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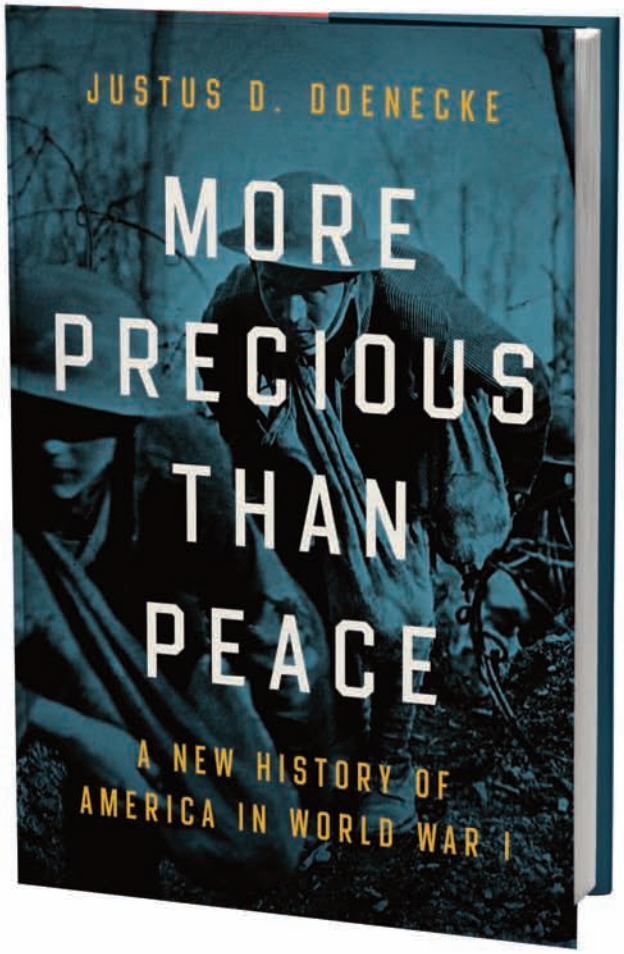

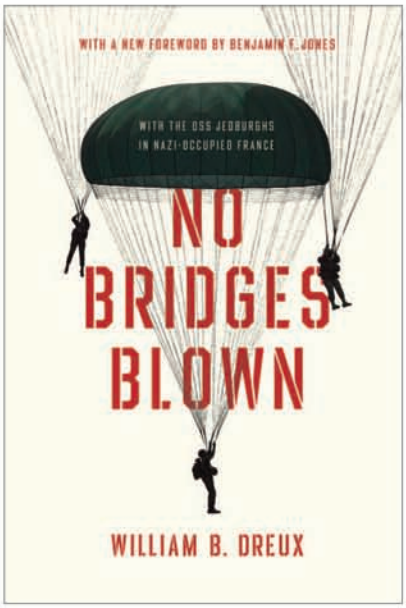

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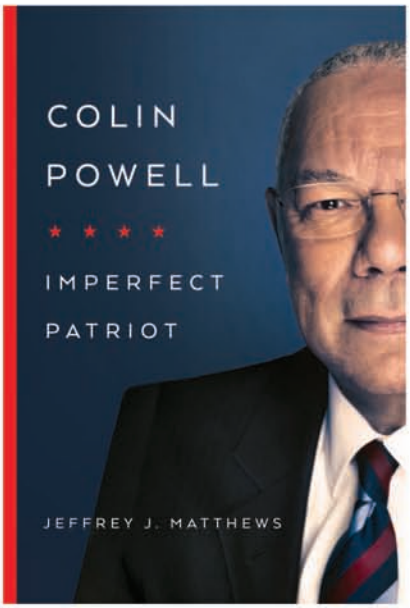

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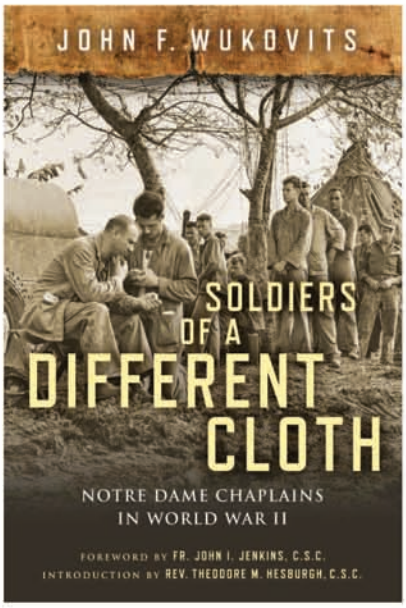

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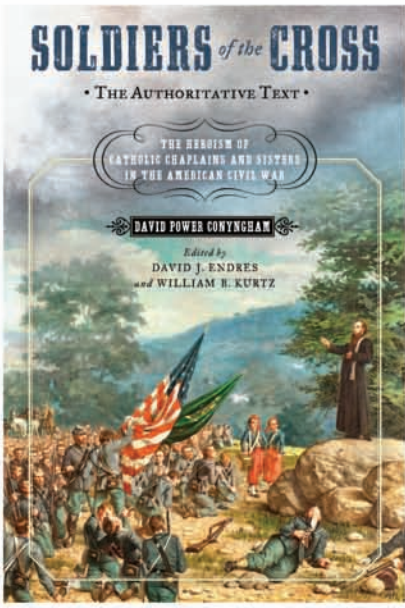

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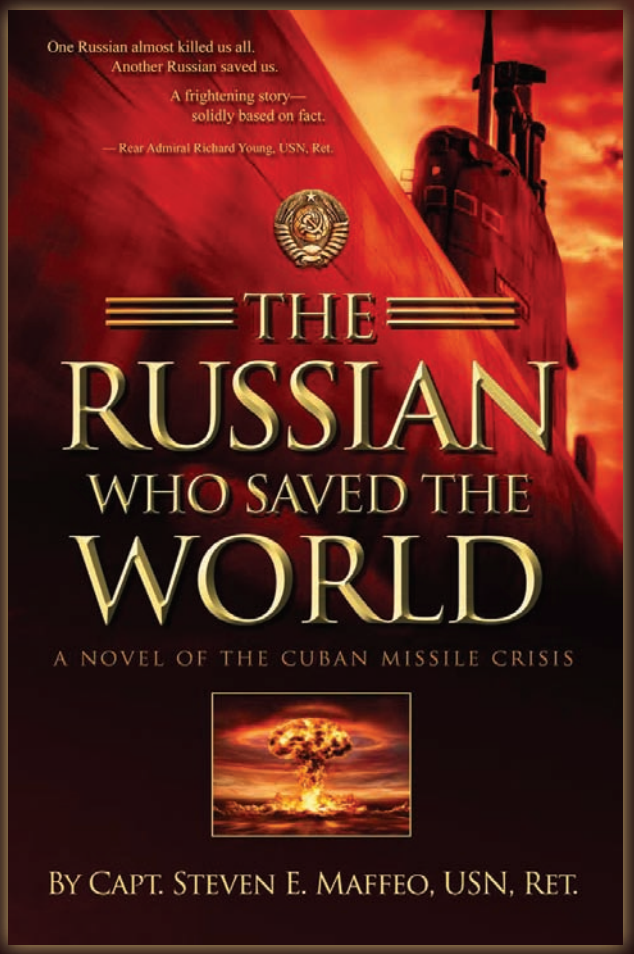

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COLUMNS

Cover: French Revolutionary troops make a spirited charge against Austrian troops during the battle of Novi, Italy. See story page 34.
Painting © by Keith Rocco, www.keithrocco.com

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EDITORIAL

MONTY'S FOLLY: The British paratroopers at Arnhem paid a heavy price in the failed operation.

AMERICAN GENERALS PRIVATELY GLOATED over the failure of British Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery's Operation Market Garden in September 1944. The British had conceived the idea, although Allied units from many nations participated in the operation. "Market Garden was a rotten plan, poorly executed," writes British historian Max Hastings in *Armageddon.*

Among other blunders, the British decision to drop various elements of the 1st Airborne Division six to eight miles from Arnhem rather than near the highway bridge proved catastrophic to the paratroopers and doomed the operation.

Montgomery, who was keen to get across the Rhine and penetrate the German frontier, had grown impatient with Eisenhower, whose headquarters was still in Brittany nearly 400 miles from the front lines on the Belgium-Netherlands border. Eisenhower still struggled to surmount command-and-control hurdles; for example, staff struggled to perform functions quickly and effectively when it came to processing intelligence and issuing orders. But after the debacle of Market Garden, Eisenhower turned a deaf ear on Montgomery's strategic proposals.

Montgomery underestimated the ability of the Germans, whom the Allies had chased across northeastern France, to recover and function effectively. Although two SS panzer divisions in the area of the Allied air drops certainly played a key role in thwarting the Allies' ability to capture some of their key objectives, it was the jumble of an assortment of German sub-units around Arnhem that plagued the British 1st Airborne division. Their presence in defensive positions east of Arnhem slowed the paratroopers' entry into the town. Indeed, SS Colonel Ludwig Spindler managed to cobble together elements of 16 units to defend the approaches to Arnhem.

The British found themselves hopelessly outgunned in Arnhem with the appearance of elements of the II SS Panzer Corps. Simply put, the nine British paratrooper battalions around Arnhem faced 14 German battalions equipped with tanks, artillery, and armored vehicles. The Germans also possessed the deadly panzerfaust, which they used with telling effect in the campaign to pick off Allied tanks and vehicles.

British soldiers recalled trying to hold street corners only to hear clatter of tracks indicating a tank was headed their way. A tank engine would start up and then there was "the sudden, terrible sight of a tank coming round a corner, traversing its turret towards you," wrote John Killick, an intelligence officer with the 1st Airborne Division.

The saga of the 9th and 10th panzer divisions is impressive. The Allies should have annihilated them along with other German armored formations in the Falaise Pocket the previous month, but both had managed to escape total destruction.

The 10th SS Panzer Division had two companies equipped with some long-barreled Panzer IVs, and two other companies outfitted with some Sturmgeschutz 40 Ausf G assault guns. The 9th SS Panzer Division's 1st Panzer Battalion possessed some Panzerkampfwagen V Panther tanks. The 506th Heavy Tank Battalion equipped with Tiger II tanks reinforced the two divisions late in the battle.

Despite the presence of battle-hardened German units that were not demoralized as the Allies expected, the British and Americans participating in Operation Market Garden might have succeeded if they had attacked boldly and resolutely. But many participating in the assault treated it as just another operation. They deceived themselves into believing that since they had made it all of the way across France, they might be able to find a quick and easy way into Germany. The Germans divested them of this notion for the time being.

—William E. Welsh

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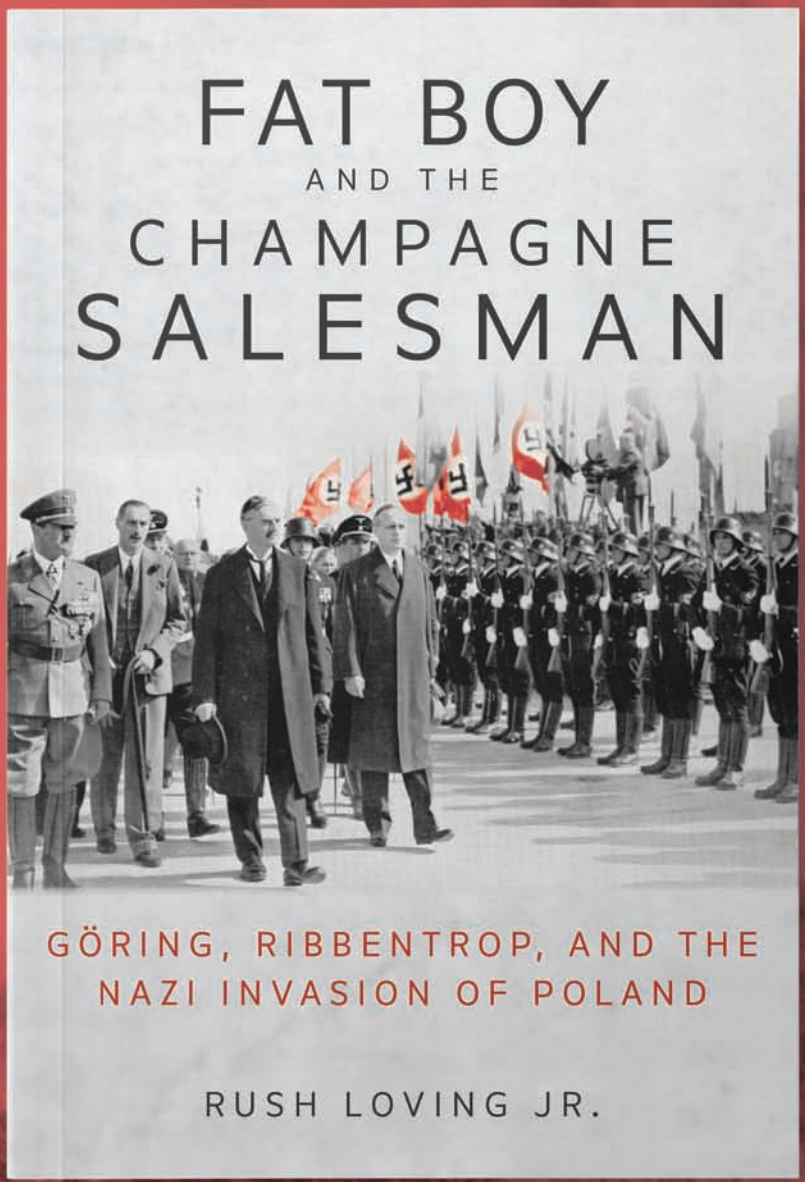

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VALOR

DoD

Marine Corporal Dakota Meyer braved the bloody kill zone of a Taliban ambush to rescue wounded troops and recover the bodies of fallen Marines.

By William E. Welsh

Marine Corporal Dakota Meyer, who trained Afghan National Security Forces in the use of weapons, took up a position with the quick reaction force during the security sweep of Ganjal village in September 2009.

Moonlight bathed the dusty narrow path leading into the village of Ganjal shortly before sunrise on September 8, 2009, as nearly 100 soldiers climbed out of more than a dozen vehicles a mile from the seemingly peaceful village. A force of American Army and Marine Corps advisers and the Afghan National Security Force troops and Afghan border police that they were training formed up a mile from the village and headed east towards the modest mud-brick homes of Ganghal. They planned to meet that morning with tribal elders and check the village for weapons.

The Americans always took precautions to ensure their safety when visiting remote villages. One of these precautions was to establish observation points on the high ground to monitor the situation and direct fire support. Two groups of soldiers peeled off from the main force and took up positions northwest and southwest of Ganjgal to carry out these security functions. Two Marines had remained in the rear at a rally point where the vehicles were parked with a platoon of Afghan soldiers to serve as a quick-reaction force.

The Taliban had begun to reassert itself in Afghanistan as early as 2005. When U.S. President Barack Obama took office on January 20, 2009, he redoubled U.S. efforts directed against the Taliban insurgency. The president and Joint Chiefs of Staff wanted to eliminate Taliban safe havens along the country's 1,600-mile-long border with Pakistan and step up efforts to train the Afghan soldiers to assume responsibility for defending their country. To achieve these goals, Obama directed the Defense Department to initially send 17,000 fresh troops as part of a surge to augment the 68,000 U.S. and NATO forces already in the country. He appointed General Stanley McChrystal to oversee the surge.

To disrupt the flow of arms and ammunition the insurgents received across the border from Pakistan, U.S. forces had established since the war began in 2001 forward operating bases and combat outposts along infiltration corridors that led from the Hindu Kush into the fertile river valleys of eastern Afghanistan.

At Combat Outpost Monti, which was situated along the Kunar River 10 miles north of FOB Joyce, the four-man unit of Marine Corps' Embedded Training Team 2-8 arrived in summer 2009. ETT 2-8 consisted of 21 Marines

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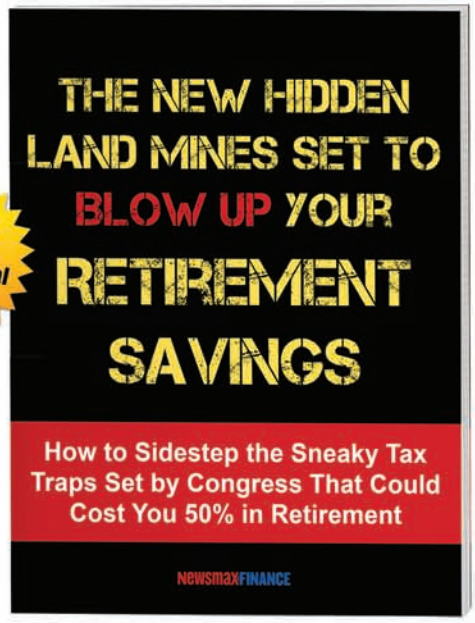

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U.S. Marine Corps

Marines take cover behind a mud-brick wall like the one in South Ganjal village where three Marines and a Navy corpsman became pinned down when the Taliban sprang their dawn ambush.

who were divided into small groups to train Afghan forces at five combat outposts in northeastern Afghanistan. The four advisors assigned to Team Monti were responsible for training a company of ANSF soldiers billeted at the outpost. The forces at Monti were an appendage of the American forces stationed at FOB Joyce, which was the headquarters for the 32nd Infantry Regiment, 3rd Brigade Combat Team of the U.S. Army's 10th Mountain Division.

Twenty-one year-old Marine Corporal Dakota Meyer, a native of Columbus, Kentucky, and an Iraqi War veteran, served as the weapons trainer on Team Monti. In addition to Meyer, the other members of the team were Navy Corpsman James Layton, Staff Sergeant Aaron Kenefick, and Team Leader Lieutenant Mike Johnson. Meyer trained the Afghan soldiers in weapons, operations, and tactics.

Lieutenant Johnson received orders in early September to bring most of the Afghans at Combat Post Monti to Joyce to conduct a security mission to Ganjal. The village elders in Ganjgal wanted to convene a shura, or consultation, with the Americans to request assistance for improvements to their mosque in exchange for allowing the U.S.-backed government in Kabul to establish a police post in their village.

Army officers planning the security mission to Ganjgal, which was called Dancing Goat II, pushed the mission back a day. This enabled locals who had been informed of the mission to alert the Taliban that an Afghan-American force was coming to the village.

The members of Team Monti arrived at Camp Joyce on September 7, the day the mission originally had been scheduled to occur. The force for Dancing Goat II numbered 15 American advisors, 60 Afghan soldiers, and 20 Afghan border police. Army Major Kevin Williams commanded the force.

The hamlet of North Gangal consisted of 50 mud-brick houses, known as compounds, with courtyards enclosed by high walls, and the smaller hamlet of South Ganjal situated 300 yards to the southeast. The villagers farmed on terraces with retaining walls. At the base of the low hills on which the hamlets were located was a wash created by river floods. Ganjgal was surrounded on three sides by a horseshoe-shaped high ridge, with the only easy entrance into the valley being from the west via the wash.

To his great consternation, Meyer had been told the day before that he was to remain, along with Marine Staff Sgt. Juan Rodriguez-Chavez, at the rally point with a platoon of the Afghans that would be held in reserve. Marine Gunnery Sgt. Edwin Johnson, a logistics specialist from Joyce who wanted additional combat experience, would be taking Meyer's place with the three other members of ETT 2-8.

The force possessed four Humvees that were parked at the rally point. Each Humvee had either a turret-mounted .50- caliber machine gun or a 40mm grenade launcher. If needed, Meyer and Rodriguez-Chavez could drive a Humvee to the village to furnish covering fire.

The local Taliban leader, Quari Zia Ur-Rahman, brought 70 insurgents to the village the night of September 7-8. He distributed his troops in a three-sided ambush, placing them in trenches and bunkers constructed in the village in previous years. The insurgents were armed with mortars, recoilless rifles, heavy machine guns, grenade launchers, and automatic rifles.

The Afghan-American force began its slow trek from the rally point towards Ganjal to meet the tribal elders at 4:00 a.m. The members of Team Monti marched at the front of the column, followed next by Major Williams' command group, and behind it the Afghan soldiers and police.

When the head of the column came to within 100 yards of the hamlets just before 5:30 a.m., the Taliban insurgents opened fire. The members of Team Monti sprinted to take cover in the compound of the nearest house in South Gangal. The command group, which included an embedded journalist, sought cover behind a terrace wall 150 yards from the hamlets. During the course of the firefight, Army Captain William Swenson and Staff Sgt. Kenneth Westbrook joined the command group. The Afghan troops scattered to take cover behind terrace walls and boulders.

The command group immediately reported contact to the Tactical Operations Center at FOB Joyce and requested fire support. Within 10 minutes 120mm mortars at Joyce began firing on the Taliban positions. The Taliban succeeded in inflicting casualties on all section of the column.

When the 120mm mortars stopped firing after one hour, the column came under increasingly heavy pressure. Although the watch commander at Joyce had requested helicopter support as soon as contact was made, it was tied up and would not arrive until 7:30 a.m. The watch commander and those assisting him at Joyce declined to clear a fire mission by 155mm howitzers because they said they did not know whether it would inadvertently kill civilians, which was something

McChrystal had directed American forces to avoid at all costs.

Meyer and Rodriguez-Chavez requested permission over the tactical radio network during the first hour of the firefight to drive one of the Humvees into the kill zone to collect wounded and furnish covering fire. After receiving permission from Marine Staff Sgt. Guillermo Valadez, who was stationed at the observation point on the north ridge, Rodriquez-Chavez drove towards the fighting, with Meyer manning the Mark 19 automatic grenade launcher in the exposed gun turret. It was the first of five trips into the kill zone that Meyer would conduct that morning. They collected some of the Afghans and drove them to safety at the rally point.

When the villagers joined the fight, the insurgents and villagers succeeded in driving the Marines of Team Monti out of the compound on the western outskirts of South Ganjal. They retreated to a trench, but at some point before 7:00 a.m., the insurgents overran Team Monti's position and killed all four members of the team.

A pair of Kiowa Warrior Helicopters from the Palehorse Squadron of the Army's 7-17th Cavalry arrived on station two hours after the battle began. Meyer and Swenson established radio contact with them and directed them to Taliban positions. The Kiowa pilots immediately began repeated strafing runs with their machine guns and rockets on the enemy positions. The crews of the Kiowas stayed on station until all of the troops had been extracted four hours later.

The second excursion into the kill zone that Meyer and Rodriquez-Chavez made was in a different Humvee, and Meyer took up a position on an M2 50-caliber machine gun. As they drove east, Marine Staff Sgt. Chad Miller warned Meyer over the radio of approaching enemy soldiers. Ten insurgents on the north side of valley advanced against the lone vehicle. Meyer swung the weapon to the left, but the enemy were extremely close and he could not depress it far enough. He picked up his M4 and shot one of the insurgents at point-blank range. "I saw a single enemy go down from a round hitting him in the head," Rodriguez-Chavez said.

The two Marines collected more wounded and again withdrew to the rally point. The presence of the helicopters eventually enabled the Americans at the command post to withdraw safely from the kill zone.

The battle dragged on for the remainder of the morning to get all of the Afghans to safety, and to locate Team Monti, with which the command group had lost contact at 7:00 a.m.

Meyer's third trip into the wash began just before 10:00 a.m. Meyer and Rodriquez-Chavez were joined in a vehicle by Captain Swenson and Marine First Lieutenant Ademola D. Fabayo. One of the Kiowa helicopters flew 15 feet above a string of five vehicles seeking to evacuate the troops in the ambush area. During this time, the Americans attempted to gather as many of the remaining American and Afghan troops and police into the vehicles as possible.

Meyer, who by that time had been wounded by shrapnel in the arm, went back into the wash two more times. The crew of one of the Kiowas located the slain members of Team Monti shortly after 11:00 a.m. On his fifth trip into harm's way, Meyer worked with Swenson, while under fire from the enemy, to retrieve the slain Marines of Team Monti, whose bodies were flown back to Joyce.

The Americans suffered four killed and three wounded, while the Afghans lost nine killed and 19 wounded. One of the wounded Americans, Sergeant Westbrook, later died of complications. Meyer's Medal of Honor citation states that he and Rodriquez-Chavez acted promptly at the outset of the battle to assist those pinned down in the ambush. The two Marines undertook three trips in one Humvee before enough Americans had gathered at the rally point to take multiple vehicles to retrieve the remaining Afghan soldiers trapped in the ambush.

"Despite a shrapnel wound to his arm, Corporal Meyer made two more trips into the ambush area in a third gun-truck accompanied by four other Afghan vehicles to recover more wounded Afghan soldiers and search for the missing U.S. team members," reads the citation. Last but not least, Meyer adhered to the policy of never leaving a fellow Marine behind by helping recover the bodies of the four fallen Marines.

"Meyer's daring initiative and bold fighting spirit throughout the six-hour battle significantly disrupted the enemy's attack and inspired the members of the combined force to fight on," states the citation.

President Barack Obama presented Meyer with the Medal of Honor on September 15, 2011, in a White House ceremony. Obama noted during the ceremony that Meyer performed repeated acts of bravery. His story of valor, the president told the audience, "will be told for generations." ■

U.S. Army

U.S. Marine Corps

TOP: Corporal Meyer warned Army Major Kevin Williams, the commander of the security force attempting to meet with village elders in Ganjal, shown in the photo above, that they should expect contact with the enemy. LEFT: President Barack Obama presented Meyer with the Medal of Honor in a ceremony at the White House held on September 15, 2011. Four years later Army Captain William D. Swenson also received the Medal of Honor for rallying his teammates and disrupting the enemy's assault at Ganjal.

UNIFORM NAPOLEON'S OLD GUARD INFANTRY

Text by William E. Welsh
Artwork by Johnny Shumate

HEADGEAR: The fur cap worn by the Imperial Guard grenadiers was informally called a beehive. Made of black bearskin, the 13-inch-tall cap was adorned with red cords and tassel, as well as a decorative, stamped brass plate.

UNIFORM: The coat, known as a habit, was blue cloth with a blue collar, white lapels, and scarlet cuffs. The Guard initially wore white breeches, white gaiters, and black boots.

CARTRIDGE BOX: The black, waxed leather cartridge box was slung across the left shoulder and hung behind the soldier's right hip. It initially bore a brass grenade badge, but this decoration was replaced in 1804 with a crown over an eagle.

KNAPSACK: A calfskin knapsack was closed by securing three leather straps.

MUSKET: The Guard-pattern musket was a version of the An IX modification of the 1777 Charleville flintlock musket. The .69 caliber musket was 44.8 inches long and weighed 10.5 pounds. The version made for the Guard featured a raised cheek piece, lock with patent pan cover, and brass fittings. When "fixed," the socket bayonet transformed the musket into a short pike.

SABRE: This was a special pattern made specifically for the Guard that had a brass hilt, black leather grip, and black scabbard with brass fittings.

When Napoleon Bonaparte became First Consul of France in December 1799, he consolidated the two seperate guard bodies, one for the directory and one for the legislature, into the Guarde des Consuls.

Napoleon intended the Guard to be a model for the rest of the army. Only those who had performed heroic action or been wounded in combat over the course of several campaigns were to be admitted into the Guard. Napoleon ultimately used the Guard not only for his personal protection, but also as a formidable reserve in battle.

When Napoleon became emperor of the French in May 1804, he renamed it La Garde Imperial. As the empire grew, so did the Guard. It grew so large it was necessary to divide into an Old Guard, Middle Guard, and Young Guard. ■

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The Colt 1911 Automatic Pistol served as the U.S. Military's official sidearm for more than 70 years.

By Christopher Miskimon

Alamy

Corporal Alvin York of the U.S. 82nd Division received the Medal of Honor for cutting down a large group of Germans at close-quarters with his Colt M1911 during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive.

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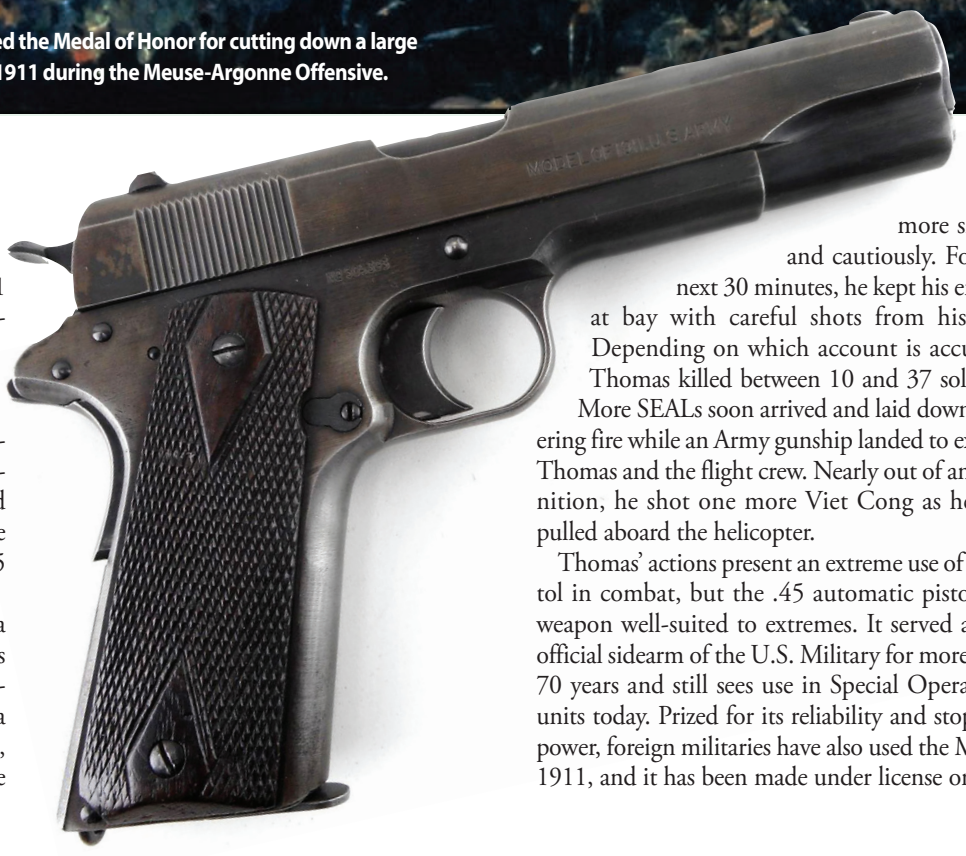

Petty Officer R. J. Thomas, a U.S. Navy SEAL, wound up in deep trouble one day in 1969. As he was riding in a UH-1 Huey helicopter gunship during a scouting mission, the aircraft was hit by enemy fire and crashed, killing or wounding everyone on board. Despite serious injuries, Thomas helped drag the flight crew away from the downed helicopter. Within minutes, a group of North Vietnamese Army and Viet Cong troops arrived and approached the wreck. The only weapon the American had at hand was a Model 1911A1 .45 Automatic pistol.

Unfortunately for his enemies, Thomas was a competitive shooter for the U.S. Navy as well as a SEAL. He opened fire on the advancing Vietnamese at 100 yards, a range beyond the skill of a typical pistol user. Thomas proved quite atypical, hitting his target and forcing the rest to advance more slowly and cautiously. For the next 30 minutes, he kept his enemy at bay with careful shots from his .45. Depending on which account is accurate, Thomas killed between 10 and 37 soldiers. More SEALs soon arrived and laid down covering fire while an Army gunship landed to extract Thomas and the flight crew. Nearly out of ammunition, he shot one more Viet Cong as he was pulled aboard the helicopter.

Thomas' actions present an extreme use of a pistol in combat, but the .45 automatic pistol is a weapon well-suited to extremes. It served as the official sidearm of the U.S. Military for more than 70 years and still sees use in Special Operations units today. Prized for its reliability and stopping power, foreign militaries have also used the Model 1911, and it has been made under license or sim-

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A Marine officer draws his .45-caliber automatic pistol while giving a situation report to his radio telephone operator during fighting in Vietnam in 1967. The pistol's robust firing system and grip safety ensured its long service through 70 years of warfare.

ply copied around the world. It likewise has been popular with law enforcement and in civilian hands as long as it has been a military weapon.

Variously known as the Colt .45, 1911, or simply the .45, the pistol's origin begins at the turn of the 20th century, when American troops became involved in a protracted counter-insurgency campaign in the Philippine Islands after the Spanish American War. Some Filipinos did not wish to exchange their Spanish overlords for American ones. Among these insurgents were the Moros, a native tribe known for their martial prowess. Moro warriors reportedly used drugs before combat to heighten their ability to withstand wounds, and they often tied tight wrappings around their limbs to slow blood loss. The standard-issue handgun at the time was the Colt .38-caliber revolver, but it performed poorly against the Moros, even when an American emptied his revolver into the warrior at point-blank range. Old .45 Colt Single Action Army revolvers pulled from storage were hurriedly issued to troops in the Philippines, but it was clear a more modern and powerful handgun was needed.

The Army decided the new handgun had to be of at least .45 caliber. The officers overseeing the tests, Colonel John T. Thompson and Major Louis LaGarde even used live cattle in the Chicago stockyards as test subjects. Thompson is best known as the inventor of the Thompson submachine gun, also a .45-caliber weapon.

