of Jumonville's brain, and scalped him. As if on cue, the other Indians began killing the wounded Frenchmen and brandishing their blades to peel the scalps off the dead.

Washington, whose first military action had been a surprising a success, was completely taken aback by the Indians' war practices. He knew all about scalping—it was a common practice among some whites as well as the Indians—but he had never seen it take place so close. Still green to combat, Washington realized that the formal European military actions he had read about bore little resemblance to the backwoods fighting of the American wilderness. European armies fought like chess pieces moving around a board, with plenty of maneuvering, but this kind of combat was chaotic and savage. Any romantic dreams of glory Washington may have harbored vanished with the brutal death of Jumonville.

Washington had another concern: Had he just conducted an act of war? Jumonville's letter, which simply declared that the British should leave the area, had a marked similarity to the letter he had delivered to the French six months earlier, when he was on a mission of peace. The letter was received, but the messengers were now dead and scalped, except for the one Frenchman who was now making his way back to Fort Duquesne to report the atrocity.

Despite the confusion, Washington had survived his baptism of fire at what would become known as Jumonville Glen. He had stood exposed to fire while French shots sailed past him, yet kept his cool. He later wrote of the experience, "I heard the bullets whistle, and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound." He gathered his men, the prisoners, and their equipment and headed back to the Great Meadows. He realized, however imperfectly, that he had stirred up a hornet's nest. The French would retaliate once the lone survivor informed his superiors of the massacre.

Back at camp, Washington put his men to work constructing a fort in the meadow. Meanwhile, he sent his prisoners south to Virginia under a small guard. The rest of the men began splitting timbers and sinking them into the ground, making a circular wall with pointed tips. Inside, they built a small wooden storehouse, covered with bark and animal skins, to keep dry the powder, supplies, and the barrels of rum. Major Robert Stobo named the fortification Fort Necessity, "in honor of our empty bellies." Around the base of the fort, the men dug rifle pits.

While the fort took shape, Washington learned that reinforcements from Alexandria would not be reaching him immediately. He also got word on June 6 that Colonel Fry, who was supposed to replace him as commander, had died in a horse-riding accident, making Washington the highest ranking officer in the area. He was cheered when reinforcements reached his camp on June 9, bolstering his numbers to almost 300 men and nine swivel guns—small cannons capable of firing solid or grapeshot from 100 to 200 yards. Five days later a company of North Carolina soldiers, 100 in all, marched into camp. A problem ensued, however, when their commander, Captain James Mackay, told Washington that since his commission came directly from the Crown, he would take command. Washington politely refused the order, explaining that there was no difference between militia and army rank. Mackay's men made a separate camp within Fort Necessity and refused to salute Washington's men.

Instead of staying at Necessity and improving its defenses, Washington decided to take the offensive. He led his Virginians northwest to Gist's Mill, leaving Mackay at the fort. Gist's

George Washington in the uniform of a Virginia militia colonel during the French and Indian War. Painting by Charles Willson Peale.

The Bridgeman Art Library

Mill was the first English settlement west of the Allegheny River. The 20-mile trek was arduous. As wagons broke down and horses died at an alarming rate, the men were forced to carry their supplies on their backs, including the heavy swivel guns. The journey took two weeks, and when Washington's men reached the small plantation, they found it swarming with Indians who had been sent to spy on the Virginians. The French were expecting them.

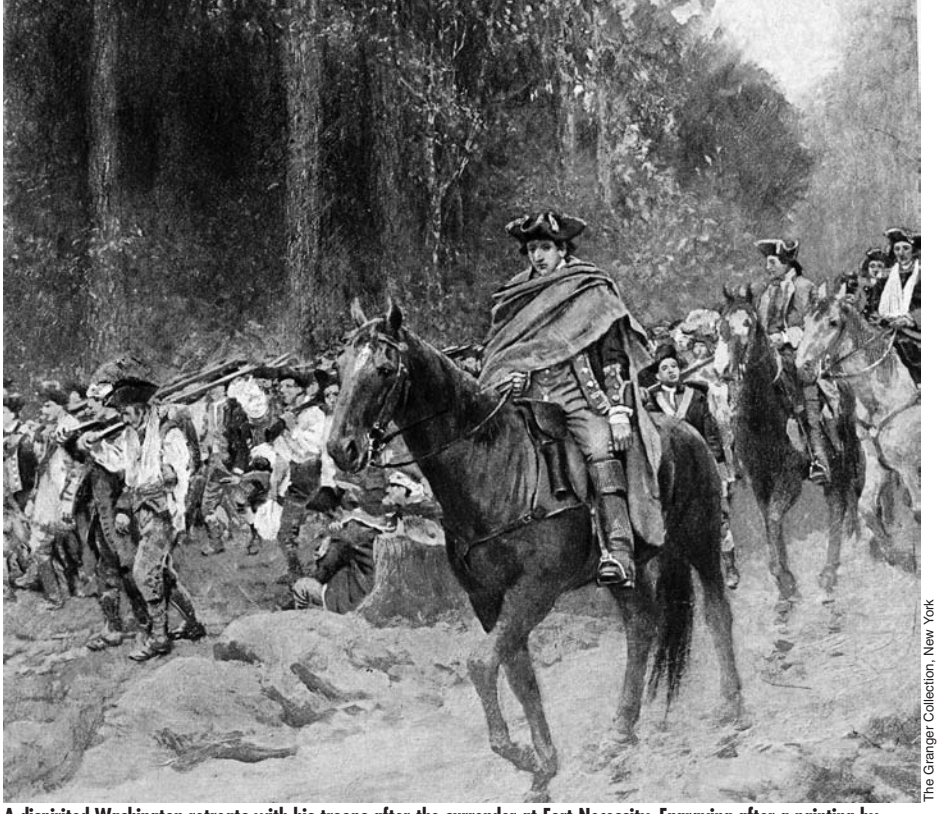
Washington tried to convince the Indians to join his men and Half-King against the French, but it was useless. The Indians were more concerned with which side had the most men—and it was not Washington's. He set to work laying yet another road and building defenses around the mill. But when Washington learned that a force of 800 French and Canadians and 400 Indians was advancing, he called for Mackay to join him. Somewhat surprisingly, Mackay did so promptly.

Washington's position was precarious. His defenses were weak, and two of his soldiers had deserted and were probably telling the French about his lack of food as well as the small size of his force. Half-King and his Mingos threatened to abandon Washington if he did not retreat to the better defenses of Fort Necessity. Washington realized that a trek back over the mountain roads put him at risk of an ambush, but he agreed with Half-King that returning to Fort Necessity represented their best chance for survival. He decided "to decamp directly, and to have our swivels drawn by the men by reason of the scarcity of horses."

The journey back was worse than the trek to the mill. Washington's men had not eaten bread in six days, and none was forthcoming. The only food they had was some dried corn and a little salt. The cows were in worse shape than the men. Even worse, Mackay's men, explaining again that they were the King's soldiers, refused to carry either equipment or weapons, which did not go over well with the Virginians. Washington tried to set a good example by loading his own horse with equipment and even paying $16 to the men who helped him with the work.

After a tough, two-day trek over what one soldier called the "roughest and most hilly Road of any on the Alleghany Mountains," Washington's men arrived back at Fort Necessity. What they found was not encouraging. The expected reinforcements had not arrived, and the stores of food they hoped to find turned out to be a few bags of flour.

There was no time to rest. Washington's men began shoring up Fort Necessity's defenses—even Mackay's men contributed to the work this time. The trenches took the form of a diamond



The Granger Collection, New York

A dispirited Washington retreats with his troops after the surrender at Fort Necessity. Engraving after a painting by famed artist Howard Pyle.

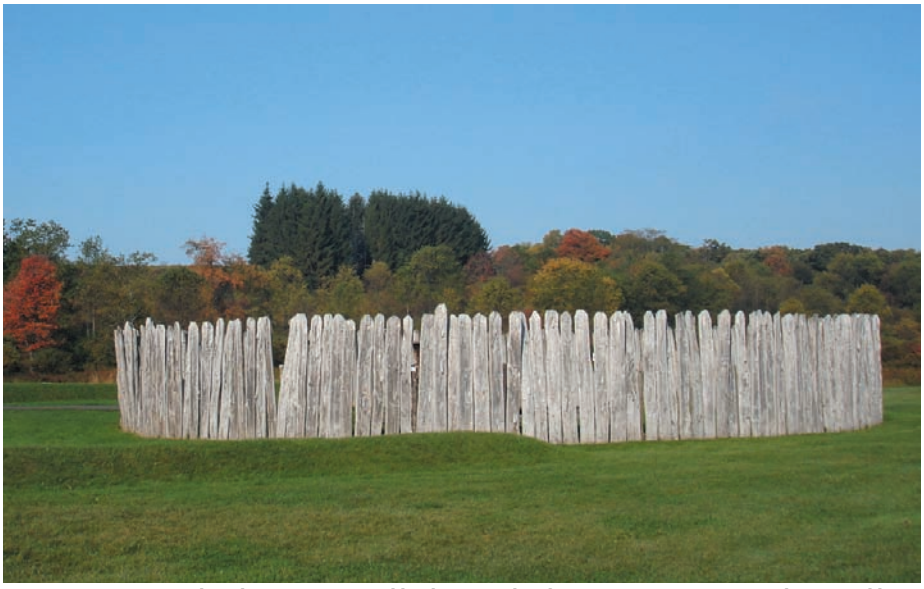
surrounding the fort. Those not working on the rifle pits cut back parts of the forest, dug a trench to the small creek and built platforms from which to fire the swivel guns. Unfortunately, the defenses would not be ready before the French arrived. Washington admitted that he "had not the Time to perfect" the fortifications. Still, with no experience in fort building or siege tactics, Washington nevertheless thought Fort Necessity was capable of withstanding an attack from 500 men.

Unknown to Washington, the day after he had set off for Fort Necessity, the French had broken camp with a force of 600 French and Canadian soldiers, bolstered by some 100 Indians. It was smaller than had been reported to Washington, but still much larger than his 400 sick and starving men. Leading the French force was Captain Louis Coulon de Villiers, the older, half brother of the murdered Jumonville. Villiers's quest for revenge was encouraged by his superiors, who ordered him to "avenge ourselves and chastise them for having violated the most sacred laws of civilized nations."

Back at Fort Necessity, Washington's Indian allies began to worry about their plight. Those sent to reconnoiter the front became alarmed by the huge number of rival Indians in the woods, preparing to do battle. Half-King encouraged Washington to retreat farther south to Wills Creek , but this time Washington refused—his men were in too wretched a condition for any more forced marching. Frustrated by the young officer's refusal to listen to his advice and not wanting to be on the losing side of a battle—and possibly lose his own scalp—Half-King led his Indians out of camp.

Around 9 o'clock on the morning of July 3, Washington got word that the French were approaching. Preparations quickened as men began loading their muskets and swivel guns. Washington's greatest fear was that the French would charge his entrenchments, because the French were armed with more bayonets than his men. He could only muster 300 men healthy enough to fight against some 700 of the enemy. Fully one-fourth of his men were too sick or exhausted to fight.

All was silent in the surrounding forests as Washington's men rushed to finish their entrenchments. Then, around 11 AM, a lone sentry fired his musket into the woods. The battle was on. The French, shouting and cursing, emerged from the woods. Washington sent his men out to form ranks. The French opened fire, then turned and retreated to the woods. Washington wisely held his fire. The enemies' shots, from roughly 600 yards away, were ineffective. Washington quickly realized that the French were not fighting by European rules. They had no intention of charging across open ground; they were content to keep to the woods. Washington ordered his men back to the trenches and gave the order to fire. His men opened up with muskets and swivel guns. Their fire, according



National Park Service

The Granger Collection, New York

ABOVE: Fort Necessity today. The site is maintained by the National Park Service. BELOW: George Washington and his staff inside Fort Necessity on the night before he capitulated to the French—ironically, on July 4.

to their commander, "was done with great Alacrity and Undauntedness."

The French continued to maneuver in the woods, looking for an area closer to the fort from which to attack. They found such a place 60 yards away and began firing. The Indians then attacked. Again, Washington gave the order to fire and his men let loose another volley, stopping the Indians cold.

The fighting degenerated into sniping by both sides. To the men inside the trenches, the fire seemed to be coming from every tree, stump, stone, and bush along the wood line. The French, dressed in blue uniforms with green leggings, were hard to spot, as were the Canadian militiamen, clad in animal skins. The Indians, despite their war paint, blended into the landscape with their dark clothes and tan bodies. Washington's men returned fire as best they could, using grapeshot from the swivel guns. One company remained within the stockade, firing though slits in the palisades. The French surrounded the fort and concentrated their shots on anyone who rose above the battlements to return fire. Casualties mounted. Men were getting killed or wounded from both direct fire and balls ricocheting off the wooden palisade. Jagged wooden splinters exploded from the walls, adding to the injuries. Washington's personal slave was counted among the casualties.

The French opened fire on Washington's cattle and horses as well, killing most of the animals. It was another blow to the men's morale. Even if they outlasted the French fire, they had nothing but a little flour to sustain them. The firing continued late into the afternoon, until storm clouds rolled in and the skies opened up with a downpour. Washington remembered it as "the most tremendous rain that can be conceived." Trenches filled with water and rain soaked the ammunition and firelocks. There were only two screws for the whole regiment to clear the wet charges in their muskets. Slowly, the fire from Fort Necessity began to slacken. To make matters worse, the hard-pressed defenders broke into the rum, and soon half the regiment was thoroughly drunk.

That night, a single French voice broke the tension-filled silence. "Voulez-vous parler [Would you like to talk]?" Washington refused to respond, assuming the request was a ruse to get him to leave the safety of the trenches for the no-man's-land between the fort and the forest. The request was repeated, and Washington eventually decided that the request was a legitimate attempt to open negotiations. He sent two of his men into the middle ground, where they met with a French delegation.

The men returned with two copies of a surrender document, both in French. One of the men, Jacob Van Braam, was Dutch but spoke French. He brought the documents to Washington and Mackay. The documents were in terrible condition, water-soaked and smeared with mud. Huddled over the documents in the leaky storehouse, Washington and Mackay listened as Van Braam laboriously tried to translate over candlelight.

Villiers's conditions were generous, considering the circumstances. They allowed Washington and his men to leave the valley in peace with any belongings they could carry with them. Their heavy guns and muskets, however, would have to be surrendered—except for one swivel gun. They would be granted full military honors as they left, but the English flag would have to come down and French troops would occupy the fort once it was vacated. Since the Virginians had no way to carry all their baggage, they could leave it under guard until they retrieved it later. In addition, two of Washington's captains would have to remain as hostages until the prisoners Washington had captured at Jumonville Glen could be returned to Fort Duquesne.

Washington returned the documents to the French with a request that they strike the line about his men surrendering their muskets. He would be retreating several hundred miles through hostile forests, and his men needed their weapons and ammunition for self-defense. Upon receiving Washington's response, Villiers easily ran a line through the sentence. He may

have been surprised that Washington did not dispute an earlier line in the treaty. In the second line of the text, Villiers had written that the objective of his force had been "only to revenge assassination which had been done to one of our officers." Basically, he was calling Washington a murderer.

Why Van Braam did not question the word is unknown. He may not have been familiar with the word or its English translation. He also may not been able to read the word on the rain-soaked document. Weeks later, when a clerk translated it into English in Williamsburg, he translated the word "assassination" as "assault," then crossed it out and replaced it with "killing." Nonetheless, when the document came back, Washington and Mackay had both signed it. Since Mackay had not been with Washington at the ravine, it was only Washington who was admitting, albeit unknowingly, to the assassination of Jumonville.

The next day, July 4—ironically enough—the French emerged from the woods following a beating drummer. They formed two columns outside Fort Necessity's gate and awaited the surrender. The troops, led by Washington, filed out of the fort and assembled in the open field. The men were soaked with mud, their faces still besmirched with powder from their muskets. The officers looked as badly spent as the enlisted men; many were missing parts of their uniforms.

The Frenchmen's Indian allies went for the stacked baggage and anything else they could grab. One Indian rounded up 10 of Washington's men and brought them to Villiers as a gift. He promptly returned them. With the Indians so eager to claim the spoils of war, Washington's men set fire to the remaining baggage. The French began destroying the remaining swivel guns, including the one Washington had been promised. It was too heavy to transport, anyway. Villiers, worried about the unruly behavior of his Indian allies, had all the liquor casks within the fort destroyed.

The Indians were not the only ones searching for souvenirs from the battlefield. As Major Adam Stephen was forming his men, his servant called his attention to a French soldier making off with his saddlebags. Stephen, furious at this breach in the surrender agreement, chased down the man and kicked him in the rear. The French officers, surprised by Stephen's brusque manner, asked if he was an officer. When he told them he was, they were doubly surprised since Stephen looked just as disheveled as his men. To prove his point, Stephen pulled his bright red regimental jacket out of his saddlebag and put it on. The French officers relaxed and joked with Stephen that since the British had already given them two hostages, they would like to become hostages themselves. They wanted to find out if the stories of the Virginia belles were true.

Paramount Press Inc.