Trials for the new handgun began in 1907and eight gun makers submitted weapons. While semiautomatic pistols were making great strides in performance and reliability, the notice allowed either semiautomatic pistols or revolvers, provided they used a .45 caliber cartridge. Weapons arrived from Colt, Smith and Wesson, Savage, White-Merrill, Bergman, firearms inventor William Knoble, and British firm Webley and Scott. The German Company DWM submitted a .45 caliber Luger.

Of the semiautomatic designs, only those from Colt, DWM, and Luger proceeded past the initial review. Soon DWM dropped out, deciding production of their Luger in .45 was not cost-effective. Both Colt and Savage received orders for 200 pistols for testing. Once in hand, samples went to field units, the School of Musketry, and the boards of infantry, cavalry, and field artillery. Neither weapon proved ready for adoption, with both suffering the usual problems of prototypes. The Colts had issues with jamming and broken parts, while the Savage's magazine tended to fall out during firing. Savage quoted a production price of $65 per pistol while the Colt came in at $25. A second round of testing was ordered in 1910.

For the next tests, the Colt resembled the weapon as later adopted, but still suffered four parts failures. The Savage had 13 failures and showed excessive recoil. The military scheduled a third round of trials for 1911. During these tests, evaluators fired 6,000 rounds through each weapon. The Savage suffered thirty-seven malfunctions or broken parts. The Colt functioned flawlessly and was more accurate. The War Department's choice was clear, and the Colt officially became the Model 1911.

The final price for the 1911 was $14.25 for a pistol and one magazine. Spare magazines were valued at .50 cents each. On April 21, 1911, the first contract went out for 31,344 pistols with two spare magazines apiece, plus spare parts and other equipment. The whole contract totaled $459,988.77. A provision enabled the government to produce the weapon itself, provided a $2 royalty was paid to Colt and 50,000 pistols were purchased from Colt first, and Colt had to produce two-thirds of all of the weapons made. The government's Springfield Armory started making 1911s within a few years at a cost of $13.25 each, including the royalty. By the end of 1917, Colt's production totaled 80,000 pistols with another 25,000 made by Springfield Armory, which also produced the M1903 rifle.

The 1911 is a hefty pistol, weighing 39 ounces unloaded. The barrel is five inches long with a small set of fixed sights atop the slide. The standard magazine holds seven rounds of .45 Automatic Colt Pistol ammunition. The original .45 cartridge has a full-metal-jacketed projectile weighing 230 grains, which travelled at 850 feet per second. The .45 bullet weighed twice as much as the standard 9mm projectile of the time. The standard military load has remained the same, although improved hollow-point ammunition exists for law enforcement and civilian users.

With a prestigious military contract in hand, Colt soon produced a version of the 1911 for commercial sale. These pistols were marked "Government Model" to link them to the military version. Even before World War I began in 1914, British officers bought them privately, and many were made in .455 Webley Automatic caliber, since that cartridge was in use in the British military. No one is certain of the Colt's first combat use, but it likely occurred in British hands somewhere in the British Empire. American troops first used them in combat in 1913 in the Philippines and in 1914 during the Vera Cruz landing; U.S. Marines carried them in Haiti in 1915, and they were widely issued to U.S. Army troops during the Punitive Expedition in Mexico in 1916-1917.

The first real test, though, for the Colt automatic came during World War I. By the time the United States entered the war in April 1917, nearly 70,000 pistols had been delivered to the military, with orders in for another 141,000. By the end of the war, another 446,000 were delivered. Additionally, the British government later



The M1911 required extensive training to be used to its full potential. [Left to right]: U.S. Army soldiers proudly display their Colt M1911 pistols as they prepare to go into action in France in 1917. A soldier of the U.S. 7th Infantry Division inspects his M1911 during the Korean War. An Army Ranger in World War II uses his M1911 during training in Scotland.

bought thousands of 1911s for service use. Canada and France procured about 5,000 each, and the Russians bought 51,000, many of which later fell into communist hands.

A pistol was a handy weapon to have for close-quarters trench fighting, and troops appreciated the .45's power. Soldiers conducting trench raids often carried .45s along with shotguns, clubs, entrenching tools, and knives.

The most famous soldier to wield the Colt during the war was Corporal Alvin York of the U.S. 82nd Division. York went on a patrol with other American troops on October 8, 1918. While on that patrol, the Americans attempted to outflank a German machine-gun position. They took a group of prisoners but were fired upon as they prepared to take the German prisoners-of-war back to American lines. German fire cut down nine doughboys, including the sergeant in charge. York took command and ordered the surviving Americans to guard the prisoners while he attacked the enemy. York, an expert marksman, killed a German machine-gun crewman with each shot. Another group of Germans counted his shots and charged when they knew his rifle was empty. York shot them all with his .45 pistol. He killed 25 Germans that day and captured 132 more, earning a Medal of Honor and promotion to sergeant.

The British also had famous users of the 1911. Colonel Thomas Edward Lawrence received a pair of 1911s as a gift and carried them both during his service in the desert. Lieutenant Colonel Winston Churchill also purchased a 1911, had it engraved with his name, and carried it during his frontline service. When he was prime minister during World War II, he loaned it to his bodyguard, Walter Thompson, to replace the police-issue Webley .32 automatic. He sometimes carried it himself, tucked in his trousers.

After the war, the U.S. Military decided on a few improvements to the 1911, including a shorter trigger, arched mainspring housing on the rear of the grip, and an extension to the grip safety to keep shooters with larger hands from being painfully pinched by the weapons hammer when it was re-cocked during firing. The upgraded pistol became the Model 1911A1, with the A1 standing for "Alteration One," and served the U.S. Military from 1924 until long after its official replacement in the 1980s. Between World War One and World War Two, the .45 saw military service by the Americans in Central America and the Caribbean.

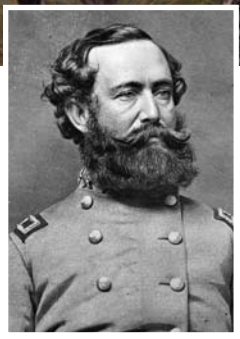
During World War II, the 1911A1 served as the standard-issue pistol, supplemented by leftover .45 revolvers and Colt and Smith and Wesson .38 revolvers. To meet the huge demand for more pistols, several companies undertook production of the .45, including Remington Rand (877,751 pistols), Ithaca Gun Company (335,466), and the Union Switch and Signal Company (55,000). Colt made another 629,000 during the war.

Stories of the .45 in combat abound. Colonel Walter Walsh, in peacetime an FBI agent and renowned marksmen, shot a Japanese sniper through the embrasure of a bunker at more than 75 yards with his pistol. Second Lieutenant Owen Baggett served as co-pilot on a B-24 in the Pacific. His plane shot down, he bailed out with other crew members, but the Japanese fighter pilots began strafing the helpless parachutists. As one of the enemy planes flew close to check their handiwork, Baggett raised his .45 and fired, killing the pilot. A Japanese officer later stated the pilot died from a single shot to the head. During the Battle of the Bulge, antitank gunner Corporal Henry Warner of the 1st Infantry Division knocked out two panzers with his 57mm cannon. After it jammed, he pulled out his .45 and shot at a German tank commander standing in the hatch of his tank; as a result, the panzer crew retreated. Warner was killed the next day after knocking out another tank. He received a posthumous Medal of Honor.

Many soldiers carried the M-1 Carbine during the war, a light rifle designed to replace the pistol; however, stories abound of the .45's stopping power being superior to the diminutive rifle. In the Philippines, two American pilots sat in their tent when a group of native headhunters attacked. One pilot had a carbine and shot a headhunter twice in the chest to no effect. As the native raised a machete, the other pilot shot him once in the forehead with his .45, dropping him instantly. The carbine was quickly traded for a .45. During the Battle of Iwo Jima, as a Japanese soldier charged a group of Marines, an American emptied a 15-round clip into the enemy soldier, who kept coming at the Marines. Another Marine drew his .45 and put the Japanese down with a single shot to the chest. While such stories are largely anecdotal, they spread widely among GIs, who had faith in the hitting power of their trusted .45s. Thousands of the legendary Colt 1911s were kept as souvenirs after the war, smuggled home in the duffle bags of returning servicemen. Today they are prized heirlooms and expensive collector's items. ■

Brig. Gen. Wade Hampton deftly fends off saber blows by Union troopers as he finds himself surrounded on the final day at Gettysburg in a painting by Don Troiani.

Painting © Don Troiani / www.dontroiani.com



Although not a professional soldier, Wade Hampton III performed brilliantly, first as one of J.E.B. Stuart's lieutenants, and later as his successor.

By William F. Floyd Jr.

On the morning of July 3, 1863, Confederate Brig. Gen. Wade Hampton III led the troopers of his brigade south along the York Road. Along with other Confederate cavalry forces under the command of Maj. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart, their objective was to get behind the Union Army of the Potomac. The gray horsemen went into action against the Union cavalry at 3:00 p.m.

In the confused hand-to-hand fighting on horseback, Hampton received two saber cuts to the front of his head, one of which cut through to his skull. He also was wounded in the body by a piece of shrapnel. Always in the thick of the fighting, Hampton's performance at Gettysburg was typical of his aggressive conduct as a Confederate cavalry commander.

A native of Charleston, South Carolina, Hampton was born on March 28, 1818, into one of the wealthiest families in the South. His father, Colonel Wade Hampton, distinguished himself during the War of 1812, serving first as a lieutenant in the dragoons and later as an aide to Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans.

Young Wade received an excellent education, graduating from South Carolina College in 1836. Although he trained for the law, he never practiced it. Upon his father's death in 1858, Hampton inherited a substantial fortune owning to his family's vast landholdings. He served in both houses of the Palmetto State legislature from 1852 to 1861.

With war looming in early 1861, Hampton organized and financed with his own money a military unit known as the Hampton Legion. As a combined-arms unit, the Hampton Legion consisted of six companies of infantry, four of cavalry, and an artillery battery. As a member of one of the state's most influential families, he had no trouble securing the rank of colonel in order to command the legion.

The Hampton Legion first saw action at First Manassas. As the Union forces drove the Confederates from Matthews Hill, Hampton advanced his legion to the Warrenton Pike to help stabilize the Confederate line. In so doing, he bought time for Brig. Gen. Thomas J. Jackson's brigade to deploy south of the road on Henry Hill. The legion, which fell back to a position by the Robinson House, repulsed the attack of Colonel Erasmus D. Keyes' brigade, which sought to turn the right flank of the Confederate forces facing the Union flank attack from the direction of Sudley Springs. In the hard fighting that day,

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Hampton skillfully turned back Philip Sheridan's troopers at Trevilian Station on the Virginia Central Railroad in 1864. While under his steady hand following Stuart's death, the Confederate troopers never panicked in battle.

Hampton was grazed in the head by a bullet and had his horse shot from under him.

The Confederate government gave Hampton command of a brigade in Brig. Gen. William H.C. Whiting's division of Maj. Gen. Gustavus Smith's Reserve in January 1862. His brigade was composed of the Hampton Legion, 14th and 19th Georgia, and 16th North Carolina. For his aggressive leadership and superb handling of his troops in a clash at Eltham's Landing on the Virginia Peninsula on May 7, Whiting cited Hampton for his "conspicuous gallantry." Confederate General Joseph Johnston, the army commander, observed that Hampton was a senior officer of "great merit." The praise of his superiors secured Hampton's promotion on May 23 to brigadier general.

During the Battle of Seven Pines east of the Confederate capital of Richmond, Virginia, on May 31, Hampton's brigade went into action north of Nine Mile Road against Brig. Gen. John Sedgwick's division of the Union II Corps. In his attack against the extreme right flank of the Union forces south of the Chickahominy River, Hampton was struck in the foot by an enemy bullet. It was not Hampton's fault that his brigade was repulsed, given that only nine of the 22 Confederate infantry brigades slated to participate in the attack clashed with Federal forces that day.

Hampton, who refused to leave the field, insisted that a surgeon remove the bullet from his foot while he remained in the saddle with bullets whistling through the air. The newly minted brigadier had "few equals and perhaps no superior," Smith wrote of Hampton in his battle report.

General Robert E. Lee, the commander of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, established a unified 15,000-strong division of cavalry under Maj. Gen. Stuart's command on July 28, 1862. Brig. Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, Brig. Gen. Beverly Robertson, and Hampton each received command of a cavalry brigade. Hampton's cavalry brigade comprised 1st North Carolina, 2nd South Carolina, 10th Virginia, and the Cobb and Jeff Davis legions.

In the outset of the Maryland Campaign that began when Lee's forces forded the Potomac River on September 4. Stuart led his division across the Potomac at White's Ford, and then deployed his brigades along the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad on September 5 to screen the movements of Lee's infantry from Union forces. Hampton initially took up a position at Hyattstown, Maryland.

Hampton's troopers covered the Confederate rear as the Army of Northern Virginia headed west on September 10. His troopers skirmished with the vanguard of the Army of the Potomac on September 12-13 at Burkittsville and Middleton on the approaches to South Mountain.

During the Battle of Antietam on September 17, Hampton's troops participated in Stuart's unsuccessful attempt to turn the Federal right flank in the late afternoon. Stuart tried to gain the Federal rear, but his advance was stopped cold by the 34 guns that Union Brig. Gen. George G. Meade had massed on high ground on Joseph Poffenberger's farm.

Hampton's brigade participated in Stuart's second ride around Maj. Gen. George McClellan's army in mid-October 1862. Stuart entrusted Hampton with leading the vanguard of the mounted force. When Stuart's 1,800 troopers reached Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, on the night of October 10, the town's leaders surrendered to the Confederates.

During the three-day raid, the Confederates rounded up 1,200 horses, plundered the government supply depot in Chambersburg, and destroyed a million dollars' worth of property. When Lee again reorganized his cavalry that month, Hampton was given the honor of commanding the first brigade in Stuart's division.

Lincoln sacked McClellan in the aftermath of the Chambersburg raid and appointed Maj. Gen. Ambrose Burnside to command the Army of the Potomac, an offer he reluctantly accepted on November 7. Stuart entrusted Hampton with independent command that month and instructed him to strike against Burnside's vulnerable supply

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Following a surprise attack by the Federal cavalry at Brandy Station, Hampton launched a savage counterattack that cleared the Federal cavalry from Fleetwood Hill.

line, which stretched from Alexandria, Virginia, to Fredericksburg, Va. With a small number of troopers, Hampton struck small Union wagons trains on November 27 at Hartwood Church, on December 10 at Dumfries and on December 17-18 at Occoquan. His victorious troopers escorted their prizes, consisting of wagons, horses, and provisions, into Confederate lines south of the Rappahannock River. Greatly impressed by these feats, Lee offered the Palmetto State planter command of an infantry brigade, but Hampton declined, preferring to remain with the cavalry.

In the largest cavalry engagement of the war, fought at Brandy Station on June 9, 1863, Hampton performed with distinction. He led a successful counterattack against Union forces on Fleetwood Hill, sweeping them off the high ground. Afterwards, Hampton mourned the loss of his brother, Lt. Col. Frank Hampton, the commander of the 2nd South Carolina Cavalry Regiment, who was mortally wounded in the battle.

Hampton convalesced for four months following the wounds he received at Gettysburg, and he returned to the army in early November 1863. While he was recuperating, he received a promotion to major general in recognition of his gallantry at Gettysburg. That same month, Lee reorganized Stuart's cavalry into a corps.

The South Carolinian became the de facto commander of the Confederate cavalry corps when Stuart fell mortally wounded in battle at Yellow Tavern on May 11, 1864. Lee was reluctant to make the appointment a permanent one because Hampton was not a professionally trained soldier.

A test of his skill at handling a large body of cavalry came in June, when Maj. Gen. Philip Sheridan's Union cavalry attempted to move west to inflict damage on the Virginia Central Railroad and the James River Canal, two transportation corridors by which the Confederates received supplies from the Shenandoah Valley and the Carolinas. Hampton intercepted Sheridan's force on June 11, and a fierce mounted battle ensued over the course of two days. Hampton repulsed Sheridan, who had no choice but to withdraw to the Army of the Potomac's position east of Richmond at Cold Harbor.

Hampton's victory at Trevilian Station was "a handsome success," said Lee. In appreciation for Hampton's brilliant leadership throughout summer 1864, Lee announced on August 11 that Hampton would officially become the commander of the Army of Northern Virginia's cavalry corps.

Hampton's troopers participated in one of the most unique raids of the war when they raided the area where Union forces besieging Petersburg kept the cattle to feed their large army. Following a sharp skirmish at Sycamore Church on August 9, 1864, Hampton's troopers led 2,486 head of cattle back to Southern lines to feed Lee's famished soldiers.

As the grueling siege of Petersburg dragged on, Hampton's troopers clashed frequently with Sheridan's cavalry at various locations outside of the siege lines. Hampton's 20-year-old second son, Preston, was slain on October 27 in the Battle of Boydton Plank Road, and his eldest son, Wade

Hampton IV, was wounded in battle but survived.

In February 1865 Hampton joined Southern forces opposing Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman's army, which had turned north into South Carolina after its march of destruction through Georgia. On February 15, Hampton was promoted to lieutenant general.

Waging total war against the South, Sherman's troops burned everything in their path, including homes, barns, churches, and even entire towns. Although Sherman promised to protect the city of Columbia upon its surrender on February 17, 1865, he failed to stop his troops, who had imbibed great quantities of liquor, from setting fires that destroyed the city. Hampton had withdrawn his cavalry from the city upon its surrender. Hampton was present when General Joseph E. Johnston, the commander of the Confederate Army of Tennesee, surrendered to Sherman on April 26, 1865.

Worn down from his long service to the Southern cause, Hampton returned to Columbia, South Carolina, in summer 1866. With his finances in such poor shape as a result of the war he filed for bankruptcy. A Democrat who vehemently opposed Radical Reconstruction, Hampton was elected governor of South Carolina for two short terms in 1876 and 1878. During his tenure as governor, he appointed a number of African Americans to prominent state offices.

While governor, Hampton suffered a painful injury to his leg that resulted in the lower portion having to be amputated. Because of this, Democrat William Dunlap Simpson completed Hampton's second term while he convalesced.

Hampton went on to serve two terms in the U.S. Senate from 1879 to 1891. He later served as the commissioner of the Pacific Railway from 1893 to 1897. After struggling with declining health for a number of months, Hampton passed away in Columbia, South Carolina, on April 11, 1902.

Hampton and Stuart were never close and maintained only a cordial relationship. One of the reasons for this was that Hampton resented what he perceived as favoritism in appointing Virginians to leadership positions in Lee's cavalry. Hampton possessed a combative nature, and during the Gettysburg campaign his intense rivalry with Maj. Gen. Fitzhugh Lee had caused considerable difficulties.

Hampton, along with Nathan Bedford Forrest and Richard Taylor, had the distinction of being one of three Confederate commanders to achieve the rank of lieutenant general without having any formal military training. Although he lacked Stuart's dashing style as a cavalier, Hampton made up for it with his courage, his ability to carry out difficult raids, and his superb handling of large cavalry commands in the final months of the war. ■

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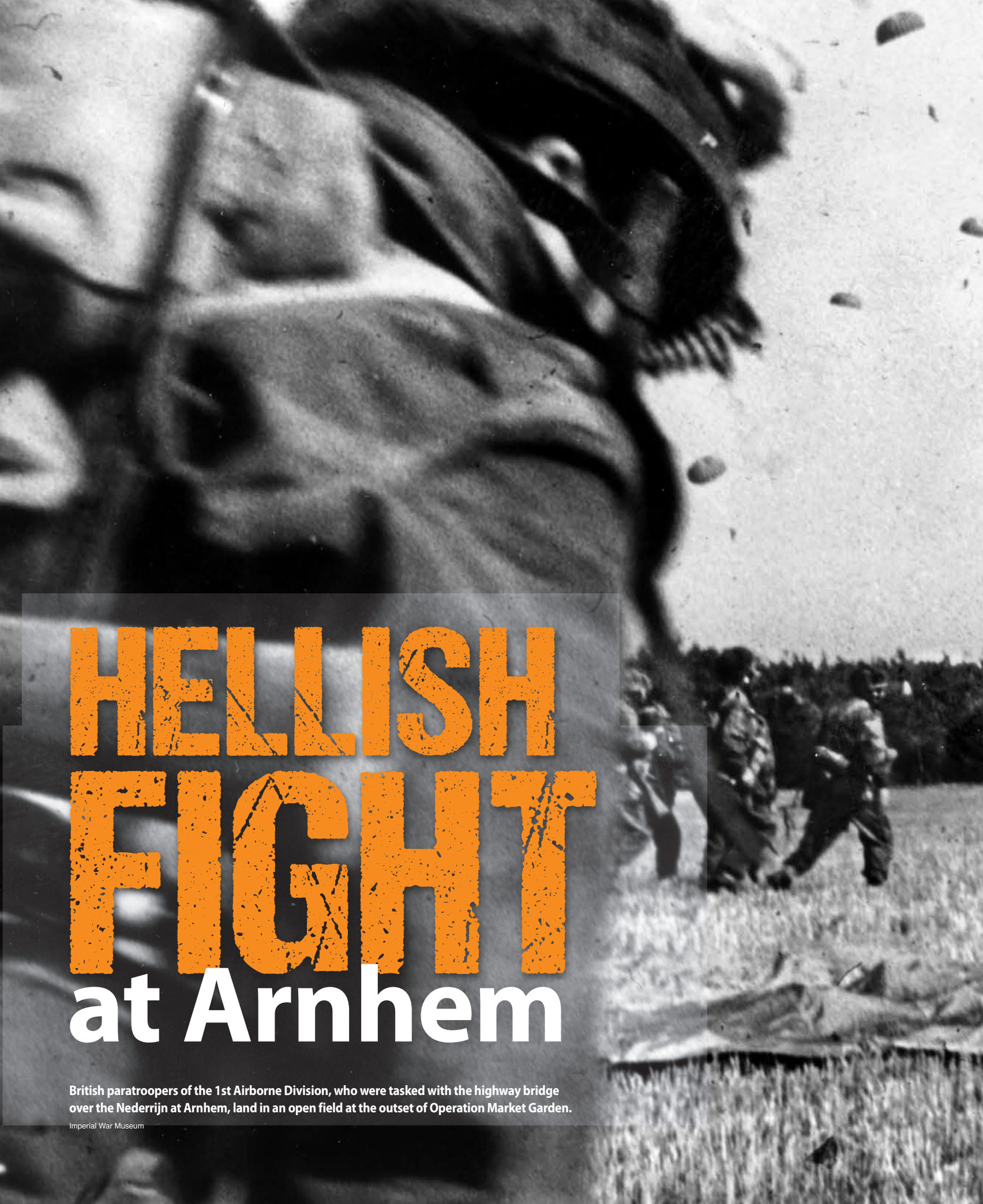

HELLISH FIGHT at Arnhem

British paratroopers of the 1st Airborne Division, who were tasked with the highway bridge over the Nederrijn at Arnhem, land in an open field at the outset of Operation Market Garden.

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The British 1st Airborne Division fought a savage battle with the Germans in Arnhem during Operation Market Garden in 1944. The uneven contest pitted paratroopers against SS panzer troops.

By John E. Spindler

AS the clock struck 8:00 p.m. in Arnhem, Holland, Lt. Col. John Frost's British 2nd Parachute Battalion captured the north end of the road bridge over the Nederrijn River. Believing the enemy force defending the bridge consisted mainly of second-rate troops, Frost felt he would be able to overcome the Germans on the bridge and then hold until the rest of the British 1st Parachute Brigade arrived.

Amazed at the absence of security, Frost occupied the nearby buildings and attempted to secure the southern end, but Germans manning a pillbox repulsed the initial assault. After a brief reorganization, the paratroopers once more tried to take the entire bridge. Thwarted a second time, the British pulled back.

Two hours later, Frost dispatched a flamethrower team to eliminate the troublesome pillbox. Maneuvering into position with great stealth, the team successfully destroyed it.

Unfortunately, a handful of other buildings roared up in flames, including a maintenance hut being used as an ammunition depot. Flammable paint had caused the fire. The Germans had reopened the Arnhem Highway Bridge only recently after the damage it sustained during their invasion in 1940. The bridge caught fire after the ammunition exploded. The intense heat ruled out any more attacks that night.

Frost believed that rest of the 1st Brigade would arrive no later than the following morning in keeping with the plans of Maj. Gen. Robert Urquhart, the British 1st Airborne Division commander. The rest of the division would arrive later that day, followed the day after by Polish Maj. Gen. Stanislaw Sosabowski's Polish 1st Parachute Brigade.

The British believed that by then the highway bridge and Arnhem would be in Allied hands, merely awaiting the arrival of the British XXX

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Men of 3rd Platoon, 21st Independent Parachute Company prepare to board their planes in Gloucestershire, England. American C-47 Dakotas and British Horsa Gliders transported the British and American airborne troops to their respective drop sites. OPPOSITE: Senior German officers plot a coordinated response to the Allied offensive designed to outflank the Siegfried Line. From left to right are Field Marshal Walter Model, Generaloberst Kurt Student, SS General leutnant Wilhelm Bittrich, Major Hans Peter Knaust, and SS Generalleutnant Heinz Harmel.

Corps driving up from the south. Once that happened, Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery's master plan for Operation Market Garden would be complete. Little did Frost know that things would not go as planned.

By early September 1944, the Allies possessed all of the offensive momentum on the Western Front. Numerous German divisions had been crippled in a disastrous battle at Falaise Pocket the previous month. The Allies had inflicted 50,000 casualties on the Germans and destroyed 500 of their tanks and self-propelled assault guns.

The British 11th Armored Division captured Antwerp on September 4; however, the Allies were unable to use its port facilities because of the Scheldt Estuary. Whichever side held the estuary controlled the sea lane to Antwerp. Despite the fall of Antwerp, the Germans remained in control of the mouth of the Scheldt. While the German defense in Holland consisted of the remnants of several German units that could be considered vulnerable to attack, the Allies could not launch a concerted offensive against the Germans units in Holland because their depots at French ports in northwestern France were too far away.

Montgomery believed that Supreme Allied Commander General Dwight Eisenhower's broad-front strategy would result in the Allied advance eventually grinding to a halt at the German border. Eisenhower's strategy called for the buildup of Allied forces along the Rhine River from the North Sea to Switzerland in preparation for a final offensive into the heart of Germany.

For his part, Montgomery advocated a single thrust that skirted the Siegfried Line to the north. The Siegfried Line, which the Germans called the *Westwall*, was a system of pillboxes and strongpoints built along Germany's western frontier.

Pitching the concept to Eisenhower, the British field marshal envisioned a force of 40 divisions aimed at Berlin. Eisenhower declined the proposal because he did not want to halt the advance of Lt. Gen. George Patton's Third Army. Recognizing the need to quickly capture the Channel ports, Eisenhower gave Montgomery's 21st Army Group priority in receiving supplies. Montgomery also received the Allies' last major reserve force, which was the First Allied Airborne Army.

Officially formed on August 1, 1944, the First Allied Airborne Army comprised the U.S. IX Troop Carrier Command, American XVIII Airborne Corps, British 1st Airborne Corps, and the Polish 1st Independent Parachute Brigade. The British corps was made up of the 1st and 6th airborne divisions. Eisenhower tapped American Lt. Gen. Lewis Bereton to lead the new airborne army, with British Lt. Gen. Frederick Browning as deputy commander. The Allied planning staff received a good deal of pressure to devise an operation that would employ the First Allied Airborne Army.

While the Allied forces were outrunning their supply chain, the Germans had their own problems. Fragments of shattered divisions had hurried across Holland in a panicked retreat. The German military traffic over the Arnhem Bridge peaked on September 4. The town had not seen such a heavy volume of military traffic since the German invasion in May 1940. Field Marshal Walther Model, the commander of Army Group B, set up his headquarters in Oosterbeek, where he focused on shoring up the German defenses in Holland.

He also began devising a plan to extract General Gustav-Adolf von Zangen's Fifteenth Army from the Scheldt Estuary islands. Written off by Allied intelligence, several of its units were ferried across at night. By September 10, Model had managed to stop the retreat. He then began establishing a defense composed of ad-hoc formations known as *kampfgruppes*.

Between D-Day and the first week of September 1944, the Allies had cancelled 14 airborne operations. In most instances, the advancing Allied divisions had already achieved the target of the airborne operation. Before receiving control of the First Allied Airborne Army, Montgomery had developed Operation Comet. This limited airborne plan, which was never realized in its original form, called for using Maj. Gen. Robert Elliot

Urquhart's British 1st Airborne Division and the Polish Brigade to capture several bridges in central Holland, including those from the Grave Bridge over the Maas River to the Arnhem Bridge over the Nederrijn. The plan called for the airborne troops to hold these critical crossings until General Miles Dempsey's British Second Army arrived.

A number of commanders disliked the plan. Sosabowski spoke out at Urquhart's planning meeting about the casual dismissal by the planners regarding the effectiveness of the German forces. Due to a period of poor weather and intelligence that noted a substantial increase in German strength in the vicinity of Arnhem and Nijmegen, Montgomery cancelled the operation on September 9.

The next day Montgomery met with Dempsey to discuss expanding Operation Comet to include more forces. Afterwards, Montgomery presented the expanded plan to Eisenhower. Under the codename of Market Garden, the 1st Airborne Division and the Polish Brigade would solely focus on Arnhem, and two American airborne divisions would secure other strategically important bridges. The Allies fused together two operations. The first, Operation Market, involved American and British airborne forces seizing nine bridges; while the second, Operation Garden, called for a powerful land force to swiftly follow over the captured bridges.

The British XXX Corps was selected to rush north across the captured bridges. Operation Market Garden was a departure from Montgomery's normal operating method of a calculated, systemic assault. Instead, the British attack was to be an all-out dash in which the Allied forces involved would reach Arnhem in 48 to 72 hours. Eisenhower wanted to go as soon as possible, while Montgomery preferred to wait until September 24. The two commanders compromised and set the date for Sunday, September 17.

The 1st Airborne division, known as the Red Devils, was selected to capture Arnhem. Although many of its brigades were experienced, they had not fought together as a unit. Urquhart had never jumped before and experienced bouts of airsickness. The division comprised three brigades, each of which had three battalions.

Brig. Gen. Gerald Lathbury led the 1st Parachute Brigade and its battalions, the 1st Para Battalion, 2nd Para Battalion and 3rd Para Battalion. The 4th Parachute Brigade, under Brig. Gen. John Hackett, was made up of the 10th Para Battalion, 11th Para Battalion and 156th Para Battalion.

The third unit involved was the 1st Airlanding Brigade, commanded by Brig. Gen. Philip Hicks, consisting of the 1st Border Regiment, 2nd South Staffordshires, and the 7th King's Own Scottish Borderers. Major Freddie Gough led the 1st Airborne Reconnaissance Squadron, equipped with special jeeps. In total, 8,969 men would land west of Arnhem.

Urquhart and the Glider Regiment commander wanted a *coup de main* by which they would land five or six gliders as close as possible to the road bridge and seize it by surprise; a range of factors precluded it. The Allies had a transport-aircraft shortage. Needing to minimize their losses, U.S. IX Troop Carrier Command commanding officer, Maj. Gen. Paul Williams, wanted routes that avoided the Luftwaffe airbase at Deelen. He decided there would only be one lift per day, resulting in three lifts needed to get the forces into Arnhem.

"One of the greatest difficulties in mounting this operation rested on the inflexibility of Troop Carrier Command," said a U.S. 82nd's chief intelligence officer. As it turned out, Williams' fears were for naught, as a Royal Air Force air raid on September 3 had left Deelen temporarily unusable.

Another factor was terrain. The urban area of Arnhem ruled out coup de main north of the Nederrijn. While the southern bank with its small, low-lying fields and many ditches looked attractive, it was actually unsuitable for gliders. It was known as polder ground and consisted of drained marshes that had been reclaimed from the river.

Urquhart was forced to select drop and landing zones that were up to eight miles from his objectives of Arnhem's road, rail, and pontoon bridges. The 21st Independent Parachute Company would drop first to mark and secure the zones. He chose the 1st Parachute Brigade for D-Day, with most of Hick's 1st Airlanding Brigade and the Reconnaissance Squadron. While the 1st Airlanding guarded the zones, the parachute battalions would advance on Arnhem by three different routes. Taking the southernmost route, which followed the Nederrijn, would be Frost's 2nd Battalion. He was to secure the rail and pontoon bridges. Taking the middle and most direct route along the Utrecht Road would be the 3rd Battalion. Starting after the others and taking the northern route, the 1st Battalion would secure ground on Arnhem's northern edge. Gough's Reconnaissance Squadron was to use this route to race ahead and secure the bridge until the paratroopers arrived. The idea of using the local ferry was not discussed, which meant Frost never knew of its existence.

On D+1 the remainder of the 1st Airlanding and the 4th Parachute Brigade would arrive in the second lift. Going down another major street, the battalions of the 4th Brigade would push into the northern and eastern areas of Arnhem. On D+2 the Polish paratroopers would drop south of Arnhem while their glider-borne components landed near Wolfheze. Sosabowski's men were to cross the highway bridge, secure it, and then relieve the 4th Brigade units in eastern Arnhem. By this time, or one more day at most, XXX Corps would arrive. On D+5, an air-portable division, the 52nd (Lowland), would fly into a captured Deelen Airfield.