An enraged Major Adam Stephen castigates the Frenchman who was looting his saddlebags after the surrender, in the John Buxton painting, *Damn the Capitulation.*

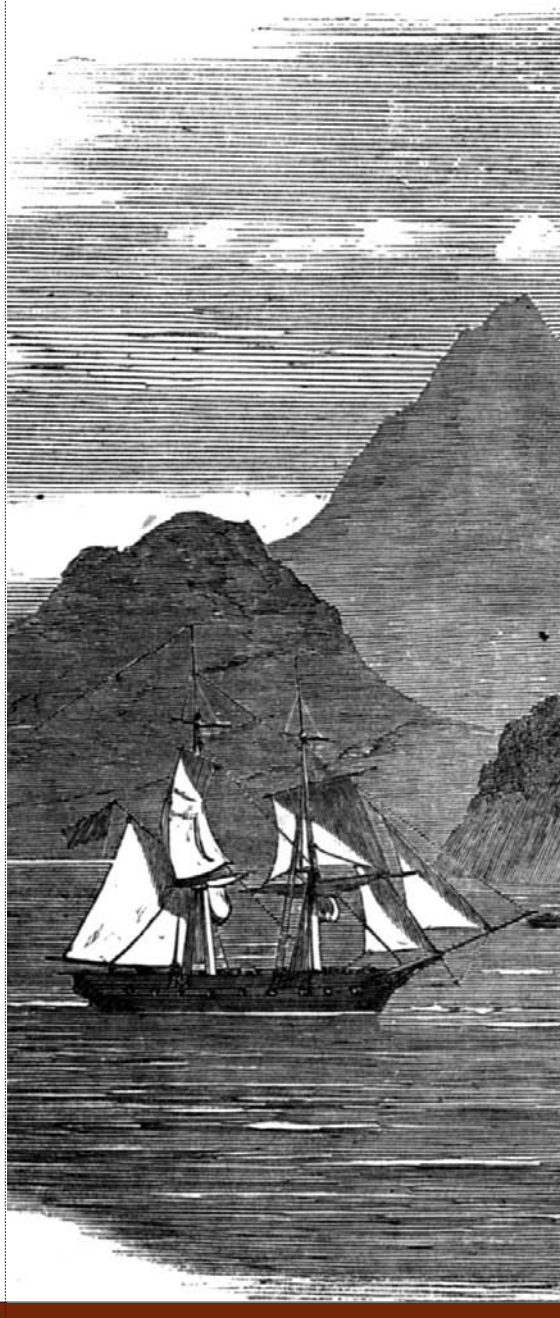
The one-day action exacted a heavy toll on Washington's command. He had lost 30 men killed and 70 wounded. By contrast, Villiers had lost only two Frenchmen and one Indian killed and 17 wounded. Washington and his men stayed the night and began marching home the next morning, carrying the wounded on their backs. The French put a torch to Fort Necessity before departing. The paltry symbol of British strength in the Ohio Valley, George Washington's first command post, burned to the ground.

Upon his return to Virginia, Washington received a cool reception from Dinwiddie. The governor now considered his young officer a liability. In a letter to the Crown, Dinwiddie explained that "my orders to the commanding officer were by no means to attack the enemy till all the forces were joined." Dinwiddie hinted that things might have gone better if he had led the expedition. The governor, however, had no more military experience than Washington and had no appreciation at all for conditions in the field. After criticizing Washington's performance, Dinwiddie turned around and ordered Washington north again. But the order came to naught. The men of the Virginia militia were

Continued on page 72

THE CRIMEAN WAR'S FORGOTTEN BATTLE

BY MARK N. LARDAS

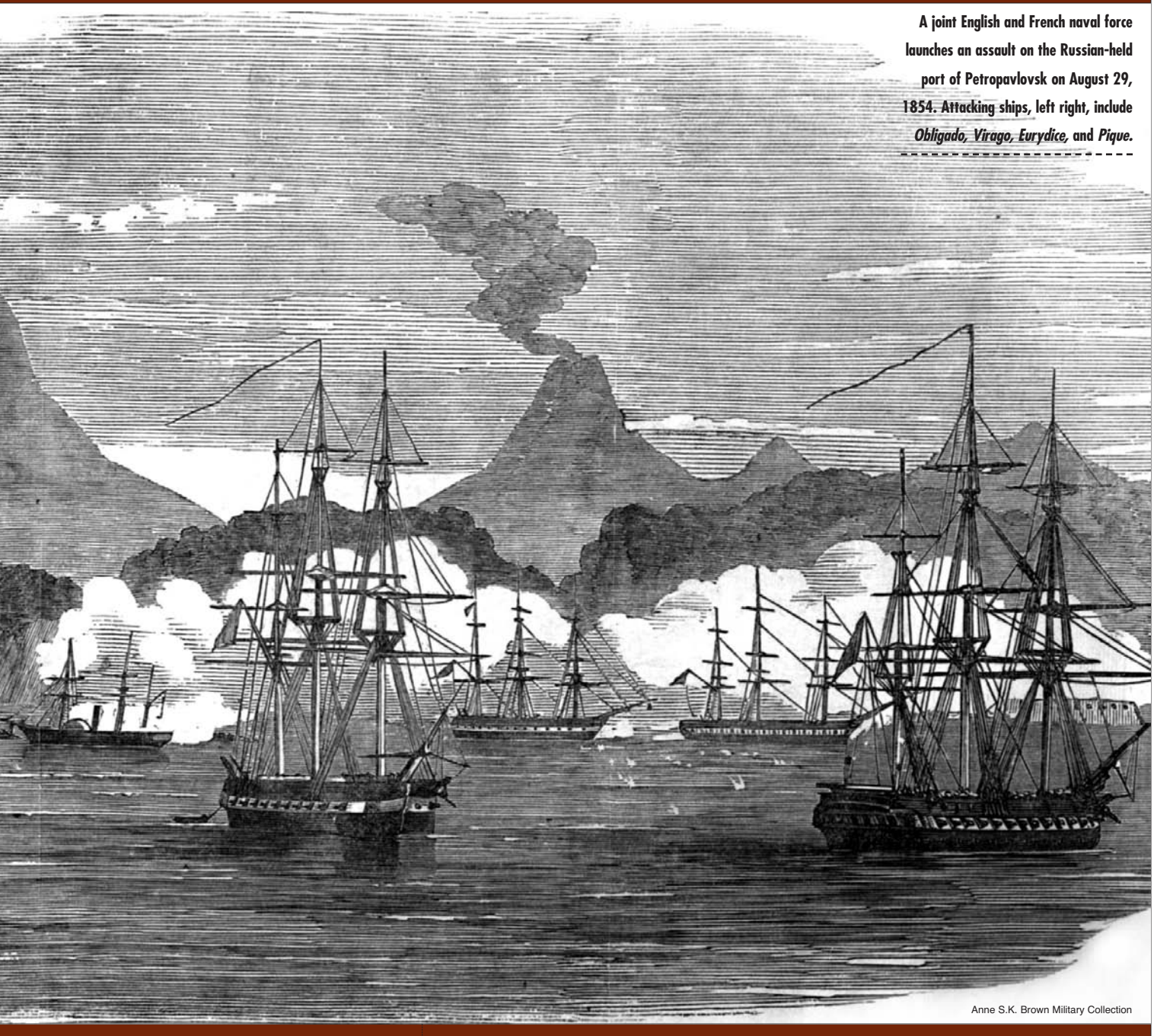


For a brief moment, the isolated port of Petropavlovsk became an active front in the Crimean War. The ensuing battle was more farcical than heroic.

THE CRIMEAN WAR is usually considered a Black Sea conflict, but it actually took place on several frontiers of the Russian empire, including the Baltic and White Seas. In the summer of 1854, the Pacific squadrons of three nations—Russia, Great Britain, and France—fought the most unusual and anachronistic action of the war on the distant and forbidding Kamchatka Peninsula. The ships, tactics, and commanders involved in that battle seemed more appropriate for Admiral Horatio Nelson's world than the modern age of steamships and railroads in which the battle was fought.

In the 1850s, steam propulsion was still new. No nation, not even Great Britain, had yet established worldwide chains of coaling stations. Remote stations—and in 1854 no corner of the world was more remote from Europe than the northern Pacific—still relied on sailing warships. The squadrons were small and the ships generally elderly, relics of the period following the Napoleonic Wars. The British squadron had five such ships. *Pique,* the newest of the sailing ships, had been launched in 1834. The flagship *President,* launched in 1829, was a copy of the American-made 44-gun *President,* captured by the British in 1815. Two other ships, *Amphitrite* and *Trincomalee,* were completed in 1816 and 1817, respectively. *Amphitrite* and *Trincomalee* were both Leda-class frigates, a design that dated back to 1794.

Ironically, both the American class imitated by *President* and the British Leda class had been intended as those nations' responses to the large frigates that France had commissioned after the American Revolution. The Americans had gone for large frigates, mounting 24-pounder main batteries. The British Leda-class frigates during the Napoleonic era were rated as 38-gun frigates, carrying a main battery of 18-pounder long guns. This design provided the backbone of the Royal Navy's cruiser squadrons during the first two decades of the 19th century, but by the 1850s their age had long since passed. Their main batteries were lightened, and they and



A joint English and French naval force launches an assault on the Russian-held port of Petropavlovsk on August 29, 1854. Attacking ships, left right, include *Obligado, Virago, Eurydice,* and *Pique.*

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

their sister ships were relegated to remote squadrons and training duties.

The sole English steamship, *Virago,* was a six-gun paddle wheeler. Launched in 1842, she was rated a first-class sloop and displaced more than the 40-gun *Pique*. Based on the design of the HMS *Gorgon, Virago* was one of 18 paddle steamers built for the Royal Navy. She was the only modern warship in either fleet, but like the rest of the squadron, she was past the leading edge of naval architecture. By the start of the Crimean War, the screw steamer was replacing the paddle steamer, with its vulnerable wheel-boxes, in the battle line of modern navies.

Commanding the English force was Rear Admiral David Price, 64, who came from the same era as most of his ships. He had last seen combat as a midshipman in the Napoleonic Wars and had been on half pay from 1815 to 1834. Between 1834 and the early 1850s, he had spent his time commanding shore emplacements and serving at various administrative posts. By the time he attained the dream of most naval officers—personal command of a squadron of warships—he was ready for retirement. Instead, his first seagoing command in his career saw him leading ships into battle.

The French force was in little better shape. It consisted of four ships, *Forte, Eurydice, Artémise,* and *Obligado*. While their designs postdated the Napoleonic era, they were still traditional wooden warships, sail-powered with smoothbore cannons. Their commander, Rear Admiral Auguste Fevrier-Despointes, had more seagoing experience than Price, including time in the Pacific. A year earlier, in September 1853, he had overseen France's annexation of New Caledonia and served as its first governor general. Although six years younger than Price, Fevrier-Despointes was unwell. He would die aboard his flagship *Forte* the following year.

The allied forces dwarfed their opponent. The Russians had just three warships in the Pacific, all sailing vessels: the frigates *Pallas* and *Aurora* and the transport *Dwina*. *Aurora,* launched in

1833, had spent her entire career in the Baltic. At the outbreak of the war, *Pallas* and *Dwina* were in Siberia, while *Aurora* was en route home from Callao, Peru. Russian land forces were carefully parceled in small garrisons along a coastline that spanned half of the Pacific, from Vladivostok in Siberia to Wrangel in Alaska.

Great Britain and France had little interest in the North Pacific, which was one reason the posting attracted such superannuated commanders—the better leaders were needed elsewhere. For Russia, however, the active frontiers of Siberia and Alaska were on the cutting edge of Russia's economic growth. With their abundant reserves of furs, timbers, and minerals, these provinces were as rich as they were isolated, and they rewarded hard, active, and competent leaders.

Rear Admiral Evfimii Vasilevich Poutiatine was one such leader. He realized that he could not attack with the forces he commanded, and that—even worse—he could expect no reinforcements from the czar. Accordingly, he chose to guard those positions he felt would be attacked by his foes. He sent *Pallas* far up the Amur River, using her guns and crew to fill out the garrisons there. He also decided to hold Petropavlovsk, an outpost on the Kamchatka Peninsula. To reinforce it, he sent *Dwina* with 350 soldiers from a Siberian line battalion, two 68-pounder mortars, and 14 36-pounder long guns. Compared with his opponents' resources, it was a pitifully small force, but it represented a significant fraction of Poutiatine's total reserves.

Established by Russian explorer Vitus Bering in 1740, Petropavlovsk was one of the world's forgotten ports. The port was named for Saints Peter (Petro) and Paul (Pavlo), the names of the two biggest ships in Bering's final expedition. Isolated from the Asian mainland by the mountains that form the Kamchatka Peninsula, the desolate port could be reached only by sea. Yet Petropavlovsk possessed an excellent harbor, and the same mountains that blocked land travel sheltered the town from the worst of the subarctic winter weather. Halfway between Vladivostok and Russia's Alaskan ports, Petropavlovsk was the only way station linking Russia's Asian and American holdings. Although the town's early growth was slow, by the middle of the 19th century the port had grown in importance, reflecting Russia's increased interest in both Siberia and Alaska.

In 1849, the Russian government decided to develop Petropavlovsk as a naval base and make the town its major port on its Asian shore. A lighthouse was built at the entrance of Avachinskaya Bay that year. A new governor, Colonel Major Vasily S. Zavoiko, another active leader, was appointed in February 1850. Zavoiko began a major building program, constructing a wharf, a shipyard, a foundry, and new barracks. These facilities and the capabilities they provided the Russian Navy in the western Pacific made the town an obvious target once Russia found itself at war with France and Great Britain in the spring of 1854.

Zavoiko learned of the war's beginning that May and immediately commenced to prepare his fortifications at Petropavlovsk. His garrison then numbered fewer than 250 men, but townspeople rallied to defend their tiny piece of Mother Russia. Virtually the entire population of 1,600 people participated in constructing earthworks. In the months that passed between the beginning of the war and the first arrival of the Anglo-French forces in Avachinskaya Bay, no fewer than seven batteries were carved into the steep slopes around the harbor.

THE SUICIDE HAD RATTLED BRITISH MORALE. "WHAT ALL WILL SAY AT HOME OF AN ENGLISH ADMIRAL DESERTING HIS POST AT SUCH A MOMENT WE CANNOT CONCEIVE."

The first piece of good fortune for the defenders of Petropavlosvsk came in late June. On June 19 by the Julian calendar then used by Russia (July 1 by the Gregorian calendar used by the West), *Aurora* slipped unmolested into the harbor. She had departed Callao on the evening of April 24-25, evaded the French and British ships hunting her, and crossed the entire span of the Pacific in less than two months, even though much of her crew was suffering from scurvy. Seeking refuge, *Aurora* sailed to Petropavlovsk, anchoring where she could command the approaches to the harbor. Zavoiko had her landward battery removed and distributed among the positions prepared by the governor.

On August 5, *Dwina* arrived at Petropavlovsk with her soldiers and guns. These reinforcements gave Zavoiko a garrison of 988 men with which to defend his isolated command. Of these, 350 were sailors and 54 were local volunteers. The locals, hardy hunters and trappers, were all expert marksmen and would play an important role in subsequent operations. *Dwina* anchored alongside *Aurora* in the harbor, behind a sand spit on which an 11-gun battery had been placed. *Aurora* could safely cover that battery and the three-gun and five-gun batteries on either side of the port. As with *Aurora, Dwina*'s guns on the side facing the shore were removed and distributed to the batteries. Four other batteries were placed along the inland approaches to the port.

The allied commanders, Price and Fevrier-Despointes, sailed into Avachinskaya Bay on August 29. Unaware that *Aurora* had gone to ground at Petropavlovsk, the allies earlier had detached *Amphitrite, Artémise,* and *Trincomalee* on independent cruises off the coasts of California to show the flag and protect British and French trade from the perceived threat posed by the Russian frigate. This left the invading force with the vessels *President, Pique, Virago, Forte, Eurydice,* and *Obligado* and their combined crews of 2,600 men.

The allies had put considerably less thought into capturing Petropavlovsk than the Russians had into defending it. Possibly they expected that the mere appearance of their fleet would simply overawe the Russians into surrender. Instead, the Russians greeted the attackers with gunfire, which the frigates returned—albeit at too great a range for either side to be effective. The allies withdrew into the bay to consider their next move.

The next morning they renewed their attack. But as *President, Pique,* and *Forte* drew into range, Price excused himself from the quarterdeck, retired to his cabin, and put a pistol to his chest. The responsibility of leading men into battle had proved too much for him—as, apparently, had his marksmanship. Price attempted to shoot himself in the heart, but missed. The bullet instead lodged in a lung, condemning him to a painful and lingering death.

What was intended as high tragedy soon devolved into grim farce. Price's attempt at suicide left the allies leaderless. The day's attack was abandoned. As the warships again withdrew into the bay, Price's officers came to see their dying commander one by one. He apologized to each in turn for his action, explaining that he could not "bear the thought of taking

so many noble and gallant fellows into action." Fevrier-Despointes, too, came aboard *President* to see his counterpart as he lay dying.

In agony, Price called for the ship's surgeon to finish the job. Finally Price died, leaving Captain Sir Frederick Nicholson, commander of *Pique,* as the senior British officer on the scene. Because the Royal Navy had the majority of the forces committed (and because Fevrier-Despointes was ill and disinclined to lead the force), Nicholson now found himself in command of the allied assault.

Price's death blighted the ensuing assault. His vacillating on the 29th, followed by his suicide on the 30th, meant that Nicholson was attacking a force well aware of his presence and ready—indeed eager—to repel any invasion. The suicide had rattled British morale. Chaplain Holme of *President* wrote, "What all will say at home of an English Admiral deserting his post at such a moment we cannot conceive." Yet Nicholson took the bit and renewed the attack on August 31.

At 8 AM, *President, Pique,* and *Forte,* towed by *Virago,* took up positions to bombard the three Russian batteries guarding the approaches to the roadstead. By mid-morning they had silenced them. Led by *Virago,* 15 boats filled with French sailors and marines landed at the three-gun battery to the right, capturing it. *Aurora* began firing upon the invaders and sent a party of 200 sailors to repulse the French. The French, in turn, spiked the enemy guns and withdrew under heavy attack.

A combined British and French landing party was sent against the five-gun battery next. Once again the guns were rendered inoperable before a Russian counterattack pushed the invaders out of the battery. A third allied landing party was sent against the 11-gun battery on the sand spit shielding the roadstead. For a third time the Russians, supported by *Aurora*'s guns, repulsed the enemy. Ten hours of hard fighting had ensued, and both sides were exhausted. Although the batteries guarding the harbor were silenced, the allies could not follow up with an immediate assault on the harbor. Instead, the British and French drew off into the bay to renew the battle the next morning.

While the British and French slept, the Russians labored all night to restore their batteries. By dawn the batteries were again functional. Nonplussed by the renewed resistance, the allied ships withdrew to consider their alternatives. The pause lasted for three days. On September 2, *Virago* took Admiral Price's body

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A bristling line of cannons stands as a vivid monument to the Russian defense of Petropavlovsk in 1854.

to Tarinski Bay for burial. During the trip, the steamer picked up three American sailors who had been in Petropavlovsk. The men, apparently deserters from a whaling ship, gave the attackers critical information about the defenses inside the Russian port, including the sizes of the garrison and batteries. They also volunteered knowledge of an easier way into the port than the sea route, promising to lead the allies into Petropavlovsk through a northern road.

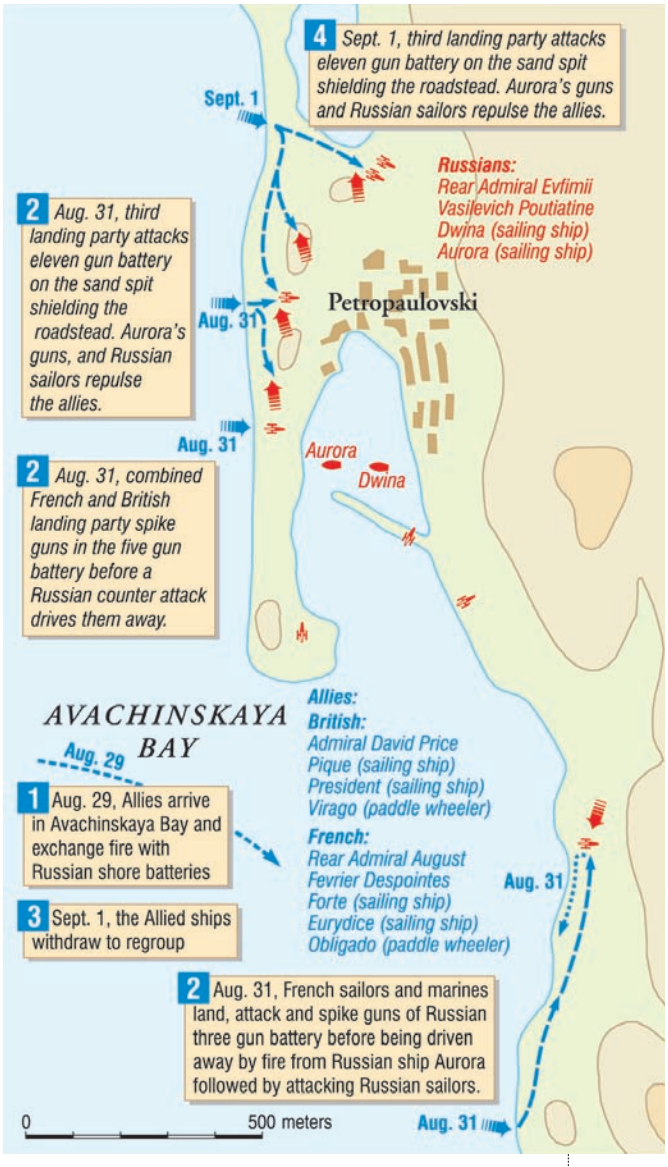
The deserters were either fools or knaves. The "unguarded" inland route to the city was covered by three of the Russian batteries—one at the water's edge on the northern slope of Mount Nikolayevka, a second at the southern flank of the mountain between it and Mount Signalnaya, and a third covering the inland northern road to Petropavlovsk. Ignorant of the arrangement, the British and French held a council of war and agreed to try the sailors' route. They would attempt a landing near Mount Nikolayevka, then cross over the mountain and attack the town from the north.

At 8 AM on September 4, a force of 700 marines and sailors was landed near Mount Nikolayevka. The landing spot was also near two Russian batteries, but these were quickly silenced by fire from *President, Forte,* and *Virago*. Led by Captain Burridge of *President* and Captain Grandiér of *Eurydice,* the landing party moved up the hillside past the abandoned batteries.

The allies broke into three columns as they advanced. Two groups moved up Mt. Nikolayevka,

while another began following the northern road to Petropavlovsk, hoping to take the town from the rear. Brush and brambles covered the slope, impeding the advance by the allied units. The garrisons of the silenced batteries had moved uphill ahead of the advancing invaders and were using the thick brambles growing on the hillside to provide cover while they sniped at the attackers. As the British and French struggled up the hillside and down the road to Petropavlovsk, they moved out of range of supporting gunfire from their fleet, losing the biggest advantage they held over the Russians.

Russian fire was heavy and deadly. The sharp-shooting Siberians translated their hunting skills into military purposes with devastating results, concentrating fire on the enemy officers. They killed Captain Charles Allen Parker, commanding the Royal Marines, and wounded no fewer than seven other officers with the landing party. The Russians, warned by the allied bombardment of their batteries, had rushed 300 defenders to oppose the advance. The allied advance faltered as the officers fell, leaving the men leaderless. In the face of stiffening Russian resistance, a retreat to the landing site was ordered. As the French and British began to withdraw, the emboldened if outnumbered Russians launched a bayonet charge, completing the allied rout.



Before the French and British regained their boats, they suffered 208 casualties, killed and wounded. By 10:45 the assault was over. The survivors were once more aboard ship, and the frigates withdrew from the range of the Russian artillery. The allies had now been repulsed on four occasions. When losses from the previous assault on the roadstead were included, the total was nearly 450 casualties, or one-sixth of the total force. Their commanding admiral was dead by his own hand; his French counterpart was ill. Completely dispirited and low on ammunition, the British and French squadrons withdrew from Avachinskaya Bay on September 7. Before quitting the Kamchatka coast, they captured a Russian transport, *Stitka,* and a small schooner, *Avatska,* both of which were loaded with stores. It was a poor trade for Petropavlovsk.

The reverse, as it turned out, was temporary. The following year the Royal Navy returned to Petropavlovsk with a new and energetic British admiral, Rear Admiral Henry William Bruce, in command. In addition to the ships that had attacked the port in 1854, the British committed *Trincomalee* and *Amphitrite,* reinforced by the sailing sloops *Dido, Encounter,* and *Barracouta,* and the screw steamer *Brisk*. The three French warships were reinforced by another sailing frigate, *Alceste,* and Admiral Fourichon had replaced Fevrier-Despointes, who had finally succumbed to illness.

Instead of strengthening and consolidating the defenses of the port, the governor-general of Eastern Siberia, Muraviov-Amursky, ordered the port evacuated on March 27, 1855. The situation in Siberia had grown more desperate after *Pallas* wrecked in the Amur River during the previous winter. Muraviov-Amursky knew the Russian Navy could send no reinforcements, and that the allies had more ships on the scene. Petropavlovsk was doomed.

Zavoiko obeyed the order with his characteristic energy, cutting paths through the ice covering the harbor to facilitate evacuation. He buried the garrison's guns or loaded them, along with any useful supplies, aboard *Aurora* and *Dwina*. By mid-April, with the port still icebound, the Russians were gone. The batteries were empty of guns, the military storehouses were bare, and the treasury was broke. Civilians removed to the village of Avatcha, inland on the Kamchatka Peninsula.

Bruce had sent *Encounter* and *Barracouta* to watch the port, starting in early February, but bad weather forced the sailing vessels to stand well away from the harbor. Taking advantage of the snow and fog, the two Russian ships slipped past their guardians undetected and unsuspected. On May 30, the 12-

LEFT: Led by an aggressive Col. Maj. Vasily Zavoiko, the Russian garrison at Petropavlovsk beat back repeated land and sea assaults on the harbor at Avachinskaya Bay. BELOW: Petropavlovsk was an isolated outpost on the southeastern coast of Russia's Kamchatka Peninsula.

ship allied squadron entered the harbor cautiously despite the lack of enemy fire. They found it almost entirely deserted, except for two Americans and their French servant.

The British and French destroyed the port's arsenals, batteries, and magazine; burned the barracks, bakery, treasury, and other public buildings; and sank a whaler they discovered in Rakovia Harbor. They spared the civilian buildings in the town, including a warehouse claimed by the two Americans. Lacking any further incentive to remain in Kamchatka, the allies then left. They scoured the Siberian coast for the Russian forces that had evacuated Petropavlovsk and eventually found them. *Aurora, Dwina,* and four merchant ships were anchored well up the Amur River, positioned behind a shallow bar. Sheltered by their own guns and shore batteries, they proved too formidable an opponent to attack. The allies left them there, unmolested, until the end of the war.

The Battle of Petropavlovsk, forgotten in the West, is still commemorated in Russia as an outstanding naval victory. The Russians named one of their first ironclad warships *Petropavlovsk,* and kept a ship of that name in commission throughout the remainder of the life of czarist Russia. A later *Petropavlovsk* was sunk at Port Arthur during the Russo-Japanese War, and a third *Petropavlovsk* was one of the four Gangut-class dreadnoughts built by the Imperial Russian Navy before World War I.

The Russians are entitled to celebrate. Although the battle was a petty action in an ignored theater of a minor war, the Russian defenders of Petropavlovsk nevertheless fought bravely and skillfully, succeeding against a superior opponent. The Russian retreat the following spring was equally skillful, denying the allies their chance for revenge. Another factor encouraging fond Russian memories is that the Battle of Petropavlovsk was one of their rare naval victories in the 19th century—and a victory against the mighty Royal Navy, no less. Although the Russians were hardly facing a commander of Lord Nelson's abilities during the battle, it was still a victory to be savored.

For the Royal Navy and the French Navy, Petropavlovsk was a cautionary tale about the declining effectiveness of peacetime navies. A good share of the blame for the allied loss lay in poor leadership. Both Admirals Price and Fevrier-Despointes belonged at home, in retirement, not commanding remote units of their respective navies for the first time in their lives. Price simply could not cope with the responsibilities of command. His suicide was less a cause for condemnation than for sympathy. Fevrier-Despointes was too ill to exert an active part in the activity, allowing command to devolve to a senior captain.

The British captains exercised more energy and bravery than judgment. They deferred to Price until his death. While this was to be expected in the 19th-century Royal Navy, they did not rise to the opportunity offered to them after his death. Instead of gathering intelligence and developing a plan that took advantage of Russian weaknesses, Nicholson simply charged into the port on the first day of his command, then allowed the Russians to rebuild the batteries the British and French had destroyed at the cost of more blood and ammunition. Finally, the landing on September 4 was done without adequate reconnaissance or, indeed, any planning at all beyond the point at which they landed.

The Crimean War ended in March 1856. *Aurora* left the Amur River that July and sailed back to Kronstadt, finally arriving after nearly a year at sea. She never saw service again, and was scrapped in April 1861. Admiral Poutiatine became the Russian envoy to Japan in 1858. Zavoiko was promoted to general by the end of the Crimean War, and he later helped found Vladivostok.

Petropavlovsk took a long time to recover from the war. Mainland ports appeared. Nickolayevsk-on-Amur became the principal Russian port on the Pacific coast before being supplanted by Vladivostok in 1871. Russia sold its Alaskan lands to the United States in 1867. Instead of being an important way station on the trade route to North America, Petropavlovsk had become the extreme eastern end of the Russian empire. By 1890, the port had shrunk from 1,600 to 506 inhabitants. Ten years later it only held 383 people. It took another Pacific war to restore the town to its former status.

HMS *Trincomalee* is now on display at Hartlepool in northeast England. For years she served as a training vessel for young English sailors.

Of the allied ships involved in the battle, most passed out of the battle fleet after the Crimean War. In many ways, the Battle of Petropavlovsk was the last act in the age of fighting sail. While pure sailing vessels would still see service as warships for the next 15 years, they served in supplementary roles after 1856. The wooden warship's time was also limited, even for screw steamers. The year 1860 saw the launch of HMS *Warrior,* an iron-hulled, armored, steam warship. A year later, the Confederate ironclad CSS *Virginia* sounded the death knell of the sailing warship by destroying two wooden sailing frigates in Hampton Roads, Virginia. Only another ironclad, USS *Monitor,* prevented the destruction of rest of the United States Navy's wooden warships in those waters.

One of the British ships in Price's squadron, HMS *Trincomalee,* still exists. Used as a harbor vessel after 1871, she became a training ship in 1903. For the next 83 years, generations of boy sailors learned the ropes on her top deck. By 1983, this type of school ship had become obsolete, but because of her age (and an increasing fascination with the age of the sail), the ship was restored as a museum in Hartlepool, in northeast England, where visitors can see her today.

One odd echo of the battle remains. As with most navies, the Russian Navy reuses the names of ships that have fought illustrious actions. When the wooden frigate *Aurora* retired, her name was taken by another Russian warship, a light cruiser launched in 1897. The name proved as fortunate for the cruiser as for the earlier frigate. The cruiser *Aurora* was one of the few Russian participants that survived the Battle of Tsushima Strait. Then, in 1917, stationed in Petrograd, she fired the shots that launched the October Revolution. Surviving World War II in Leningrad, the cruiser was preserved as a monument to the Russian Revolution. Today, she is a museum ship in the Nevka River, the only surviving warship of the Imperial Russian Navy. □

TO FIELD AN ARMY

A SHORT HISTORY OF MILITARY HISTORY

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Throughout history, civilian populations—willingly or not—have been called upon to take up arms for their countries in times of crisis. It's always the young who are taken first.

BY MIKE HASKEW

The call of a nation on its civilian population either to create a military force or to augment a standing army is virtually as old as civilization itself. The Latin word *Legio* translates literally as "conscription" and is the root of the word "legion." From ancient times to the present day, governments have initiated military conscription in some form or other to fill the ranks of their armed forces. Often unpopular and fraught with political and social consequences, such actions have contributed immeasurably to the shaping of history.

Prior to the rise of the Roman Empire, the Greek city-states instituted compulsory military service while fighting alternately with one another and with marauding Persians under King Xerxes. Two methods of conscription existed in Athens. At the height of the Peloponnesian War, Athenian generals posted the names of eligible citizens on 10 lists known as *katalogoi*. In earlier times, service in the army of Athens was required of all men who could pay for their own weapons and armor. With the approval of the city's representative assembly, one general was placed in overall command and an approved number of soldiers, called hoplites, were summoned to duty. By the 4th century BC, the government had begun supplying swords, spears, and shields, thus effectively eliminating exemptions from military service caused by an inability to provide one's own equipment. Men aged from 18 to 60 were subject to service.

The second method of conscription in Athens was equally straightforward. Lists of potential soldiers were sorted by age group,

A hard-bitten Prussian recruiting officer dragoons a reluctant peasant into the service in Louis Joseph Watteau's 1770 painting, *The Unwilling Recruit*. INSET: University of Wisconsin student Goddard C. Graves burns his draft card at the height of the Vietnam War protests.

and men between certain ages were called to duty periodically. While the very notion of involuntary military service may have seemed at odds with the ideals of Athenian democracy, there was no such ambiguity among the people of Sparta, the ancient rival of Athens for Peloponnesian preeminence. The military and the city-state were the center of Spartan existence. At the age of seven, every male Spartan was sent away to military and athletic schools. These schools instilled toughness, discipline, endurance of pain, and survival skills. By the age of 20, Spartan youths already had received 13 years of military training. For the next 10 years, as Spartan soldiers, they shared their lives with their fellow soldiers. Only after they turned 30 were Spartan men allowed to live in their own houses with their own families. Even then, they continued to serve in the military. Military service finally ended at the age of 60—assuming the typical Spartan male lived that long.

During the Middle Ages, the absence of effective central government posed a challenge to the formation of large armies. Weapons were expensive, and most military forces were composed of aristocratic males complemented by mercenaries. The re-emergence of strong centralized governments and ongoing progress in weapons development, particularly firearms, facilitated the fielding of larger armies that included yeoman farmers, laborers, and civilians of lower social status. During the ensuing era of empire building, European armies grew tremendously in size and strength.

Among the first to recognize the need for a standing army (which created, in turn, a need for more troops) was Prussian King Frederick William II, better known to history as Frederick the Great. When Frederick ascended the throne in 1740, he inherited from his father a well-trained army of over 80,000 men, but one that the old king was loath to risk in battle. The new king, with his eye on expanding Prussian territory at the expense of its neighbors, had no such compunction. In the course of the next two decades, he would lead the army to victory after victory in the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War. Such victories came at a staggering price in human lives.

Frederick's army, the first professional army in Europe since the Roman Legion, was constantly drilled in marching, maneuvering, and weaponry. To guarantee a steady flow of soldiers, the king encouraged militarism among the elite upper class by fostering advanced officer training at the Collegium Carolinium in Cassel and other universities. Line officers were drawn from the middle class and segregated into appropriate units based on their backgrounds as farmers, gameskeepers, or tradesmen. At the bottom of the army hierarchy were the all too aptly named *entbeherliche Leute,* or expendable people. These soldiers, the backbone—and cannon fodd— for Frederick's wars of conquest, were often farmhands, wandering youths, school dropouts, and homeless people dragged off the streets or farms by pitiless impressment gangs. Military recruiters, known as "sellers of souls," used more subtle means, including knockout drops in drinks, to dragoon men into Frederick's army. Once there, they seldom left, except by death or desertion.

The concept of modern conscription was a byproduct of the simmering conflict between social classes and the introduction of democratic ideals in revolutionary France. On August 23, 1793, France initiated the *levée en masse,* a general conscription of the civilian population of the country. All Frenchmen between the ages of 18 and 25 who were capable of bearing arms were immediately taken into the service. Meanwhile, the civilian population was also required to help support the revolution, which had been threatened by intervention from foreign powers seeking to abolish the republic and reestablish the monarchy.