The division's fighting strength was further enhanced by the Glider Pilot Regiment. Unlike American glider pilots, the British pilots were

MODEL AT FIRST BELIEVED THE PARATROOPERS HAD DROPPED TO GRAB HIM. HE IMMEDIATELY TOOK PERSONAL CONTROL OF THE TYPE OF BATTLE THAT HE EXCELLED AT, WHICH WAS ONE OF IMPROVISATION.

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trained to fight. The 1,262 men of the Glider Pilot Regiment furnished additional infantry until the arrival of XXX Corps. Two BBC broadcasters also flew into Arnhem.

Sosabowski's Polish 1st Independent Parachute Brigade was organized along British lines. It possessed three battalions: the 1st Para Battalion, 2nd Para Battalion, and 3rd Para Battalion. In total, 1,684 Polish troops went to fight in the Arnhem area. The Allies did not consult Dutch military officials at any point during the planning for the massive operation.

The U.S. 101st Airborne Division would drop and secure the major bridges near Eindhoven. For its part, the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division would land south of Nijmegen. It would not only be tasked with taking key bridges, but also with securing Groesbeek Heights along the Holland-Germany border. Lower on the priority list was Nijmegen's bridge over the Waal River. Browning and his headquarters intended to land 38 gliders in the 82nd Airborne's zone.

Lt. Gen. Brian Horrocks selected his Guards Armored Division to spearhead the 64-mile drive to Arnhem. Behind the armor was Maj. Gen. Ivo Thomas' 43rd (Wessex) Infantry Division, which was trained and equipped for making river crossings in the face of enemy resistance. The 50th (Northumbrian) Infantry Division completed the corps. The British VIII and XII corps would provide flank protection to the column.

Waffen SS General Wilhelm Bittrich's II SS Panzer Corps, which comprised the 9th SS Hohenstaufen and the 10th SS Frundsberg panzer divisions, had retreated into Holland. Each division had approximately 3,000 men. The 10th SS Panzer was in much worse condition than the 9th SS Panzer. The divisions' material strength was under 30 panzers. The 9th SS Panzer possessed most of the panzers, as well as some self-propelled assault guns, halftracks, and armored scout cars. Model had withdrawn the II SS Panzer Corps north of the Rhine for refitting after the Falaise Pocket ordeal. In orders that Model apparently had issued verbally, the panzer corps was sent to the Arnhem area. Model had randomly chosen that city.

Not only were these veteran panzer divisions, but the two divisions had spent months training in opposing airborne operations. As part of the rearming process, both divisions had been sent to Germany. For the training, the commander of Hohenstaufen division had received orders to turn over his heavy vehicles to the commander of the Frundsberg division. Lighter vehicles were loaded on railcars for the division's transfer to Germany. The most important pieces of equipment purposely were scheduled to be the last to depart on September 17.

Allied intelligence on German forces was not reliable beyond 30 miles from the frontline. Many of the commanders participating in Market Garden believed that the opposition would consist of second-rate units. It was known that a pair of worn-out divisions had recently arrived in Arnhem, but Allied intelligence had lost track of the II SS Panzer Corps.

The planners continued to dismiss Sosabowski's concerns about German strength in the target areas. The Polish general believed that the Germans knew how crucial Arnhem was as a gateway to their country and would staunchly defend it.

On the eve of the operation, Dutch Resistance reported that two SS-Panzer divisions had appeared in Arnhem. While the Americans gave credence to these reports, the British ignored them. The Germans had infiltrated the Dutch Resistance in 1943. Since that time, the British distrusted information given to them by the Dutch.

Browning's intelligence officer, Major Brian Urquhart, who was no relation to the general, heard reports of increased German armor in the Arnhem region and persuaded his superiors for additional reconnaissance flights. Some of the photographs showed German armored fighting vehicles. The intelligence officers summarily disregarded the information, and the airborne assault proceeded as scheduled.

Paratroopers of the 1st Airborne Division ran headlong into several units, such as this SS police unit on the outskirts of the city, undergoing training. These small units stubbornly stood their ground and contested the British advance. OPPOSITE TOP: An RAF reconnaissance photo shows the damage British paratroopers inflicted to a German motorized column in a firefight on the north end of the Arnhem Highway Bridge on the second day of the operation. OPPOSITE BOTTOM: Obersturmbannfuhrer Walter Harze's formed the elements of his understrength 9th SS Panzer Division into a kampfgruppe that succeeded in checking the British advance on the town from the west.

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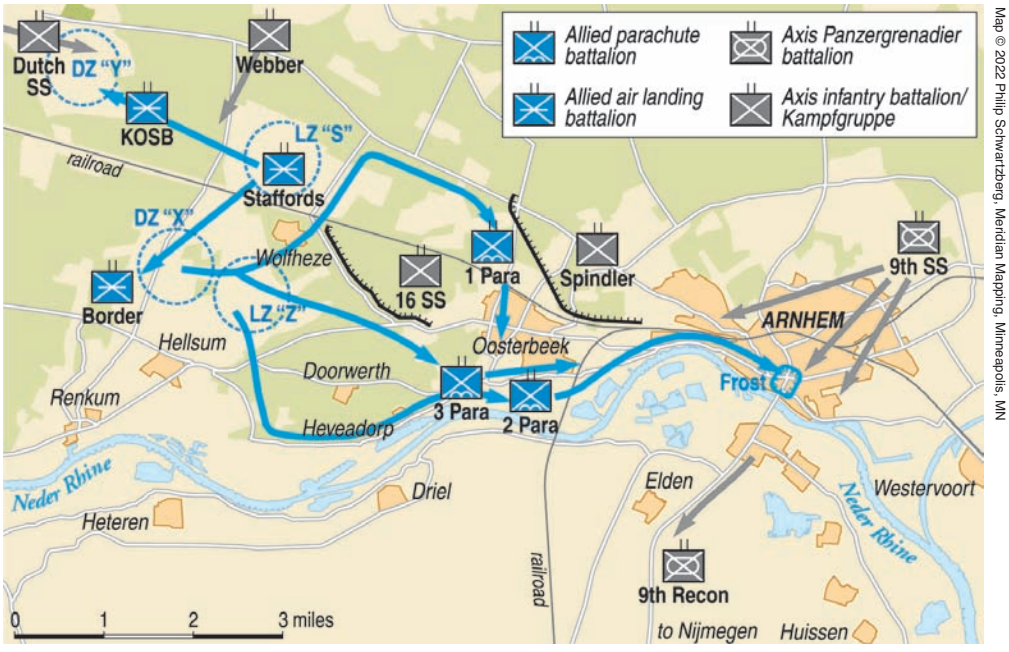

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Other German units were in the area. One of these, located at Wolfheze, was the 16th SS Panzer-Grenadier Depot and Reserve Battalion, which was led by SS-Captain Sepp Krafft. Due to an increase in air raids in the area, Krafft had moved his men into the woods on September 16. He had little idea how fortuitous his decision would be when he awoke on the morning of September 17 to witness an Allied air strike under way to suppress German defenses in the operations area for Market Garden.

On the morning of September 17, 1,400 Allied aircraft bombed and strafed targets from the frontline to Deelen Airfield. Meanwhile, more than 1,500 transport aircraft and nearly 500 gliders in England prepared for history's largest airborne operation. Earmarked for Arnhem were 475 troop transports and 320 gliders carrying the 1st Airborne Division's first lift, protected by 371 RAF fighters. Since they were the slowest, the gliders departed at 9:45 a.m. The 21st Parachute Company pathfinders followed at 10:20 a.m. Ninety minutes after the gliders, the troop transports began their journey

At 12:40 p.m. the pathfinders jumped to mark drop and landing zones. Twenty minutes later, the lead gliders of the 1st Airlanding Brigade began their descent. By the time the landings had finished, and 283 of the 320 gliders had arrived. A few turned back, and some others had varying types of catastrophic accidents. For example, one eyewitness helplessly watched a glider split open and spill men into the English Channel. Other losses occurred upon landing when gliders struck trees or flipped over.

Having secured the immediate area plus Wolfheze, the 1st Airlanding Brigade noted the paratroopers dropping at 1:50 p.m. It took about two hours for the men to organize before heading to Arnhem. Contrary to the myth that most of the Reconnaissance Squadron jeeps were lost, only a few were destroyed or unsalvageable.

Correctly deducing the intended target, Krafft rallied his men. Even though the unit had just 435 men, it happened to be supplied with four experimental mortar-throwing launchers. He decided to block the two most direct paths, one being the railway and the other the Utrecht Road. His unit was ready in place before the British began their advance.

German officers on the scene quickly assessed the situation on their own without having to pass the information up the chain of command and await orders, as in the British Army. Model at first believed the paratroopers had dropped to grab him. He immediately took personal control of the type of battle that he excelled at, which was one of improvisation. Model received word from Berlin that his forces in Holland would receive top priority for reinforcements. Model also was informed that he could use the 68-ton Tiger II tanks of the 506th Heavy Tank Battalion. Armored personnel miraculously unloaded and made the tanks battle-ready in just five hours.

A 10th SS Panzer Division kampfgruppe was to head south and secure Nijmegen. In Arnhem, SS-Colonel Ludwig Spindler, the commander of the 9th SS Panzer Artillery Regiment, was ordered to set up a *sperrlinie*, or blocking line, with his artillery regiment and two grenadier regiments along the city's western approaches. The Germans obtained a copy of the operation's plans, including the drop schedule. But Model believed it was an obvious ploy of deceit.

Once ready, the 1st Para Brigade advanced towards Arnhem. After one and a half miles, the Reconnaissance Squadron ran into Krafft's defenses. The Germans stopped the squadron cold. The same occurred to the 3rd Battalion. Taking the northern route, 1st Battalion initially advanced smoothly; however, it suddenly ran into Sperrlinie Spindler and could progress no further. Krafft withdrew his men to Kampfgruppe Spindler after midnight.

The Red Devils discovered that their Type 22 radios worked only intermittently; then communications failed altogether. The wooded landscape compromised its short range. Unable to talk with his battalions, Urquhart went out looking for

British paratroopers take cover in a shell hole on the first day of the operation. Almost immediately the paratroopers became pinned down and at the mercy of German panzers and artillery.

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Lathbury. After locating him, he intended to check on the operation's progress. In the confusion of battle, Urquhart found himself caught behind enemy lines and ended up being trapped in an attic for almost two days. During that time, he was out of touch with the division when critical decisions needed his direction.

Along the river, Frost's battalion found jubilant Arnhem residents more of a hindrance than the Germans. His C Company headed to capture the rail bridge, only to have it blown up in their faces. The Germans later captured the men of the company. Frost learned that the pontoon bridge was rendered useless by the removal of its center section.

SS-Captain Viktor Graebner's 9th SS-Reconnaissance Battalion sped to Nijmegen, but a lack of communication among the Germans left the entire bridge unguarded for about one hour. Frost secured the northern end of the bridge; however, he missed his opportunity to take both ends by just 30 minutes. Three attempts failed to capture the southern end. After midnight, Frost received reinforcements in the form of a company from the 3rd Battalion and Major Gough, who arrived with two jeeps. He had slightly more than 700 men and a battery of 6-pounder anti-tanks guns to hold the area. Although days of hard fighting would still take place, Kampfgruppe Spindler, along with Krafft, had unknowingly stopped their enemy's best opportunity to capture the road bridge.

South of Arnhem, several factors adversely affected Montgomery's grand plan. The Son Bridge was blown in the 101st Airborne's sector, resulting in a lengthy delay until completion of a Bailey bridge. Due to its lower prioritization, the Nijmegen Bridge was not captured. The Guards Armored Division advanced just seven miles on its first day. This showed that the XXX Corps commanders did not appreciate the urgency required in order for Operation Market Garden to succeed.

The second day of the operation began with weather delaying the second lift's departure. During the night, Sperrlinie Spindler grew in strength and blocked the entire approach to Arnhem. Frost was now isolated at the bridge. A lack of interagency cooperation meant no close-air support for the paratroopers in Arnhem. Urquhart was still missing, and his lack of foresight to only tell his chief of staff about the chain of command's line of succession complicated matters. Hicks received orders to assume command.

Early in the morning, the 1st and 3rd Battalions tried to follow Frost's route, only to find German defense by that time extended to the Nederrijn. After a few hours, the assault was called off. Hicks ordered another attempt to reach Frost. He sent the incomplete South Staffords into the fray. He also changed the orders of the 11th Battalion when it arrived. Instead of proceeding to north of Arnhem, it was sent into the city.

While the British attempted to break through to Frost, the 9th SS-Reconnaissance Battalion arrived back at the bridge. Graebner, who was awarded the Knight's Cross on the previous day, decided to forcefully rush the bridge at 9:00 a.m. An hour later he and dozens of men were dead, with several of the battalion's vehicles burning upon the bridge. Throughout the day, the 2nd Battalion sternly resisted all attempts to eliminate them.

At 3:00 p.m., the second lift arrived amidst flak. The 1st Airlanding Brigade did its best to maintain the security of the landing and drop zones, which kept casualties low. Hackett was upset when learning of Hicks's alterations to the plan. The rest of the South Staffords and the 11th Battalion went to reinforce the attack, and in exchange, Hackett received the 7th King's Own Scottish Borderers. The 10th and 156th Battalions headed to their pre-assigned positions northwest of Arnhem. Advance elements of the 156th met Sperrlinie Spindler, and the battalions opted to pull back.

Urquhart was still absent on Tuesday morning. Communication was virtually nonexistent, although the BBC correspondents, who possessed a different type of radio, made regular reports to London. The only news from Arnhem came from the media. Since the telephone system was still functioning, both the Germans and Dutch Resistance used it to communicate. The Dutch could not fathom why the British failed to take advantage of it.

A pre-dawn attack was scheduled with the South Staffords and 11th Battalion driving alongside the

1st and 3rd Battalions to pierce the sperrlinie along a narrow front between a railway and the river. The 156th and 10th battalions were to find a way through in the north. Due to a miscommunication, the assault began late. The 1st Battalion was noticed as it crossed open ground and took heavy fire. After incurring horrendous casualties, it was no longer a functioning unit. Witnessing this slaughter, the reduced 3rd Battalion provided cover fire, and the survivors pulled back.

A similar fate befell the 11th Battalion and South Staffords. Both were shredded when caught in the German's crossfire. In the hours-long battle, all four battalions were cut down to a force of approximately 500 men. The only positive result occurred when Urquhart managed to escape and resume control. He called off the futile assault by the 10th and 156th battalions in the afternoon.

Weather in England continued to play havoc with the lift schedule. The troop transports carrying the Poles were cancelled, but their glider-borne portion departed. Upon arrival, the Poles found themselves in the midst of an intense battle for control of the landing zone. The contingent took casualties but would fight gallantly. No message had reached Britain about the supply drop zones being lost, so less than 10 percent of the supplies actually made it into British hands. Of all supply drops during the operation, less than 15 percent of the supplies reached British lines.

Frost's men continued to hold out even though their casualties increased. The defenders defiantly refused a surrender offer. The Germans also were taking high losses. The German commander altered his tactics. He decided to blast out the defenders with high explosives and phosphorous rounds. The SS panzer veterans found the fighting unprecedented in ferocity. "This was a harder battle than any I had fought in Russia," said SS-Squad Leader Alfred Ringsdorf.

With a Bailey Bridge erected over the Son, XXX Corps resumed its drive. The Germans tried to cut the route, which became known as Hell's Highway. Though the attacks were unsuccessful, it drew off British armor that would have helped the advance. The flanking corps could not maintain pace over the rough terrain. This left XXX Corps and American paratroopers exposed to attacks by the German Fifteenth Army units that had been written off.

The following day, Urquhart made one of the toughest decisions of his military career—to abandon Frost's battalion. Down to 3,600 men and with eight out of nine battalions mere shells of themselves, the Red Devils commander figured the best course of action was to consolidate into a thumb-shaped pocket centered in Oosterbeek with the Nederrijn at its base and await XXX Corps. He learned of the Heveadorp-Driel Ferry and made sure it was within the pocket.

Urquhart made contact during the day with Frost and told him the division was in no shape to rescue the 2nd Battalion. Both commanders believed XXX Corps would arrive that day. Urquhart contacted units outside of the Arnhem area, most likely by using the BBC correspondents' radios, in order to get supply zones changed and shift the Polish drop zone to Driel.

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ABOVE: The crew of a British 6-pounder engage German armor on the fourth day of the battle. By that time the main force of the 1st Airborne Division was too weak to reach Lt. Col. John Frost's 2nd Battalion isolated at the bridge. LEFT: Polish Maj. Gen. Stanisław Sosabowski found fault with many of the British plans and decisions over the course of the risky operation. BELOW: British and German armor clashed on the approach to Nijmegen 12 miles south of Arnhem. Pictured is a Sherman tank of the British 4th/7th Royal Dragoon Guards passing a knocked-out Panzer III.

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Despite the ferocity of the battle, there were acts of chivalry when it came to collecting the wounded. The Germans, both Wehrmacht and SS troops, generally allowed British stretcher parties to operate freely. There was even an incident in which a 7th King's Own Scottish Borderers officer temporarily commandeered a German panzer to transport wounded to an aid station. The Germans, though, treated the Dutch with great cruelty throughout the ordeal.

Gough had assumed command in Arnhem when Frost was wounded. With medical supplies practically nonexistent and medical facilities overflowing with casualties, a two-hour truce was arranged to transport 280 wounded men, one of whom was Frost, to German hospitals. That evening, the battle was practically over. The Germans crossed the bridge to set up defenses in Elst. The 82nd Airborne conduced a daring river crossing that helped capture the bridge over the Waal in Nijmegen. Sadly, Horrocks failed to have a fresh unit available to make the dash to Arnhem after the bridge's seizure.

By 9:00 a.m. on September 21, the fighting near the bridge had ended. In the Oosterbeek pocket, reorganization of the defenses placed Hicks commanding the western and northern sides and Hackett the rest of the perimeter. The British were aided by a lack of coordination in the German attacks. The Guards Armored Division's lead unit advanced up the narrow, elevated highway until stopped by a lone assault gun just six miles from the bridge. As XXX Corps neared, Urquhart had at last established good communications.

The communications enabled the 64th Medium Artillery Regiment to furnish critical and accurate support to the besieged. The British could not locate the Heveadorp ferry on the south bank of the Nederrijn. They believed it had been sunk, but actually it had drifted downstream after having its mooring lines severed.

The poor weather broke long enough for the Polish 1st Parachute Brigade to depart for Driel. An order from the IX Troop Carrier Command resulted in one-third of the transports, Sosabowski's 1st Battalion, returning to England. Lacking the correct transmissions codes, the others pressed into Holland. The Poles arrived just after 5:00 p.m. under heavy fire. Setting up a defensive perimeter, Sosabowski sent men to locate the ferry, which he had been assured was in British hands. The Polish commander met with the Dutch Resistance and learned the ferry was gone.

Bittrich believed the Polish paratroopers were going to march directly to the bridge. The Germans diverted resources from their assault on the Oosterbeek pocket in order to reinforce the defenses at Elst. It is widely believed that this decision ended all hope for the 1st Division. Urquhart was keenly aware that the constant pressure from German mortar fire and sniper fire had thoroughly exhausted his men. He ordered a liaison officer to carry a message to Sosabowski. In order to get the message to the Polish commander, the liaison officer had to swim across the river.

The ground forces succeeded in contacting the airborne troops on September 22. While XXX Corps tried to batter their way through Elst, three armored cars from the 2nd Household Cavalry arrived at Driel by way of secondary roads. By that night, additional British infantry and tanks reinforced the Poles. Urquhart sent a message that the division could not hold out much longer. Sosabowski attempted to get support into Oosterbeek. Fifty-two men safely crossed the river using rubber dinghies that held two men.

The polder terrain that had limited the British armor also hindered the Germans, especially the 506th Heavy Tank Battalion's King Tigers. The Germans found their steel monsters of limited use in Oosterbeek because the streets crumbled under their weight. Nonetheless, the tanks had the firepower to stop the British south of the river. The British ignored counsel from the Dutch about the

German panzergrenadiers of Kampfgruppe Harzer go into action in Arnhem as German panzers take up supporting positions. The panzergrenadiers fought their way into houses to close the ring on Frost's 2nd Battalion. OPPOSITE TOP: A German photo taken of the Arnhem Highway Bridge shows the debris of battle. Although the British had briefly held part of the bridge, they ultimately withdrew most of the surviving airborne troops by boat on the night of September 25. OPPOSITE BOTTOM: German soldiers administer first aid to some of the 400 wounded British airborne troops left behind in Arnhem.

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need for infantry to accompany armor in the polder north of Nijmegen. The men trapped in the Oosterbeek pocket paid the price for the British arrogance.

In Oosterbeek, Urquhart had fewer than 3,000 able men to continue fighting given that the wounded overflowed existing medical facilities. More 43rd Division soldiers arrived in Driel, yet the Poles were ordered to try another crossing that night. Sosabowski became irritated, as it was the Wessex Division that was trained for river assaults, not his paratroopers. He learned that his 1st Battalion was making its way north after being dropped in the 82nd Airborne's zone. He may have heard Hell's Highway had been cut in the 101st Airborne's zone. That night, 153 Polish 2nd Battalion paratroopers arrived in Oosterbeek before daylight made crossing too dangerous.

After just one hour of sleep, Horrocks visited Sosabowski. Learning of the situation in Oosterbeek, he invited the Polish general to a meeting that also included Browning and 43rd Division commander Thomas. Horrocks ordered Sosabowski to place himself under Thomas, who was a junior commander. Thomas informed Sosabowski that the newly arrived 1st Battalion was to cross the river that night along with his division's 4th Dorsets in the same place as the previous attempts.

Sosabowski protested that a different location be chosen given that the Germans controlled the ground overlooking that crossing spot. For that reason, such an attempt would be suicidal. Browning used Sosabowski's continual objections and stubbornness as a way to explain why the Arnhem operation had failed. British casualties continued to mount. During a two-hour arranged truce that afternoon, 450 British wounded were taken to German hospitals.

Browning discussed with Dempsey the evacuation of the 1st Airborne. Montgomery approved the idea. Urquhart received the order to plan for the withdrawal of the men. For that night's crossing the 4th Dorsets' commander was informed of the true nature of the mission, which was to be kept from his men. The mission was not expanding the bridgehead but strengthening the perimeter for its forthcoming extraction. The battalion was to be sacrificed to save the besieged men. Only enough boats arrived for the 4th Dorsets, and the disaster Sosabowski predicted became reality. Three hundred and fifteen soldiers of the 4th Dorsets survived the crossing, but most were carried downriver. The Germans captured 200 of them.

On the morning of Monday, September 25, the ninth day of an operation that should have been over in four days, Urquhart drew up plans for the withdrawal called Operation Berlin. Similar to the British evacuation of the Gallipoli peninsula in World War I, the British would collapse the Oosterbeek pocket like a deflating balloon. The plan called for men to slowly make their way to the river starting with the northern perimeter, but still keep up the appearance of a fully manned defense. Those too severely wounded to walk would remain behind to await captivity. Medical staff volunteered to remain behind with them.

That night, the men blackened their faces and wrapped boots in cloth to muffle sound. The weather, which had been a curse to the British, became their ally as heavy rains fell that night, covering the withdrawal to the river bank. After a 45-minute artillery barrage, British and Canadian engineers crossed in two locations at 9:45 p.m. The Germans believed the crossings were just another reinforcement mission, never thinking the British were evacuating Arnhem.

The brave engineers continued to carry exhausted soldiers to safety even as the number of operational boats diminished. As dawn neared, some men opted to swim the Nederrijn. The

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The heroic sacrifices of the 1st Airborne were for naught. The British pulled back to just north of Nijmegen, as the salient was considered untenable. Martin B-26 Marauders of the U.S. Army Air Forces 344th Bomb Group destroyed the Arnhem Bridge on October 7. The Allies did not liberate Arnhem until April 1945.

Death in the Italian Vineyards

By William E. Welsh

Russian Marshal Alexander Suvorov led an Allied army that drove the French from Lombardy in spring 1799. He then defended his conquests in a bloody battle at Novi against a resurgent French army led by Barthelemy Joubert.

AS the sun dipped low in the west on August 13, 1799, Russian Field Marshal Count Alexander Suvorov rode slowly south towards the heights on which was perched the walled town of Novi, in Italy's Piedmont region. He had dressed that afternoon in accordance with the scorching heat of the Mediterranean climate. Leaving his jacket behind, he donned a white shirt, breeches, and a pair of old boots. Accompanied by two battalions of jagers to protect him, he rode through the cultivated land to a point that would allow him to assess the strength of his enemy. Ordering the jagers to lay down in a field of barley so they would not draw fire, the 69-year-old commander, who had never been defeated in battle, peered through his field glass in an effort to see as much of the enemy's position as possible.

The town, with walls that dated back to medieval times, was perched 100 feet above the vineyards and farm fields on the plain where Suvorov was making his reconnaissance. He found that French General Barthelemy Joubert, the commander-in-chief of the French First Republic's Army of Italy, had chosen a superb defensive position.

A detachment of French pickets eventually spotted him and his escort, forcing the marshal and his bodyguards to make a rapid retreat to avoid a skirmish. Suvorov, unsure whether Joubert would fight at Novi or continue 11 miles north to his objective of Tortona, decided to contest the ground on which he stood. So that night, the Russian marshal shifted his field headquarters to a point just two miles north of Novi so he could better direct his forces as the situation might dictate.

After the fall of the Western Roman Empire in the 5th century, the Italians had endured a steady stream of invaders who vied for control not only of the holy city of Rome, but also the wealth of the mercantile towns of northern Italy. The Lombards had swept down from Germany in the Dark Ages, the Byzantines and Normans had established footholds in southern Italy, and the French had battled Spanish and Imperial troops for control of the prosperous region of Lombardy during the Renaissance. The strife continued after the French Revolution, when General Napoleon Bonaparte drove the armies of the Austrian monarchy out of northern Italy in a brilliant campaign in 1796.

The French Directory, the five-person governing council of France's constitutional government, empowered Bonaparte to negotiate on its behalf. The following year Bonaparte drew up the terms of the Treaty of Campo Formio. The treaty required the Austrians to recognize the existence of the newly established French satellite states in Italy and accept the transfer of former Austrian territories into French hands in Italy, Germany, and the Lowlands. Through the treaty, the French also obtained one third of Veneto and the northern quarter of the Papal States. The unfavorable treaty left Austria with a nagging desire to recover the territory in northern Italy it had lost to France.

The French-sponsored satellite states, including the Cisalpine, Genoese, Ligurian, and Roman republics, created in Italy during the War of the First Coalition, served as buffer zones that protected France's southern frontier. The creation of these French protectorates sparked the War of the Second Coalition against the Great Powers of Austria, Britain, and Russia. The coalition also included the lesser German states, Naples, Portugal, and Turkey.

One of the precipitating events to the War of the Second Coalition, which officially began in December 1799, was the invasion of the French-sponsored Roman Republic by Austrian Lieutenant Marshal Karl Mack's Neapolitan Army the previous month. He entered Rome, where he restored papal authority. General Jean-Etienne Championnet, who commanded the French Army of Rome in central Italy, counterattacked and retook Rome on December 12. Championnet, although heavily outnumbered, succeeded in crushing the weak Neapolitan army. He drove its government from mainland Italy and established yet another French-sponsored protectorate in southern Italy, this one called the Parthenopean Republic.

After Championnet's successful campaign against the Neapolitan forces, the action in Italy then shifted north. General of Division Barthelemy Joubert marched west from Milan into Piedmont, where on December 5 he deposed the King Charles Emmanuel IV of Sardinia-Piedmont. The swift action gave France control of Piedmont's valuable fortresses and arsenals, which further solidified France's grip on Italy.

Bonaparte's power had risen considerably by the conclusion of the War of the First Coalition. He

French Revolutionary troops campaigning in Italy benefitted from the high morale that comes from believing in a cause; however, they suffered greatly in the 1799 campaign from Napoleon Bonaparte's absence.

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Alamy

Versailles Palace

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ABOVE: Russian Field Marshal Alexander Suvorov, left, had proven himself during the reign of Catherine the Great in campaigns against the Poles and Turks. Marshal Joubert, right, who had served ably under Bonaparte in the campaign of 1796 in Italy, possessed great courage yet was prone to impulsive behavior. LEFT: The Austrians easily defeated the French at Magnano south of Verona because the French commander poorly handled his forces. OPPOSITE: Suvorov led his Russians to victory at Cassano, which forced the French to abandon Milan. The Russian marshal had no qualms about taking heavy losses to achieve his objectives.

set sail with an expeditionary army in May 1798 on a quest to annex Egypt in order to further France's mercantile interests by giving it an overland route to India. A large French fleet bore his 30,000 troops to Egypt, which at the time was a province of the Ottoman Empire.

When British Vice-Admiral Horatio Nelson sunk the French fleet at anchor in Aboukir Bay on August 1-2, Napoleon and his army became stranded. They would not be able to easily return to France if they could return at all. Six months after Bonaparte had set sail for Egypt, the War of the Second Coalition erupted in Europe.

Tsar Paul mobilized against the French in early 1799 because he saw Bonaparte's Mediterranean campaign as a threat to its Mediterranean interests. Bonaparte's invasion of Malta in mid-June 1798, which occurred while he was en route to Egypt, had greatly angered Tsar Paul. Because of this, he was eager to go to war with the French. As part of his conquest of Malta, Bonaparte had driven the Knights of Malta from their base, confiscated their treasury, and desecrated the tombs of the rulers of Malta.

The Allied objective was to defeat the French in order to undo the Treaty of Campo Formio, which had upset the balance of power in Europe by giving the French a huge territorial advantage on the Continent.

The Austrians desperately wanted to regain control of northern Italy and the destruction of the Cisalpine Republic, which comprised Milan, Modena, and the western third of the former Republic of Venice. At the outset of the conflict, France had 200,000 troops in the field arrayed in seven armies. Of France's 100,000 troops in Italy, 62,000 were deployed in northern Italy.

The Great Powers decided to make their main thrust in Northern Italy. The Austrians, who lacked a talented commander-in-chief, were searching at the beginning of the War of the Second Coalition for a gifted foreign commander to command their forces, since they had no commander who really stood out. Morton Eden, who was the British Ambassador to Austria, suggested Suvorov.

Tsar Paul I initially was reluctant to give the assignment to Suvorov because he found the general to be eccentric and impulsive, but since the Austrians insisted upon him, the tsar obliged them. The tsar sent a large army to Italy and dispatched Suvorov to take command of the joint Austro-Russian army in the Italian theater. Suvorov had proven himself to be an aggressive, shrewd, and gifted commander in wars with Poland and Turkey during the reign of Paul's predecessor, Catherine the Great.

Suvorov set off in a carriage from St. Petersburg in late February 1799 with a Cossack escort and a war chest to cover expenses above and beyond what the Austrians might supply to him. The Russian vanguard consisting of 20,000 troops under the command of Lt. Gen. Andrei Rosenberg had departed several months earlier, but it was con-

ducting a painfully slow march in which it evidently had to halt frequently to obtain supplies. Rosenberg's vanguard included seven regiments of musketeers, one regiment of grenadiers, four grenadier battalions, two Jager regiments, six regiments of Cossacks, and an artillery train. Tsar Paul planned to send another 35,000 Russian troops shortly afterwards. It marked the first time that a Russian army would wage war in Central Europe.

The French had attacked first in northern Italy. General of Division Barthelemy Scherer, a mediocre commander, commanded France's 41,000-strong Army of Italy. He attempted to capture Verona from the Austrians in March 1799. After some skirmishing near Verona, Scherer withdrew west in the face of Austrian Maj. Gen. Paul Kray's 46,000 Austrian troops. Scherer became unnerved when he learned that Maj. Gen. Heinrich von Bellegarde's 14,500 Austrian troops stationed in Tyrol were sweeping down from the north to assist Kray.

Kray won a decisive victory over Scherer at Magnano south of Verona on April 5. Scherer had poorly handled his three divisions by sending them forward too far apart to support each other. By that time, Scherer had lost the confidence of his subordinates and many of the Italian and Swiss auxiliaries in the French ranks promptly deserted. Scherer left 12,000 troops behind to garrison Mantua and then fled west with the 18,000 troops remaining in the Army of Italy. His army had suffered upwards of 15,000 casualties in its clashes with the Austrians. As he waited for the Austrians to resume their advance, Scherer spread his army thin over a 70-mile front.

Suvorov had arrived at the battlefront in Veneto the day before the clash at Magnano. He was joined five days later by the septuagenarian Austrian Marshal Michael von Melas, who had been sent to assume overall command of the Austrian forces serving under Suvorov. Kray, who had received a promotion to Feldzeugmeister, the equivalent of a lieutenant general, remained with the army to serve under Melas.