In its declaration announcing the *levée,* the French National Assembly asserted, "From this moment until such time as its enemies shall have been driven from the soil of the Republic, all Frenchmen are in permanent requisition for the services of the armies. The young men shall fight; the married men shall forge arms and transport provisions; the women shall make tents and clothes and shall serve in the hospitals; the children shall turn linen into lint; the old men shall betake themselves to the public squares in order to arouse the courage of the warriors and preach hatred of kings and the unity of the Republic."

At the time of the *levée,* France was indeed at war with its European neighbors. The order required each *département,* or civil jurisdiction, to supply a certain number of conscripts to the army, although during the course of the *levée,* only about half the required number of men actually was received into the ranks. The edict was widely unpopular, and many of those eligible for service took extraordinary measures to avoid reporting for duty. Although desertion and inefficiency ran high, the effort proved just successful enough to stave off military and political disaster.

> "IT SEEMS TO ME A STRANGELY WANTON THING THAT ENGLAND, FOR THE SAKE OF 50,000 IRISH SOLDIERS, IS PREPARED TO HOLLOW ANOTHER TRENCH BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES AND FILL IT WITH BLOOD."

By 1798, the *levée* had been supplanted by the Jourdan Act, named for a deputy of the National Assembly. The first article of the Jourdan Act decreed, "Any Frenchman is a soldier and owes himself to the defense of the nation." The Jourdan Act, in turn, facilitated the growth of the French Grande Armée, the army of citizen-soldiers that Napoleon Bonaparte employed so brilliantly against the professional fighting forces of other nations en route to becoming the military scourge of Europe.

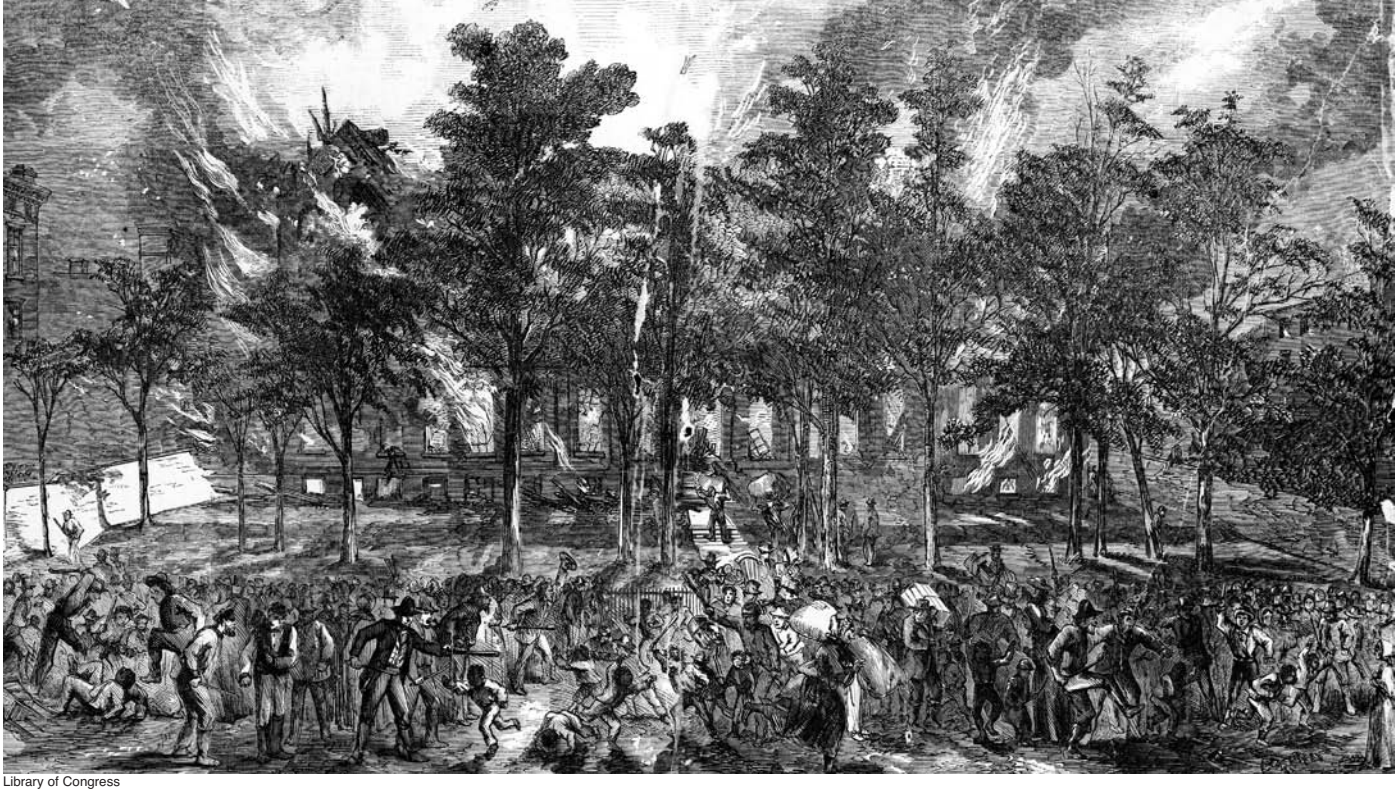
The impact of French innovation in constructing a country's military machine was far-reaching. The ability to raise large numbers of troops during a time of national emergency was essential to the scale of the great battles that followed during the 19th and 20th centuries. Greater numbers of combatants and ever-improving technologies of killing fed the staggering casualty rolls of World Wars I and II. Subsequently, whenever manpower came into short supply, it was the draft that enabled the fighting to continue.

The next important advance in the raising of large civilian armies came from the Prussian concept of training soldiers during a short period of peacetime service, maintaining their proficiency, and keeping them subject to mobilization on short notice. Ironically, rather than proving a purely defensive measure, the Prussian system became decidedly offensive as other nations adopted the practice. The ability to quickly field a large, well-equipped, and mobile army contributed heavily to the rapid onset of World War I, as the European continent evolved into two armed camps within a matter of months.

General conscription in some form of draft existed among all the major warring powers from 1914 to 1918. During the 18 months from early 1913 through the summer of the following year, France increased the period of draftee service from two to three years, while Germany increased the size of its army by 170,000 new soldiers. Russia lengthened its service period per soldier from three years to 42 months. Although the British Empire relied on a volunteer service until 1916, during the prewar years the nation had actively prepared for the upcoming conflict by participating heavily in the global arms race, stockpiling weapons, and enhancing its transportation infrastructure.

One of the staunchest advocates of conscription in the British government was Prime Minister David Lloyd George, who was elevated in December 1916 from the positions of minister of munitions and war secretary to the leader of a coalition government. The British had suffered appalling casualties in the first two years of the Great War, and Lloyd George was convinced that national conscription was necessary. Under the provisions of the Military Service Act, all eligible males were ordered into the armed forces. Across the Empire, opposition to the measure was fierce and precipitated unrest in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Ireland.

In an effort to bolster the dwindling number of volunteers—only 300,000 had come forward by 1916—the Military Service Act became law in Canada on July 6, 1917. Violence erupted in the streets of Quebec City, and four people were killed when soldiers opened fire on protesters. The conscription crisis in Ireland contributed to that country's drive for



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New York City rioters burn and sack the Colored Orphan Asylum on Fifth Avenue and 43rd Street at the height of the rampage. Illustration appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, August 1, 1863.

independence. Poet William Butler Yeats wrote acidly to a member of Parliament, "It seems to me a strangely wanton thing that England, for the sake of 50,000 Irish soldiers, is prepared to hollow another trench between the countries and fill it with blood."

By the summer of 1914, the German national identity already had been forged through the general unification of the country, which had been accomplished largely through the efforts of Prime Minister Otto von Bismarck. Kaiser Wilhelm II encouraged German nationalism and openly sought his country's "place in the sun." Before that time, the German Army had been largely under the control of one directing mind, that of General Helmut von Moltke. In short order, the German Army had become the most perfect fighting machine in the world. No higher compliment could have been paid to Germany's military system than the fact that it was copied by the very nation—France—that suffered the most from its success. The German model was copied later by all nations, none more sedulously than Japan.

During the interwar years, the Treaty of Versailles specifically restricted the German Army, or Reichswehr, to a maximum strength of 100,000 men. In an overt repudiation of the treaty, Adolf Hitler reinstituted conscription in 1935. Every German male aged 18 to 45 was subject to being called up, and in time of war even women were targeted for "special service." Many of those who initially had been considered unfit for frontline military service because of age, wounds, or physical impairment eventually found themselves in uniform as the tide of war turned decisively against Germany and battlefield losses became catastrophic.

Every major European military power, with the notable exception of Great Britain, continued some form of conscription following World War I. In the spring of 1939, the British Parliament passed the Conscription Act to prepare for the looming conflict by establishing military training and mobilization programs. On September 3, the date that Great Britain declared war on Germany, another law was enacted and provided for the call-up of males between the ages of 18 and 41. Women were also eligible for the draft and participated in noncombat roles. A further measure, the Emergency Powers Defence Act, placed the civilian population and industry on a war footing. The legal scope of conscription in Great Britain even extended to those, such as coal miners, who had engaged in work previously deemed essential to the war effort.

In the Soviet Union, nearly 30 million men and women were drafted into the ranks of the Red Army during the Great Patriotic War, as World War II came to be known in Russia. At the time the war began, slightly fewer than five million soldiers were under arms. By then, the Soviets had already fought a brief but bloody war with Finland and had begun the war as an ally of Nazi Germany. Soon, nearly six times as many men and women would be enlisted to fight for the Motherland.

Japan began to introduce conscription little more than a decade after the nation turned decidedly toward the West in the 1850s. Although the institution had been initiated for security reasons, the armed forces rapidly became the modern embodiment of the samurai, or warrior class, and served to bring the nation together during the expansionist years of the 20th century. Between 1918 and 1940, the size of the Japanese military steadily increased, and on the eve of its surprise war with the United States, Japan's armed strength was in excess of five million men.

Since World War II, many nations, including Germany, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Norway, South Korea, Egypt, Israel, and the People's Republic of China have maintained compulsory military service for males who have reached a minimum age of 18, although the end of the Cold War has sparked debate over the continuation of such policies. Other countries, including the United States, rely on volunteer armed forces but maintain a system of registration to facilitate a call-up in the event of a national emergency.

Perhaps no nation has been more profoundly affected by military conscription, popularly known as "the draft," than the United States. During the colonial period, a standing army was not organized; however, adult males were subject to the call of their particular state governments to form militia units in response to any immediate outside threat. With the coming of the Revolutionary War, the Continental Army was made up largely of such state militias, com-

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ABOVE: Unusually well-kempt American draftees report for duty at Fort Slocum, Long Island, during the national call to arms in June 1917. RIGHT: Vice President Thomas R. Marshall draws a draft capsule from a bin during a ceremony in 1918. Nearly 3 million men were drafted in World War I. FAR RIGHT: Corporal John W. Simms bids goodbye to his wife and child as he prepares to leave for Korea in 1950.

plemented by men who had been enticed to enlist by such incentives as tracts of land on the western frontier and cash bonuses. Inevitably, however, short enlistment periods frequently expired prior to decisive battles. Desertion was a problem as well, since many of the recruits were farmers who were compelled to return to their fields on a seasonal basis.

The commander of the Continental Army, George Washington, was forced to cope with the constant difficulty of maintaining an effective force to battle the British. Later, as president of the United States, he sought to improve the country's military posture. Approved by the Second Continental Congress and signed into law by Washington on May 8, 1792, the National Conscription Act stated that "every able-bodied white male citizen of the age of 18 years and under the age of 45 be enrolled in the militia. Every citizen so enrolled shall within six months thereafter provide himself with a good musket or firelock, a sufficient bayonet and belt and not less than twenty-four cartridges." The act further stipulated that "if any person, officer or soldier called out into the service of the United States be wounded or disabled while in actual service, he shall be taken care of and provided for at the public expense."

Subsequent draft measures proposed by Presidents John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison received little support from Congress, but the outbreak of the War of 1812 prompted the legislative body to authorize the raising of a regular army. In exchange for 13 months of service, recruits were offered a cash bonus of $16 upon enlistment, along with a 160-acre tract of land and three months' pay upon discharge. Still, these incentives were not nearly enough to field an army to fight the British, and once again the lion's share of the nation's defense fell on the state militias. Congress eventually empowered President James Monroe to call 100,000 militiamen into service.

Less than a century after the Declaration of Independence, the United States was wracked by the Civil War. In the wake of the Confederate firing on Fort Sumter, a wave of patriotic fervor swept across both North and South. It soon became apparent that the war would be a protracted and costly one in terms of lives and treasure, and the Union and Confederate governments resorted to conscription. On April 16, 1862, the Confederacy adopted the first of three conscription acts, making men aged 18 to 35 subject to service. That September, during the same month that the war's bloodiest single day of combat was fought at Antietam, the Confederate Congress extended the eligible draft age to 45.

Following the Battle of Antietam, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation

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Proclamation, theoretically freeing slaves in those states that were then in open rebellion against the United States. The Proclamation was to take effect on January 1, 1863. Two months later, Lincoln announced the Enrollment Act of Conscription, and violence erupted in major cities across the North. Those who were well-to-do could avoid the draft, either through paying $300 for an exemption or hiring a substitute. Such inequities placed the burden of fighting the war, which was now ostensibly for the freedom of slaves, heavily on the shoulders of the newly arrived immigrant population, fostering increased resentment among the working classes and the less affluent.

Overt, violent resistance to the draft broke out in New York City on July 13, 1863. Two days earlier, the city had begun the first drawing of military conscripts on the so-called "lottery wheel." Restless crowds packed into the 9th District office at 677 Third Avenue to hear the unlucky conscripts' names called aloud by Provost Marshal Charles Jenkins. The first was "William Jones, 46th Street, corner [of] Tenth Avenue." As the day progressed, several hundred more names were announced, with no appreciable trouble. A second round of drafting would

begin two days later, on Monday, the 13th.

Matters worsened, however, over the weekend. Saloons did a thriving business as workers gathered to denounce the draft in general and Abraham Lincoln in particular. A shadowy "gentleman" from Virginia named John Andrews was seen delivering inflammatory speeches throughout the various lower-class wards clustered around Five Points, the notorious New York City slum. People began warning openly that there would be "a Negro hanging from very lamppost of New York" the next day.

Crowds began gathering at dawn on the 13th, armed with sticks, clubs, crowbars, axes, brickbats, and other weapons. They clustered in a vacant lot in Central Park and began inching their way down 8th and 9th Avenues. Signs reading "No Draft!" flourished above the mob. After a shot rang out, the crowd surged forward and overran Lieutenant Abel Reade's 50 troopers from the Invalid Corps who were trying to hold them back. One wounded veteran was beaten and left for dead on 41st Street, a second was stripped of his uniform, beaten, and thrown over a precipice onto some hard rocks below.

The riot worsened. Trolley cars were overturned, traffic was halted, and anyone looking rich enough to avoid the draft by paying an exemption or hiring a substitute was beaten. Police Superintendent John A. Kennedy, who had the misfortune to be well dressed, was dragged through the mud and beaten on the head until he was unrecognizable. The crowds grew, and by mid-afternoon some 10,000 rioters had converged on the New York State Armory on Second Avenue. The building was set afire and many rioters, male and female, were trapped inside while attempting to loot weapons. Those attempting to flee were clubbed unmercifully by policemen. Dozens died.

The rioters then descended on the Colored Orphan Asylum on Fifth Avenue and 43rd Street. The building was set ablaze and black men, women, and children were set upon, beaten, stoned, kicked, and hanged from lampposts. Whole families of African Americans ran for their lives from the white crowd. The offices of the administration-supporting *New York Tribune* were also stormed—editor Horace Greeley escaped unnoticed out the front door—and the riot simmered for another day and half before five regiments of New York troops arrived fresh from the battlefield at Gettysburg to quell the uprising. In the end, upwards of 1,200 people died (the exact count is unknown) and $5 million worth of property was destroyed. Ironically, the large bonuses being offered attracted an unimpeded flow of volunteers to the Union cause.

Ultimately, only about 2 percent of the more than two million men serving in the Union Army were draftees, although nearly 250,000 men had been identified as eligible following the enactment of the federal conscription law. In sharp contrast, up to 30 percent of those Confederate soldiers still in the field by the spring of 1865 were draftees. By then, of course, many of the original volunteers on both sides already had been wounded or killed in battle.

As Europe descended into the maelstrom of World War I, President Woodrow Wilson attempted to keep the United States out of the conflict. He managed to do so until April 1917. In May of that year, a month after declaring war on Germany and its allies, Congress passed the Selective Service Act, which made all adult males between the ages of 21 and 30 subject to military service and created a system of boards at the local and state level to induct or defer draftees. That May, Wilson signed the draft law, declaring later that anyone who failed to register would be arrested and subject to a year in prison. On June 5, some 10 million men registered for the first draft.

Throughout the country the registration process was a raucous occasion. In New York City, boat horns were blown to announce the start of registration, and in Provo, Utah, whistles performed a similar function. In Vicksburg, Mississippi, church bells and whistles rang out. Similar noise-making took place across the nation, and family members often accompanied registrants

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The King of Rock and Roll, Elvis Presley, pretends to fire his rifle during training exercises at Wildflecken, West Germany, in 1959.

to the registration site. Patriotic parades were held in several cities. In Memphis, 25,000 marched in a loyalty parade, while in Birmingham, General Leonard Wood personally addressed participants. In Hinds County, Mississippi, a regimental band went from one registration place to another, playing patriotic music for the registrants. Some boards had to call in additional volunteer staff because of the large number of registrants. In Salt Lake City, a registrar made a special tour of the hospital on registration day, enrolling men who were physically unable to leave the hospital.

From September 1917 to November 1918, slightly more than 2.8 million American men entered the armed forces as a result of the Selective Service Act, and more than 24 million registered. Charles Schenck, a prominent member of the American Socialist Party, distributed propaganda leaflets advocating peaceful resistance to the draft and opposing the war. Arrested and convicted under the provisions of the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act, which became law the following year, Schenck appealed his conviction and sought the protection of the First Amendment. The U.S. Supreme Court considered the case, upheld the conviction, and ruled that Schenck's freedom of speech was limited by the circumstances of war. In writing the unanimous opinion of the Court, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes concluded, "When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be

Muhammad Ali's DRAFT CONTROVERSY

Three-time world heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali reigns as one of the most colorful sports figures of the 20th century. However, his incredible boxing career at times has been overshadowed by events in the political arena. Such was the case when Ali reported to his induction proceedings on April 28, 1967. Three times his name was called, and three times he refused to step forward and take the oath of induction. He was warned that refusal would subject him to a $10,000 fine and up to five years in prison. Still, he did not come forward.

On the same day, the New York State Athletic Commission stripped Ali of his world title and his boxing license. In June, he was convicted of draft evasion by a jury, which deliberated only 21 minutes. An appeals court upheld the conviction, and the case eventually went to the U.S. Supreme Court which, in the case of *Clay v. United States,* unanimously overturned the conviction.

Besides his celebrity status, a major factor in Ali's case was his religious conversion to Islam in 1964. Born Cassius Clay, Ali had defeated Sonny Liston for the world heavyweight title that February in Miami and then announced that he was a member of the controversial Nation of Islam. Claiming conscientious objector status, he told reporters: "War is against the teachings of the Holy Koran. I'm not trying to dodge the draft. We are supposed to take part in no wars unless declared by Allah or The Messenger (Elijah Muhammad, then leader of the Nation of Islam). We don't take part in Christian wars or wars of any unbelievers." In 1966, Ali further stated, "I ain't got no quarrel with them Viet Cong." In 1975, he moderated his stance somewhat by embracing Sunni Islam.

Ali's controversial views made him a lightning rod of political tension, both lauded and vilified to this day. Major League baseball hall of fame pitcher Bob Feller, who had enlisted in the United States Navy the day after Pearl Harbor in 1941, told the *Boston Herald* prior to the 2004 All-Star Game: "I object very strongly to Muhammad Ali being here to throw out the first pitch, and you can print that. This is a man who changed his name and changed his religion so he wouldn't have to serve his country, and, to me, that's disgusting."

In November 2005, Ali was honored at the White House and received the Presidential Medal of Freedom from President George W. Bush, who had also avoided active service in Vietnam. Now in failing health and suffering from Parkinson's disease, Ali continues to cast a long shadow across a turbulent period in American history. In response to those who persist in labeling him a draft dodger, he told National Public Radio in 2001: "I tell them I didn't dodge the draft, I just avoided it. Vietnam turned out to be wrong and I ended up right. All you people who say I was wrong, I ended up right. The war was bad, I ended up right. I'm still the winner." □

Heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali holds an impromptu press conference in his hometown of Louisville, Kentucky, after refusing to take an induction oath.

endured so long as men fight and that no Court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right."

After the war, Congress consistently declined to extend the system of military draft or compulsory service. In September 1940, however, a full year after World War II had begun in Europe and three months after the fall of France, Congress passed the Selective Service and Training Act to augment a peacetime army that numbered fewer than 175,000 men. On October 29, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson reached into a large glass bowl and withdrew a capsule containing the number 158, the initial lottery number of the first peacetime draft in the history of the United States. During the ensuing six years, more than 10 million draftees were inducted into the American armed forces.

On the first day of registration, two weeks prior to the commencement of the lottery, more than 16 million men reported to 6,175 local draft boards across the country to register. One of the leading Socialists of the time, Norman Thomas, called the draft "a day of mourning for the death of the American way of life." Thomas had been an organizer of the isolationist America First Committee but changed his perspective following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

Nearly 50 million men would register for the draft over the course of the war, and the much-dreaded official letter from the draft board, beginning with, "Greetings," ordered them to report for induction. To serve in the army, men had to be at least five feet tall (and no taller than six feet six), weigh at least 105 pounds, have correctable vision, and possess at least half of their teeth. Draftees were sorted into a variety of classifications from I-A, designating those who were fit and available immediately for military service; to I-A-O, which identified a conscientious objector available for military service in a noncombat role; to IV-F, for those who were physically or "morally" unfit. About 30 percent of the roughly 20 million American males who received official draft notices subsequently were disqualified for service. Originally, inductees were limited to men between the ages 21 and 35. However, as the war progressed and the need for manpower increased, the minimum age was lowered to 18, and the required length of service was increased from one year to the duration of the war plus six months.

Although U.S. armed forces remained segregated throughout World War II, members of minorities were drafted as well. By the end of World War I, a total of 415,000 black soldiers had served in uniform. By 1945, nearly 1.2 mil-

lion were serving, although relatively few were in designated combat units. Japanese Americans, many of whose families were living behind barbed-wire compounds after their forced relocation from West Coast cities, were given the opportunity to enlist in the army or remain behind with their families—which amounted, in a way, to de facto conscription.

Considering the enormous number of American men who were required to register for the draft and subsequently were called up, relatively few documented cases of draft evasion were reported during World War II. Only about 350,000 such cases were noted, and many of these involved minor misunderstandings such as failure to make a deadline or providing incomplete or incorrect information on a registration form. One of the most remarkable cases of attempting to evade the draft involved Valley Station, Kentucky, resident Everett Stew-

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art, who eventually served a three-year sentence in federal prison. Feigning serious illness on a number of occasions, Stewart pretended to be various members of his own family and helpfully provided the local draft board with periodic poignant updates on his failing health. Stewart even dressed up as a woman, trying to pass himself off as his own widow to report his supposed death.

In 1947, President Harry S Truman advocated that the Selective Training and Service Act be allowed to expire and that the armed forces be reduced to lower levels for peacetime purposes. Just over a year later, however, the escalating tension of the Cold War prompted Truman to petition Congress to begin a new round of drafting under yet another Selective Service Act. Men aged 19 to 26 were subject to induc-

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ABOVE: Armed MPs hold back Vietnam War protesters during their sit-in at the mall entrance to the Pentagon on October 21, 1967. LEFT: A German soldier takes an oath to Adolph Hitler—not the German nation—during World War II. Every male between 18 and 45 was subject to call-up.

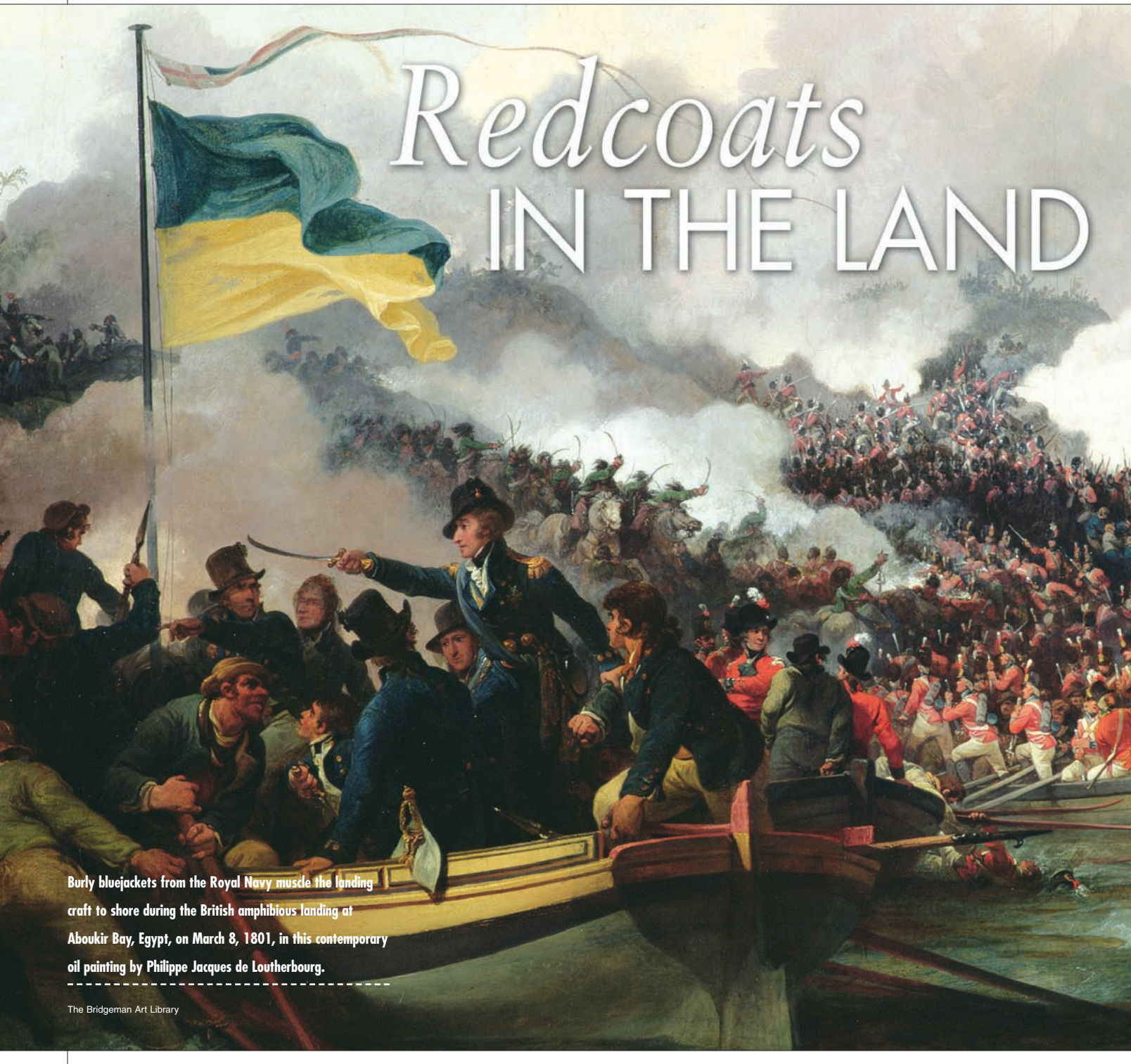
tion for a period of 12 months. The coming of the Korean War in 1950 resulted in a draft of men between the ages of 18 and 35 for enlistment terms averaging 24 months. In 1951, Congress enacted the Universal Military Training and Service Act, which required all American males between the ages of 18 and 26 to register for the draft. The Reserve Forces Act became law the following year and obligated every draftee or enlistee to an eight-year period of active or reserve status. From June 1950 to June 1953, more than 1.5 million men were drafted. Many of these draftees served in Korea or on occupation duty in Europe and Asia. World War II veterans were exempt from the Korean War draft.

Fueled by the tension of the Cold War, a peacetime draft remained in effect during the late 1950s and early 1960s, although it was considerably limited when compared with that of the Korean conflict. Those called up were required to serve for two years of active duty and often found themselves deployed to Korea or West Germany. The induction of the so-called King of Rock and Roll, Elvis Presley, caused a months-long sensation and was duly documented by the media. Cameras rolled as Elvis sat for his regulation army haircut, and huge crowds followed his every move. Presley was inducted on March 24, 1958, and was discharged from active duty on March 5, 1960, and from the Army Reserve on March 23, 1964. During his military tenure, he served in the 3rd Armored Division and was stationed in Germany for 16 months. Had his illegal-alien manager, "Colonel" Tom Parker, not insisted on Presley being called to active duty as a way of deflecting unwanted attention from himself, the singer likely would have been allowed to perform a nonmilitary role in the entertainment arm of the service, perhaps getting by with giving a few charity concerts for the troops. As it was, Presley became addicted to amphetamines while serving in Germany, the first step on a long, sordid spiral of drug abuse, obesity, and early death.

At the height of American involvement in the Vietnam War, the first draft lottery since 1942 was held on December 1, 1969. Representative Alexander Pirnie, a member of the House Armed

Continued on page 72

Redcoats IN THE LAND



Burly bluejackets from the Royal Navy muscle the landing craft to shore during the British amphibious landing at Aboukir Bay, Egypt, on March 8, 1801, in this contemporary oil painting by Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg.

The Bridgeman Art Library

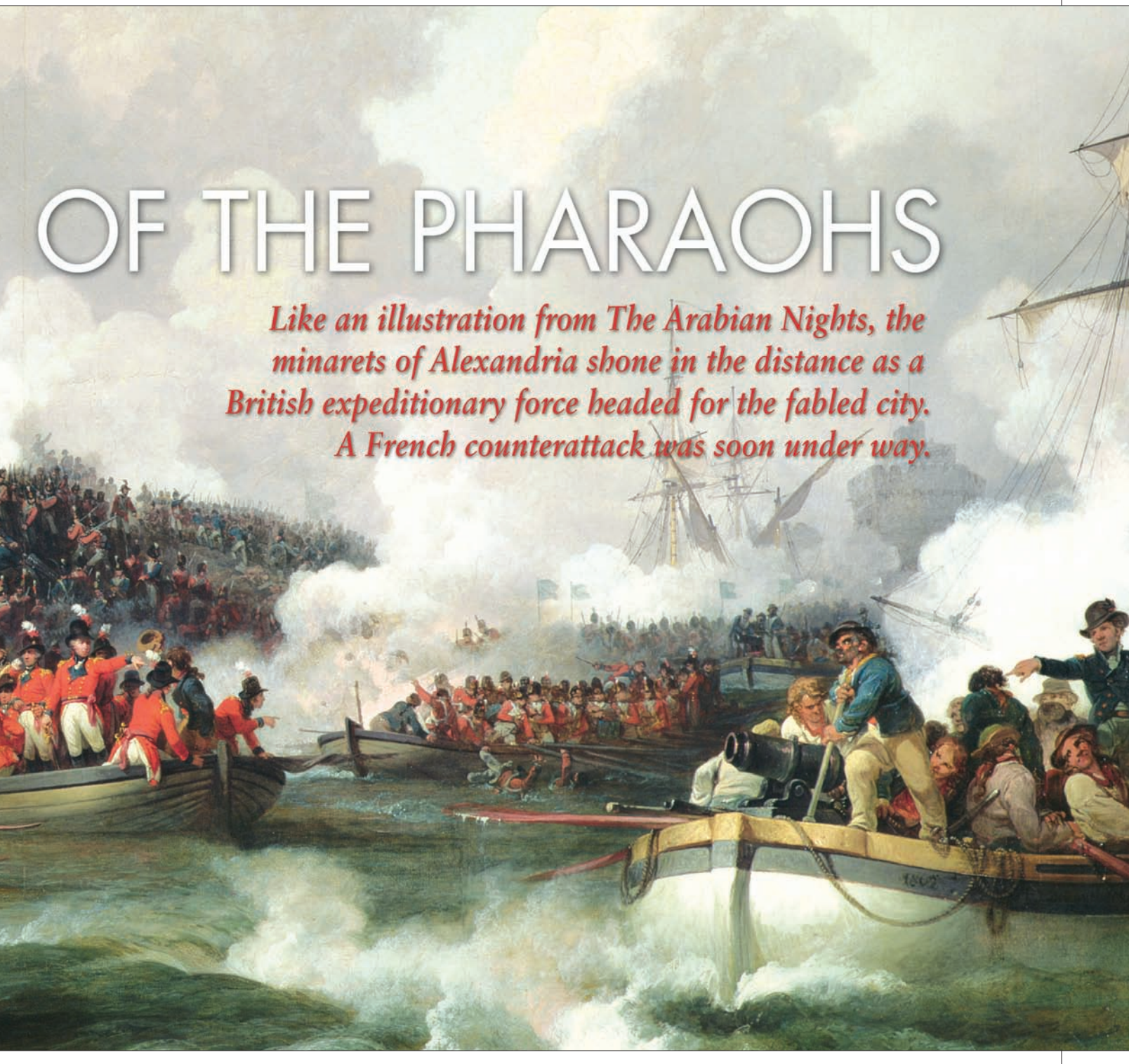
It was a spectacle never to be forgotten by those few who were lucky enough to witness it. The first wave of a British expeditionary force was landing in Egypt, row after row of bristling boats propelled by strong-armed bluejackets whose oars rose and fell with perfect rhythm. It was dawn on the morning of March 8, 1801, and although the weather was clearing, the seas were still rough from a week of storms. In spite of the choppy waters, each boat was placed at a 50-yard interval from its neighbors, and the front of the little armada stretched for more than a mile.

BY ERIC NIDEROST

Fifty redcoats were packed into each boat, sitting on the small benches with their unloaded Brown Bess muskets balanced between their knees. Each soldier wore a red tunic faced with regiment colors and sported a new type of military headgear unlike the felt cocked hats they were used to wearing. The new hat, called a shako, was a black leather "stovepipe" with a metal regimental plate in the front. Each man carried 60 rounds of ammunition in his cartridge box, two spare flints and three days' worth of rations in his knapsack. Behind the first and second wave of boats, a third line was

OF THE PHARAOHS

Like an illustration from The Arabian Nights, the minarets of Alexandria shone in the distance as a British expeditionary force headed for the fabled city. A French counterattack was soon under way.



towing launches filled with artillery.

The French soldiers who waited along the sandy shore of Aboukir Bay were battle- tested veterans, men accustomed to victory under a rising young general named Napoleon Bonaparte. But much of that glory had literally departed when Bonaparte abandoned his men in North Africa and returned to France. They still had their pride, however, and the British were traditional enemies. Twelve-pounder cannons and 12-inch mortars were primed and ready to give the hated English a fiery welcome. When the first line of boats came into range, a French cannon roared, sending a lethal spray of grapeshot over the bay. Soon, other French artillery joined in the symphony of carnage. The battle for control of Egypt had begun.