Rosenberg's column finally arrived in Vicenza on April 14. Suvorov initially had 62,000 troops, of which 42,000 were Austrian. Suvorov had a falling out with Rosenberg, who had run afoul of the marshal for not executing his orders promptly, and he replaced him with Maj. Gen. General Peter Bagration, who was much younger than the elderly corps commander. Bagration's troops were given the honor of serving as the advance guard in the upcoming campaign.

"I have come to free Italy from the yoke of the godless and the French," Suvorov told his generals upon meeting with them the first time. He instructed General Johann Gabriel Chasteler, his Austrian chief of staff, to put Russian officers in charge of Austrian units. Suvorov was an unabashed advocate of shock tactics and giving the enemy the cold steel of the bayonet. It is no surprise that he preached such tactics, for they were well suited for the raw but exceedingly brave Russian conscripted masses that lacked some of the more erudite infantry tactics practiced by the French. The Russians attacked in small columns moving rapidly over rough terrain.

Suvorov advised his Austrian generals to concentrate their forces, always act on the offensive, and make rapid marches and bold attacks. He also advised that they avoid sieges unless the objective was an enemy arsenal. In regard to Mantua, the Russian marshal had no intention of becoming bogged down in a time-consuming siege of that city. He would bypass the fortress, which was located in eastern Lombardy, and besiege it at a later date.

The French facing Suvorov soon had a newly appointed commander. The Directory ordered General of Division Jean Moreau to replace Scherer, who was recalled to France. Scraping together as many troops as possible, Moreau assembled 20,000 troops behind the Adda River, but he faced 50,000 Austrian and Russian troops. Moreau was at a further disadvantage because his troops had become dejected and demoralized by the losses and retreats they had suffered under Scherer's poor leadership.

Suvorov intended to turn the French northern flank on the Adda. Moreau organized his troops

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into three corps, one at Brivio and Trezzo in the north, one in the center between Trezzo and Cassano, and one in the south between Cassano and Lodi. The Allied attack began on April 26, with the three Russian divisions trying to force a crossing at Brivio. Although they took heavy losses, the Russians gained a foothold on the far bank. The fighting was particularly vicious, though, in the center at Trezzo, where the Austrians had crossed on pontoon bridges.

Once they had crossed the river, the Austrians suffered heavy casualties, for the French had strong defensive positions. The French line infantry and jagers benefitted from the superb cover afforded by vineyards on the slopes leading down to the river plain. Stone walls served as natural breastworks that enabled the French musketeers to repulse multiple charges by the Austrians. However, pressure from the Russians working their way south dislodged the French, and they undertook a general retreat. They did not stop to defend Milan but continued west toward Pavia on the Ticino River.

Although the Allies had lost 2,000 in the heavy fighting in what became known as the Battle of Cassano, the carnage cost Moreau 10,000 casualties. The Allies captured Milan on April 29. "The progress of the marshal has been brilliant beyond the most sanguine expectation," wrote *The Times* of London of Suvorov's initial victories.

Before his advance on Milan, Suvorov had detached Kray with 23,000 troops with orders to contain the French forces in the Allied rear at Mantua and Peschiera. When Kray informed the Hofkriegsrat, which was the Austrian Supreme Council of War in Vienna, of this mission, he received orders to undertake a formal siege of Mantua. For this purpose, he was given 17,000 additional Austrian troops. Suvorov became irate when he learned that Kray was going behind his back to the Hofkriegsrat. This put Suvorov in the unenviable position of having his authority diluted by Austrian military staff.

After capturing Milan, Suvorov marched west to Turin, which he captured on May 26. Although the Hofkriegsrat had not authorized an advance beyond Lombardy, it initially refrained from restricting his strategic movements.

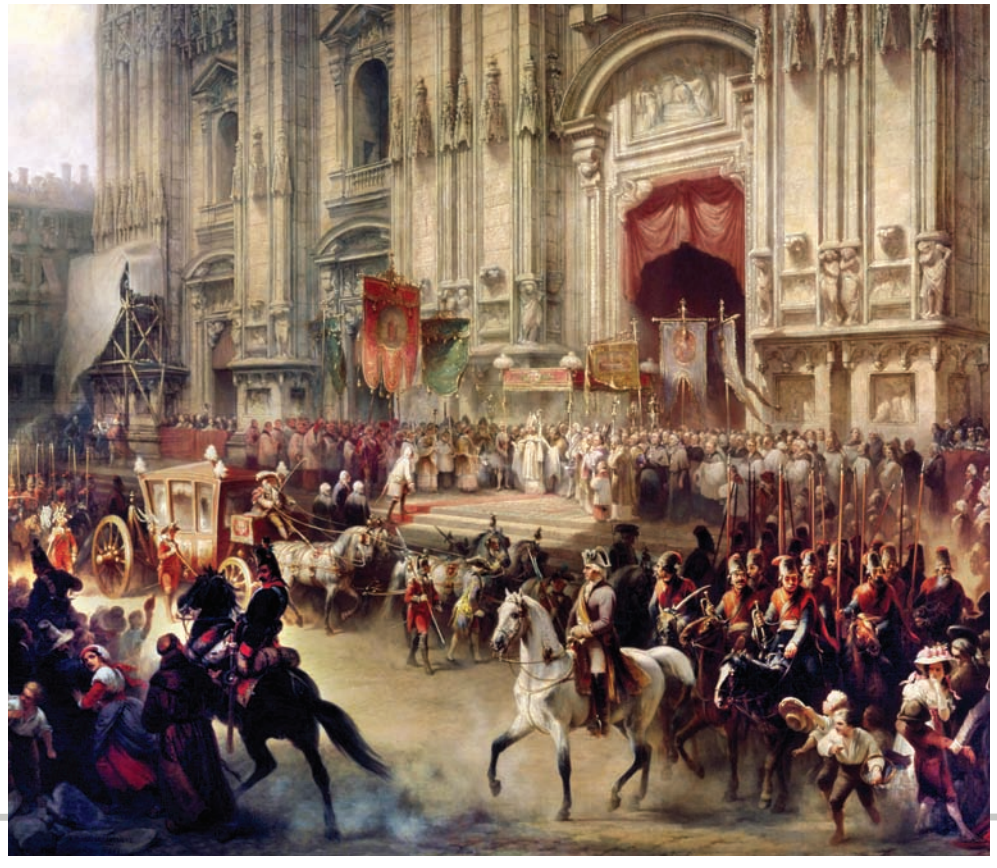
To keep the French armies of Italy and Naples from uniting against him in June, Suvorov countermarched his 51,000 troops to the south bank of the Po River to engage General of Division Étienne Jacques-Joseph-Alexandre MacDonald's 35,000-strong Army of Naples on the banks of the Trebbia River. Suvorov took up a defensive position in late July on the open plain north of Novi in eastern Piedmont to engage French General of Division Barthelemy Joubert's 35,000 troops marching north from Genoa across the Ligurian Apennine Mountains to engage him.

The French Directory had dispatched Joubert in the summer to Genoa to take command of Moreau's army and restore French fortunes in Italy, which had unraveled in the face of Suvorov's strategic genius. Joubert had earned a reputation as a bold and talented general, serving under Napoleon Bonaparte during his 1796-1797 campaign in Italy. The 30-year-old French commander dutifully arrived in Genoa on August 4. Accompanied by Moreau, Joubert marched north to retake Tortona as a first step in undoing Suvorov's conquests.

Suvorov had divided his forces after Trebbia to complete the capture of both Alessandria and Tortona. Once he had accomplished these objectives, he intended to isolate and destroy Moreau's Army of Italy in Genoa. But he intended to wait until Kray had completed his protracted siege of Mantua. The siege of Mantua dragged on until July 30. Afterwards, Kray marched his 40,000 troops west to join Suvorov.

Before Joubert arrived in Genoa, 10,000 French reinforcements had arrived in the city, which reinvigorated the Army of Italy and increased it to 35,000 troops. Since the 19,000 troops of the French Army of the Alps conceivably could invade the Piedmont, Suvorov sent 14,000 Austrian troops to garrison western Piedmont and another 11,000 Austrian troops to block the western passes through the Alps.

Joubert dashed a plan that Suvorov had drafted to destroy the Army of Italy when the French commander led his army north to Novi. He prob-



Palace Gatchina, St Petersburg


AKG Images

Following a rapid countermarch, Suvorov's Austro-Russian army smashed France's Army of Naples on the banks of the Trebbia River in June, thereby preventing it from reinforcing the beleaguered French forces in Genoa. OPPOSITE: Suvorov enters Milan in triumph on April 29, 1799. When the Russian marshal advanced west into Piedmont, which was not an Austrian objective, the Austrians became suspicious of his motives.

ably was not aware that he was heavily outnumbered, for once Kray joined Suvorov, the Austro-Russian army would have 51,000 troops.

Novi was situated on the northern edge of an expansive plateau that was the northeastern outcrop of the northern edge of an outlying plateau of the Ligurian Apennines known as Monte Mesma between the Lemme and Scrivia rivers. Joubert sent his Army of Italy north in two large columns.

The French marched in two widely separated columns through the mountains. General Catherine-Dominique de Perignon led the western column on a circuitous route. It brushed aside an Austrian detachment at Acqui before continuing on its way to Novi. Having a more direct route, General Laurent de Gouvion Saint-Cyr marched his eastern column directly north from Genoa across the Bochetta Pass to Gavi and onto Novi.

The two columns arrived on the northern summit of the plateau on August 13, but they did not consolidate their positions until the following day. Perignon's left wing deployed on the northern edge of the plateau between the town of Pasturana and Novi, and Saint-Cyr's right wing occupied Novi and the ground east of the town. Joubert assigned General Jan Henryk Dabrowski's understrength Polish division to a position in the right rear of the main body. The troops of the Polish Legion filed into position on the heights overlooking the town of Seraville. Each wing of the French army comprised three infantry divisions, one of which was held in reserve, as well as two cavalry brigades.

In the center of his position, Joubert placed three batteries that commanded the most direct approach to the town. The slopes leading up to the plateau were covered with vineyards, orchards, and tracts of wood that would make a direct assault difficult but not impossible. The one major drawback of Joubert's position was that a retreat from the plateau would be downright dangerous for the Perignon's left wing in particular because it would have to negotiate either a wide stream known as the Riasco, or another stream known as the Braghena that flowed through a steep gorge.

Suvorov was at first reluctant to send his columns onto the plateau to engage Joubert for fear that they might become too separated to support each other. Having an advantage in cavalry, Suvorov hoped to draw Joubert onto the plain north of Novi, but the French commander did not take the bait. Indeed, Joubert became stricken with vacillation on the night of August 14. He believed that Suvorov might be too strong to

defeat, but he also felt he was too close to the enemy to safely retreat south. Joubert's indecisiveness endangered his troops because his infantry had not fully arrayed itself for battle even though it was in close proximity to the enemy.

Suvorov decided at the last minute to attack the French. Although his reconnaissance of August 13 revealed little that he did not already know of the arrangement of the French forces, he was undaunted by the task before him. He began drafting letters to his corps commanders regarding where they should attack the enemy. Since he believed that Joubert intended to strike out towards Tortona, he readily endorsed a plan that Kray proposed by which the Austrian corps commander would attack the French left for the purpose of getting behind the French and severing their communications with Genoa. "I draw the enemy left wing particularly to your attention," replied Suvorov. "You must fall on it with the greatest possible determination … and do all you possibly can to cut it off from Gavi."

During the night of August 14, four squadrons of Austrian light cavalry drove back the French outposts. Just before dawn, Kray's 27,400-strong corps stepped off to the attack with 2,400 jagers fanned out in front of multiple columns of white-coated soldiers. Even Joubert's troops had not prepared their fighting positions; nevertheless, they held the high ground, which gave them a considerable advantage in the early-morning hours.

Kray marched with Ott's left-hand division of 12,000 troops, and Bellegarde led the more powerful right-hand division of 13,000 troops on the extreme right of the Allied army. As the sun began to rise and slowly burn off the mist that shrouded the landscape, the Austrians saw before them long lines of blue-uniformed French infantry on the heights to the south. General of Brigade Gaspard Amedee Gardanne had arrayed his brigade in a protective arc around the town. The French had an initial advantage in that they could see before them the movements of the Allied forces at lower elevations on the slopes and plain. Kray's first objective was to get a foothold on the northwestern corner of the plateau.

The task of dealing with Gardanne's brigade, which held Novi, would fall to Bagration's advance guard deployed in the center. Some of Gardanne's men manned the battlements of Novi's medieval wall, while others were deployed in the rough ground adjacent to the town.

The Austrians advanced against the French left with great fanfare. Drummers beat cadence that could be heard in the French camp. Kray had ordered three battalions, one of which were fleet-footed Croats, under Maj. Gen. Friedrich von Seckendorf to peel off from the main body and attempt to outflank the enemy by marching up the Riasco valley. After they departed, the Austrians went from column into two long lines that stretched for more than a mile. While Bellegarde on the outside marched against General of Division Emmanuel de Grouchy's division, Ott's division on the inside made directly for General of Division Louis Lemoine's division adjacent to it. The French watched as two long lines of white-uniformed Austrian infantry advanced uphill to engage them.

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ABOVE: The Austrians, who lacked a commander with the tactical and strategic genius of Suvorov, nevertheless fought with great zeal against the French whom they detested. OPPOSITE: In the confusion of Suvorov's sledgehammer attack at Novi, Joubert made the fatal mistake of leading troops into battle in the opening phase and was cut down by an Austrian volley.

When French trumpeters sounded the alarm, French musketeers had rushed to form up as quickly as possible. Unprepared to defend against the attack of Ott's regular infantry, which was supported by massed Austrian artillery, the line infantry of General Louis Lemoine's Division of the French left wing began to give ground in the face of the determined attack. Austrian artillery shells crashed among the French infantry on the high ground, sewing confusion and causing casualties. The Austrian crews worked their guns with great fury to buy time for the infantry to work their way uphill. A portion of Ott's infantry gained the summit and poured a hot fire into Lemoine's infantry before it had finished ordering its ranks to repulse the attack.

To the left of Lemoine, Grouchy's line infantry had not formed into line of battle by the time Bellegarde's division closed with them. Fortunately for the French, both Bellegarde and Ott both had considerable trouble initially getting their troops through the terraced vineyards on the northwestern slopes of Monte Mesma. In some places, the Austrian grenadier battalions had to switch from line back to column to make their way upwards towards the summit of the plateau.

While Moreau oversaw the operations in front of Novi, Joubert rode up to observe the Allies' opening assault. Furious that Grouchy had not pressed all of his troops into defending the key ground north of Pasturano, Joubert took action to remedy the situation. The young commander-in-chief had not yet learned that he was not to lead his troops into action like a brigade commander, as he had done while serving under Bonaparte. After rallying a section of the French line during the Austrians first charge, Joubert had summoned the 26th Light Demi-Brigade, one of Grouchy's units made up of French tirailleurs who skirmished in front of the line infantry. He rushed them forward as part of a counterattack, and ran headlong into an Austrian volley that killed him

instantly. His slain body, which French chasseurs recovered, was taken to Novi.

Fortunately for Grouchy, the 4,800 troops of the infantry reserve of the left wing, which were organized into two brigades, were deployed behind Grouchy. Brigade commanders Bertrand Clausel's and Louis Partouneaux sent their troops to assist Grouchy, as well as help contain the Austrian flanking column advancing on Pasturana.

Meanwhile, a running cavalry clash erupted when French General Antoine Richepanse, commanding the five regiments of the left wing's cavalry reserve, raced downhill to block the attempt by Seckendorf to lead his mixed force of Croat infantry and Austrian hussars and dragoons east through the Riasco valley to capture Pasturana. The two sides vying for control of Pasturana were evenly matched, but Richepanse' cuirassiers had to fight furiously to repulse the flanking maneuver. Some of the infantry from the French reserve moved south to reinforce Richepanse's hard-pressed horsemen.

By mid-morning Kray's attack against the French left had stalled. Kray requested reinforcements from Bagration's 5,700-strong advance guard, but the young Russian general declined to send him any troops for he was anxiously waiting for General Wilhelm Derfelden's 6,100-strong corps that was conducting a forced march to join in the attack on the French center. Suvorov had arrayed his forces in depth between Novi and Tortona, and he had sent orders at dawn for all of the troops to march as quickly as possible to Novi. Derfelden set off due south with his Russian Corps for Novi. Melas, whose Austrian corps was situated to the northeast in the Scrivia valley, also set off on a rapid march to the battlefield.

Maj. Gen. Mikhail Miloradovich arrived on the field with the lead elements of his 3,700-man division, the vanguard of Derfelden's corps, at 10:00 a.m. When this occurred, Suvorov ordered Bagration to advance on Novi. He informed the commander of the Russian advance guard that Miloradovich would go into action on his right.

Bagration's crack grenadiers and jagers would have to advance into the teeth of the French artillery. They advanced in four columns pointed like daggers directly at the heart of the French line. The commander of the artillery had arrayed his guns with the heavier caliber on the summit, the medium caliber on the slopes, and the small cal-

Sensing victory near at hand, Suvorov ordered a general attack against the French positions at 4:00 p.m. Both Kray and Bagration redoubled their efforts, while Melas continued pressing his attacks. Kray's soldiers carried out their tenth assault of the day. Melas then committed his reserve brigade, which was commanded by Maj. Gen. Anton Mitrowski, against Watrin's exhausted troops.

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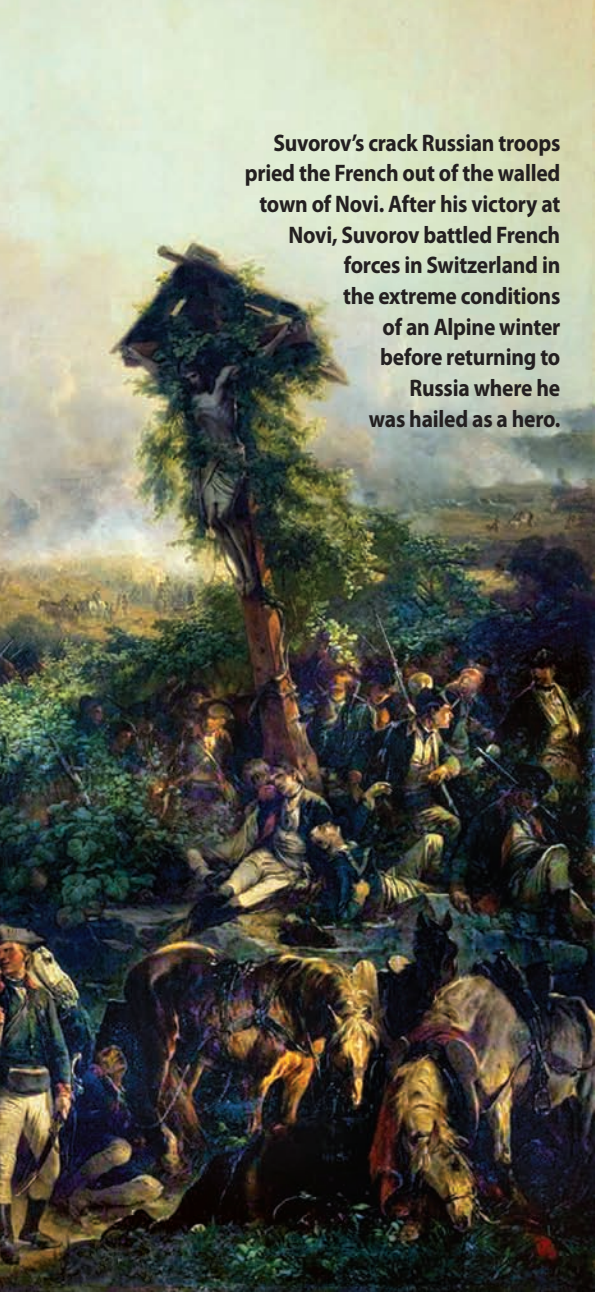
iber guns at the base of the slopes. They belched flame as they hurled their ordnance into the midst of the green-jacketed Russian troops. The iron shot cut bloody swaths in the front ranks of Bagration's forces, disemboweling some soldiers and horribly maiming others. But still the stout-hearted Russians came on.

General Gardanne, who had commanded two demi-brigades, had been entrusted with the defense of Novi and had arrayed his men in an arc in front of the town. Some of his men had protected positions on the battlements of the medieval-era walls, and others in outlying houses. A sheer cliff on the north side of the plateau prevented the Russians from attacking directly towards the town. When the Russians began to ascend the slopes on either side of the precipice, Gardanne moved his battle line slowly downhill to prevent the Russians from getting a foothold on either side of the town. The Russians found the going hard, for they faced the same dilemma as the Austrians; that is, they had to fight their way through broken terrain to gain the summit. Moreau stripped infantry units that were not engaged from Saint-Cyr's right wing to reinforce Gardanne.

By late morning, Bagration's Russians had managed to gain the summit. At that point, Russian soldiers manhandled guns up the slopes to blast the walls of the town in preparation for an infantry assault. The Russians, though, found that their guns were not powerful enough to open breaches in the sturdy walls. Bagration decided to move his infantry into position for an assault on the town from the west. As they moved in column through cultivated ground and orchards, French tirailleurs concealed in vineyards and farm buildings thinned their ranks. The situation deteriorated for Bagration. General Pierre Garnier de Laboissier's troops surged across the heights to assail Bagration's position on the summit. Yet another fresh division, that of General Francois Watrin, moved rapidly downhill to attack Bagration's exposed left flank at the base of the mountain. Watrin's soldiers, who had been roughly handled by the victorious Allies at Trebbia, were eager to settle the score. Watrin's men poured a storm of lead into left regiments of Bagration's force sending them reeling backwards.

Bagration persevered, and by midday, the advance elements of Miloradovich's division compelled Watrin to give ground. Meanwhile, Bagration's grenadier regiments on the high ground began charging Gardanne's troops defending Novi. With their artillery ineffective, Bagration resorted to Suvorov's maxim of cold steel. The Russians began making repeated charges against Novi in an attempt to fight their way into the city. The Russians pried the French from the vineyards, gardens, and houses outside the town. By early afternoon, Gardanne's soldiers had either



Suvorov's crack Russian troops pried the French out of the walled town of Novi. After his victory at Novi, Suvorov battled French forces in Switzerland in the extreme conditions of an Alpine winter before returning to Russia where he was hailed as a hero.

retreated into Novi to man the battlements or had withdrawn to defensive positions just south of it.

Before Bagration's grenadiers and jagers could resume their attack, though, Gardanne's troops emerged from the town determined to drive Bagration's grenadiers off the summit of the ridge. The sound of crashing musketry reverberated across the plateau and great clouds of battle smoke hung around Novi making it difficult to pinpoint enemy positions. Miloradovich's troops had gone into action in the late morning on Bagration's right. They swept up the slope with drums beating and smashed into Laboissier's exhausted troops, who reeled under the impact of an attack by fresh troops.

The tide shifted in favor of the Allies at that point. Kray had spent the past two hours reorganizing his troops, and they resumed their advance at 11:00 a.m. They dislodged the infantry of Grouchy and Lemoine from their positions. As they followed up their attack, they encircled two French battalions and captured General Louis Partouneaux, the commander of one of the two infantry brigades of the left-wing reserve. The summit and slopes of the plateau were littered with the dead bodies of French and Allies alike by midday. A brief lull ensued, but the carnage resumed when more Russians arrived on the field of battle. Derfelden arrived with his old division, which he led in an assault against the weakened French right on the east side of Novi.

The French reached their breaking point when Suvorov hurled his second Austrian corps under Melas at Saint-Cyr's troops east of Novi in the late afternoon. Upon his arrival, Melas deployed the bulk of his grenadiers and jagers against Saint-Cyr's weakly held line. At the same time, he Maj. Gen. Johann Nobili, with 1,400 fusiliers and 200 dragoons, conducted a flanking maneuver to engage Dabrowski's Polish troops at Seravalle. This left Melas with nine grenadier battalions in two brigades, which he sent to attack Novi from the east.

Seeing the threat that Melas posed to his right flank, Moreau ordered Watrin to shift his three brigades to cover the eastern approaches to Novi atop the plateau. The Austrians easily gained the summit of the plateau since Watrin was not defending the crest of the ridge. Once atop the plateau, General Franz Lusignan, whose brigade had five grenadier battalions, assailed Watrin's left from the northwest, while Maj. Gen. General Johann Loudon launched repeated charges against Watrin's right from the southwest with his four grenadier battalions.

Watrin's troops, who had been bloodied earlier in the day in their brawl with Bagration's Russians, could not withstand repeated charges by the Austrian grenadiers. In a desperate attempt to stabilize his deteriorating line, Saint-Cyr hurled the crack 106th Demi-Brigade from his infantry reserve against the Austrians, but they could not stabilize the situation.

Sensing victory near at hand, Suvorov ordered a general attack against the French positions at 4:00 p.m. Both Kray and Bagration redoubled their efforts, while Melas continued pressing his attacks. Kray's soldiers carried out their tenth assault of the day. Melas then committed his reserve brigade, which was commanded by Maj. Gen. Anton Mitrowski, against Watrin's exhausted troops. Mitrowski's led his troops around Watrin's right flank. This put them squarely behind the French line east of Novi.

Derfelden, who had led his corps into action to support Bagration, precipitated the collapse of the French defense of the town of Novi. With fresh support, Bagration's grenadiers burst through the upper gate of the town. Although they faced a withering fire from French musketeers in protected positions, the French found themselves overpowered. Some of Gardanne's men managed to escape, but scores fell prisoner to the victorious Russians.

On the ground to the east of Novi, Watrin ordered his troops to cut their way out to the south. The only French division that remained intact and effective at that point was French General Louis Colli's 4,000 troops who were desperately trying to hold the ground west of Novi.

By 5:00 p.m. the brigades and regiments on the French left and center were attempting to fight their way out of possible encirclement by the closing pincers of Kray's corps and Derfelden's corps. The survivors of the French left wing hoped to take the road that led south from Pasturano to Gavi. In the center, the survivors of Watrin's division sought to escape by way of the road that led south across the plateau from Novi to Gavi.

Austrian hussars got ahead of the fleeing French foot soldiers and blocked the mouth of a gorge on the Pasturano-Gavi Road. When Austrian infantry caught up with the trapped French, they fired into the milling mass of men. The encircled French surrendered. The Allies succeeded in capturing generals Perignon, Grouchy, and Colli.

The pursuit, which Suvorov had encouraged to make the Allied victory complete, had continued for several hours after nightfall. The French suffered 12,000 killed and wounded and 4,600 captured. The Allies lost 6,000 men.

In the wake of his decisive victory at Novi, Suvorov was hailed as a hero throughout the capitals of the Great Powers. King George III of England toasted Suvorov's health at a public event. The tsar and the Italians both bestowed high honors on Suvorov for his achievements.

Unfortunately, the defeat of an Austro-Russian army at the hands of French General Andre Messana at Zurich in September resulted in Emperor Francis ordering Suvorov to march north to shore up the deteriorating Allied strategic situation in Switzerland.

His subsequent epic trek with his three corps across the Alps, in which he battled French forces in the extreme conditions of an Alpine winter, enhanced his fame even more. But the Russians quit the Second Coalition in spring 1800. Bonaparte returned to Italy and defeated the Austrians at Marengo in June 1800.

Suvorov's brilliant campaign of 1799 in northern Italy completely undid Bonaparte's conquests of 1796-1797. Although the Russian marshal's army was checked on its march through the Alps, it was not defeated. For that reason, Suvorov remained undefeated throughout his long military career. His Italian campaign, of which the victory at Novi was the pinnacle, remains one of the greatest campaigns of the Napoleonic era. ■

Bloody Repulse AT BULL RUN

Irwin McDowell tried to outwit P.G.T. Beauregard at First Bull Run in July 1861 with a clever turning maneuver. But the Confederates won the day in a climactic struggle atop Henry Hill.

By Joshua Shepherd

After just one month of training, the men of the 27th New York Infantry nervously sensed they would be in the middle of a real fight within minutes. As a part of Brig. Gen. Irvin McDowell's Union Army of Northeastern Virginia, the regiment had splashed across the shallow waters of Bull Run on the morning of July 21, 1861. The New Yorkers were participating in a large-scale turning movement that, McDowell hoped, would finally bring the Confederate army to bay and put an end to the rebellion.

Soon after crossing the stream, the New Yorkers could hear the sound of a growing fight in the dis-

Colonel J.E.B. Stuart's 1st Virginia Cavalry troopers galloping at full speed crash into the flank of the New York Fire Zouaves as the battle turns in the Confederate favor in a painting by Don Troiani.

Painting © Don Troiani

tance. They listened intently as the isolated pop of rifled musket fire that grew to a steady roar. The occasional dull boom of artillery signaled that what was developing out front was no minor skirmish.

After cresting Matthews Hill a mile south of Sudley Ford, the men realized that they were suddenly facing a real battle. Clouds of acrid white smoke rose from the valley below them, and Confederate artillery posted to their front was sending shells crashing toward the Union line. A jittery staff officer abruptly arrived with orders to the regiment's commander, Colonel Henry Slocum. Excitedly pointing downhill, the officer ordered Slocum forward with brief orders. "You will find the enemy down there," he said.

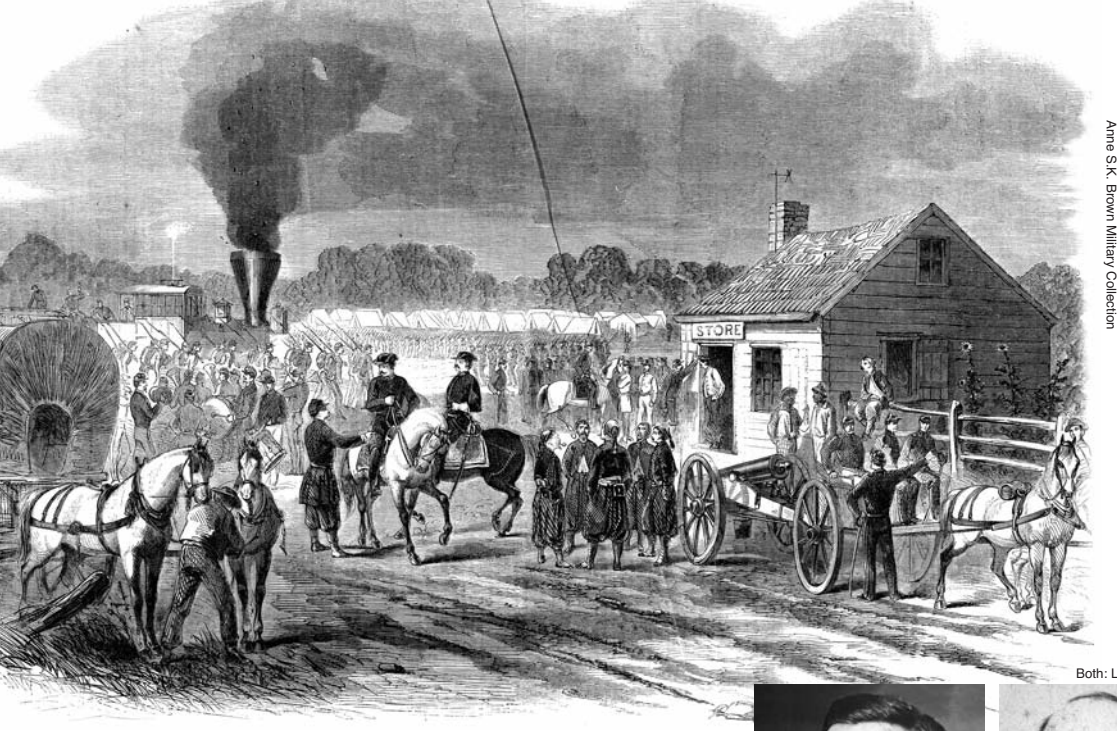
"Come on boys!" shouted Slocum, "Let us silence that battery—come strike for your country and your God!" As the New Yorkers started forward, they were targeted by Confederate guns and given a terrifying lesson on the horrors of combat. Private William Westervelt described the first harrowing moments of enemy fire. "Here I saw the first man killed, who was marching just in front of me was struck with grape shot over the left eye," recalled Westervelt. "He gave an unearthly screech and leaping into the air, came down on his hands and knees, and straightened out dead."

The bloody clash that would come to the rolling fields and woodlots of what would be known afterwards as First Bull Run in the North and First Manassas in the South would be a painfully rude awakening for a divided nation gripped by war hysteria. Subsequent to the Confederate seizure of Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, in April 1861, the American people were inexorably headed for an internecine war that had been feared for decades.

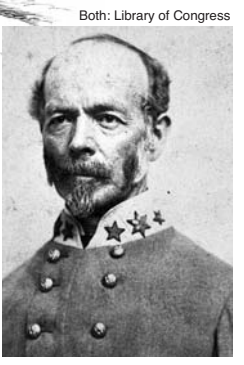
President Abraham Lincoln issued a call on April 15 for 75,000 volunteers to subdue the South. Although violent skirmishes broke out in remote and outlying areas, such as Missouri and northwestern Virginia, it became readily apparent that a major clash would take place in Northern Virginia. Strategically situated between Washington, D.C. and the new Confederate capital at Richmond, VA, the region seemed to offer the tantalizing prospect of a quick end to the war.

By making an overwhelming move on Richmond, the Lincoln administration hoped to seize the Confederate capital and, in one bold move, frighten the errant Confederates into submission. With any luck, the secessionists would be brought to their senses by such a show of force and the Confederate lion would be put down by the end of the summer.

McDowell's army was bulging with volunteer regiments whose men were bursting with patriotic fervor. They were well-armed and supplied, but totally inexperienced. Washington had become an armed camp, teeming with raw



Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection



Both: Library of Congress

ABOVE: Soldiers of the Confederate Army of the Shenandoah detrain at Manassas Junction to reinforce Brig. Gen. P.G.T. Beauregard's Confederate Army of the Potomac defending the Bull Run line. RIGHT: Brigadier generals P.G.T. Beauregard (left) and Joseph E. Johnston (right). Both were promoted to full general after First Bull Run. OPPOSITE: Colonel Ambrose Burnside's brigade initiates the Union flank attack against the small body of Confederates who had rushed to Matthews Hill to check his southward advance on the morning of the one-day battle.

recruits. Although the officer corps contained a good number of seasoned career men, few of them had experience in commanding more than a company in battle. When it came to wielding brigades and regiments, even high-ranking officers would be venturing into uncharted waters.

Lincoln entrusted McDowell with overall command of the Federal advance on Richmond. A career soldier with political connections, McDowell did not possess the unbounded enthusiasm so rampant throughout the North. Although he commanded the largest army the nation had ever fielded, he was acutely aware that his raw recruits were not up to the task of actively taking the field. For this reason, he pleaded for more time to train his green troops. But political considerations, paired with a Northern press that ceaselessly clamored for an advance, ensured that the troops would go on the offensive as soon as possible, regardless of whether they were ready.

McDowell's counterpart was equally anxious. Confederate forces in Northern Virginia were under the command of Brig. Gen. Pierre Gustave Toutant-Beauregard, a flashy Louisiana Creole and Mexican War veteran. He was a hero in the South for directing the capture of Fort Sumter. Beauregard concentrated his forces in the vicinity of Manassas Junction, a crucial rail hub where the Manassas Gap Railroad from the Shenandoah Valley joined the Orange & Alexandria Railroad. But with just 22,000 men under his immediate command, Beauregard was badly outmatched.

A solution to the Confederate manpower shortage was close at hand, but it came with a catch. Confederate Brig. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston commanded 12,000 Confederates in the lower Shenandoah Valley. Johnston was opposed by 18,000 Union troops led by Maj. Gen. Robert Patterson's Union Army of the Shenandoah. Washington had instructed Patterson to maintain pressure on Johnston to prevent him from reinforcing Beauregard. Patterson would fail miserably in that task.

McDowell put his army in motion on July 16. Northern recruits unaccustomed to the suffocating heat of the Virginia summer suffered badly on the march. To his credit, McDowell scorned a frontal attack on Confederate defenses, which guarded the south bank of a narrow stream with steep banks known to the locals as Bull Run.

Beauregard deployed his army on a six-mile front behind the stream in order to guard its many fords, as well as a masonry bridge aptly named Stone Bridge on the northern end of his line. Rather than attempt a forced crossing of the heavily defended fords and the Stone Bridge, McDowell decided to try to fix the Confederates in place with diversionary attacks in order that a large portion of his forces might work around Beauregard's right flank and cut off the Confederate Army's retreat toward Richmond.

The plan to turn the Confederate right flank fell apart on July 18. After closer inspection of the ground, McDowell became convinced that a move around the Confederate right, which occupied rugged ground, was too risky. That same day, the Union Army's energetic commander of its First Division, Brig. Gen. Daniel Tyler, tangled with the Confederates defending Blackburn's Ford. The fighting degenerated to a pointless fiasco.

By all appearances, the Confederate center and right was strongly defended. Realizing this, McDowell decided to send a significant portion of his army across an undefended upper ford of Bull Run located at Sudley Springs. Studying his maps, he devised a bold plan. While Tyler's Division, advancing along the Warrenton Turnpike, would make a demonstration against the Stone Bridge and occupy the Confederates' attention, two other divisions, led by brigadiers David Hunter and Samuel Heintzelman, who commanded the Union Army's second and third divisions, respectively, would make a circuitous march to the north and west, cross Bull Run at Sudley Ford, and fall on the Confederate's weakly defended left.

It was an excellent plan, but McDowell would eventually have to deal with the Confederate defenders of Bull Run. Oddly enough, Beauregard had developed a nearly identical plan, but in reverse, for the morning of July 21. Beauregard hoped to fix McDowell in place while he sent the bulk of his brigades in a crushing attack on the Federal left flank.

The Confederates also had a devastating surprise in waiting. Beginning on July 19, General Joseph Johnston's Confederate Army of the Shenandoah began arriving at Manassas Junction after departing Winchester, Va. Johnston succeeded in bluffing Patterson into thinking that the Confederates were staying in the Lower Shenandoah Valley. Much of Johnston's force was swiftly moved by rail; though, the movement of Johnston's army was not completed until the morning of July 21. The arrival of Johnston's 12,000 troops gave Beauregard's army a momentum-shifting influx of manpower.

McDowell's troops began their flank movement at 2:30 a.m. on July 21, but the march was bedeviled by bad luck from the outset. Tyler's Division, which had just three miles to march, proceeded at an excruciatingly slow pace. His forces created a bottleneck on Warrenton Turnpike, thus denying Hunter's and Heintzelman's divisions access to the

quickest route to Sudley Ford; as a result, their troops had to march more than 10 miles to reach the ford. Of particular nuisance was the decrepit wooden bridge over Cub Run. A narrow span that turned into an agonizing bottleneck, the bridge ensured that the troops of Hunter and Heintzelman did not really get moving until the sun was nearly up. It was hardly an auspicious beginning to the day's movement.

By 6:00 a.m. Tyler was in position astride the Warrenton Turnpike just north of Bull Run. The honor of opening the first major battle of the Civil War fell to Lieutenant Peter Hains of the 2nd U.S. Artillery. He fired the first shot of the battle opening up on the Confederates with an immense 30-pounder Parrott rifle that had been muscled to the battlefield. Hains broke the morning silence by firing several rounds toward Confederate positions west of Bull Run. A Union battery of field artillery soon opened up as well.

In keeping with his orders to mount a diversion, Tyler ordered Brig. Gen. Robert Schenck's Brigade to make a demonstration toward the bridge. They were greeted by well-concealed Confederate skirmishers, and the crackle of musketry indicated that a real fight was in the offing.

For Johnston, who technically was the senior Confederate officer on the field, the clash of musketry at the Stone Bridge could not be ignored. Anxious to bolster the weak Confederate left that was clearly under the threat of attack, Johnston ordered three of his brigades, those of Brig. Gen. Bernard Bee, Colonel Francis Bartow, and Brig. Gen. Thomas J. Jackson, as well as the South Carolinians of the Hampton Legion, to move toward that flank. Bee, an old Army man, was disgusted. Convinced that all the real fighting would unfold on the right, the dejected general slumped off to his new position, which, he was convinced, would be a quiet one.

Despite the skirmishing that had erupted at the Stone Bridge, Beauregard's grand plan for striking the federal left was scheduled to proceed. Brig. Gen. James Longstreet's Brigade crossed Blackburn's Ford, while D.R. Jones' troops splashed across McClean's Ford. Both brigades formed up for an assault, and waited for the fight to open on the far right, where Brig. Gen. Richard Ewell's Brigade had orders to cross Bull Run and attack the Federal flank.

But an inexplicable hush fell over the field. The courier carrying Ewell's orders disappeared. Ewell, who was growing increasingly impatient, sat tight awaiting his orders to advance. It was a complete collapse of Beauregard's plan, but as events would show one of the most fortuitous staff failures of the Civil War.

The Confederate brigade that guarded the Stone Bridge was subjected to constant skirmishing at 8:00 a.m., but was not hard pressed. Colonel Nathan "Shanks" Evans, who commanded a demi-brigade composed of two infantry regiments, a cavalry regiment, and an artillery battery, was increasingly convinced that the Federals were simply demonstrating against the bridge.

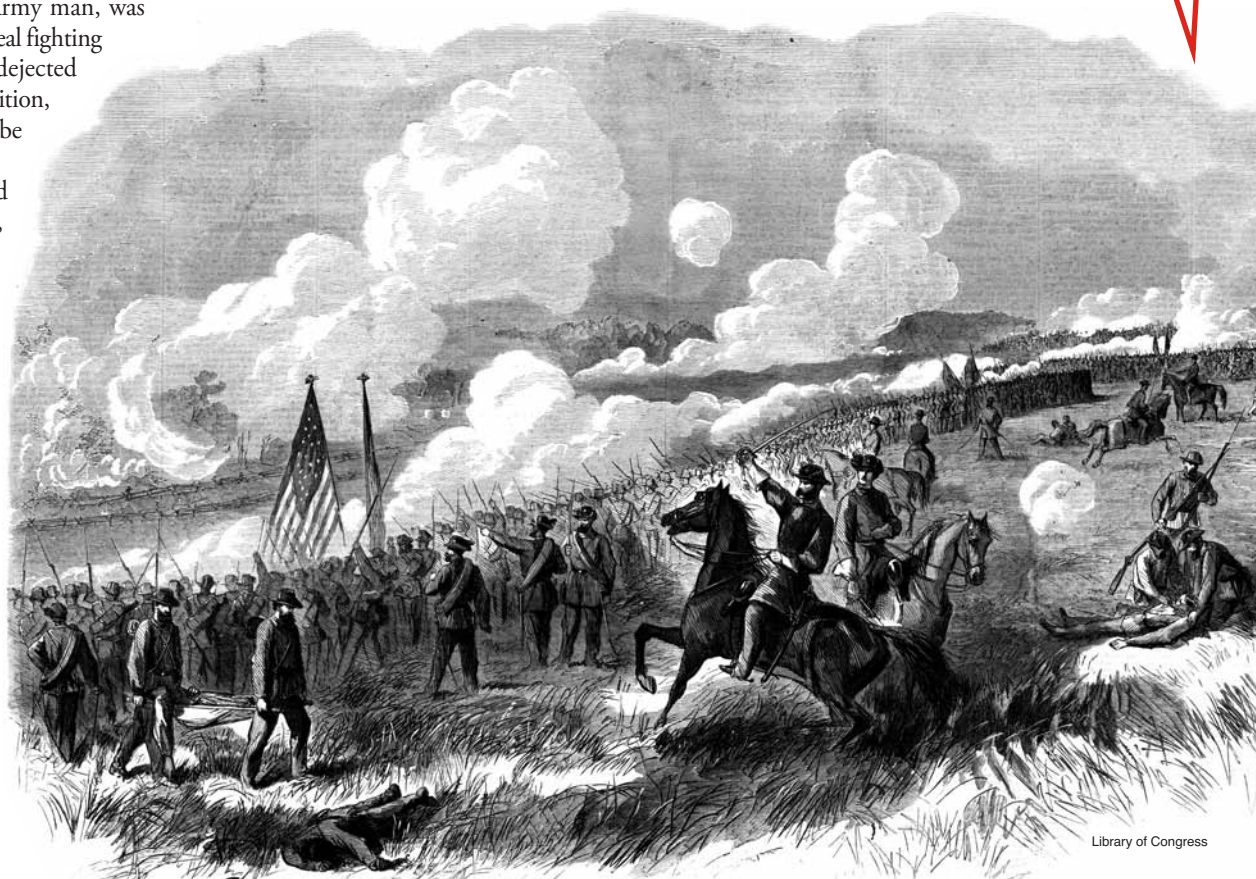
On the opposite flank, a young Confederate signal officer would make an unexpected and historic discovery. Captain Edward Porter Alexander, situated at a signal station on the Confederate right, inadvertently caught a glimpse of a bright flash in the fields off the Confederate left flank. Taking a closer look, Alexander could clearly make out a mass of gleaming Federal bayonets in the morning sun. He immediately sent a terse signal to Evans. "Look out for your left, you are turned," warned Alexander.

Evans acted quickly on his own initiative. Leaving just four infantry companies to defend the Stone Bridge, he marched the rest of his brigade to the north in an attempt to intercept the Federal forces headed his way. Evans marched his troops onto the southern slope of Matthews Hill.

Evans positioned his troops in a curious manner. Rather than occupy the commanding summit of the hill, he deployed his men on lower ground about 150 yards below the crest on the reverse slope. Although his men would initially be concealed from enemy view, they would be at a decided disadvantage when the fighting started.

Soon after the Confederates reached Matthews Hill, a prominent height east of the Manassas-Sudley Road, Union skirmishers worked their way over the crest. A Confederate volley sent them reeling. Colonel John Slocum's 2nd Rhode Island Infantry advanced to the top of the hill and opened fire on Evans' Confederates. It was a jarring experience for green troops on both sides. "[My] first sensation was one of astonishment at the peculiar whir of the bullets," recalled Elisha Hunt Rhodes of the 2nd Rhode Island.

COLONEL WHEAT IN THE THICK OF THE FIGHTING, WENT DOWN WITH A SEEMINGLY MORTAL WOUND TO HIS CHEST. ALTHOUGH HE WOULD SURVIVE THE BATTLE, HIS TROOPS JOINED WITH OTHER BATTERED CONFEDERATE UNITS IN A HURRIED RETREAT SOUTH.



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Although Evans' men initially enjoyed a bit of cover, the Federal troops suffered badly along the crest of the hill. Hunter, the commander of the Union Second Division, was shot in the neck. In just a matter of minutes the field was covered with dead and dying men whose first taste of combat was tragically brief.

Reinforcements were slow in making it to the field. Colonel Ambrose Burnside eventually managed to get his 1st Rhode Island Infantry into the fight, and placed them to the left of the 2nd Rhode Island. Evans' Confederates had no intention of simply trading volleys with the enemy. Major Roberdeau Wheat, a barrel-chested veteran and soldier of fortune, led the soldiers of his 1st Louisiana Battalion in a mad charge up Matthews Hill. The Louisiana Tigers, as they were called, nearly made it to the Federal line when they were stopped by heavy fire from the Rhode Islanders.

Realizing that the Federals would inevitably overpower his lone brigade, Evans dashed for the rear to locate help. Evans sought out Gen. Bee, and pleaded with him for immediate support. Although he initially disinclined to lead his men into what was clearly a disadvantageous position, Bee eventually relented when he realized what was at stake.

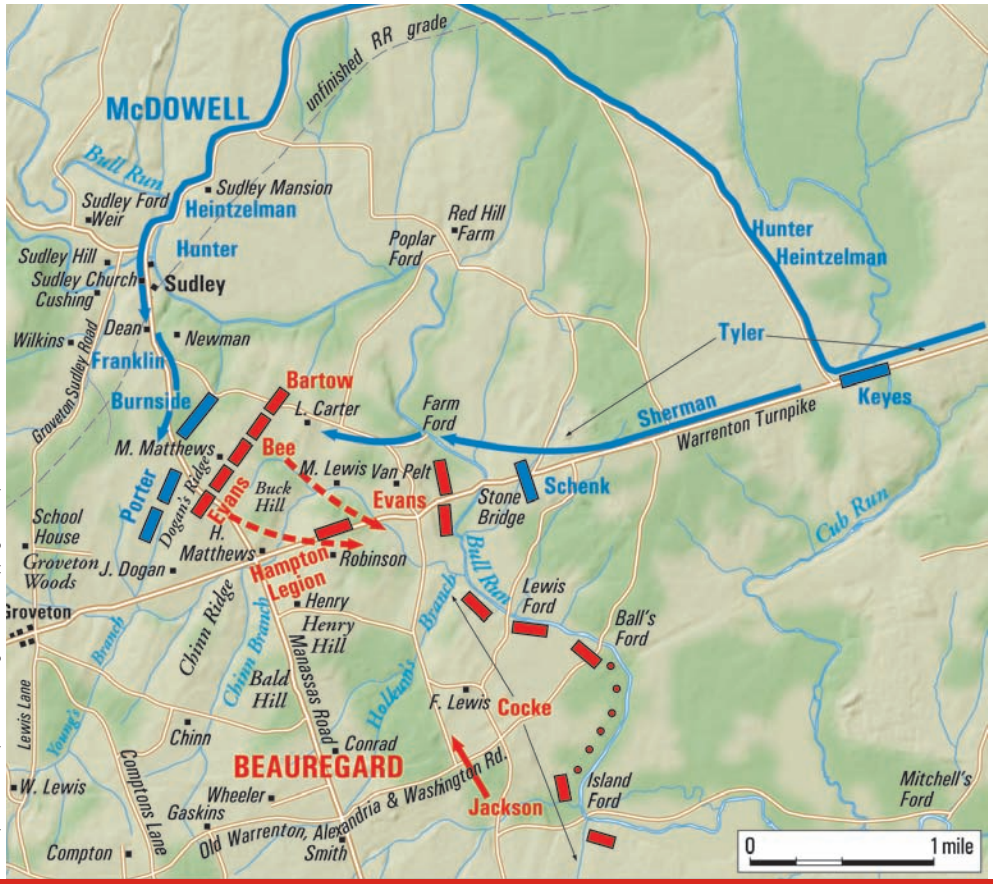
Both sides funneled troops into the fight, which degenerated into a slugfest. Bee not only brought up his own brigade, but also brought with it Bartow's Brigade. The Confederate reinforcements tied into Evans' right flank, extending the Confederate line to the east. In firm possession of the top of the hill, Burnside brought up fresh reinforcements. Although his troops were taking heavy casualties of their own, they succeeded in pouring a murderous fire down the slope of the hill. They soon began to overpower the Confederates.

Green troops on both sides fought with surprising tenacity. Colonel Andrew Porter's Brigade moved up on Burnside's right, but it was the sudden arrival of Tyler's oversized division, which was composed of four brigades, that ultimately spelled disaster for the Confederates on Matthews Hill. Tyler's troops had brushed aside the small force of Confederates defending the Stone Bridge. After crossing Bull Run, the vanguard of Tyler's Division angled toward the Confederate right flank on Matthews Hill.

With both of its flanks under pressure, the Confederate line began to buckle. On the left, Colonel Wheat, in the thick of the fighting, went down with a seemingly mortal wound to his chest. Although he would survive the battle, his troops joined with other battered Confederate units in a hurried retreat south. They fell back across the Warrenton Turnpike and ascended another commanding height known as Henry Hill. Confident that he had whipped the Confederates, McDowell shouted "Victory! Victory!" as he rode along the Union line.

But the Union commander's assessment of the situation was premature. Far from abandoning the battlefield, Johnston and Beauregard, both of whom had eventually realized that the bulk of

Three Confederate brigades fought a skillful delaying action on Matthews Hill in the morning, but when outflanked by Union forces they fell back to the commanding heights of Henry Hill.



Map © 2022 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN

Thomas J. Jackson honed a group of Virginia recruits into a crack unit that bore the illustrious name of the Stonewall Brigade.

Few units that fought at First Bull Run would emerge with a reputation for dogged tenacity that could rival that which the Confederate Stonewall Brigade earned during its epic fight on Henry Hill. Composed of a broad mix of farmers, mechanics, merchants, and students from counties in the Shenandoah Valley, the brigade exemplified the tough fighting outfits that could be forged from devoted citizen soldiers.

The brigade had its genesis in the heady early days of the war when Virginia Governor John Letcher ordered state militia units to seize the Federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry in April 1861. A polyglot collection of militia companies converged on the locale, frightening off a skeleton Federal staff and taking control of the vital arms and equipment maintained at the site.

Eventually the disparate militia companies were organized into regiments, and Virginia's First Brigade, which was placed under the command of Brig. Gen. Thomas Jonathan Jackson. The brigade comprised the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 27th, and 33rd Virginia infantry regiments, as well as the Rockbridge Artillery. Since it was composed almost entirely of men from the Shenandoah Valley, the brigade consequently possessed strong regional and familial ties that resulted in extraordinary unit cohesion.

Regarded as a stickler for discipline, Jackson put his fresh recruits through their paces, insisting on constant drills and merciless marches. Such rigorous training paid off handsomely. In just two months, Jackson succeeded in transforming his

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Although Confederates temporarily rallied near the Robinson House on Henry Hill, Colonel Erasmus Keyes' brigade dislodged them with a determined attack.

McDowell's army had stolen a march across the upper fords of Bull Run, were working feverishly to shore up defenses on their threatened left flank.

At that point in the battle, the brigades on the extreme left of the Confederate line needed to fight a delaying action until they could be reinforced and a new line of defense established atop Henry Hill. The unenviable task of slowing the Union advance fell to Colonel Wade Hampton's undersized Hampton Legion. A wealthy planter and natural-born fighter, Hampton had raised the legion, which was composed of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. Its combined arms structure meant that its infantry force was a meager one.

Hampton deployed his 600 infantrymen on Warrenton Turnpike just east of its intersection with the Manassas-Sudley Road. The South Carolinians traded fire with the Connecticut and Maine troops of Brig. Gen. Erasmus Keyes Brigade of Tyler's Division. Overpowered by Keyes' bluecoats, Hampton's graybacks fell back to a new position behind the Robinson House on the north end of Henry Hill.

Despite the success that he had experienced during the morning's clash, McDowell was reluctant to press his luck. Rather than maintain pressure on the confused Confederate left, he opted to rein in his badly disordered troops and reorganize before resuming his advance. The pause gave Confederate reinforcements time to reach Henry Hill. When McDowell's troops resumed their attack, they found the Confederates in a much stronger position.

Blocking McDowell's path was a brigade of Virginia troops commanded by Brig. Gen. Thomas Jonathan Jackson, who was a graduate of West Point and a veteran of the Mexican War. For the past decade he had taught natural philosophy and artillery tactics at the Virginia Military Institute in Lexington, VA. A taciturn soul who possessed a warrior spirit, Jackson was in his element on the day of the battle.

As soon as Jackson heard the fight erupt on Matthews Hill, he moved his men on wooded trails toward the sound of battle. On the way, he encountered a discouraged Bee, moving toward the rear but keeping his battered command in good order. "General, they are driving us," Bee said. "Sir, we will give them the bayonet," Jackson replied.

Such resolve would be sorely needed in the coming fight. Jackson deployed his 2,600 Virginians on the east side of Henry Hill. Rather than deploy on the crest, though, he formed his men on the reverse slope just out of sight of Federal batteries that would soon begin unlimbering opposite his position. Jackson's five regiments had 300 yards of open ground to their front in which to target advancing Union troops. To bolster Jackson's position, Johnston and Beauregard rushed all available artillery to Jackson's sector. Before the Union forces arrived atop Henry Hill, the Confederates had 16 smoothbore cannon deployed to support Jackson and Hampton.

The first Union assault on the Confederate position atop Henry Hill came at 1:00 p.m. when the 3rd Connecticut and 2nd Maine of Keyes' Brigade arrived. The two regiments lunged at Jackson's right flank. It was a golden opportunity to roll up the Confederate line, but confusion over uniforms would snarl the attack from the outset. Union troops held their fire as they came forward, convinced that the graybacks in their front were fellow Federals.

The Hampton Legion and the 5th Virginia of Jackson's Brigade fronted northwest to receive the attack. The Confederates unleashed a crashing volley into the New Englanders that threw their ranks into confusion. Keyes' men

raw recruits into well-drilled troops who withstood their first test in the crucible of combat at First Manassas, as the South called First Bull Run.

While staring down Federal troops in lower Shenandoah Valley, elements of the First Brigade took part in a relatively minor skirmish at Falling Waters, but most of the men did not a single shot in anger. On the afternoon of July 18, 1861, Jackson's men began their historic march out of the Valley marching east as part of Gen. Joseph Johnston's Army of the Shenandoah to reinforce Beauregard's forces north of Manassas Junction.

Jackson marched his troops across the Blue Ridge Mountains to Piedmont Station on the Manassas Gap Railroad where they entrained on July 19 for Manassas. Having reached the sector where the battle would occur on the morning of July 20, Jackson's troops deployed near Blackburn and Mitchell's fords. Initially assigned a supporting role for the planned Confederate attack, Jackson's 2,600 men entertained no idea that they would fight at the very vortex of what would become up to that date the greatest battle in American history.

The Brigade's resolute defense of Henry Hill earned their commander, and the brigade, an immortal nom-de-guerre of "Stonewall." Although Jackson was soon promoted to divisional command, the Stonewall nickname remained attached to his beloved First Brigade throughout the war.

The brigade would eventually see action in nearly all of the larger engagements in the Eastern Theater, including Gaines' Mill, Brawner's Farm, Second Manassas, Cedar Mountain, Antietam, Chancellorsville, and Spotsylvania. Such heavy fighting took a grim toll. When the brigade surrendered at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865, it was little more than a hollow shell of its former self. Clad in ragged uniforms, just 200 emaciated souls remained in its ranks.

A crack unit that upheld an impressive combat reputation, Virginia's Stonewall Brigade remains one of the most legendary units in American military history.

—Joshua Shepherd

regrouped and advanced anew. Their second assault drove the Confederates off the grounds of the Robinson House.

The 5th Virginia was far from finished, though. They poured sheets of musketry into Keyes' ranks. Keyes withdrew his troops in the belief that unsupported they faced certain annihilation. He marched them back towards the Stone Bridge where they sat out the remainder of the battle.

In the wake of Keyes' reversal, McDowell decided on a puzzling course of action. Rather than launch his considerable force of infantry to defeat Jackson, the general ordered two artillery batteries from the regular army, which were commanded by captains Charles Griffin and James Ricketts, to deploy on Henry Hill. Griffin was dumbfounded. After making repeated protests that the batteries were not up to the task of single-handedly facing off against the Confederate line, Griffin complied with the unusual orders.

The cannoneers thundered up the ridge line under heavy fire, wheeling into battery on either side of the Henry farmhouse. Griffin went into action on the left and Ricketts to his right. They unlimbered, initially without infantry support, just 350 yards from the Confederates.

Confederate sharpshooters concealed around the Henry house peppered the artillerymen with a galling fire. A frustrated Ricketts ordered his guns turned, sending shells crashing through the walls of the clapboard farmhouse where 85-year-old Judith Henry lay huddled in bed. Struck by artillery fire during the barrage, she died later that day amid the wrecked remains of her home.

While Griffin and Ricketts took a pounding from their Confederate counterparts, Union infantry came up in support. The 38th New York formed up on the left. The right of the Henry house was occupied by the 1st Minnesota and the 11th New York. The latter regiment was known as the Fire Zouaves because it had been recruited from the ranks of New York City firemen. Well-directed Confederate artillery fire swept the open ground atop Henry Hill, playing havoc on Union troops facing their first battle.

The Federal infantry swept forward at 3:00 p.m. Just across the hill, the Confederates steeled themselves for a toe-to-toe fight. Colonel Arthur Cummings of the 33rd Virginia issued last-minute orders to his jittery men. "Boys, they are coming," shouted Cummings. "Now wait until they get close before you fire."

As the Federals came forward, some troops momentarily hesitated to open fire. A number of Confederate troops had stripped off their uniform jackets in the Virginia heat, others were dressed in blue. Union officers had difficulty identifying the enemy. They quickly realized the mistake when the Confederate line erupted in a sheet of flame, ripping apart Federal ranks in a storm of musketry.

A dense pall of smoke covered the field, and neither side could see the enemy except for bright muzzle flashes glimpsed through the haze. The Federals stood their ground briefly, firing five volleys before breaking under the pressure. As Union troops fled for the rear, Ricketts, alarmed that the entire position might be overrun, begged for the infantry to rally. "For God's sake boys, save my battery!" shouted Ricketts.

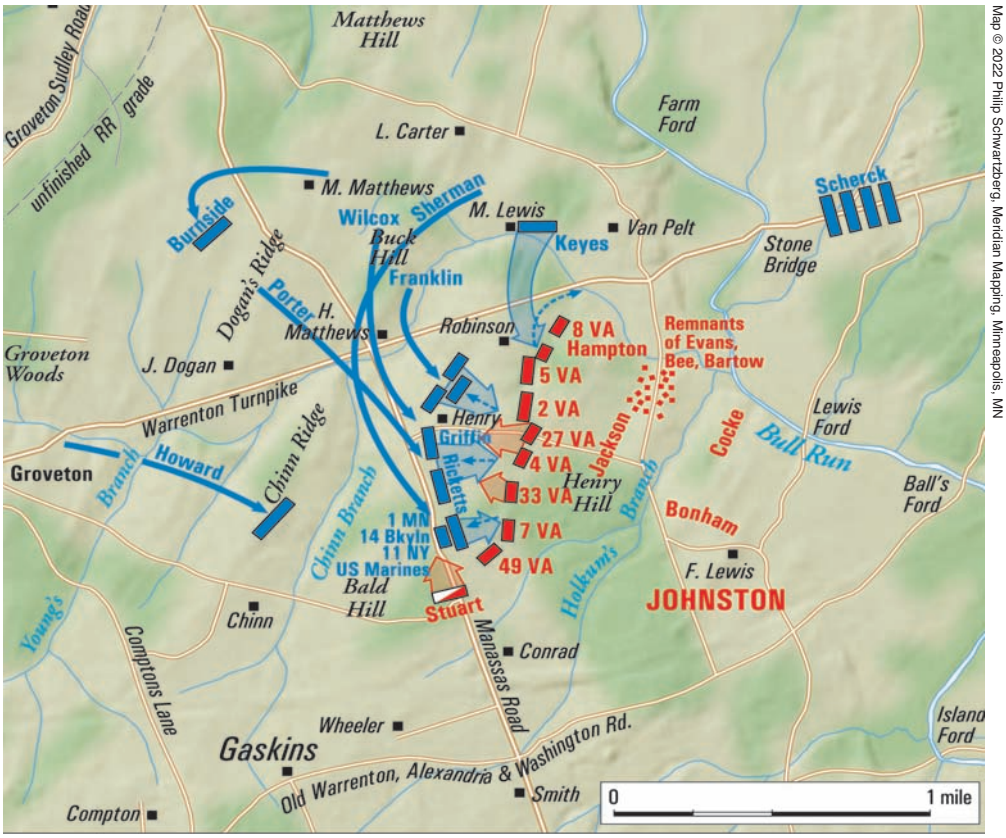
Amid the confusion, terror struck. Seemingly from nowhere, a wall of Confederate horsemen, galloping at full speed and quickly closing the distance, was bearing down on the exposed right flank of the 11th New York. It was the 1st Virginia Cavalry, noticeably mounted on black horses, under the command of a spirited young cavalry officer, Colonel James Ewell Brown Stuart. In moments the thundering wall of horses and men crashed into the disorganized Union troops, bowling over Zouaves and tearing their way through the ranks. The swift close-quarters fight was a terrifying experience for men on each side.

"I leaned down in the saddle and rammed the muzzle of my carbine into the stomach of my man and pulled the trigger," wrote Lieutenant William Blackford of the 1st Virginia Cavalry. "He tried to get his bayonet up to meet me; but he was too slow, for the carbine blew a hole as big as my arm clear through him."

The three Union regiments that had gone into the attack had been shattered. Nearly 120 of them had been killed in just twenty minutes of fighting. Dazed survivors limped for the rear. The hard-won Union position was coming apart. Desperate to hold the ground, Griffin took two of his guns to the right of the Union line, gambling that he could outflank the Confederates and enfilade their artillery position.

Griffin's guns bounded across Henry Hill and unlimbered off Ricketts' right, opening up and oblique fire into the Confederates. Off on his right, Griffin noticed an approaching line of infantry and immediately identified it as the enemy. Major William Barry, McDowell's chief of artillery, happened upon the scene and disagreed. The approaching line of soldiers was friendly infantry. Griffin was furious. He shouted that he was certain they were Confederates.

It was yet another case of mistaken identity. As Griffin frantically scrambled to get his guns out of the way, the line of oncoming infantry, composed of the 33rd and the 49th Virginia, which belonged to Colonel Philip St. George Cocke's Brigade, opened fire and made a rush for the guns.



Map © 2022 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN

Union commander Brig. Gen. Irvin McDowell had great difficulty getting his flanking brigades across the broken terrain in order to assault the Confederate line of battle atop Henry Hill; as a result, they went into action piecemeal.

Captain James Ricketts' 1st U.S. Artillery, Company I, goes into action on the west side of Henry Hill. McDowell unwisely committed two batteries from the regular army to spearhead an assault in advance of the Union infantry.

The exultant Confederates overran the position, seizing the guns amid a horrifying scene of dead and dying artillerymen.

General Bee had been rallying his brigade in the hope of leading it back into action. As he exhorted the exhausted troops of the 4th Alabama, Bee pointed in the direction of the main Confederate line and uttered what would become immortal words. "Yonder stands Jackson like a stone wall," shouted Bee. "Let's go to his assistance!"

Such assistance would be sorely needed as McDowell continued to feed fresh troops at Henry Hill. As the 33rd Virginia and 49th Virginia milled around Griffin's captured guns, they were abruptly attacked by the soldiers of the 14th Brooklyn, who had worked their way around the Confederate left. From the distance of 100 yards, the New Yorkers poured a devastating volley into the Virginians, who reeled under the fire and hurriedly withdrew.