Great Britain had been at war with revolutionary France for nearly 10 years, a decade marked by embarrassing miscalculations and outright failures. It had taken the British cabinet a long time to realize it was dealing with a new force in European affairs. France was not the inept monarchy of yore, but a bustling new nation galvanized with revolutionary zeal. British Prime Minister William Pitt was a shrewd politician but a mediocre war leader. His emphasis was on protecting

the nation's foreign trade and colonial empire—worthy goals in themselves, but goals that had been carried out in a poorly conceived fashion.

One of Pitt's major objectives was to seize the French colonies in the West Indies. The British had achieved some success, but at an appalling cost. The Caribbean "sugar islands" were notorious for being "the white man's grave," an inhospitable place where yellow fever and other tropical maladies claimed more casualties than enemy gunshots. The British Army, in particular, had been decimated by Pitt's wrongheaded West Indian policy. An estimated 40,000 soldiers had died of various tropical diseases, and thousands of survivors—officers and men alike—had seen their health permanently impaired.

The West Indian fiasco was just the latest entry on a long list of woes. The British Army was at a nadir in the 1790s, still trying to recover from the psychological blow it had suffered from its surprising defeat in the American Revolution. The debacle in America was only part of the gloomy picture. The largely aristocratic officer corps was riddled by incompetents and cruel martinets. Military thought—what little there was of it—mindlessly worshipped at the altar of Prussian militarism. Using Prussia as the model, the British commanders expected their men to mindlessly obey their puppet-master officers without question. Immaculate uniforms and elaborate parade ground drill became more important than the basics of real soldiering. The British infantry was a decidedly mixed lot, comprised of mostly working class poor and farm boys leavened with petty criminals and other dregs of society. Properly trained and led, they were the finest fighting troops in the world, but by the 1790s, the basic ingredients for such success were sadly lacking.

The British Army was also poorly served by an overly bureaucratic supply and transport system. During the abortive Flanders campaign of 1794, ragged, cold and starving troops had lacked everything—even proper artillery support. Arthur Wellesley, later to become famous as "the Iron Duke" of Wellington, recalled that the incompetent campaign was a lesson in "what *not* to do." The victories of Britain's Royal Navy provided the only bright spot in the ongoing litany of gloom.

The Bridgeman Art Library

Lt. Gen. Sir John Moore, second-in-command at Alexandria. Painting by Thomas Lawrence.

Great Britain's "wooden wall" had effectively prevented the French from mounting an invasion of the home island. But sea power alone could not win a war. The British Army needed to find a way to redeem itself and wipe away years of failure and frustration.

Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 provided just such an opportunity. The French were initially successful, and Napoleon added luster to his growing fame as a military genius. But Egypt was nominally part of the Turkish Ottoman Empire, and French seizure of a Turkish province made Great Britain a natural ally of the sultan. Napoleon did not enjoy his triumph for long. On August 1, 1798, the French fleet was destroyed by Admiral Horatio Nelson at the Battle of the Nile. Nelson's remarkable victory radically altered the larger strategic picture between the two European rivals. The victorious French Army of the Orient suddenly found itself marooned in the Middle East, cut off from France and surrounded by enemies.

Napoleon left his stranded army in late 1799 to begin a series of political intrigues back home in France. After a successful coup, he became head of state as First Consul. Beset with a host of European enemies, Napoleon put Egypt low on his list of priorities., providing Great Britain with a golden opportunity to mount a land campaign with a better than even chance of success. Pitt and the cabinet authorized an expedition to expel the French from Egypt in late 1800. In some respects, the British had no choice. A French-occupied Egypt seriously threatened their eastern Mediterranean trade, and strategically—if not literally—speaking, Egypt was halfway to India. The French in Egypt might well encourage anti-British native rulers on the subcontinent.

An expeditionary force of some 16,000 men was hastily assembled, and Admiral Lord George Keith was ordered to transport the troops and lend logistical support as needed. From the start,

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Sabers flashing, French cavalry counterattack the British forces at Alexandria, in this dramatic painting by Sir Robert Kerr Porter, completed later that same year.

inadequate intelligence plagued the British effort. The leaders in London thought the Army of the Orient was smaller than it actually was. London also counted on Turkish help, but the Ottoman Army had fallen away badly from the glory days of Suleiman the Magnificent in the sixteenth century.

The British government was also in something of a quandary about who should head the expedition. The pickings were decidedly slim, but General Sir Ralph Abercromby was given the assignment. At 66, Abercromby was old by late-eighteenth century standards, and he had seen a lifetime of hard campaigning. Soldiering in the tropics had damaged his health, and his eyesight was failing. In spite of all this, Abercromby was still an inspired choice. He may have been half-blind, but his manner of soldiering was anything but myopic. In the West Indies he had earned a reputation for taking good care of his men and treating them like human beings, even within the bounds of military discipline. He forbade drilling in the trop-

ical sun, and dishonest or incompetent officers were sacked, while good soldiers within the rank and file were rewarded conversely.

Abercromby was fortunate to have some outstanding subordinates in the upcoming campaign. Major General John Moore, a doctor's son, was free of the pride and prejudices of the aristocratic class. Moore recognized that adequate training in musketry was the key to success. The British Army's famed "thin red line," or two ranks deep, could stand against any column—provided that line was trained to shoot two or three rounds a minute and was led by officers whom the men could trust and respect. Moore, like Abercromby, took care of his men, insisting that the soldiers have a sense of personal responsibility as well as discipline. A redcoat was not a mindless doll, but a human being who could think as well as fight.

The Egyptian expedition gathered at the island of Malta, which recently had been freed from French occupation, and set sail on December 21, 1800, bound for Marorice Bay in Turkey. The intent was to make contact with Turkish authorities and possibly rendezvous with the Ottoman fleet. Moore had been sent ahead to observe Turkish land forces and make a candid appraisal of their fighting abilities. While doing so, he was regally entertained by the Grand Vizier, a turbaned old man with a white-streaked beard and one eye. The British general was the guest of honor at a 15-course dinner, but nothing could hide Turkish military stupidity. The Turkish Army was mere rabble, with little discipline and less sense of purpose. The British would effectively be left on their own.

Weeks went by at Marorice Bay while the British waited for the Turkish fleet to return from Constantinople. The time was well spent, because the troops and sailors practiced the landings they would perform in Egypt. By February 20, however, it was clear that the Turkish fleet was not coming. The expedition set sail for Egypt accompanied by a single Turkish warship. Lookouts sighted the Egyptian coast on March 1, but by this time the weather was turning bad. Seas became so rough and high that an immediate landing was impossible. Instead, Lord Keith did a strange thing—he sailed by Alexandria in full view of the port city, in effect warning the French that the British were on the way.

The next seven days were racked with storms and rough seas. The British fleet lay a few miles offshore, its transports packed with thousands of miserable, queasy men eager to get ashore. While they waited for better conditions, Abercromby and Moore took a cutter and went close to shore in an effort to reconnoiter. The best landing place, they determined, was a sandy coastal strip that fronted Aboukir Bay. The landing spot was roughly half-moon in shape and about a mile in length. Aboukir Castle anchored the northern end, a fortification that mounted eight 24 pounders and two 12-inch mortars. The southern end of the half-moon also had a battery, which meant that the British troops wading ashore would be exposed to deadly enfilade fire. In the cen-

ter the terrain was generally flat, but a sandy ridge rose abruptly not far from the water's edge. The British noticed some French activity behind the palm-dotted dunes, and it was obvious that they were emplacing still more batteries. The first wave would be hit with fire on three sides, but an attempt had to be made or the whole expedition would be a failure.

The storms finally abated on the evening of March 7, and orders were given to prepare for a landing the next day. The British ships were anchored a full five miles from shore, but the sailors were up to the exhausting task. The first line of boats briefly halted just out of gun range to realign itself, but soon forged ahead when the signal was given.

Instantly, the French batteries sprang to life, as fingers of flame lanced through clouds of dirty gray smoke. French musket balls peppered the British landing boats, and the sea boiled from cannon fire and near misses. Grapeshot tore gaps into the tightly packed ranks of seated men, some of whom fell into the water when they were hit. Two boats filled with Coldstream Guards received direct hits, the blasts instantly turning men into eviscerated chunks of bloodied flesh. The shattered vessels sank at once, only to be replaced by other troop-laden boats following immediately behind.

Moore's reserve brigade was in the forefront, a force that included the 23rd, 28th, 42nd and 58th Foot, as well as four companies of the 40th Foot. Moore and his staff were in a lead barge a bit ahead of the rest of the flotilla. Captain Alexander Cochrane of the Royal Navy was in the same barge, and he was in charge of the overall landing. Each brigade had its own staff boat, carrying the brigade commander, his staff, drummers and color party. Each regiment had a king's color and regimental color, symbols of its honor and collective spirit. The firing was now heavy, and those men who were not directly hit were drenched by geysers of water from shells striking nearby.

The moment Moore's barge hit the shore, the gallant general scrambled onto the beach and waved his hat in the air to encourage his men. Cochrane did the same, and the men cheered. Within moments other boats reached shore and began to disgorge companies of redcoats. A little farther down the beach, the kilted men of the 92nd Highlanders were having a tough time of it. French dragoons had galloped down to the beach and were sabering the Scottish soldiers as they tried to disembark. The horsemen withdrew when they saw that Moore's reserve on the far right was pushing forward and might outflank them.

Moore and his men faced a steep sandy slope to their front, but scrambled up to the top without hesitation. In some places the slope was so steep that the heavily burdened redcoats were literally on their hands and knees. Once they gained the top, Moore put the men in formation to fire a volley, then led a bayonet change against the 61st Demi-Brigade. Stunned by the sudden turn of events, the French withdrew. They had had a week to prepare shore defenses, yet the British had managed to overcome all obstacles against heavy odds. Moore proudly wrote that the troops had performed with "the greatest intrepidy and coolness." He added that the British had suffered 600 men dead or wounded. The campaign was not going to be a walkover.

The weary British army moved inland a mile or two before settling in for the night. The men had no tents, and the soldiers had to do the best they could. Abercromby himself slept in a makeshift hut made of date nut palm branches. The night was bitterly cold, with frigid winds coming off the Mediterranean. The Highlanders suffered the most, their kilts providing little protection from the plunging temperatures. Abercromby noted their distress and ordered them given an extra ration of rum.

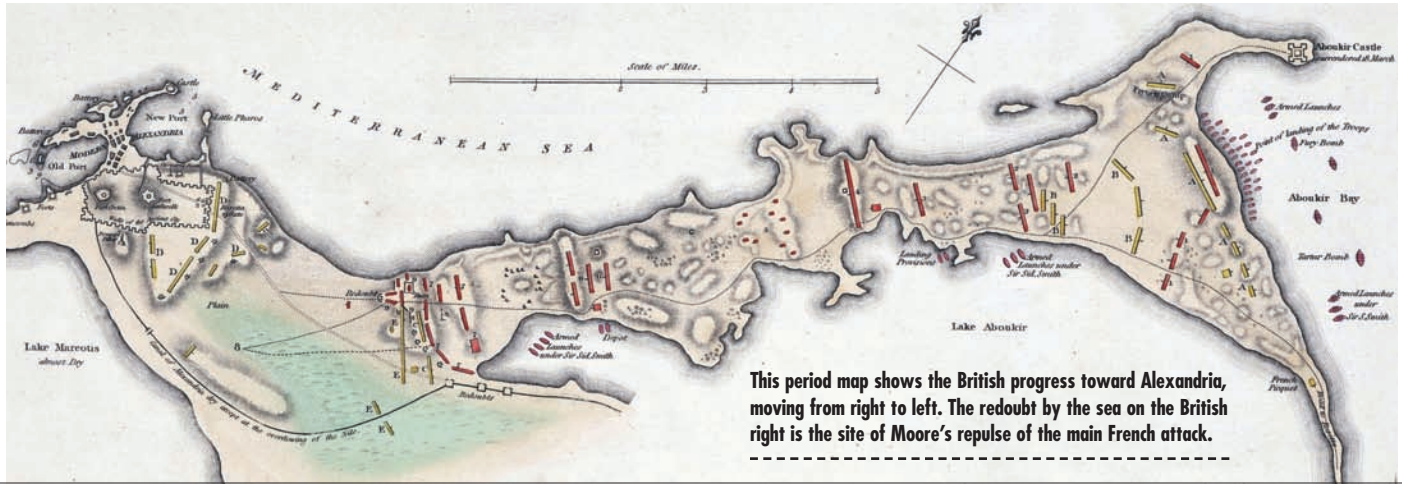
The army stayed the vicinity for four days while ammunition, supplies and guns were brought ashore. The nights were bad enough, but during the day the redcoats suffered from a burning sun and an increasing lack of water. David Robertson, a Highlander from the 92nd Regiment, remembered that some men were so desperate that they tried to "allay their parched throats with salt water." This tactic only made things worse. Eventually, the British discovered some fresh water springs by simply probing the ground with bayonets, spades and other tools.

Fully refreshed, the army started the march to Alexandria, 11 miles away. The redcoats were traveling on a narrow isthmus about a mile wide, with the Mediterranean on the north and Lake Aboukir—not to be confused with Aboukir Bay—to the south.

Lead elements of the Expeditionary force spotted a force of some 6,000 French troops just ahead, barring the way. But in the far distance, they could also see Alexandria, its exotic minarets spiking the sky like some fabled city in *The Arabian Nights*. Their steps quickened.

There was a sharp but indecisive action on March 13. The French retired to a fortified ridge that protected Alexandria's approaches, while the British built a fortified camp about five miles from the city. Robertson, a young soldier on his first campaign, recalled a horrific incident that occurred at this time. A French cannonball decapitated a comrade while the man was eating his ration of bread. The severed head lay on the ground, the bread still in its mouth

The next few days were relatively quiet, but the calm was more apparent than real. General Jacques–Francois Menou, the French commander-in-chief of the Army of the Orient, had stayed in Cairo when the British landed, and



This period map shows the British progress toward Alexandria, moving from right to left. The redoubt by the sea on the British right is the site of Moore's repulse of the main French attack.

The Bridgeman Art Library

Another near-contemporaneous painting of the Battle of Alexandria by artist Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg. General Sir Ralph Abercromby, seated center, has suffered a fatal leg wound.

he did little to muster or concentrate his forces. Menou was a true incompetent, and his behavior could only be described as bizarre. When Napoleon was still in Egypt, Menou made a great show of converting to Islam. It fooled no one. His fellow Frenchmen believed that "Abdullah" Menou did not really believe in an Islamic god—he only became a Muslim so that he could marry Zobeida, the beautiful daughter of a local banker.

When Menou finally roused himself, he marched north with only 10,000 men, a major mistake. Napoleon probably would have sent every available man and gun to Alexandria. When the tardy French general finally reached the coast, he only had about 12,000 effectives in hand—actually less than his British foes. In the meantime, the British had settled into their new defensive positions, which stretched across the mile-wide isthmus. The French were guarding Alexandria from a fortified ridge about two miles from the British front, and for several days all was fairly quiet. The redcoats quickly adapted to their new environment. Some literally covered themselves with sand to protect them from the cold night air.

Local Arabs came into camp to trade, and soon did a brisk business in sheep and ostriches. The Highlanders eagerly brought the feathers for their Scottish bonnets. But Moore had other things than fashion on his mind. The extreme left was a weak point, so he ordered the emplacement of two batteries, as well as another battery near the Guards Battalion in the center of the line. Moore was still not content with the arrangements. A couple more redoubts were added, until there were two 20-pounders and 30 field guns up and down the line. The general knew that his reserve brigade's position in the extreme right was key to the entire British camp. It was on high ground, and featured the remains of ancient Nicopolis, an Alexandrian suburb that had been built by the Roman emperor Augustus. The whole area was honeycombed with shattered columns and other ruins.

Local Arabs warned that the French were about to move, but no one knew when it was going to happen. By chance, Moore was the officer of the day for March 20. He took his responsibilities seriously, remaining awake throughout the night. He was just starting to give orders for the withdrawal of sentries at dawn when firing started on the left. It was 3:30 AM, and so dark that it was hard to distinguish friend from foe. Pinpricks of light sparkled and flashed in the distance, telltale signs that muskets were being discharged, and Moore heard a thunderous noise to the far right. The French probe to the left was just a feint—Moore instinctively knew that his reserve battalion was going to receive the brunt of the French effort. "This is the real attack!" he shouted to an aide and galloped back to his command as fast as his horse could carry him.

When the action began, the Guards Brigade was in the center, supported by three brigades on the left. The British also had a second line consisting of two more brigades and dismounted cavalry. They could take care of themselves—the real developing crisis was on the right. The British had constructed an open redoubt about 20 yards in front of the Roman ruins. The 28th Regiment of Foot (Gloucesters) held the redoubt area, while the 58th Foot occupied the ruins. The 23rd Foot and flank companies of the 40th Foot in turn supported the 58th.

Columns of French infantry swept forward in waves, only to be repulsed by the 28th Foot's disciplined volleys. The French attack receded in a bloody ruin, but this was only the beginning. A second French column swept to the left and penetrated the British line, threatening to take the redoubt from the rear. Opportunely, the 42nd Highlanders arrived on the scene, and Moore personally led the Black Watch forward in a bayonet charge that plowed into the French column's flank, throwing them into confusion and disorder. Moore was hit in the leg, although not seriously, and the 42nd started to pursue their beaten foes. Their blood was up, and they chased the broken enemy too far. Suddenly the tables were turned—they found themselves facing fresh French cavalry. The Gallic horsemen charged, throwing the kilted Highlanders into disarray, then swept left of the redoubt, making for the British rear.

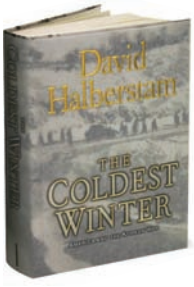
Continued on page 73

By Al Hemingway

Manipulated intelligence, faulty equipment, and inept leadership caused one of America's worst military defeats during the Korean War.

Armored artillery of the 3rd Army Division help cover the retreat of Marines overwhelmed by Chinese forces around the Chosin Reservoir in North Korea.

IT WAS DUBBED "THE CENTURY'S NASTIEST LITTLE WAR" BY CELEBRATED military historian S.L.A. Marshall. The conflict to which he was referring was the Korean War, a war fought, as Secretary of State Dean Acheson observed, in the worst possible location. That location, the Korean peninsula, hangs like a swollen thumb from the Asian mainland. Unforgiving terrain, much of it mountains and rice paddies, combined with cruel, harsh winters during which temperatures routinely plunge to a bone-chilling 20 to 30 degrees below zero, made a land war in Korea an infantryman's worst nightmare. But that was where the United States reluctantly found itself in the summer of 1950, when North Korea launched a devastating and unexpected invasion of South Korea.

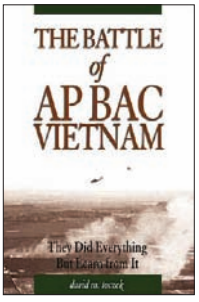


In the beginning, the United States was woefully unprepared for the conflict. Korea had not even been included in the nation's Asian defense plan. The only troops stationed in the country at the time were a comparative handful of 500 military advisers. Together with their ill-trained Republic of Korea (ROK) troops, the American forces could not stem the tide of the North Korean Peoples Army (NKPA), when seven divisions of Communist troops came storming across the border between the north and south on June 25, 1950.

In his new, and regrettably last, book, ***The Coldest Winter: America and the Korean War*** (Hyperion Books, New York, 2007, 736 pp., photographs, maps, index, notes, $35.00, hardcover), the late David Halberstam examines America's "forgotten war" and the poor political and military leadership that caused the deaths of more than 30,000 servicemen during that three-year struggle to prevent South Korea from falling to the Communists.

To hold back the North Korean juggernaut, U.S. forces stationed in Japan were quickly dispatched to Korea. Unfortunately, these soldiers had been living a life of comparative luxury, where even a private could

afford a maid to do his housework and laundry. Occupation duty in postwar Japan was a soldier's dream, and scant attention was paid to military training. Even after the arrival of highly trained reinforcements, the 2nd Infantry Division and 1st Marine Provisional Brigade, the United States and South Korea found it exceedingly difficult to stem the Communist invasion. Something drastic had to be done.



General Douglas MacArthur, commander of United Nations forces in Korea, decided on a bold move: he would strike the enemy where he least expected it. MacArthur chose Inchon, a large seaport on Korea's west coast. There was immediate opposition to the plan because of the terrible tides in the harbor, and other sites were recommended. In the end, however, the persuasive MacArthur won out, and Inchon became the site of a brilliant amphibious assault that quickly had the North Korean forces running back toward the border in full retreat.

Unfortunately, the euphoria surrounding the victory at Inchon was short-lived. China had been closely watching the events within its southern neighbor's border and was making contingent plans to enter the war. Despite repeated warnings from reliable sources of a possible Chinese entry, MacArthur and his staff, safely tucked away in Tokyo with no real sense of what was transpiring on the battlefield, refused to believe the facts. As the UN forces pushed northward to the Yalu River during the terrible Korean winter, the Chinese sprung their trap, which resulted in one of the worst military defeats in American history.

Halberstam cleverly intertwines both the large and the small picture to give the reader a good understanding of the desperate situation at the time. He scrutinizes the strained relationship between President Harry Truman and MacArthur, and also goes into much detail on the loose alliance between Russian dictator Joseph Stalin, Chinese leader Mao Tse-tung and North Korea's self-absorbed leader, Kim Il Sung. Halberstam regularly shifts attention to the men in the field, everyone from officers in top leadership positions to the lowliest enlisted men, who as always were pawns in the web of world politics and had to pay the heaviest price.

Halberstam suggests that not all the blame should be placed on MacArthur's shoulders, even though the general's arrogance, paranoia, and "holier than thou attitude" were certainly major factors in the rout at Yalu. Halberstam argues that the political players in Washington should also share some of the responsibility. They allowed MacArthur to send his troops northward without adequate lines of supply and communication to be slaughtered by massive Chinese divisions stationed there. As the author laments, such lack of foresight has been a much-repeated scenario since the end of World War II, particularly in Vietnam and Iraq, where intelligence data was purposely altered to provide a fraudulent reason for United States involvement in those countries.

As with all wars, it was the veteran who bore the brunt of the consequences, both physically and mentally, after Korea. As Halberstam writes, "This vast disconnect between those who fought and the people at home, the sense that no matter the bravery they showed, or the validity of their cause, the soldiers of Korea had been granted a kind of second-class status compared to that of the men who had fought in previous wars, led to a great deal of quiet—and enduring—bitterness." It is much to be regretted that the talented writer and historian was fatally injured in an automobile wreck not long after completing this caustic and insightful book. It is a fitting legacy.

The Black Hawk War of 1832 by Patrick J. Jung, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK, 2007, 288 pp., illustrations, maps, index, $29.95, hardcover.

The period immediately following the end of the War of 1812 saw American expansion into the Old Northwest mushroom. Settlers, miners, and farmers pushed into Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana in ever-greater numbers in the hopes of carving out a new home and future for their families.

Indian tribes already occupying the land had a vastly different viewpoint from the white pioneers. The tribes, many of whom had fought with the British during the just-concluded war, were staunchly anti-American and understandably perceived the westward movement as a threat to their way of life. The closely allied Sauk and Fox tribes had legitimate concerns when dealing with the U.S. government. They had been swindled out of enormous swaths of land by signing treaties the tribal leaders did not fully understand.

One such leader, Black Hawk, attempted to create an alliance between his people, the Sauks, and the Fox clan. Although the two tribes had been enemies in the past, Black Hawk urged them to forget their differences and focus on the real threat facing them—the ever-growing number of Americans moving into their territory.

There were a multitude of reasons why the uprising failed, despite the incompetence of American military leaders conducting the campaign against Black Hawk. Jung does a masterful job in describing them in detail, particularly the intertribal rivalry and widespread racism against Native Americans who occupied the region.

In the end, the United States was victorious against Black Hawk's band, winning a decisive battle against them at the mouth of the Bad Axe River on August 2, 1832. Black Hawk was imprisoned but eventually released, and later penned his autobiography. He died in 1838 and was buried in a uniform given to him by General Andrew Jackson—of all people.

The war promoted numerous political careers of several local politicians who later went on to become senators and governors. Zachary Taylor led troops in the campaign and would later be elected president, as would a young lawyer from Illinois who served as a volunteer captain in the conflict, Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln never saw any real action during the war, but to his dying day he remained inordinately proud of his fleeting military service.

The Black Hawk War of 1832 is an interesting book that sheds much-needed light on a turning point in our nation's history. It would become a hallmark for future government and Indian relationships as the westward expansion continued and other Native American tribes would also attempt unsuccessfully to halt white advances onto their ancestral lands.

The Battle of Ap Bac Vietnam: They Did Everything But Learn From It by David M. Toczek, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2007, 185 pp., illustrations, maps, index, $19.95, softcover.

Although relatively small in comparison to other battles fought during the Vietnam War, Ap Bac nonetheless holds valuable lessons that were not heeded by most of the military and civilian leadership at the time. On January 2, 1963, the Army of the Republic of Vietnam

(ARVN) met an entrenched enemy force near the village of Ap Bac, approximately 40 miles southwest of Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam. Despite their superior firepower and use of helicopters, the Communists delivered a devastating blow to the ARVN units, inflicting nearly 200 South Vietnamese casualties. The battle also resulted in three American advisers killed and another eight wounded. Five helicopters were destroyed in the battle.

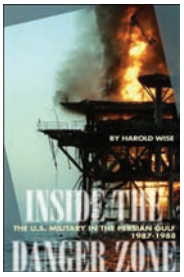
Inspired by their stunning upset, the North Vietnamese immediately planned a full-scale invasion of the south. American advisers, with the notable exceptions of Lt. Col. John Paul Vann and Colonel Daniel Porter, the senior advisers for IV Corps, did not grasp the significance of the loss. The Communists were committed to total victory by employing what they termed *dau tranh,* or struggle. Hanoi not only used all military means, but also relied on its political clout worldwide by convincing other countries to empathize with their cause to unite the two Vietnams.

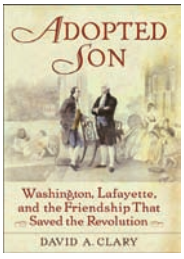
Only a few observers realized it at the time, but Ap Bac was a watershed moment in the Vietnam War. Most did not see the shortcomings within the South Vietnamese government and its military—shortcomings that had been highlighted at Ap Bac—and no concrete steps were taken to correct them. Unfortunately, the little battle would prove a harbinger of the much larger, catastrophic events that would follow, culminating in the collapse of South Vietnam in 1975.

Inside the Danger Zone: The U.S. Military in the Persian Gulf 1987-1988 by Harold Lee Wise, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2007, 272 pp., photos, index, $36.95, hardcover.

On May 17, 1987, an Iranian fighter jet fired two Exocet missiles at the USS *Stark,* an American Navy frigate in the Persian Gulf. The projectiles scored direct hits that resulted in the deaths of 37 seamen and the wounding of 21 others. The unprovoked attack, which Iran claimed was a tragic mistake, sparked a series of military actions that almost resulted in war between the two countries.

Wise's book takes a look at the different operations conducted by the Navy and Marine Corps during the 18 months following the assault. Operation Earnest Will was the code name for the protection of Kuwaiti oil tankers





from July 1987 until September 1988. It was the largest convoy mission since World War II. On October 19, 1987, while Operation Nimble Archer swung into action, U.S. aircraft razed several Iranian oil platforms. It was in direct response to the destruction of a Kuwaiti vessel by an Iranian Silkworm missile a few days earlier. Operation Praying Mantis, in April 1988, the biggest sea battle since World War II, saw American warships sink a pair of Iranian ships and a half dozen armed speedboats. In addition, the engagement was significant for being the first time that the U.S. Navy engaged an enemy using surface-to-surface missiles.

The book mixes official reports with many firsthand accounts of participants in the various operations. It is an absorbing account of a pivotal era in our history that would see a striking buildup of military forces in the tumultuous region and would help define our relationships with numerous Middle Eastern countries, including Iran's ancient enemy, Iraq.

Adopted Son: Washington, Lafayette, and the Friendship That Saved the Revolution by David A. Clary, Bantam Books, New York, 2007, 564 pp., illustrations, maps, index, $27.00, hardcover.

Outspoken, defiant, and perhaps a bit spoiled, the Marquis de Lafayette was enthralled by the American struggle for independence against Great Britain. With thoughts of glory and battlefield honors filling his head, the young Frenchman traveled to America to offer his services to the hard-pressed colonists. Although still only 19 years old, he had joined the French Army at 14 and had gained some valuable experience leading troops in battle.

In the late summer of 1777, Lafayette had the good fortune to meet General George Washington, and the pair forged a friendship that would endure their entire lives. Washington was childless and Lafayette had lost his father, mother, and grandfather at an early age, and the rebellious young lad clearly looked upon the elder Washington as a surrogate father.

Throughout the long, hard struggle to gain American freedom from England, the two men cemented their relationship. Although Lafayette could be brash at times, Washington realized that he was a competent commander who possessed good leadership qualities. Lafayette later attempted to model the French Revolution after

the one the Americans had conducted so successfully, but he failed. Lafayette eventually toured the United States for many years, only to find that many Americans had forgotten his contributions and that he had "faded into the mist." Without Lafayette's significant influence, however, the fledgling United States may not have been victorious in its revolution. And for that, he should never be forgotten.

The Canadian Corps in World War I by Rene Chartand, Osprey Publishing, New York, New York, 2007, 49 pp., photos, illustrations, index, $15.95, softcover.

Another little gem in Osprey's continuing Men-at-Arms series, *The Canadian Corps in World War I* gives a good synopsis of the Canadian Army's contribution to the war effort from 1914 until the end of hostilities in November 1918. Four divisions ultimately served on the Western Front and fought in some of the conflict's bloodiest battles, including the Ypres Salient, the Somme, and Vimy Ridge. It was Canadian forces who first encountered the mustard gas used by the German Army to inflict numerous casualties on the Allies. Canadian Corps commander Sir Arthur Currie commented, "[We would] never forget that gas at the second battle of Ypres, and we never let [the enemy)] forget it either."

As with all the Osprey publications, this one is full of great photos, a list of all the units and their rank insignia, and wonderfully detailed color drawings that depict the uniforms of the various Canadian soldiers, sailors, airmen and nurses.

For the Glory of Rome: A History of Warriors and Warfare by Ross Cowan, MBI Publishing, St. Paul, MN, 2007, 287 pp., illustrations, index, 39.95, hardcover.

The Roman legions were justly feared and respected in the ancient world. The fighting prowess of the individual Roman soldier is underscored by the many victories and spoils of war the legions garnered through the centuries. In this new offering, Scottish author Ross Cowan gives the reader an insight into the tactics employed by the Roman Army and also pays tribute to some of its individual warriors.

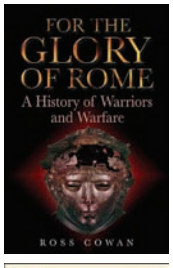
One such warrior, Quintus Sertorius, was a Roman statesman and general who served in numerous campaigns. During one of his expeditions, Quintus sustained a serious injury and he lost an eye. This did not discourage him, however—quite the contrary. He used his wound as a "mark of valor" and successfully ran for public office. Another Roman warrior was Consul Servilius Geminus Pulex, who once fought more than 20 enemy soldiers single-handedly and emerged victorious.

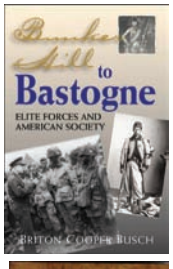
The reader will come away with a new appreciation for the Roman soldiers' passion for individual combat, their unyielding belief in their gods, and the two overarching concepts by which they lived and died: loyalty and honor.

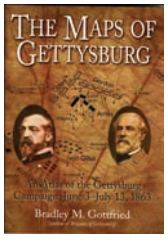
Bunker Hill to Bastogne: Elite Forces and American Society by Briton Cooper Busch, Potomac Books, Dulles, VA, 2007, 304 pp., photos, index, $18.95, softcover.

Since the beginning of our country's history, specialized units have been formed to meet the unique demands of any given conflict. Sharpshooters during the Civil War, paratroopers in World War II, and Navy SEALs, Green Berets, and Marine Recon outfits in modern times have provided valuable intelligence during America's ongoing conflicts.

Author Busch traces the lineage of elite forces back to pre-Revolutionary War America and the formation of Roger's Rangers during the French and Indian War. The organization of such elite units, however, was slow in coming. The same democratic process that hammered out independence from Great Britain prevented the founding fathers from creating such elite military commands.







Once created, however, the famed military units have come to be admired and even adored by the American people. From Robert Rogers' buckskin-clad Rangers to the present-day Airborne battalions, such units have enjoyed a certain mystique that has made them an important part of our military heritage.

The Maps of Gettysburg: An Atlas of the Gettysburg Campaign, June 3-July 13, 1863 by Bradley M. Gottfried, Savas Beatie, New York, 2007, 363 pp., maps, index, $39.95, hardcover.

Just when you think there could never be another book written on the horrific three-day Battle of Gettysburg, another entry comes along. This publication, however, is quite unique. It offers the Civil War buff a comprehensive set of maps focusing on the prelude to the campaign, the actual battle, and the subsequent retreat of General Robert E. Lee's forces to their

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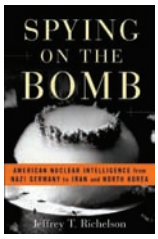
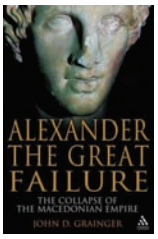
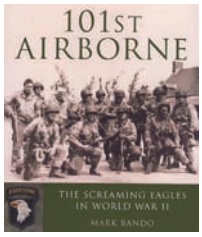
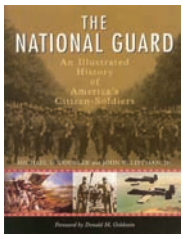
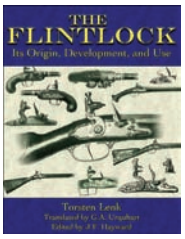










northern Virginia sanctuaries.

The author has compiled a set that includes an amazing 144 detailed, full-page maps. These include the controversial ride by Maj. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart that resulted in his notable absence from the battlefield for the first two days of the fighting when he encountered Union cavalry at Stephenson's Depot and Winchester. The Wheatfield, Little Round Top, and the Peach Orchard are covered, as are the lesser-known engagements at Cavalry Field. Lastly, maps depicting Lee's withdrawal from Gettysburg are included.

In addition to the large collection of maps, the order of battle for both Confederate and Union Army units that participated in the fighting is listed in the book as well. The atlas, in particular, will prove invaluable when studying Lee's second incursion into the North, an invasion that can be quite complex and difficult to understand, even for the most astute students of our nation's bloodiest conflict.

Spying on the Bomb: American Nuclear Intelligence from Nazi Germany to Iran and North Korea by Jeffrey T. Richelson, W.W. Norton & Co., New York, 2007, 734 pp., photos, index, $17.95, paperback.

The value of accurate and timely intelligence on the activities of one's enemies cannot be overstated. Nuclear weapons in the wrong hands could prove to be apocalyptic. Since the end of World War II and the dawn of the nuclear age, the United States has understandably kept a watchful eye on the development of nuclear weapons, especially in unpredictable and unstable Third World nations.