The Brooklyn men followed in hot pursuit, heedless that they were charging into the teeth of Jackson's line. As they angled for Confederate guns along the eastern slope of the hill, they came to within 50 yards of the Confederates when they suffered the effects of a close-range volley.

Jackson, nursing a wounded hand, was ready to strike back. He ordered the 4th and 27th Virginia regiments of his brigade to execute a bayonet charge. Ricketts' artillerymen loaded their guns with canister in an attempt to stop the Confederate charge. Although they suffered heavy casualties as they charged across the open ground, the Virginians pitched into the artillerymen and seized the battery.

But the Federals would need to make a much stronger push if they were to gain a secure foothold on Henry Hill. Colonel William Franklin of Heintzelman's Brigade decided to make the attempt with his 5th and 11th Massachusetts regiments. As soon as Massachusetts men began their advance, though, they were staggered with heavy gunfire that poured down the hillside. Rather than fall back, the Bay Staters closed ranks and pressed forward. Charging toward the Virginians milling around the Henry House, the Massachusetts men succeeded in driving off the Confederates and retaking Ricketts' guns.

But the see-saw fight atop Henry Hill was far from over. Determined to take control of the hill, Beauregard rode among the stunned troops of the 5th Virginia, pleading with them to make a fresh attack. "Give them the bayonet!" he shouted. With that, the fiery Creole, who made a conspicuous target on horseback, led the Virginians in yet another charge. Supported by various other Confederate regiments that moved up to add their weight to the attack, they succeeded in driving off the Massachusetts troops around Ricketts' guns. Beauregard, exultant after the successful charge, was unscathed.

General Bee was not so fortunate. The stalwart brigadier, once again leading his men toward the epicenter of the fighting, was struck by rifle fire and mortally wounded. Bartow was killed outright when he was leading the 7th Georgia. The swirling battle on the hill had transformed the once-pastoral Henry farm into a veritable charnel house. "The shouts of the combatants, the groans of the wounded and dying, and the explosion of shells made a complete pandemonium," said Private John Opie of the 5th Virginia.

Despite his inability to break through Confederate defenses, McDowell was far from abandoning the fight. He sent Colonel William Tecumseh Sherman's Brigade, which had not yet engaged the enemy, to make a final attempt to capture Henry Hill. Sherman made a tactical mistake by sending his regiments into action piecemeal.

Colonel Henry Martin's 71st New York fights a rearguard action as panicked Union troops flee the battlefield. OPPOSITE: A small body of Confederates on the Warrenton Turnpike crossed Bull Run in order to cut off the Federal units retreating via the upper ford at Sudley Springs. When Confederate artillery shelled the bridge over Cub Run, the Federal retreat turned into a stampede as the demoralized troops raced back to Washington.

The first to go was the 13th New York, which advanced on the left, taking cover in low ground near the Henry house. The New Yorkers traded fire with the Hampton Legion, but failed to make any progress. Pinned down by the South Carolinians, they were immobilized and unable to take part in the struggle for the hill.

The 2nd Wisconsin of Sherman's brigade moved up on the right of the New Yorkers, but the inescapable fog of war cursed them from the outset. Dressed in gray uniforms, the Wisconsin men were immediately mistaken for Confederates; as a result, confused Union troops opened fire into their rear. After officers regained order and stopped the firing, the regiment pushed up the hill once again.

As the Wisconsin men neared the Confederate line, they faced an impenetrable wall of gunfire and fell short of their objective. Caught in the open and ripped apart by heavy fire, they were forced to fall back. As they did so, more horrors awaited. Emerging from the smoke and once again confused for Confederates, the Wisconsin men took a full volley from Federals in the Sudley Road who were convinced that the gray-uniformed troops coming their way were the enemy. Fired on from front and rear, the 2nd Wisconsin withered away.

Sherman's 79th New York, known as the Highlanders for their Scottish heritage, fared little better. The New Yorkers marched gamely up the hill, only to be met with a murderous volley. The Confederates around the Henry farm were determined to hold onto their prize, and continued pouring heavy fire into the Highlanders. Stalled in a bitter crossfire, the regiment broke for the rear.

Attacks launched by single regiments were clearly going nowhere. On Sherman's right, the 69th and 38th New York, bolstered by Lt. Col. Albert Monroe's Rhode Island Battery, were sending a well-directed fire uphill in the direction of the Henry house. The men of Hampton's Legion and the 5th Virginia, who had been in combat the better part of the day, found the pressure more than they could bear. Breaking under the pressure of the New Yorkers' combined firepower, the Confederates fell back.

Sensing an opportunity, Sherman personally led the New York regiments straight up the hill, where they rooted out remaining Confederate diehards and took control of the farm. Remarkably, after hours of horrific battle, it initially looked as if the New Yorkers had actually broken the Confederate line. As gray-clad stragglers filed off the field to the tree line to the east, organized Confederate resistance seemed to disappear with them. "We appeared for a time to have complete possession of the field," recalled Lt. Col. Addison Farnsworth of the 38th New York.

Although a Federal victory seemed within reach, a gray wave was about to break over the Union troops on Henry Hill. While McDowell had repeatedly launched his regiments piecemeal into the battle, only to be chewed up in the fruitless struggle for Henry Hill, Johnston and Beauregard had been busy rushing troops north from the lower fords. All told, Beauregard was preparing to commit 7,000 fresh Confederate soldiers against McDowell's exhausted troops.

In a bold effort to drive the federals off of Henry Hill once and for all, Beauregard unleashed two Virginia regiments, the 8th and the 18th, in yet another attack. As the soldiers in the two regiments stepped off to the attack, they picked up strength as retreating soldiers from other regiments joined with them. By the time the Confederates reached the grounds of the Henry House, they constituted an inexorable gray tide that wrecked the weakened Union position.

Crashing into the 69th New York, the 8th Virginia let loose heavy fire and then bowled over the Federals. Just south of the Henry House, the 18th Virginia overpowered the 38th New York. The tide of battle had shifted irreversibly in favor of the Confederates. Demoralized Federal troops streamed down the hill. The majority refused to reform and drifted off to the rear. Keen to secure the hard-won ground, the Virginians plunged into the defile of Sudley Road.

Confederate reinforcements, sweeping around the southern edge of Henry Hill, angled for Chinn Ridge, the commanding heights that dominated the Union right. Reaching the base of the ridge, Colonel Arnold Elzey, who led the Fourth Brigade of Johnston's army, caught sight of troops along the crest, who turned out to be Federals. The Union troops belonged to Colonel Oliver O. Howard's Brigade, which was the last intact brigade that McDowell had with which to halt the Confederate advance.

The two sides opened fire, pouring musketry back and forth across the slope of Chinn Ridge. Howard fought with determination, but the weight of Confederate numbers was threatening his position. When he ordered his flank pulled back, his inexperienced troops confused the directive for an order to retreat. The retrograde movement became contagious. As Howard watched helplessly, his brigade evaporated before his eyes.

The abrupt collapse of Howard's troops precipitated the total and sudden defeat of McDowell's army. Aside from isolated knots of stubborn soldiers who put up a fighting retreat, nearly every Federal soldier able to walk began moving slowly but steadily for the rear. Officers shouted and cursed, but to no avail. The fight had been taken out of the Federals, and they began what was at first an orderly withdrawal towards Sudley Ford.

While McDowell's beaten troops reversed the morning's lengthy circuitous march, Beauregard acted to cut off their retreat, sending three regi-

ments across Bull Run to take control of the Warrenton Turnpike. As he advanced north along the turnpike, Colonel Joseph Kershaw, the commander of the 2nd South Carolina, caught sight of an irresistible target. Although the head of McDowell's column had beaten him to the crossing over Cub Run, the mass of Federals trying to cross the narrow bridge had created a chaotic log jam of demoralized troops.

Kershaw ordered Captain Delaware Kemper's of the Alexandria Light Artillery to open fire on the bridge. Kemper unlimbered two guns and fired spherical case shot at the bridge. The case shot exploded directly over the target and rained down shrapnel that struck the horses leading the first supply wagon onto the bridge. The panicked horses overturned the wagon effectively blocking the bridge. Terrified men plunged into the water of Cub Run as a general panic gripped the retreating Federals. McDowell's embarrassing defeat and withdrawal had degenerated to a panic-stricken rout.

As the beaten Union Army streamed north, it made remarkable progress. Not surprisingly, the march from Washington that had previously taken four days was completed in 12 hours by the panicked troops. Despite the vulnerable condition of the enemy, Confederate troops were largely unable to give chase. Johnston's steady leadership throughout the battle had helped to secure a major victory. The Confederates, though, were "more disorganized by victory that that of the United States in defeat," he said afterwards.

Although they were in no condition to effectively cut off the Federal retreat, the Confederates were left in victorious possession of the field, as well as a vast haul of booty. They corralled scores of prisoners, among them civilian sightseers and northern politicians. At the bridge over Cub Run alone, Confederates rifled through a rich haul of spoils that included 16 cannon, firearms, supply wagons, and horses.

The human cost was far worse. The battlefield, in particular the vortex of the fight on Henry Hill, was left covered with the dead and dying. McDowell suffered a total of 2,708 casualties, of which 481 were killed. The victorious Confederates likewise suffered badly, with nearly 2,000 casualties and 387 killed.

Tragically, the battle would be dwarfed by far bloodier clashes over the course of the next four years. In the aftermath of the fight at First Bull Run, the nation began to awake to the stark realities of a long and divisive conflict. The Civil War would not be short and relatively painless, but a protracted period of bloodletting the likes of which America had never seen. ■

THE NEW YORKERS MARCHED GAMELY UP THE HILL, ONLY TO BE MET WITH A MURDEROUS VOLLEY. THE CONFEDERATES AROUND THE HENRY FARM WERE DETERMINED TO HOLD ONTO THEIR PRIZE, AND CONTINUED POURING HEAVY FIRE INTO THE HIGHLANDERS.

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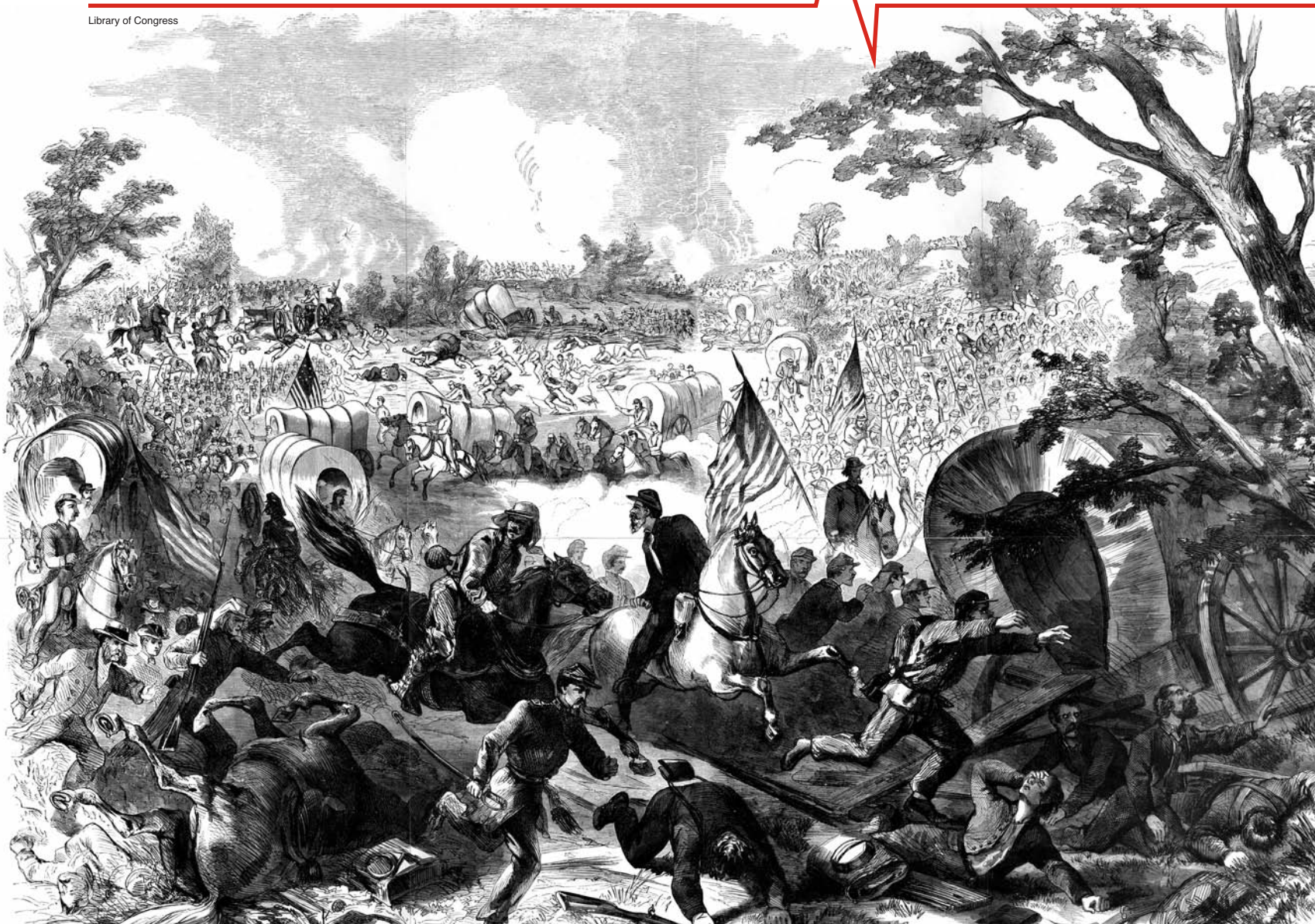
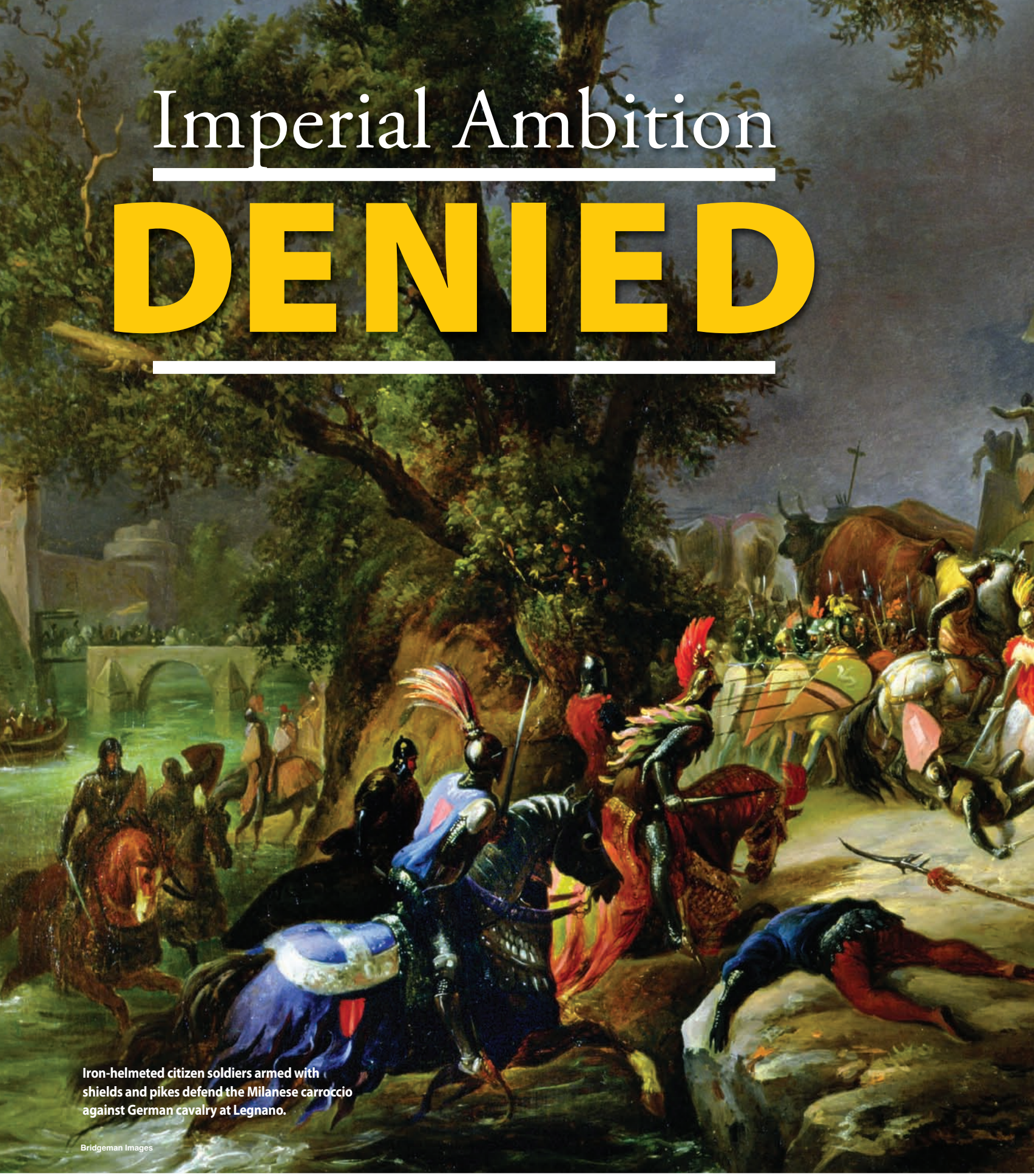


Imperial Ambition DENIED



Iron-helmeted citizen soldiers armed with shields and pikes defend the Milanese carroccio against German cavalry at Legnano.

Bridgeman Images

Emperor Frederick Barbarossa's long feud with the Lombard League reached a momentous climax in 1176 when the Milanese stood their ground in a pitched battle with his German knights at Legnano.

By Eric Niderost

Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor of the Romans and one of the great rulers of the Middle Ages, was in the midst of a battle that might determine the fate of Northern Italy. It was Saturday, May 29, 1176, and his Imperial forces were grappling with the Lombard League coalition of Italian towns, really city-states, that stubbornly refused to acknowledge him as feudal overlord. The fighting was near a place called Legnano, 15 miles from Milan, and had raged for nearly nine hours, not counting brief pauses to reform and attack again. Milan, the prosperous merchant emporium on the Po River, along with Venice, led the anti-Imperial coalition.

Frederick was an experienced warrior, a legend in his own time, and he could clearly discern a pattern emerging amidst the sanguinary chaos. The League cavalry had been routed early in the battle, but the League infantry, which was composed of municipal knights and citizen-soldier levies, was resisting stubbornly before eventually giving way. Frederick decided to attack the Carroccio, a giant ox-drawn cart bearing Milan's standard.

But taking the Carroccio would not be an easy task. It was defended by an elite group of bodyguards that were pledged never to let their sacred wagon fall into enemy hands. They were sure to fight to the death, because the loss of a Carroccio was a shame that Milan could not bear. It would be a colossal disgrace that would last for a generation.

With his sword raised high, Frederick dug spurs into his mount, and the animal responded by springing forward with a hoof-pounding gallop. The emperor was closely followed by his Imperial standard bearer and all the German knights that could be mustered. They constituted a thundering wave of steel and horseflesh that seemed unstoppable. The scene soon dissolved into utter chaos as Frederick and his knights mingled with the Lombard horse and foot. The Milanese foot soldiers resisted bravely, but it looked as if the Carroccio might be in Imperial hands within minutes.

But then fate intervened. Frederick's mount was suddenly hit by a powerful blow, quite probably a pike thrust, and the mortally wounded animal fell heavily to the ground, unhorsing its master. Already wounded, though in the anesthesia of battle he did not realize it yet, Frederick was stunned and momentarily unable to move. He could only watch helplessly as his horse entered its death throes, kicking and flailing the air as blood poured out of the wound.

Frederick was alive but still in grave danger. An unhorsed knight automatically lost all the advantages of speed and maneuverability that made him king of medieval battlefields. But would the Lombard's recognize their enemy? We do not know if he was wearing a surcoat; but if he was, the prominent yellow tunic emblazoned with a black eagle would identify him as Holy Roman Emperor. If he was not, his reddish blond beard would also make him a marked man. Indeed, his fiery beard gave him the title Barbarossa, meaning red beard, a name that sticks to him to this day.

Pavia District Notary Archive

Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I "Barbarossa" demonstrated a great talent for organizing and conducting large-scale military operations in northern Italy.

The emperor was down, and the tide seemed to be turning in the Lombard League's favor. But there was still time to retrieve the situation. If he could clear his senses and get another mount, he might yet rally his men and snatch victory from the jaws of defeat. Frederick had invested years of effort in four previous campaigns to subdue northern Italy. The fate of his Italian adventure hung in the balance; it was now or never.

The roots of this conflict can be traced to the era of Charlemagne, roughly 350 years earlier. Charlemagne had been crowned Emperor of the Romans, of what would later become the Holy Roman Empire. He was a Germanic prince who managed to conquer Lombardy and add its fabled Iron Crown to his regalia. But trade revived in the next centuries, and the so-called Dark Ages eventually gave way to a period of increasing prosperity. The towns of northern Italy evolved into powerful city-states whose main occupation was commerce and profit, not feudal obligations to a distant ruler who was alien in language, culture, and motivations. In the 11th century, the northern Italian city-states were born, and they began pushing back against the Holy Roman Emperors.

In the 18th century, the French philosopher and historian Voltaire declared that the Holy Roman Empire was "neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire." There's much truth in his assertion. Nation states did not exist in Frederick Barbarossa's time, but Germany was more politically fragmented than most. Germany, and to a considerable extent Italy, were only geographical expressions, not viable nation states in the modern sense.

Germany consisted of a bewildering array of mini-states, a political patchwork quilt ruled by ecclesiastical and secular princes who held sway over territories large and small. The Holy Roman Emperor was elected by the most powerful of these German magnates and given the title "King of the Romans;" in effect he was King of Germany, though the latter title was rarely used. In theory at least, the newly crowned King of the Romans would journey to Rome to be anointed as full-fledged emperor.

Frederick I was a member of the powerful Hohenstaufen family, and his uncle was Emperor Conrad III. Frederick was elected King of Germany in 1152, and three years later managed to receive the imperial crown from Pope Adrian IV. Conrad had been weak and indecisive, preferring to keep his possessions south of the Alps at arm's length. The Italian city-states enjoyed a complete autonomy under Conrad's nominal rule, and probably gave little thought and less attention to his nephew's rise to the imperial purple. In the short run that was going to prove to be a grave mistake.

The new emperor was courageous, reasonably intelligent, a decent administrator, and a good soldier. Despite the mythology that grew in later times, he was not the paragon of Germanic virtue as later legends would have it. Frederick had a violent temper and a cruel streak, especially if he thought his honor was involved; unfortunately, that honor insisted on having his perceived subjects utterly loyal and obedient.

Frederick's first order of business was to pacify his German territories, with knights and princelings all too often engaged in petty and

Emperor Frederick pleads with Duke Henry the Lion, the ruler of Saxony and Bavaria, for support in the 1176 campaign in Italy, but the stubborn duke steadfastly refused his entreaties. His absence had a detrimental effect on the campaign.

sometimes violent quarrels. He succeeded in ending civil strife, and even the greater magnates of the realm, men such as Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, were at least temporarily mollified. Once his heartlands were secure, Frederick turned his eyes southward, toward the teeming fields and prosperous towns of Italy.

The emperor was illiterate, though he probably understood some Latin, the lingua franca of the period, and he wanted to be Roman emperor in fact as well as in name. Bologna had law schools that were avidly studying ancient Roman law, especially the codified versions that developed under Byzantine Emperor Justinian in the 6th century. These codes told of so-called regalian rights; that is, traditional rights that ancient Roman emperors such as Caesar Augustus had over their lands, such as appointing officials and the raising of taxes.

In Frederick's mind, he was no tyrant, just an Emperor who sought to restore ancient rights and privileges his ancient predecessors, men like Augustus or Marcus Aurelius, once enjoyed. There was no middle ground in Frederick's world: a city either obeyed or faced a harsh and terrible punishment. In order to enforce his rule, Frederick would conduct no less than five campaigns in Italy, with the last effort ending in the clash at Legnano.

The first campaign was a modest one, a relatively small affair that began in 1154 and involved an army of 1,800 imperial troops. He brought a restive Milan to heel but did not attack the city itself. After pacifying the countryside, he proceeded to Rome, where he was crowned emperor. This solemn occasion was marred by bloodshed in the streets. When the Romans rioted, Frederick unleashed his soldiers without hesitation. Approximately 1,000 Romans were slaughtered in the bloody affair.

The second campaign began in June 1158 and once again it involved Milan and its allies. When Frederick had defeated Milan, he took some of its newly acquired territory. Frederick then held an Imperial Council at Roncaglia, where he literally and figuratively laid down the law to the Italian cities. The emperor made it crystal clear that he was master of Italy. Because he had prevailed in war against them, the restive cities had no choice but to accept his heavy yoke of taxes.

But the municipalities did not like what they heard and rebelled once again against imperial power. Frederick was determined at that point to teach the Italians lessons he hoped they would never forget. The second phase of the second campaign lasted a few years and showed Frederick at his most ruthless. He besieged Crema, a Milanese ally, but made little headway because the city had stout double walls, moats, and was surrounded by marshy ground.

Frederick resorted to executing prisoners, and also tied captives to his siege engines. Crema fell in six months. The emperor allowed 20,000 survivors of the siege to depart before ordering the city sacked and razed to the ground. Frederick then turned his attention to Milan. He besieged the city, and the Milanese surrendered. The city burghers begged on their knees for the emperor to spare their great city; however, their pitiful entreaties fell on deaf ears. The entire population was expelled, and the city razed to the ground.

Fresh from his string of triumphs, Frederick imposed harsh new rules on the seemingly chastened Italian cities. The emperor installed podestas, which were imperial magistrates, in each Italian city to enforce imperial decrees and collect taxes. Most of the podestas were German knights. The northern Italians found them illiterate, rapacious, and crude. Their heavy-handed attempts to collect Frederick's higher tax rates won him few friends.

Frederick's overall attempts to restore Imperial authority in northern Italy proved ephemeral at best. His brutal tactics did not cow the population in any way, but instead kindled a growing spirit of resistance to Imperial rule. Milan, the perpetual thorn in Frederick's side, was rebuilt and reoccupied. Within a decade of its destruction, Milan once again was a prosperous merchant town and a leading force in budding anti-imperial coalition.

Not surprisingly, the northern Italians rose up, and once again Frederick led an army south to quell the rebellion. This time his campaign proved something of a fiasco that in the end proved barren of results. Checked, if not checkmated, by Lombard forces, Frederick became weary of the stalemate and returned home to Germany. He was not giving up; rather, he was merely postponing the inevitable clash.

A few years earlier Frederick foolishly made himself an enemy of the papacy, which in the Middle Ages wielded great temporal as well as spiritual power. Pope Adrian IV had died and was replaced by Alexander III. Frederick sided instead with antipope Paschal III, who was the second antipope to challenge Alexander's reign. Alexander feared the growing power of the Holy Roman Empire under such a strong and dynamic leader as Frederick, a concern that was not unfounded.

Giovanni Dall 'Orto

ABOVE: The decorative medieval frieze from the Porta Romana gate in Milan depicts Milanese soldiers returning to their charred city after Frederick razed it in 1167. The mail-clad soldiers carry shields and swords. OPPOSITE: Frederick Barbarossa commands his imperial troops during the ruthless sack of Alessandria in 1174–1175. During his repeated invasions of northern Italy, sieges were common but pitched battles few.

For a time, Frederick had the upper hand, forcing Alexander into three-year exile in France that ended in 1165.

The controversy led to Fredrick launching a fourth campaign, but this time the target was the papacy, not the Lombard communes. Frederick did attack a few cities en route to Rome, but they were of secondary consideration. He easily occupied Rome, forcing the Pope into exile once again. But disease decimated the Imperial army, forcing Frederick to abandon the Eternal City and retreat north.

Frederick lingered for a time in northern Italy, perhaps wondering what to do next or, more likely, awaiting reinforcements. Whatever the reason, he returned to Germany in 1168, the issue of imperial supremacy in Italy still unresolved. But sooner or later there would be a final confrontation, a final reckoning, and both sides prepared accordingly.

The Lombard League expanded in 1167 to include 16 cities of various sizes. The core of the alliance consisted of Milan, Venice, Padua, Brescia, and Mantua. The core members of the league made hurried preparations for the clash that was sure to come. These cities often quarreled with one another, and were sometimes subject to fierce internal strife, class against class. The richer merchants and businessmen usually tried to maintain their status, even if it meant at the expense of the workers. Yet there was nothing like an outside enemy—and particularly a foreign one—to ensure a fragile but very real unity.

Milan's preparations included a splendid Carroccio. Many cities had Carroccios, but Milan's was described as one of the most noteworthy. A Carroccio performed multiple functions. One function was that it could be a podium for speeches where clergy or secular leaders could harangue and inspire the citizens. Another function was that it had an altar, where Catholic mass could be performed before a battle, and where soldiers could make their peace with the Almighty.

Milan's Carroccio also was the symbolic heart of the city, the focus of patriotism and pride. It was beautifully decorated in city livery colors, which in Milan's case was red and white, and also featured a prominent wooden crucifix and a pole that featured the municipal banner. The banner was a bright red cross on a white field. The red-and-white banner was associated with St. Ambrose, the patron saint of Milan.

The four-wheeled symbol of the city, the Carroccio was considered so precious its loss would be a catastrophic dishonor and disgrace. For that reason, it was guarded by a picked body of several hundred horsemen. There also was a "Company of Death," a 300-man infantry unit, whose members swore they would sooner die than to let the sacred cart fall into enemy hands. Legend tells also of a "Knights of Death," but modern historical studies have all but proven this particular body of men is a romantic myth.

The Milanese Carroccio might have been the city's symbolic heart and soul, but the real defenders of the city were the soldiers of its army. The Army of Milan was composed of two categories, the *milites* and the *pedites*. The *milites* were knights who mostly hailed from the urban aristocracy. Some were more traditional, with their roots in the rural countryside, and their families had moved to the city sometime in the 11th century.

By contrast, the *pedites* were the new knights, men from the newly evolving and dominant merchant classes. They generally wore expensive mail armor; or at least, as expensive as their purse or their family's purse could afford. To the casual observer there was little outward difference between an Italian municipal knight and a Norman knight who rode with William the Conqueror a century earlier. Plate armor was still far off in the future, and therefore mail armor ruled the day.

A typical Italian municipal knight would wear a hauberk, which was a mail shirt, over a padded jacked called a gambeson. Sometimes a richer knight would wear a robe underneath the armor, the lower half spilling out just below the hauberk in a colorful display that proclaimed the owner's wealth and status. Helmets often were painted as well; paint complemented the robe and also protected against rust.

The helmets were generally a different shape from the ones that had been common a century before. Some were flat-topped, and the mail head covering, known as a coif, was attached to a mask-like steel covering. As an alternative, sometimes the mail coif itself would cover the lower portion of a knight's face.

Milan and the other cities of the Lombard League alliance may have been wealthy, but their municipal knights were only a small portion of their urban societies. This was particularly true of Venice, the Serene Republic, whose wealth and power came from its maritime commerce. Since the knights made up a small portion of the urban

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population, the ranks had to be filled with others to make an army.

Luckily, the cities practiced a rough form of democracy, crude but effective. Men of all classes were considered citizens, and as citizen they all had at least some of the political rights that the wealthy enjoyed. But with rights also came civic responsibilities, and all able-bodied men were required to serve as soldiers when needed. Generally, all were more than willing to perform their civil duty, especially against such a hated foe as Barbarossa.

But how many men could a city muster? It is estimated that Milan, which had about 80,000 inhabitants in 1176, could raise an army of approximately 15,000 troops (3,000 knights and 12,000 infantry) should the need arise. Even one of the small cities in the Lombard League could probably field 1,000 men.

Even though they, too, were from merchant families and not professional warriors per se, the cavalry *milites* were probably good soldiers because they got a lot of practice. Italy's city-states were a fractious bunch, always squabbling with each other, and small wars occurred with great frequency in Lombardy. By contrast, the infantry militia were mainly working-class artisans, men who were stonemasons, weavers, and other craftsmen who had jobs to do and were only called out when absolutely necessary.

By the same token, these militiamen were no armed rabble. Training exercises usually were conducted right after Sunday church services, and the men were drilled by veterans who had seen battle. For the pending clash with Frederick Barbarossa, the Milanese were drilling with pikes in formations very similar in concept to the ancient Greek and Macedonian phalanx. Military leadership was provided by Guido da Landriano, a Milanese politician who was also an experienced soldier.

A municipal foot soldier's equipment was far less elaborate and very much in keeping with his lower station in medieval society. The better-off militiaman might have an old-fashioned helmet with a projection from the helmet that covered the nose, as well as a shield. He might wield a sword or dagger, and if he were a member of the pike formation, he would be well versed in using a pike.

Frederick's imperial army was composed largely of knights, mounted warriors hailing from all parts of the Germanic empire. Each German princeling would be required to provide a certain number of knights to add to the imperial ranks. Barbarossa insisted that the ruler of each of these territories send him actual men. In the past they would be left off the hook if they rendered cash payment in lieu of service. The imperial treasury always seemed to need funds, but Frederick was smart enough to know that in this particular campaign trained knights would be a vital ingredient for victory.

Imperial infantry were not highly regarded since the mounted knight still ruled the battlefield. In general, the infantry were retainers that owed their lord service. They also were generally poorly equipped. There were also mercenaries, professional soldiers for hire, who were very well equipped and battle-hardened. The emperor used Brabantines for the most part. They were tough and able soldiers who hailed from the Landgraviate of Brabant, which is now part of modern Belgium.

Frederick's fifth descent into Italy began in 1174. A few years earlier the Lombard League had founded a new city which they named Alessandria after Pope Alexander III, who was the emperor's inveterate foe. It was an open insult to Frederick, and he was determined to take it and possibly even destroy it, but the emperor knew his main objective was to defeat the League army. If he could achieve a notable victory, the rebellions cities would have no choice but to accept him as their lord and master.

Frederick besieged Alessandria, but its defenses proved stronger than he anticipated. He withdrew to Pavia, one of the few Italian cities that supported his cause, and entered negotiations with the Lombard League. When the negotiations proved unsuccessful, Frederick prepared for the second round of his campaign.

The emperor realized he needed more men if he had any hope of crushing the Lombard League. In theory, that meant ordering his vassal lords to come to his aid, but in reality there would be intense negotiating before he could achieve his

goals. He met with the magnates and princelings of his empire at Chiavenna, which was 80 miles north of Milan, between January and February 1176. His cousin Henry the Lion proved the hardest nut to crack. The headstrong Duke of Saxony and Bavaria adamantly refused to send troops to Frederick's campaign.

Desperate for more men, Frederick had other resources to fall back on, including his wife Beatrice of Burgundy. The High Middle Ages was a time when churchmen wielded substantial political power. Rainald of Dassel and Wichmann von Seeburg, who were the Catholic archbishops of Cologne and Magdeburg, respectively, also mustered troops. The emperor then journeyed 20 miles south to Bellinzona, to await the reinforcements.

The promised troops did trickle in, but Frederick was disappointed to see that they only numbered at most 3,000 men. Frederick knew that number was insufficient to crush the Lombard opposition. The emperor then marched to Pavia, one of the Italian cities that was still loyal to him, to gather as many pro-Imperial Italian militia as possible to increase the size of his army.

The emperor knew he had to march through hostile territory to reach Pavia, but the area was thick with extensive green carpets of forest. He was reasonably certain he could get through to his ally city without being detected by the Lombard foe. He might have been right; except he forgot that war and momentous events are sometimes determined by sheer chance.

The Lombard League army was on the move and spoiling for a fight. Sources are conflicted as to the size of the Lombard army. In most Italian cities mounted military service was compulsory for the wealthiest male citizens. The rest of the males served in well-trained urban militias. The league likely fielded 15,000 men, of which 3,000 were knights. The vast majority were foot soldiers, both urban workers and peasants. Frederick regarded the Italian foot soldiers as rabble. Events would prove that at least some of them were made of much sterner stuff.

A large patrol of Lombard cavalry surprised 300 imperial knights, the vanguard of Frederick's army, three miles outside of the fortified town of Legnano. The 700 Lombard knights were delighted because it was obvious their enemy was outnumbered and still reeling from the shock and surprise. The Lombard knights broke into a gallop, and when the two sides met, the impact was terrible. The metallic ring of sword clanging against sword and sword against shield mixed with the screams of the wounded and the cries of sheer battle ecstasy to produce a cacophony the survivors of the clash would never soon forget.

In close combat involving large bodies of men-at-arms there was little room for any kind of fancy maneuvers or impressive swordsmanship. Each individual parried and thrust, hammering away at his opponent while his opponent hammered away at him. If your opponent exposed a vital spot, you took advantage of it, while making sure your sword blow did not inadvertently expose a weakness that he, or perhaps a nearby companion, might exploit.

The Lombard cavalry gained the upper hand, and just when it seemed the Imperial cavalry might be routed, Frederick arrived at the scene with his main force. But the Lombard vanguard also had added support because at that point the Carroccio and the Lombard infantry appeared. Both sides paused briefly as they prepared themselves for the main battle.

Barbarossa began to rethink the situation. He considered withdrawing and awaiting reinforcements, but he believed he would lose face if he left, even if it were a tactical withdrawal and not a rout or retreat. Maintaining his prestige as emperor was paramount in his mind. Even though the full force of the Lombard League's army was at hand, it did not frighten the emperor because he regarded their foot soldiers as undisciplined peasant rabble. In his mind, they were beneath contempt. He believed they would take to their heels at the first opportunity.

For a few brief moments it looked to Frederick that a battle was not even necessary. The Lombard infantrymen knelt down, and to Frederick it seemed as if this gesture was in token of submission. But Frederick misread their intention. Surrender was the last thing on their minds; they were really asking the Almighty for victory, against their detested Teutonic foe.

When Frederick realized he had misread their intention, his hope for an easy victory evaporated. He then launched a determined attack on the Lombard cavalry. Once again, the clash was horrific, but this time the Germans had the upper hand and the Lombard knights were routed, or at least so it seemed.

Battered and seemingly demoralized, the Lombard knights fled the field. Buoyed by his partial victory, Frederick turned his attention to the Lombard infantry. They were drawn up in phalanx-like formations, with a forest of pikes pointing towards the enemy. The hedgehog formations wavered, and some broke. Once the cohesion was lost, and the solid masses of pikemen dissolved into individuals trying to flee the scene, the Lombard foot soldiers were easy prey for the rampaging mounted knights. Long and unwieldy, the pikes were not designed for personal defense, and probably many were discarded by fleeing Lombards.

It was about this time that Frederick set his sights on capturing the Carroccio. He knew its importance as the very symbol of Milan. Its capture would be a psychological blow to its people, an event so catastrophic the Milanese would probably admit defeat and sue for peace. He could see that the Lombard pike formations already were gathering around the Carroccio. The Milanese braced themselves for a last-ditch defense against Fredrick and his seemingly triumphant knights.

Frederick personally led the imperial knights forward. Although their swords were blood-stained and their horses winded from constant exertions, the imperial knights were probably confident of victory. Who could stand against professional warriors like the imperial German knights? But the Carroccio defenders were made of sterner stuff. As the knights approached, the pikemen stood their ground. They set their shields close and held their pikes firm. The expected clash did not really take place, because as the mounted German knights approached the prickly forest of lowered pikes, their horses slowed and refused to try and break the wooden wall.

Horses reared and flailed their hooves, fighting against their reins, and no mount would allow itself to be deliberately pushed on the pikes. Some knights probably attempted to push their horses onto the pikes. They did this because they believed that if some of the mounts were impaled on the pikes, they would create a gap in the defense that other knights might be able to exploit. While some horses wheeled off, others stood just short of the wall of pikes, unresponsive to their frustrated master's spurred commands to move forward.

Yet many of the horses were close enough to be within reach of the thrusting, stabbing pikes. The Lombard pikemen did what they could to wound or kill knightly mounts if the opportunity presented itself. It was during this attack that Frederick's horse succumbed to a pike wound. As the horse slumped to the ground, it spilled its imperial master into the Lombard soil he coveted so dearly. Frederick's troubles were compounded by the fact that his standard bearer was killed almost simultaneously.

Banners were important because they identified important leaders and let soldiers know they were alive and well and still in the fight. When Frederick went to the ground, his yellow banner with the black eagle also fell to the ground, where it was spattered with dirt and trampled by horses' hooves. The imperial banner was found by some Lombard soldiers, who paraded it triumphantly.

The Imperial soldiers suddenly lost heart. It seemed as if Frederick Barbarossa, the half- legendary German emperor, a legend in his own time, was no more. A tremble of uncertainty and fear seemed to course through the Imperial army as the word spread. Timing can be everything in a battle, and so it proved at Legnano. As the Impe-

In the climax of the battle at Legnano, Milanese foot soldiers used their pikes to unhorse German knights and sergeants in order to finish them off with pikes, swords, and daggers. The victory paved the way for the Lombard communes to govern themselves as long as they paid taxes to the emperor.

rial army paused, wondering if Frederick was among the living or with the trampled dead, the Lombard cavalry returned with a vengeance.

It was more by accident than by design, but the sudden appearance of the Lombard cavalry, timed with the disappearance of Frederick, seemed to break Imperial morale. When the Lombard attacked in their flank, the Imperial troops had little choice but to retreat. The retreat soon turned into an utter rout, with the Lombard knights pursuing their beaten foe for eight miles before finally cornering their adversaries.

The Imperial cavalry tried to flee southwest to the Ticino River, first passing Dairago and then Turbigo, but the Lombard knights would not give up the chase. The last phase of the battle was fought at the Ticino, and few of the Imperial troops seem to have escaped death or capture. In the meantime, other Lombard League soldiers were busy looting the imperial camp and baggage. The spoils were immense, including great quantities of gold and silver.

As if to add to the emperor's humiliation, the Milanese wrote their Bolognese allies that Emperor Frederick's banner, shield, and lance were now trophies of the alliance. The shield and banner was emblazoned with the black eagle, so there could be no doubts as to who owned their objects. Many prisoners were taken, and some were of exalted rank. Notable captives included Count Berthold of Zahringen, Count Philip of Alsace, and Count Gosvino of Heinsberg, the brother of the Archbishop of Cologne.

But the whereabouts of Emperor Frederick himself was as yet unknown. He was not among the slain, nor was he with the wounded or prisoners. Where was he? For several days it was an enduring mystery that both puzzled and frustrated the Lombard victors.

After his mount was killed and he was thrown to the ground, Frederick lay stunned for a brief time. The Lombard horsemen actually rode over him but failed to recognize him. In the confusion that attended the last minutes of battle, Frederick somehow managed to get back on his feet and hide. He was on foot, wounded, and was attempting to make it to the friendly commune of Pavia. His wife, Empress Beatrice, was there. Pavia would serve as a rallying point for any survivors that escaped the debacle.

Frederick was travelling on foot and alone for three days. We can only speculate where he hid. He might have hidden in a barn or a thicket of woods. Whatever he did, he escaped detection. The emperor eventually stumbled into Pavia in the dead of night, where he found his empress and court already mourning him as dead.

Legnano was a decisive victory that the Italians remember to this day. Frederick's defeat forced him to come to terms with the Pope. Never again did he try to impose his will on the city-states of northern Italy. Frederick was still their nominal ruler, and they owed him taxes, but he was forced to grant them many concessions in the latter days of his reign. The Lombard League was granted full recognition, and a large measure of autonomy. Frederick's death did not occur either in Italy or Germany. He would die 14 years after Legnano on his way to the Holy Land during the Third Crusade.

Legnano became a symbol of Italian unification in the 19th century, and an inspiration to resist foreign rule. As a testament to the battle's importance, the current Italian national anthem states, "From the Alps to Sicily, Legnano is everywhere. ■

Prussian King Frederick the Great attacked an Austro-Russian army at Kunersdorf midway through the Seven Years War. Owing to a series of blunders, he suffered his greatest defeat.

Slugfest at

By Victor Kamenir

King Frederick II "The Great" of Prussia faced a formidable challenge at the outset of the campaign season in 1759. Armies of the coalition begun by France and Austria, which Russia had joined, threatened Prussia from four directions. Russia had dealt Prussia a stinging defeat at Gross-Jagersdorf on Aug. 30, 1757, and the following summer fought Frederick to a bloody standstill at Zorndorf on Aug. 25, 1758.

The once-vaunted Prussian army by 1759 was a shadow of its former self. The heavy losses in the battles of 1758 in particular had severely depleted Frederick's army at all levels. The Prussian army had lost almost half of his officer corps and was hard-pressed to replace his rank-and-file troops and his regimental officers.

"I would fear nothing if I still had ten battalions of the quality of 1757," wrote Frederick. "But this cruel war has killed off our finest soldiers, and the ones we have left do not even measure up to the worst of the troops at the outset."

Frederick had become more cautious with his precious forces in the wake of these costly pitched battles. He made changes to his tactical doctrine to avoid full-scale attacks. His new doctrine called for using one wing of the army only, preserving the other to cover a retreat if the battle went badly. He also intended to concentrate his artillery to hammer one section on the enemy position before sending his infantry forward.

As he contemplated how best to parry the thrusts of the Austrians and Russians at the outset of the 1759 campaign, Frederick had to deal with the harsh reality that his vaunted infantry had suffered bloody repulses in recent battles and that he was hard-pressed to find capable commanders to lead Prussia's smaller armies guarding the frontiers.

Frederick put a small Prussian army defending his eastern frontier under the command of the overly aggressive Lt. Gen. Johann von Wedell. Although a proven corps commander, von Wedell had no experience in independent command. Von Wedell proceeded to wreck the army by attacking the Russians in a strong defensive position.

At the Battle of Kay fought on July 23, 1759, in the Neumark region of Prussia, von Wedell lost 8,000 of 23,000 troops. The menace posed by the formidable Russian host led by Maj. Gen. Count Ivan Saltykov forced Frederick to personally take control of the situation in an effort to deal the Russians a smarting blow. Taking the cream of his forces, he set off to meet Saltykov in battle. He faced a daunting task, for he and his peers knew that attacking a numerically larger Russian army on ground that its commander had carefully chosen was a dicey proposition at best.

Frederick put his army to effective use and demonstrated considerable military skills during the eight-year-long War of the Austrian Succession. The war ended with Prussia gaining possession of a wealthy province of Silesia at Austria's expense. Holy Roman Empress Maria Theresa, who also was the Archduchess of Austria and Queen of Bohemia, Hungary, and Croatia, could not accept the loss. She waited for an opportunity to renew the conflict and regain the surrendered territory.

A reshuffling of old alliances in 1756, which was known afterwards as the Diplomatic Revolution, reversed the traditional alliances in Europe. Instead of an alliance between France and Prussia, as had been in the case in the War of the Austrian Succession, Prussia's major ally became Great Britain. Maria Theresa, who was deeply annoyed with Great Britain for forcing her to cede Silesia to Prussia, allied Hapsburg Austria with France and Russia. The Franco-Austro-Russian coalition also included Sweden, Saxony, and eventually Spain.

Prussian King Frederick the Great's senior officers, including his brother Prince Henry, advised him to halt his attack at Kunersdorf after the Prussian forces had hemmed in the enemy, but he chose to press his attack.

Alamy

Kunersdorf

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Frederick failed to prevent the junction of the armies of Field Marshal Baron Ernst Gideon Laudon (left) and Russian General Count Ivan Saltykov opposite Frankfurt-an-der-Oder inside Prussian territory. OPPOSITE: Frederick the Great laments the loss of veteran troops following his defeat at the hands of the Austrians in the bloody clash at Kolin in 1756 at the outset of the Seven Years War.

By making a pre-emptive strike on Saxony, Frederick had sought to prevent Austria from deploying its forces in Saxony, where they would be in an excellent position to threaten Berlin. The resulting Seven Years War became a protracted global conflict. It was for all intents and purposes two conflicts. One conflict was fought in Germany and Central Europe, where Prussia battled Austria and its allies. The other was overseas, in North America and the Indian subcontinent, where Britain fought France, which was assisted by Spain.

With the war on the European Continent against France relegated to a sideshow by 1759, Frederick focused on the dual threat posed by Austrian armies south of Prussia and Russian armies east of Prussia. He was keenly aware that if they combined some of their forces, it would pose a major threat to his kingdom.

After his victory at Kay in July 1759, Saltykov occupied Frankfurt-an-der-Oder on Aug. 1. But marching and countermarching in the blistering summer heat had taken its toll on the Russian army. The Russian cavalry in particular suffered greatly, losing a large number of horses. While resting his troops, Saltykov settled down to await the arrival of an Austrian column under Field Marshal Baron Ernst Gideon Laudon.

With the Prussian capital of Berlin 50 miles away, Frederick rushed south to prevent the Austrian corps from linking up with Saltykov. Although he marched his Prussian troops rapidly east in the blistering August heat, Frederick failed to prevent Laudon and Saltykov from joining forces. Laudon joined Saltykov on Aug. 8 in the Russian camp on the east side of the Oder River.

Saltykov, who was related to the late Russian Empress Anna, was a capable administrator and a cautious commander. He was capable of decisive action when needed, but was not the type of brilliant commander who would pursue and crush a beaten foe. Unlike many of his contemporary Russian commanders, Saltykov eschewed pomp. He cared greatly for his soldiers and had the trust and confidence of his subordinates. Yet he was deeply distrustful of foreigners. Sizing up Laudon, Saltykov believed the Austrian marshal to be lacking in substance.

Laudon, who was the son of a Swedish officer of Scottish descent, was suspicious of Saltykov and believed that the Russian commander was untrustworthy. Laudon had served with distinction in the Russian army during the War of the Polish Succession. After resigning from the Russian service in 1741, he applied to serve in the Prussian army, but Frederick rejected his application. Granted commission in the Austrian army, Laudon served with distinction during the War of the Austrian Succession. He was an excellent corps commander but lacked the operational expertise of an army commander.

The terrain where Saltykov established his camp, which was in close proximity to the village of Kunersdorf three miles east of Frankfurt-an-der-Oder, greatly favored the defender. A chain of low hills, the tallest of which was barely 100-feet high, ran along the southwest-northeast axis. The hills were cut by two deep ravines, the Laudon-Grund and the Kuh-Grunde, which divided them into three sections.

The slopes of both ravines proved extremely difficult to traverse for both artillery and cavalry. At the southwest end of the range, the tall Judenberg was separated by the Laudon-Grund from the center. On the northeast end, the low treeless Muhlberg also was separated from the center by the Kuh-Grunde. The Grosser-Spitzberg knoll ran south from the central section and another knoll, Kleiner-Spitzberg, was located south of the Muhlberg.

The shallow waters of the Hunher Fleiss separated the Muhlberg from the heights south of the Trettin village. South of Kunersdorf was a chain of three ponds surrounded by marshy ground. The Frankfurter Forest, a dense growth of woods, formed a semicircle to the east of the Austro-Russian position. To the north and northwest was a marshy ground with scattered copses of trees and bushes called Elsen Busch, which was impassable to dense columns of troops.

The Judenberg was the key to Saltykov's position, being close to the bridges over Oder and Saltykov's lines of communications with the main Austrian army to the south. Although the Judenberg was the anchor of Allied positions in the southwest, the Muhlberg served the same role in the northeast.

Saltykov deployed the bulk of the Austro-Russian army facing north, in the direction of Frederick's expected arrival. Saltykov positioned the 2nd

Division, under Lt. Gen. Francoise Villebois, at Judenberg; the 1st Division, under Lt. Gen. Willem Fermor, on the Grosser-Spitzberg; and the 3rd Division, under Lt. Gen. Pyotr Alexandrovich Rumyantsev, in the center.

As for Lt. Gen. Alexander Mikhailovich Golitsyn's Observation Corps, it was positioned on the Muhlberg. Golitsyn's corps was composed primarily of recent recruits. The Austrian corps under Laudon and the bulk of coalition cavalry was near the Frankurt suburb of Rothes Vorwerk on the east side of the Oder. Several hundred Russians garrisoned the small fortress at Frankfurt-an-der-Oder, which was situated on the west bank of the Oder River. The coalition's wagon trains, which were guarded by two Russian infantry regiments, were parked near the city.

The Russian army numbered 36,500 regular infantry and cavalry and 200 field guns, which included both six-pounders and 12-pounders. The oversized Austrian corps numbered 18,500 men with 48 guns, bringing the Austro-Russian total to 55,000 men and 248 guns. The Russians also had 5,000 Cossacks.

On the morning of Aug. 10, Frederick crossed to the east bank of the Oder at Gohliz with a force of 48,000 men and 140 guns. He advanced the following day to a point between the villages of Trettin and Bischofsee north of the Muhlberg. Russian hussars serving as pickets spotted the Prussian army and reported its arrival to Saltykov. After a short mounted skirmish with the Prussian hussars, the Russian horsemen fell back across the Hunher-Fleiss, burning a bridge behind them as they went. With the Russian pickets driven off, Frederick rode to reconnoiter the Austro-Russian positions.

From the heights around Trettin, Frederick could clearly see the Muhlberg and the Judenberg. The Russian forces occupying the Muhlberg were clearly visible, as well as some cavalry near the Frankfurt-an-der-Oder's suburb of Rothes Vorwerk, but the main body of Russian forces remained hidden by the chain of hills. Based on his limited reconnaissance, Frederick believed that the Russian army was facing north and made the decision to attack the Muhlberg in a wide flanking maneuver from the north and east. He failed to ascertain the depth of Austro-Russian deployment and the placement of their reserves.

Although Frederick realized he would be outnumbered by the combined Austro-Russian army, he was confident of victory despite being fully aware of the diminished quality of his own troops. Even by his own acknowledgement, the Austrian army had greatly improved since the War of the Austrian Succession in the previous decade. The Russians had shown their toughness at Gross-Jägersdorf and Zorndorf. Still, Frederick remained contemptuous of his opponents, as well as overconfident in his own skills.

Closely following Frederick's reconnaissance, Saltykov determined that the Prussian attack would most likely come from the east and southeast. Detailing a small number of light troops to watch Elsen Busch, he ordered his army to turn about and deploy facing south and southeast. Because he was primarily concerned with defending the key position at the Judenberg, Saltykov did not reinforce the Observation Corps on the Muhlberg. This left the corps' five weak regiments in a vulnerable position.

Throughout the night, the Russian army labored to build entrenchments and artillery batteries facing in the new direction. They constructed abatis, felled trees with branches deliberately sharpened and pointed outwards, in the forest to slow the Prussian advance. They also built a chain of earthworks, which were connected by trenches, the entire length of their line. The trenches were only partially completed by morning.

As for the Russian artillery, Saltykov positioned five batteries on the Judenberg, as well as a strong battery facing east on the Grosser-Spitzberg. He ordered his troops to burn the village of Kunersdorf in order to establish a clear line of fire for the artillery.

On the evening of Aug. 11, Frederick completed his plan of attack. Lt. Gen. Frederick Aug. von Finck, who commanded a corps composed of eight battalions, was to make a demonstration of preparing for battle. Finck was to assemble his troops at 3:30 a.m and make a great deal of noise in his camp at Bischofsee. He also was to conduct a reconnaissance in full view of the Russians in order to give them the impression that an attack was being prepared from that direction.

Frederick instructed Finck to deploy his infantry corps, which was supported by a cavalry division, on the Trettin Heights at 5:00 a.m. An hour later, Finck was to advance a short distance toward the Muhlberg; however, Frederick explicitly instructed him not to attack the enemy until the main attack was well under way.

While Finck's corps was stirring, the main body of Frederick's army would march out from a separate camp at Bischofsee in two parallel columns. It would march under concealment of the Frankfurter Forrest and achieve a surprise by arriving behind Russian army's eastern flank.

Frederick's right column was to become the primary attack force. A cavalry division under Lt. Gen. Friedrich Wilhelm von Seydlitz was to march at the head of the right column, and another cavalry division under Lt. Gen. Prince Eugen von Wurttemberg would bring up the rear.

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Once in place, Seydlitz was to deploy on the left of the right wing and Wurttemberg on the right. The right wing would then deploy in two lines and attack in the oblique formation, Frederick's preferred method of attack, while the refused left wing, also in two lines, remained in support. Finck would launch his own attack once he heard the sound of the guns.

Frederick led the main body of the Prussian army out of its camp in the early morning hours of Aug. 12. The two columns began moving through the Frankfurter Forest at 3:00 a.m. As the Prussians filed into the woods from their camp at Bischofsee, Russian outposts spotted them at dawn and promptly sent the word to Saltykov. As for Finck's corps, it set off at 5:00 a.m. bound for the heights south of Trettin. Meanwhile, Saltykov and Laudon, who had their troops in place, braced themselves for the Prussian attack.

The progress of the main Prussian army through the woods was slow. The grenadiers constituted the vanguard. The artillery crews had a challenging time navigating the narrow tracks of the forest. While the dense columns of Prussian infantry and cavalry slowly but steadily made their way through the forest, Frederick rode ahead to reconnoiter the Russian positions in the first light of day.

Gazing at the Muhlberg, Frederick realized that he was mistaken in his assumption that the Russians were facing northward. He realized that his army was marching directly at the enemy's entrenched positions. To his vexation, he also realized that the ponds and marshy ground between Kunersdorf and the forest could be crossed in only two places.

Frederick adjusted his plans to address the situation. Instead of advancing directly at Kunersdorf, he would deliver the main attack with his left wing to the east of the ponds, while his right wing would advance against the Russian positions on the Muhlberg. The right wing would advance in conjunction with Finck's corps. Meanwhile, the main body of the Prussian cavalry would redeploy to the left of the infantry's left wing. Yet he still did not grasp that the Russian troops on the heights were split into several sections by the ravines.

Saltykov observed Finck's corps at 8:00 a.m. advancing toward the Muhlberg and ordered the bridges between the ponds burned. After a few scattered shots, Russian pickets retired to the main line. Two Prussian batteries opened fire an hour later from their positions near Trettin. The Russian guns atop the Muhlberg returned fire on the Prussian batteries.

Delayed by its march through the thick forest, the main Prussian army began deploying east of the ponds at 10:45 a.m. In front of the Prussian right wing, a vanguard of six grenadier and two fusilier battalions began deploying in preparation for assaulting the Russian positions on the Muhlberg. At the same time, the Prussians began setting up their heaviest guns on the knolls south and southeast of the Muhlberg. Even though Prussian intentions were clearly obvious, Saltykov still did not reinforce this position. Instead, he deployed more troops on the Grosser-Spitzberg

THE PRUSSIANS, WHO WERE UNDETERRED BY THE STORM OF ARTILLERY FIRE, REPLIED WITH DISCIPLINE AND DEADLY MUSKET VOLLEYS OF THEIR OWN. THEIR ACCURATE FIRE SOWED CONFUSION AMONG THE RUSSIAN TROOPS, WHOSE RESOLVE HAD ALREADY BEEN SHAKEN BY THE MERCILESS POUNDING OF THE PRUSSIAN ARTILLERY.

Frederick watches the advance of his cavalry. Despite their valor, the Prussian horsemen could not dislodge entrenched Russian infantry.

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by shifting reserves into the second line and deploying 15 squadrons of dragoons and horse grenadiers near the Kuh-Grunde.

Frederick ordered the bulk of his artillery to commence firing 45 minutes later. Sixty Prussian guns, which their crews positioned in an arc around the Muhlberg, began pounding the Russian infantry in their entrenchments. The Russian artillery, greatly outnumbering the Prussian artillery, had some 100 pieces on the left wing alone. The Russian battery on the Grosser-Spitzberg fired on the Prussian forces deploying in front of them, but its effectiveness was reduced by the distance. The two sides traded salvos for the next hour. The Russians on the Muhlberg suffered the most in the exchange. Saltykov finally reinforced the Observation Corps by shifting six Austrian battalions from the Judenberg closer to the Muhlberg.

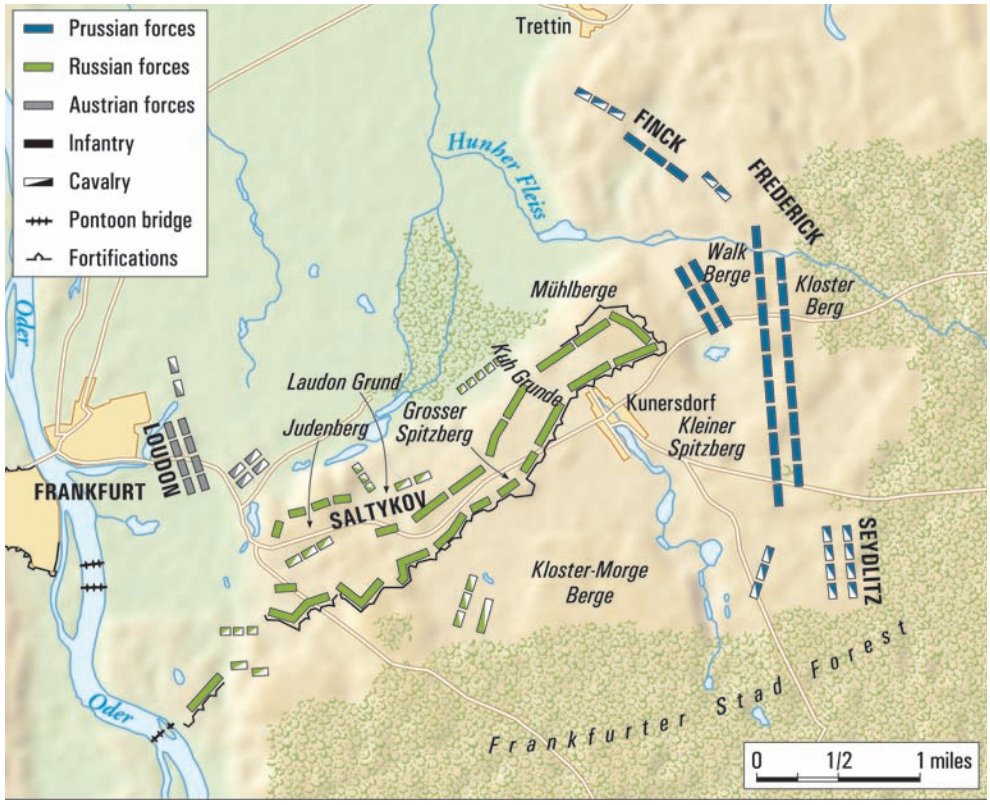
Judging the time to be right for an attack on the Muhlberg, Frederick ordered his vanguard to advance at 12:30 p.m. against the objective. Eight Prussian grenadier battalions in two lines began climbing the slopes of the Muhlberg. As the Prussian grenadiers came within 100 paces of the Russian lines, they were greeted by musket volleys and grapeshot.

The Prussians, who were undeterred by the storm of artillery fire, replied with discipline and deadly musket volleys of their own. Their accurate fire sowed confusion among the Russian troops, whose resolve had already been shaken by the merciless pounding of the Prussian artillery. Leaving behind scores of blue-coated bodies, the Prussians then charged with fixed bayonets, attacking the regiments of Golitsyn's Observation Corps from the front and right flank. The Prussians smashed the Grenadier Regiment of the corps, which, as it fell back, carried away two musketeer regiments with it.

These regiments, which were taking a pounding from the Prussian guns, attempted to reform, but they were too badly disordered. They fled towards Elsen Busch, abandoning 42 guns as they went. Saltykov dispatched two fresh Russian regiments in an effort to shore up Golitsyn's collapsing position. Although the Russian counterattack temporarily halted the progress of the attacking Prussian units, the reinforcements were not able to retake the Muhlberg.

While Frederick was redeploying his artillery and reinforcing his men on the Muhlberg, Golitsyn rallied several regiments of the Observation Corps and established a new defensive line. The new line was perpendicular to the previous Russian deployment on the Muhlberg. The Prussians resumed their attack, though, and once again dislodged and disordered the Russians.

Seeing the Observation Corps in full retreat,



Map © 2022 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN

Frederick launched an oblique attack with his right wing, which was supported by the left wing. The regiments of the right wing became disorganized as they advanced into the confines of the ground occupied by the Russians.

Saltykov ordered forward 12 companies of Austrian grenadiers, reinforced by a Russian grenadier regiment, to check the Prussian juggernaut. But the Austro-Russian counterattack faltered in the face of determined resistance by the reinforced Prussian vanguard. As they fell back, the grenadiers disordered two more Russian regiments coming up in support. Prussian shells crashed among the Russian cavalry posted southwest of the Muhlberg, and they also withdrew to avoid further losses.

The Prussian vanguard, which was eager to exploit its success, descended the Muhlberg in preparation for an attack on the hilltop on the far side of the Kuh-Grunde ravine. But two more fresh Russian regiments, who were supported by Austrian grenadiers, entered the fight and succeeded in repulsing the attacks of the exhausted troops of the Prussian vanguard.

At that point, Frederick assembled a large column on the Muhlberg, reinforced by Seydlitz's cavalry, in preparation for an assault on the Grosser-Spitzberg across the Kuh-Grunde. He ordered forward a Prussian battery to the eastern edge of Kuh-Grunde to support the Prussian infantry.

The Russians redeployed facing the Muhlberg in two lines. Austrian artillery moved into position to support them. The first Prussian infantry assault across the Kuh-Grunde was met by a hail of enemy musketry and grapeshot at close range. The Prussians recoiled in the face of the blistering fire.

The Prussian heavy cavalry then went into action. The Prussian cuirassiers, who attacked uphill, struck the Novgorod Musketeer Regiment in flank. The successful flanking maneuver dislodged the Russian musketeers from their position. The Prussian cuirassiers continued on to the Grosser-Spitzberg, where their advance came to an abrupt halt in the face of concentrated Russian artillery fire and musketry. At that critical juncture, Laudon and Rumyantsev personally led a spirited counterattack. Assembling one Austrian and two Russian dragoon regiments, they succeeded in dislodging the Prussian cuirassiers from the Grosser-Spitzberg.