Author Jeffrey Richelson has written extensively on various aspects of the intelligence community, and his new offering sheds light on the importance of obtaining precise data on the nuclear capabilities of other counties around the globe. The book is well-timed since Iran and North Korea have taken steps to enter the nuclear community and could pose a threat to world peace. *Spying on the Bomb* is a must-read for those seeking answers to the vital questions concerning our own nation's continuing efforts to monitor such activity. It is not too much to say that our very existence depends upon it.

Alexander the Great Failure: The Collapse of the Macedonian Empire by John D. Grainger, Continuum Books, London, 2008, 226 pp., index, $24.95, hardcover.

Esteemed historian John D. Grainger gives the reader a provocative new account of the life of Alexander the Great, one of history's greatest generals. With the untimely assassination of his father Philip II in 336 BC, Alexander acquired the throne and went on to achieve tremendous success in numerous military campaigns that expanded the Macedonian empire all the way to Persia. And all of this at the tender age of 25.

Grainger, however, examines Alexander's vast kingdom after his death and gives good reason why it failed so miserably. For 50 years after Alexander's demise, Macedonia was plunged into a bloody civil war because, according to the author, Alexander had not arranged for a competent successor to take the reins and govern responsibly after his death. "Alexander's arrogance was largely responsible for his own premature death: and he was personally culpable for the failure of his imperial enterprise," writes Grainger. "For Alexander was the king of a society where the king was absolutely central to the well-being of society as a whole. When the king failed, the Macedonian kingdom imploded, something which had happened every generation for two centuries before him, and happened again when he died."

101st Airborne: The Screaming Eagles in World War II by Mark Bando, Zenith Press, 2007, 256 pp., photos, maps, index, $40.00, hardcover.

This is author Mark Bando's fourth contribution to memorializing the service of the 101st Airborne Division and its tremendous combat record in World War II. The coffee table-size book is full of photographs that depict the division's distinguished service from D-Day until war's end the following May.

Bando covers the training, deployment, and campaigns of the "Screaming Eagles" during their time in Europe. He does a nice job of illuminating the official history of the unit with vignettes from the soldiers themselves. These personal stories add a touch of realism and

bring the action to life for the reader, who comes away with a much better understanding of what the men endured. The author has paid a lasting tribute to the "epic warriors" of the 101st Airborne who, like so many others, were the "vanguard of freedom" for the United States during World War II.

The National Guard: An Illustrated History of America's Citizen-Soldiers by Michael D. Doubler and John W. Listman, Jr., Potomac Books, Inc., Washington, DC, 2007, 201 pp., photos, index, $19.95, softcover.

The National Guard, first organized in 1903 under the auspices of the Militia Act, can trace its beginnings back to the first settlers who stepped foot on American soil in the early 17th century. This proud organization has been involved in every military action since that time. Whether you refer to them as militia or volunteers, Guardsmen have been in the forefront of every effort to protect our freedom.

Although primarily a state force, the National Guard can be federalized during times of emergency. "From a ragtag militia hastily formed to combat warlike Indians in New England to today's war on terrorism, the Guard has been there. From Valley Forge, to Shiloh, the Meuse-Argonne, Saipan, Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan, they have been an integral part of our armed forces. From the musket to the microprocessor, Guard soldiers and airmen have quickly adapted to the new weapons and tactics of warfare," write the authors.

The Flintlock: Its Origin, Development and Use by Torsten Lenk, Skyhorse Publishing, New York, 2007, 188 pp., photos, index, $19.95, softcover.

Although first printed in Sweden in 1939, this book is worth reviewing because of its tremendous detail and vast knowledge of the flintlock musket. First introduced in 1630, the weapon soon became wildly popular and eventually replaced other firearms in use. For more than two centuries, the flintlock was a much-sought-after weapon, until the percussion cap and cartridge firearms appeared on the scene. Even during the Civil War, the Confederate Army still had thousands of flintlocks within their ranks.

Author Torsten Lenk, a noted firearms expert, let nothing escape his attention when he examined the use of flintlocks in his book. "Whether it be the top-jaw screw, the cock-screw or the spur on the front of the steel, the evolution of each one of these elements is pursued with untiring precision through each decade of the seventeenth century," writes editor J.F. Hayward admiringly. □

first defeat

Continued from page 45

half-starved, unpaid, and practically naked after their recent excursion. Washington suggested that only a death penalty for desertion would keep his men in camp. Dinwiddie, oblivious to the men's condition, told Washington airily that any problem with his men came from "the want of proper command."

Washington's surrender had an immediate effect on relations between the British and the French. His alienation of the Indians caused almost all of them to side with the French. They would now harass any British farmers or traders in the Ohio Valley. Washington also jeopardized Great Britain's moral claim to the New World by formally admitting to the assassination of a French officer. The French, who captured Washington's journal, had it translated and printed in pamphlets that they distributed throughout Europe, claiming that the British had violently disrupted their peaceful occupation of the Ohio Valley and that George Washington was a self-confessed murderer.

Great Britain and France would remain at an uncomfortable peace until Great Britain officially declared war on May 15, 1756, launching the French and Indian War, which was part of the larger Seven Years' War. It was the first European war to commence in territories outside of Europe. All previous wars had begun in Europe and then moved into the territories. The end of the war found Great Britain in control of North America as far west as the Mississippi. But the war was costly, and when it ended in 1763, Great Britain turned to its colonies to pay its war debt, indirectly sowing the seeds for the American Revolution just over a decade later. In a way, the brief exchange of fire in Jumonville Glen eventually led to a world war that forced the French out of North America, which was followed by another war that forced out the British. Horace Walpole, a British politician, may have summed it up best when he wrote, "The volley fired by a young Virginian in the backwoods of America set the world on fire."

Washington would eventually return to the Ohio Valley and to the site of Fort Necessity at least three times. When Great Britain decided to retaliate for the black eye suffered at Fort Necessity, it sent a force of 2,400 recoats to Pennsylvania to retake the valley under the command of veteran Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock. Washington, as Braddock's aide-de-camp, passed by his old "charming field" and may have eyed the burnt timbers of the old fort, but there is no record of his visiting the battle site.

Braddock's mission would prove to be a repeat of Washington's disaster the year before. Closing in on Fort Duquesne, Braddock chose to employ his men in the back-breaking effort to cut a road through the wilderness instead of sending out scouts and flankers to keep tabs on the French. When the enemy struck him head on, he pushed back, but the French and Canadians took to the woods and wreaked havoc on Braddock's flanks. Repeating Washington's mistake, Braddock concentrated his men on the road out in the open, where the French and Indians, once again under cover in the woods, took easy aim at the clusters of red-clad troops.

Washington spent the battle trying to re-form the lines. Two horses were shot from beneath him. A sniper's bullet caught Braddock in the back, fatally wounding him. After the retreat, Washington ordered Braddock's body buried in the center of the road close to Jumonville Glen. The men then marched over the mound to hide it from curious Indians. Washington hoped to rebury it later, but Braddock's body was never found.

Washington revisited the area twice after that, once in 1770 and again in 1784. On the first trip, he purchased the land where Fort Necessity once stood. On the second trip, well after the American Revolution, he tried to lease the land, but he never found anyone interested in the deal. In 1811, the acreage of Fort Necessity became part of the National Highway, the first federal highway built in the United States. It roughly followed Washington's and Braddock's route, which had been an Indian trail, "Nemacolin's Path." It made the area more accessible to people heading west into Ohio and Illinois, just as the British had intended in 1754.

The exchange of fire at the ravine and at Fort Necessity was more than a mere border skirmish— it was a learning ground for the young lieutenant colonel. Washington made some amateur's mistakes in his first engagement. He rashly attacked the French; he pushed his men too hard, exhausting them before a major engagement; he left his fort before its defenses were completed; and he allowed an enemy to surround him. He also treated his Indian friends poorly, ignoring Half-King's advice on strategy.

Washington did, however, learn many lessons from his first combat that would serve him well in the American Revolution. During that war, he would never let himself get surrounded again—he would always keep open an escape route. He also learned that men in battle had their limits and that an army on the move had the advantage over one that was stationary. Most important, he learned to be magnanimous in victory, because he had personally experienced the bitterness of defeat. □

to field an army

Continued from page 59

Services Committee, drew one of 366 capsules from a large glass bowl. It contained the date September 14, which meant that all men born on that date between 1944 and 1950 were subject to the initial call-up in calendar year 1970. Those men with June 8 birthdays found themselves in the enviable 366th position, at the very bottom of the list. All young men of the period still recall vividly their lottery number—the editor's, for instance, was 334.

Deferments were a serious bone of contention during the time of the Vietnam War. Prior to reforms enacted in 1971, an individual could qualify for a student deferment merely by presenting evidence that he was progressing toward a college degree and attending classes full time. Afterward, a college student could defer induction only until the end of his current semester, or in the case of a senior, until the conclusion of the academic year. Student deferments favored the more affluent who were able to gain admission to college and finance the cost of their education—or those of the middle class whose families were willing to shoulder the added burden of student loans to keep their sons out of an increasingly unpopular war.

Many sought to avoid the draft by joining the National Guard or some component of the Reserves. A number of sons from wealthy and influential families joined so-called Champagne units, which were often part of the National Guard and much less likely to see active duty. Only 8,700 of those servicemen assigned to Champagne units were called to active duty and sent to Vietnam. The 147th Fighter Group of the Texas Air National Guard, located at Ellington Air Force Base near Houston, was the most famous—or infamous—unit. Its privileged roll included future president George W. Bush, seven members of the Dallas Cowboys professional football team, and the sons of Texas senators John Tower and Lloyd Bentsen and Texas governor John Connally.

An estimated 100,000 young men who were subject to the draft went into self-imposed exile. Roughly 90 percent of that number fled to Canada, which generally welcomed the draft evaders. During the course of the Vietnam War, nearly 210,000 men were identified as violators of the Selective Service laws; more than 350,000 others avoided prosecution. A total of 25,000 indictments were issued, with 8,750 individuals subsequently convicted and nearly 4,000 sent to prison. Presidents Gerald Ford in 1974 and Jimmy Carter in 1977 introduced amnesty programs for Vietnam War draft

evaders, allowing them to return home to the United States.

Well before the 1969 lottery, opposition to the Vietnam-era draft was widespread. Demonstrations, including the burning of draft cards, became common, and violence erupted on college campuses across the United States. Some opponents of the draft called for an end to Selective Service altogether. In 1965, the U.S. Supreme Court considered several draft-related cases and widened the interpretation of the conscientious objector provision to encompass those with nontraditional religious beliefs. A year later, President Lyndon Johnson initiated a study of the Selective Service system, and by 1970 the number of conscientious objectors had mushroomed to two and a half times its level three years earlier.

Prior to the December 1969 lottery, President Richard Nixon had directed the implementation of a "19-Year-Old Draft" in which young men not inducted into the armed forces at 19 were exempt from induction unless a national emergency or declaration of war necessitated their call-up. However, deferments for certain types of hardships and various occupations remained a troublesome issue. In 1973, the Selective Service Act of 1967, extended by Congress in 1971, was allowed to expire. Thus ended the authority of the federal government to conscript its citizens for service in the armed forces. During the Vietnam era, from August 1964 through February 1973, a total of 1,857,304 young American men had been pressed into military service through the Selective Service system.

Although the draft had ended and the American armed forces had become an all-volunteer enterprise, the requirement for young men to register for the draft remained in effect until it was also suspended in April 1975. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1980, President Carter responded by reinstating the registration requirement for males aged 18 to 26. These registrants were subject to call-up until the age of 35. Today, the Selective Service, with an annual budget of more than $24 million, has registered some 13.5 million men, and compliance with the law is estimated at 93 percent.

Throughout history, national governments have required young men (and sometimes young women) to relinquish their personal liberty for military service. Often controversial, the conscription of private citizens, slaves, or simply those caught up in the swirl of political events, has enabled nations to raise large armies and wage war on a grand scale. Whether that has been a fundamental blessing to mankind, or a curse, remains very much an open question. □

redcoats

Continued from page 65

Once the French held the redoubt and the heights, they could roll up the entire British line. The 28th Foot was valiantly holding the redoubt, beating off continued attacks in the front, when suddenly they discovered French horsemen coming up from behind. The British infantrymen were formed in two ranks, the classic "thin red line," and completely surrounded by the enemy. It was the supreme moment, and the 28th was not found wanting. The rear rank turned as ordered, literally back-to back with their front-facing comrades. They lowered their muskets and delivered a volley that emptied many French saddles. Stunned, the French survivors withdrew. By this time dawn was lightening the eastern sky, revealing the extent of the British victory. The French retreated on all fronts, leaving behind 3,000 killed and wounded. In honor of its heroic stand, the 28th was allowed to wear a cap badge on the back of their shakoes as well as on the front.

The Battle of Alexandria, sometimes called the second or night battle of Aboukir, was indeed a great victory, but it had been purchased at a high cost. The British had suffered 1,376 casualties, but it was the loss of their commander-in chief that was the most keenly felt. General Sir Ralph Abercromby preferred to lead from the front, and at one point he was surrounded by French dragoons attempting to take him captive. One dragoon tried to lay hands on Sir Ralph, but a Highlander corporal shot the French assailant dead. A short time later, however, Abercromby was hit by a musket ball in the thigh. He died a few days later, mourned by all in his command.

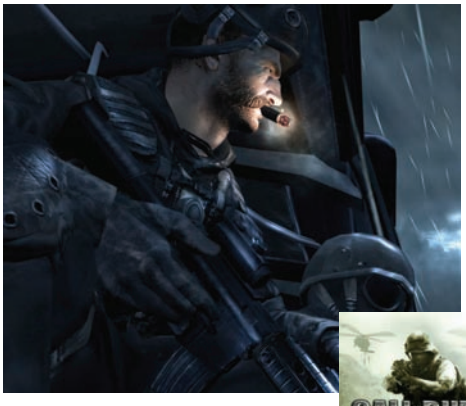
The rest of the Egyptian campaign was largely an anticlimax. Six more months of hard fighting remained, but after the capture of Alexandria the issue was never really in doubt. In August 1801, Menou surrendered and the French evacuated Egypt. Napoleon's Egyptian adventure, an uneasy mixture of idealism, cynicism and blood, was over at last.

For the British Army, the Egyptian campaign was a new beginning, auguring more victories to come. Moore had demonstrated that British battle techniques were sound, and that with proper guidance the British soldier was equal or superior to Napoleon's vaunted legions. The fighting techniques shown at Alexandria would continue, reaching their zenith on the muddy fields of Waterloo 14 years later, when Napoleon and his *Grande Armee* were defeated for good. □

Experience modern warfare on the ground and in the air in three new games.

A new entry in the *Call of Duty* series of games usually gets reviewed in *WWII History,* but this time Infinity Ward and Activison have changed the time period of their popular franchise. **Call of Duty 4: Modern Warfare** is set in the present day, but it is still a "look down the barrel" first-person shooter that tries to get the details of the weapons, uniforms, vehicles, and setting right. Available on the PC, Xbox 360, and the PS3, *CoD4* is basically two games: a single-player campaign, and a multiplayer Internet shoot fest.

In the single-player campaign, the story unfolds



over a series of missions. In each mission the player takes the role of either an SAS commando (one modern day, one in a flashblack mission) or a 1st Force Recon Marine. In addition the player has missions where he will take on the "cameo" roles such as an airship gunner or a sniper. Most of the time the player will fight along side numerous computer-controlled allies. Unlike some games, the player doesn't command these squad and platoon mates, but they do defer so that the player is always the focus of the story.

Whereas the player's character's load-outs and special abilities in the single-player campaign are based on the mission, in the multiplayer game, the player chooses from two base load-outs at the start, and then unlocks more as he plays matches and accumulates experience. Eventually players can build and save their own load-outs. There are multiple single and team game modes for play over the Internet. In either mode, players get an exciting feel for modern combat at the man to man level.

A look at modern combat from approximately a company level is provided by **World in Conflict,** by Massive Entertainment and from Sierra for the PC and the Xbox 360. This is an alternate history game set in a 1989 where the Soviet Union did not fall. Instead, the Soviets and their Warsaw Pact allies invaded Western Europe through the Fulda Gap. U.S. and NATO forces manage to halt the Soviet advance in France, but the Soviets then launch surprise invasions of Seattle and a smaller one of New York. The single-player game puts the player on the ground for all these battles and more.

In the game, the player commands individual vehicles and infantry squads in the manner of a real-time strategy game. There is no resource gathering or building. The player gets points to buy reinforcements automatically. The player moves his viewpoint around the map, clicking on and issuing orders to his units or groups of his units. In the single-player game, the computer controls both the allied and enemy units. In the multiplayer game, up to 16 players, acting in teams, can each control units in matches against each other.

WiC is more fast paced that *CoD4* because there is so much more for the player to do. Each unit has at least one special ability, and while the computer has the units fight while carrying out the player's orders, their special abilities have to be triggered manually by the player. This makes combat very hands on and very busy. All of the models are good, and the units behave in realistic ways. The terrain and scenarios are varied and interesting, and the difficulty can be set to the level of challenge the player wants.

The third product is not a stand- alone game, but rather an add-on to Microsoft's *Flight Simulator X.* **Flight Deck 4** from Abacus Software for the PC continues the theme of modern warefare simulations. *FD4* allows players to experience launching from the deck of the USS *Ronald Reagan* in (for example) an F/A-18E Super Hornet in the Bay of Bengal. It also lets players experience the much more nerve-racking task of landing on the carrier's deck. And, of course, it lets the players pilot the jets to their hearts content (or at least the limit of the plane's fuel) in between take-off and landing.

Besides the Super Hornet, *FD4* comes with six other planes with dozens of programmed flights for each. Besides the Bay of Bengal, the *Ronald Reagan* can be placed in three other settings, so there is a variety in what the flights show off. Because this is a *FSX* add-on, there is no actual combat, but *FD4* does add in extra sounds and special effects to better model the sound and look of carrier operations. This is simply the closest players can come to flying off a modern carrier without leaving their PC. □

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