While the Prussian vanguard descended the Muhlberg and attacked the Kuh-Grunde, the main Prussian army advanced forward in oblique order with the right wing forward. The regiments of the right wing, following the vanguard through destroyed Russian entrenchments, became compressed and disorganized as they navigated the hilly terrain. The Russian battery located on the Grosser-Spitzberg knoll pounded the tightly packed Prussian infantry formations, inflicting heavy casualties on them.

The Prussian right wing halted to reorganize. In so doing, it denied the Prussian vanguard the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immediate assistance it needed, for it was taking a severe beating in the Kuh-Grunde. The casualties were so heavy among the Prussian grenadiers that after the battle, the survivors of the six grenadier battalions were consolidated into three battalions.

Austro-Russian resistance was stiffening by that point in the battle as a result of fresh infantry and artillery arriving from the right wing. Saltykov established a new defensive line from the Kuh-Grunde to the village of Kunersdorf. When the reorganized Prussian right wing came forward, it was taken under fire by Russian artillery. Counter-attacking Russian units beat back multiple assaults by the Prussians. Casualties steadily mounted, with both sides suffering staggering losses.

Frederick brought up fresh Prussian batteries and added their weight to the carnage. The Apsheron and Rostov regiments of the Russian army, protecting the battery at Grosser-Spitzberg, suffered devastating casualties. In the confusion of the battle, the Russians mistook the Austrian Baden-Baden regiment, which wore uniforms that were a lighter shade of blue than the Prussians, for the enemy and fired into their ranks.

Finck's corps was delayed advancing over the marshy ground northwest of the Muhlberg to support the Prussian right wing. It was not until 2:00 p.m. that it finally advanced against the coalition forces on the Kuh-Grunde.

With his right wing unable to carry Kuh-Grunde and the left wing still uncommitted, Frederick sent Seydlitz forward with 16 squadrons of dragoons and hussars. Seydlitz moved his cavalry through the ponds, deployed it in full view of the Russians, and charged the trenches occupied by Russian regiments on Grosser-Spitzberg.

Prussian forces at left assail the Russians atop the sandy hills at right. Frederick lost 20,000 men in the worst defeat of his career.

Prussian artillery and musketry emptied scores of saddles as 11 Austrian and four Russian cavalry squadrons counterattacked the Prussian horsemen. However, a strong Austro-Russian counterattack drove back the Prussian cavalry. The Austro-Russian cavalry continued its advance, routing the Prussian infantry on the right wing. Their advance eventually ground to a halt in the face of a counterattack by a small number of Seydlitz's cavalry, which had reformed.

After a brief lull, fighting flared anew at 3:30 p.m. in the blood-soaked ground of the Kuh-Grunde ravine. The slow progress of Finck's troops through the marshy ground gave Saltykov plenty of time to ascertain the direction of the fresh Prussian attack. As Finck's corps added its weight to the fight, it was able to temporarily force back the Russian left wing. But four regiments of Russian infantry, which were backed by Russian guns, managed to stop the advance of Finck's troops.

As the inconclusive and bloody fighting was raging around Kuh-Grunde, several Prussian generals, including Frederick's brother Prince Henry, a capable soldier in his own right, advised Frederick to halt the fighting. By that time, the Prussians had firm control of the Muhlberg. The majority of the Prussian generals concurred and urged the king to renew his attack the following day.

Soldiers on both sides suffered horribly from the blistering heat, but the Prussians actually suffered more than the coalition forces given that they had conducted long marches the previous day in order to attack the Austro-Russian position. Frederick believed his army could still carry the day, and he rejected the advice of his subordinates. He then moved his remaining reserve, the infantry of the

One of the three ponds on the battlefield of Kunersdorf. The presence of ponds, marshy ground, and dense woods impeded the movement of Prussian troops advancing to the attack.

Ralf Lotys / Wikimedia

THE COSSACKS, WHO WERE ARMED WITH LANCES, ATTACKED THE ELITE PRUSSIAN CUIRASSIERS, THREW THEM BACK, CAPTURED THEIR FLAG, AND TOOK THEIR COMMANDER PRISONER. IN SO DOING, THEY SUCCEEDED IN REPELLING THE LAST, DESPERATE ATTEMPT BY FREDERICK TO SAVE THE REMNANTS OF HIS ARMY.

left wing, into position to continue the attack.

The infantry of the left wing deployed in the confined space hemmed in by Kunersdorf and the chain of ponds south of the village. Marching through the cramped terrain and the ruins of Kunersdorf, the units of the Prussian left wing soon became disordered. As soon as they emerged from the village, the Russian guns on the Grosser-Spitzberg blew gaping holes in their tightly packed ranks. The Prussian battalions attacked several times but were hurled back in disarray by the massed Russian artillery.

Frederick rode from his observation post on the Kuh-Berg hill to rally the troops at Kunersdorf. He ordered that more artillery be brought up before riding back to Kuh-Berg, where he remained for the rest of the battle as the infantry continued fruitless attacks.

While the Russians and Austrians remained steadfast on the hills west of Kunersdorf, they were taking heavy casualties from Prussian artillery. The Austro-Russian line began to waver at 4:30 p.m., and some of the units began to give way. With the threat to Judenberg eliminated, Saltykov moved the bulk of troops from the right wing to Grosser-Spitzberg. Nine Russian regiments charged the disordered Prussians milling around Kuh-Grunde and drove them past Kunersdorf. At the same time, Finck's exhausted battalions broke off their attacks and retreated without being harassed by the Russians.

While the fighting raged around Kunersdorf, a Prussian detachment of three infantry battalions and 16 cavalry squadrons under Maj. Gen. Johann Jakob von Wunsch, which had been dispatched on their mission early in the morning, crossed to the west side of the Oder River and forced their way into Frankfurt-an-der-Oder, capturing the small Russian detachment there.

With no fresh infantry to feed into the battle, Frederick ordered the last of his cavalry to relieve the pressure on his embattled infantry. Seydlitz, who was standing by his side, suffered a wound in his right arm and turned over his command to the Prince of Wurttemberg.

The Prussian cavalry on the right advanced over the confined space across the slopes of the Muhlberg and came under Russian artillery fire. The cannon fire forced a Prussian dragoon regiment to retreat, and the Prince of Wurttemberg was carried wounded from the field. Maj. Gen. Georg Ludwig von Puttkamer, leading his hussar regiment in a futile attack against the Russian left flank, tumbled dead to the ground.

A regiment of Prussian cavalry was equally unsuccessful, and the cavalry of both wings, as well as that of Finck's corps, rallied at the Muhlberg under command of Lt. Gen. Dubislav Friedrich von Platen. They advanced against the Russian left wing, where the Prussian infantry was still heavily engaged west of the Kuh-Grunde.

The badly fatigued Prussian infantry on the left withdrew at 5:30 p.m. to the east side of the Kuh-Grunde. Seeing the infantry retiring, Platen sent five dragoon squadrons against the Gross-Spitzberg to cover the retreat, but the cavalry was quickly broken by the Russian artillery fire.

At this time, Austro-Russian cavalry charged that section of the Platen cavalry that had crossed to the west side of the ponds. While the cavalry fought it out near the Blanken-See pond, Frederick rallied his infantry east of Kunersdorf and personally led them forward. Frederick had two horses shot from under him in quick succession. He nearly lost his life to a Russian bullet, but it flattened itself against a gold tobacco case that he carried in his coat pocket.

The Prussian infantry descended again into the Kuh-Grunde and tried to scale the opposite side. In a desperate attack, the Prussians pushed back two Russian regiments, but the entire Prussian

line began to waver when three fresh Russian regiments arrived to restore the situation.

The Prussian cavalry finally broke at 6:00 p.m. The defeated horsemen fled pell-mell to the rear. On the heels of their retreating cavalry, Prussian infantry began quitting the Kuh-Grunde and the Muhlberg and withdrawing to Bischofsee. The fleeing cavalry and infantry were followed by artillerymen, who abandoned the majority of their guns to the victorious Allies.

The Allied cavalry pursued the fugitives, mercilessly sabering those falling behind. Frederick tried in vain to rally several regiments to cover the retreat, but he was only able to gather 600 men from several units around him, as well as an artillery battery.

"Lads, do you want to live eternally?" Frederick shouted to his men as he seized a flag to lead them forward again. Maj. Gen. Christian Friedrich von Diericke's Fusilier Brigade, the one brigade that remained intact, formed itself into a square to survive the ordeal. But the Russian cavalry shattered the formation and overran it. The small band around Frederick retreated, abandoning the artillery battery as it went.

The Austro-Russian heavy cavalry halted, leaving the pursuit of the beaten Prussians to Lt. Gen. Count Gottlob Heinrich Curt von Totleben's light cavalry. Totleben, a German-born general in Russian service, chased the Prussians with his Don Cossacks and Russian hussars.

Frederick made one last-ditch attempt to save his remaining forces. He sent in two elite cuirassier squadrons of the Leibregiment to delay the Russians, but before the elite troopers had a chance to engage the enemy, they were attacked by the Cossack Chuguyev Regiment and routed.

The Cossacks, who were armed with lances, attacked the elite Prussian cuirassiers, threw them back, captured their flag, and took their commander prisoner. In so doing, they succeeded in repelling the last, desperate attempt by Frederick to save the remnants of his army. The Cossacks then surrounded Frederick and his staff. Were it not for the timely intervention of some of the Zieten Hussars, Frederick would have been captured.

The one glimmer of success in the campaign occurred when von Wunsch's troops withstood Russian attempts to retake Frankfurt-an-der-Oder. But even that success was short-lived. When Saltykov threatened to bombard the city, Wunsch promptly capitulated to save his troops. Saltykov allowed Wunsch's troops to march out rather than go into captivity, and they rejoined Frederick's remaining forces the next day.

The remnants of the Prussian army still under colors—numbering somewhere between 3,000 and 4,000 men—retreated to the Oder bridges. Frederick gathered up his stragglers over the course of the next several days and set about reorganizing his army.

"My coat is riddled with musket balls, and I have had two horses killed beneath me," Frederick wrote the day after the battle to his foreign minister Count Karl Wilhelm Reichsgraf Finck von Finckelstein. "It is my misfortune to be still alive. Our losses are very great…. At the moment that I am writing, everybody is in flight, and I can exercise no control over my men."

Frederick lost 19,000 men killed, wounded, missing, and captured, as well as 170 artillery pieces and 28 colors captured. It was the worst defeat of his career. The Russians suffered 13,477 killed and wounded, while the Austrians lost 1,398 killed and wounded for a total of 14,875 coalition casualties. For his victory, Saltykov was promoted to marshal.

As the news of the catastrophic defeat reached Berlin, there was widespread panic, and even a half-hearted offensive on the capital would have brought the end of the war. Yet the Allies remained largely static, for they were struggling to recover from their own heavy losses. Frederick vowed to defend Berlin if the Austrians and Russians converged on it.

"We'll fight them—more in order to die beneath the walls of our own city than through any hope of beating them," Frederick wrote in the aftermath of the battle. But that last stand never came to pass. In what became known as the "Miracle of the House of Brandenburg," the Austrian and Russian forces did not advance on Berlin. Laudon moved off to rejoin the main Austrian army, while Saltykov waited for the arrival of supply trains to replenish his ammunition.

Kunersdorf is remembered not only as Frederick's greatest disaster, but also as Russia's greatest military victory in the 18th century.

The Seven Years War continued with the conflict steadily tipping in favor of the coalition arrayed against Prussia. "We ought now to think of preserving for my nephew, by way of negotiation, whatever fragments of my territory we can save from the avidity of my enemies," Frederick wrote to Finckelstein on January 6, 1762.

When he wrote the letter, Frederick was as-yet unaware of the sudden death of Empress Elizabeth of Russia the day before. Her German nephew Duke Karl Peter Ulrich of Holstein-Gottorp ascended to the Russian throne as Tsar Peter III. The new Russian monarch hardly spoke Russian and was a staunch admirer of Frederick. Peter immediately halted Russian operations against Prussia, which led to the eventual collapse of the anti-Prussian alliance. The war ended with Prussia in possession of roughly the same territory as at its commencement. ■

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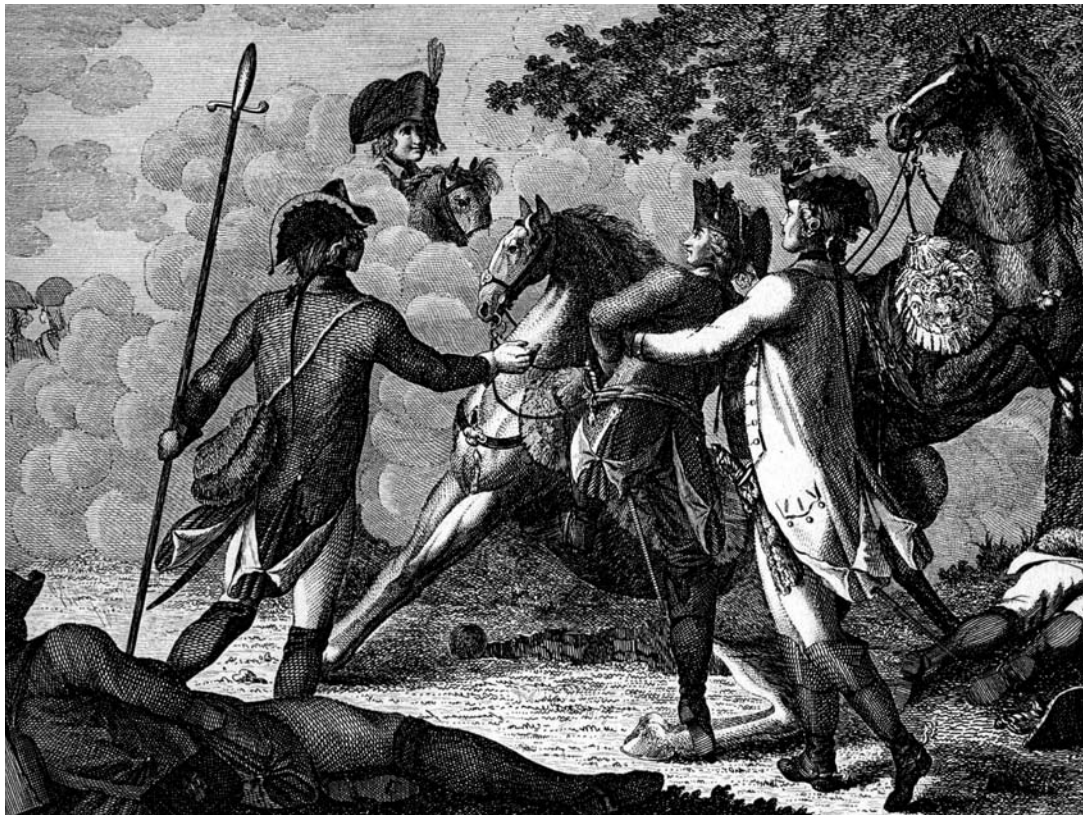


When a well-timed charge by the Austrian cavalry broke the Prussian line, Frederick snatched a regimental flag to rally his troops. He was nearly captured, and his coat was riddled with holes from musket balls.

Dauntlesses dive bombers and Wildcat fighters from the USS *Ranger* attack German shipping in Bodo harbor in northern Norway in a painting by Mark Postlethwaite.

Painting © Mark Postlethwaite GAvA / www.posart.com

CARRIER STRIKE IN NORWAY

The USS *Ranger* launched the only strike against the European mainland by an American aircraft carrier in World War II when its aircraft attacked German shipping in Norway in 1943.

By Christopher Miskimon

The morning sun arose late in the North Atlantic Ocean on October 4, 1943. In the far northern latitudes 100 miles off the coast of Norway, the aircraft carrier *USS Ranger* (CV-4) slid smoothly through the icy waters, turning into the wind to launch its aircraft.

The first aircraft lifted off from the flight deck at 7:05 a.m. Thirty minutes later the entire strike group of 20 SBD-5 Dauntless dive bombers and eight F4F-4 Wildcat fighters was in the air and quickly assumed formation. Five minutes later, strike group leader, Lt. Cdr. George Klinsmann, led the formation east at 135 knots. The aircraft descended toward the sea, flying no more than 100 feet above the surface to avoid detection.

Ahead of them lay the long Norwegian coastline, an area known as the "Leads." The Leads is a waterway between the shore and the numerous small islands that dot the coast of the Scandinavian country. Vessels navigating the coastline use the Leads to transport cargo the length of Norway.

Since the Germans invaded Norway in 1940, they had used the Leads to move troops around the country. They also used the passageway to transport iron ore from Narvik in northern Norway to Germany.

The Allies found it challenging to strike German shipping in the Leads. This was because underwater obstacles made it difficult for Allied submarines to operate there. In addition, the Leads were just barely within the maximum range of Allied land-based aircraft flying from Scotland. Yet an air strike launched from an Allied carrier would be close enough to allow the attacking planes to spend ample time over their targets before withdrawing in an unexpected direction to avoid pursuit by German aircraft.

The *Ranger's* strike against Norwegian targets is significant because it was the only air attack made against the European mainland by an American fleet carrier during World War II. The ship, which was the U.S. Navy's first vessel built from the keel up as an aircraft carrier, was built in Newport News, Virginia, in September 1931 and commissioned nearly three years later in June 1934. The ship spent the rest of the 1930s conducting training and participating in fleet exercises until the very end of the decade.

The *Ranger* was destined to spend its entire combat service during World War II in the Atlantic theater. The U.S. Navy deployed the carrier to the Atlantic Ocean, rather than the Pacific Ocean where it might have served alongside the *Wasp*, *Lexington,* and *Yorktown* class ships arrayed against the Imperial Japanese Navy. The Navy's decision to keep it in the Atlantic stemmed from the ship's speed and armament, which was considered too slow and too light, respectively, to survive in the Pacific Theater, even though carriers were desperately needed there.

When President Franklin D. Roosevelt declared a security zone in the Western Atlantic a few days after the Germans invaded Poland, he also established a Neutrality Patrol, ostensibly to protect neutral shipping and keep the war away from American shores. While it did those things, the patrol also served to locate German ships and submarines and pass their locations along to the Royal Navy. The *Ranger* joined the Neutrality Patrol, sailing out of Barbados and monitoring the shipping lanes as far north as Newfoundland. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the *Ranger* patrolled in the South Atlantic.

In May 1942, the ship delivered a load of 68 Army P-40 fighter planes to Accra in the British West African crown colony of the Gold Coast. In July she took 72 more P-40s to Africa before returning to Norfolk for training. In October 1942 the *Ranger* sailed for Bermuda, where the ship joined four newly constructed U.S. Navy *Sangamon*-class escort carriers, converted from tankers, and prepared together for their first combat mission of the war.

On November 8, 1942, *Ranger* and the escort carriers arrived off the coast of North Africa to support Operation Torch, the Anglo-American landings in Morocco. Her air group consisted of 54 Wildcat fighters and 18 Dauntless dive bombers. The *Ranger* launched her first aircraft 30 miles northwest of Casablanca at 6:15 a.m. that day. One flight of nine Wildcat fighters attacked two airfields and destroyed 21 aircraft. The other flight destroyed seven more on the ground while more planes strafed shore batteries and four French destroyers in Casablanca harbor. The carrier also launched several Army Piper Cubs on observation missions. The observation aircraft spotted targets for naval gunfire support.

French resistance to the invasion proved short but spirited. Over the course of the three-day operation, the *Ranger's* air group flew 496 sorties. Her aircraft attacked the French cruiser *Primauguet* when it tried to sortie from the harbor. *Ranger's* bombers also scored two bomb hits on the destroyer *Albatros*, causing 300 casualties, and destroying the forward half of the ship. The carrier's aircraft also attacked two submarines with depth charges, as well as downed 15 French planes in air-to-air combat. Seventy more enemy aircraft were destroyed on the ground. The *Ranger's* pilots engaged a variety of targets, including anti-aircraft and coastal batteries, columns of vehicles, and airfields. They received credit for knocking out 21 tanks and 86 other vehicles.

On the final day of the operation, dive bombers from *Ranger* struck the French battleship *Jean*

EACH AVENGER CARRIED FOUR 500-POUND BOMBS WITH ARMOR PIERCING FUSES SET TO A 10-SECOND DELAY. ONLY COMMAND PLANES HAD VHF RADIOS, AND ALL OTHER PILOTS WERE TO MAINTAIN RADIO SILENCE. THE SQUADRON WOULD OPERATE IN SECTIONS OF TWO PLANES EACH. WHEN A SECTION SPOTTED A TARGET, THE LEADER WOULD WAGGLE THEIR WINGS TO GET THE ATTENTION OF THE ESCORTING FIGHTERS FLYING ABOVE THEM.

All photos: Naval History and Heritage Command

TOP: An F4F Wildcat, which is fitted with drop tanks, takes off from the USS *Ranger* on a photo-reconnaissance mission over French North Africa during Operation Torch in November 1942. BOTTOM: Fighter pilots gather in a ready room of *Ranger* in the early morning hours of the first day of Operation Torch. Pilots scheduled to take off before dawn wear dark goggles to become accustomed to the darkness. OPPOSITE: The USS *Ranger* is shown at Hampton Roads, Virginia, with a camouflage paint scheme designed to reduce visibility on the horizon and make it difficult to identify. The carrier spent most of World War II in the Atlantic Ocean.

Bart after its crew restored one of it gun turrets to operation. Two bomb hits knocked the hostile ship out of action for good. The French at Casablanca surrendered on November 11, and *Ranger* departed the next day for Norfolk, arriving November 23, 1942. After training in the Chesapeake Bay and a refit, *Ranger* carried yet another load of 75 P-40 fighters, this time back to Casablanca, in late February 1943.

The *Ranger* sailed for the British naval base at Scapa Flow in August 1943 for attachment to the Royal Navy. The British Home Fleet's carrier force was understrength due to damaged ships under repair and widespread commitment of the remaining carriers. The cruisers *Augusta* and *Tuscaloosa* along with five destroyers accompanied *Ranger* to the United Kingdom. For this deployment, *Ranger's* air group contained three squadrons, VF-4 with 27 Wildcats, VB-4 equipped with 27 Dauntless dive bombers, and VT-4 with 18 TBF Avenger torpedo bombers.

At the beginning of the war, the U.S. Navy matched each carrier's air group number with that of the ship. *Ranger's* ship number was CV-4, so assigned planes made up Carrier Air Group 4. The fast pace of operations meant air groups and squadrons became mixed later, but for the *Ranger* in the Atlantic, the numbering system remained accurate. Individual planes received designations based on this. For example, 4B11 referred to Air Group 4, Bombing Squadron, and aircraft number 11. The Dauntless was an older design but had served effectively in the Pacific while the Avengers were a newer aircraft. Outdated against the most modern fighters, the Wildcat could still be effective at strafing ships and attacking bombers or transport aircraft.

At the beginning of *Ranger's* time attached to the Royal Navy, the British fleet maintained a significant force at Scapa Flow against the threat of Germany's remaining large surface ships conducting a sortie into the North Atlantic. The Kriegsmarine based warships, such as the battleship *Tirpitz* and pocket battleship *Scharnhorst* in Norway, where they were protected in the steep-sided fjords of the Norwegian coast. These ships could cause great damage to convoys bound for England or the Soviet Union, so a large force of capital ships with carrier support had to stand ready to engage the German warships if they dared to emerge into open waters.

The situation changed after British midget submarines managed to penetrate the defenses around the battleship *Tirpitz* in mid-September 1943. Two of the submersibles planted large mines under the *Tirpitz*, causing extensive damage which put the ship out of action. Without their largest and most effective ship in the region, the threat of the other German ships mounting an

offensive operation was effectively eliminated.

At that point, the *Ranger* could be spared to conduct offensive operations in the North Atlantic. The British Admiralty decided the time was ripe for a carrier strike against German targets in Norway. A successful raid could damage German-controlled coastal cargo traffic and impede the Nazi war effort by interdicting the flow of raw materials.

A plan soon came together with *Ranger* as the center of the group, designated Task Force 121. The British decided against using either of their two carriers. The *HMS Furious* was undergoing a refit and therefore unavailable, and the *HMS Formidable's* torpedo bombers were deemed obsolete and thus unsuited for a strike.

The plan received the name Operation Leader, and TF-121 included *Ranger*, the heavy cruiser *Tuscaloosa* and six destroyers. Since 60 percent of *Ranger's* aircrews had not yet seen action, a raid offered an opportunity to give them actual combat experience.

The crew of *Ranger* had another reason to get at the Germans. Late in April 1943, a German radio broadcast announced that the submarine *U-404* sank an American carrier with four torpedoes. The U-Boat's commanding officer, Lieutenant Otto von Bulow, was awarded the Oak Leaves to the Knight's Cross for the feat. Aside from the indignity of being reported sunk by the enemy, some crewmen worried the report would reach loved ones who knew what ship their sailor was serving aboard and caused unwarranted sorrow. Hitting the Germans with an air raid would pay them back for their erroneous claims.

TOP: Lieutenant (jg) Woodie L. McVay Jr. watches as radio-gunner K. W. Jobe tests the rear-facing, .30-caliber machine-gun system on their SBD-3 Dauntless dive bomber during Operation Torch. BOTTOM: The 8,000-ton German freighter La Plata is shown just minutes after an attack by USS *Ranger* aircraft. The aviators, who enjoyed clear skies, did not encounter German fighter aircraft. OPPOSITE: Navy aircraft set fire to the stern of the tanker *Schleswig*, which was identified as the *Rigmor* in Navy combat photos of the air strike.

The task force sailed from Scapa Flow on October 2, 1943. Initially *Ranger* and her escorts moved in the direction of Iceland and then turned northeast to close with the Norwegian coast before launch. A covering force including the battleships HMS *Duke of York* and HMS *Anson* also left Scapa Flow in case any German surface ships responded to the raid. The plan targeted the area offshore of the town of Bodø, which was situated 100 miles north of the Arctic Circle, because it served as a meeting point for coastal shipping. The attack used two strike groups.

The Northern Group comprised 20 SBD Dauntless dive bombers escorted by eight F4F Wildcats, while the Southern Group used eight TBF Avenger torpedo bombers with six Wildcats in support. Each group had a Norwegian navigator in the lead plane to help them get to the target area and aid in distinguishing German-controlled shipping from Norwegian civilian craft. Norway was an ally, and the Allied attack force did not want to unnecessarily kill or wound any Norwegians.

The Northern Group would launch first. Both groups would fly toward the Myken Lighthouse, located on the small island of Jutoya 62 miles southwest of Bodø. Upon reaching that landmark, the Northern Group would turn north and head toward Bodø while the Southern Group flew south to find targets in the leads. In the event no enemy shipping could be attacked, the secondary target was German shore facilities around Bodø. The torpedo planes would carry bombs in case they had to hit land targets and because no one was sure how effective torpedoes would be in the shallow waters of the leads.

On the following day, October 3, the task force crossed the arctic circle. *Ranger's* loudspeakers came to life with an important message to all personnel aboard. "The *Ranger* has just crossed the Arctic Circle," stated the announcer. "The captain congratulates all those on board for attaining membership in the Bluenose Society. With Neptune's permission and the blessings of Aurora Borealis, Bluenose certificates will be issued to all hands."

On the evening of October 3, as the task force slowly neared the launch point, sailors loaded bombs and fueled aircraft while aircrews inspected their planes and studied maps. Those involved in carrying out the raid also studied tabletop mod-

els of the area around Bodø. As part of the mission requirements, each pilot had to be able to draw a map of the area from memory. Former Norwegian Air Force pilots provided descriptions of the area and the maps detailed intelligence about German defenses. Those involved passed around photographs of German ships likely to be encountered during the raid.

The aircrews arose from their bunks at 2:00 a.m. Many of the fliers put on heavy green wool sweaters donated by the Red Cross. Rumors circulated among the pilots these sweaters provided protection from flak shrapnel, though in reality they were more useful for keeping the fliers warm. At 4:30 a.m. the announcement "Flight Quarters" came over the loudspeaker and the aircrews reported to their Ready Rooms. Lieutenant Gerald Thomas, a new and untested pilot in *Ranger's* Torpedo Squadron Four (VT-4), remembered his squadron commander, Lt. Cdr. D.W. Taylor, giving a briefing on the plan of action.

Taylor began by announcing their target area south of Bodø and then gave tactical details. Each Avenger carried four 500-pound bombs with armor piercing fuses set to a 10-second delay. Only command planes had VHF radios, and all other pilots were to maintain radio silence. The squadron would operate in sections of two planes each. When a section spotted a target, the leader would waggle their wings to get the attention of the escorting fighters flying above them.

Four fighters would then dive on the target and strafe it to reduce antiaircraft fire. Right behind the fighters, two following torpedo planes would drop their bombs at mast level over the enemy ships. The attack force would repeat this tactic for each ship they spotted, two Avengers at a time. The Carrier's air group commander, Commander Joseph A. Ruddy, would fly one of the Avengers.

Lt. Cdr. Homer Hutcheson, executive officer of VT-4, originally had planned to keep Thomas off the mission due to seasickness, but at the last minute told him to pilot Four-Tare-Nine (4T9), the last plane on the flight deck. Thomas quickly copied Point Option Data, such as ship's location, speed, wind direction, and velocity, onto his plotting board and strapped on his parachute harness. The harness fit poorly over the shoulder holster for his .38 revolver, and he feared he might break a rib if he had to bail out. He left the weapon in the ready room because he decided that if he went down over enemy territory it would be of little use to him.

After the Northern Group took off, the pilots of the Southern Group received orders to man their planes. Thomas rushed off without time to recalculate the ship's position, but at least the freezing wind on the flight deck helped with his seasickness. He climbed into the cockpit of his plane and the plane captain helped him strap in and went over the ordnance data for his bombload. Soon he started his engine; it sounded good as he prepared to take off. Minutes later the launching officer dropped his signal flag and the Avenger rushed down the flight deck and into the air. Once all planes were airborne, the Southern Group formed up and flew east, 50 minutes behind the first wave.

The Northern Group under Lt. Cdr. Klinsmann arrived at the Myken Lighthouse at 08:20 a.m., skimming across the early morning waves toward the beacon. The aircraft rose to 1,500 feet and turned north toward Bodø, with one group of dive bombers and fighters breaking off to search a nearby lead. In the distance they spied the snow-covered mountain peaks on the Norwegian coast. The aircrews had clear skies and good visibility along the coast for their respective missions. No German fighters arose to challenge the Americans. It appeared to the American aircrews that they had succeeded in surprising the Germans.

The pilots of the group that broke off soon found the first target of the day at 08:24 a.m. Below them on the tranquil morning waters of the lead sailed the 8,000-ton German freighter *La Plata*. Immediately the fighters and one Dauntless dove on the enemy ship, strafing it over and over to clear its decks of antiaircraft gunners so the dive bombers could make their runs.

Two Dauntlesses soon dove on the fleeing German ship, dropping their bombs as they soared over the ship's hull. One of the pilots, Lieutenant (jg) Prince H. Gordon, dropped his ordnance just 60 feet above the ship. "I went in very close, so close, in fact, I had to pull up severely to miss the foremast," he said afterward. Three bombs hit the

La Plata; soon she was on fire and listing, obviously badly damaged. The American flight commander decided to save his group's remaining bombs for other targets, so they flew north to find their fellow fliers. *La Plata's* crew chose to beach their burning ship to save her from sinking.

While the detachment made its run on *La Plata*, the rest of the attack group flew north toward Bodø. Soon they found a quartet of Norwegian craft sailing through a lead. The Norwegian officer flying with the Americans waved the planes off because the vessels were friendly; however, shortly afterward they spotted three more ships sailing in a small convoy. The freighter *Kerkplein* and the large tanker *Schleswig* had an escort, which different sources report as a German minesweeper or a former Norwegian *Sleipner*-class destroyer in use by the Germans. A pair of dive bombers attacked *Kerkplein,* while eight others went after the *Schleswig*.

The fighters strafed all three ships several times, though the antiaircraft fire proved heavy. One American plane took damage and had to return to the *Ranger*. All the ships took damage, and like the *La Plata* earlier, the *Schleswig* had to beach to prevent sinking. A later German report stated three bombs struck the hapless tanker. The ship was later refloated, however, and taken to Bodø for repairs. The *Kerkplein* took a pair of bomb hits and caught fire. The ship carried 1,551 Soviet prisoners of war; of that number, 14 died, 29 were wounded, and nine missing. It was a tragic situation because the ship bore no marking to identify it as a prisoner-of-war transport vessel.

Klinsmann sent some of his planes to the rendezvous point since they had expended all their ordnance. With so many of the aircrews lacking combat experience, leaders noticed the new pilot's tendency to place too much machine gun fire on the first target they engaged. The rest of the attack group flew on to Bodø harbor, where they found four German cargo ships. Eight Dauntlesses dove on the hapless ships, strafing and dropping their remaining bombs. One freighter sank while another suffered damage from a bomb which struck under the waterline. A bomb struck the third cargo ship but failed to detonate, while the fourth took no bomb hits but had some minor damage from the strafing.

The German response proved scattered. Both Wehrmacht and Kriegsmarine units stationed around Bodø shared a single radio channel. When the Americans attacked, the German army troops got onto the radio first, clogging it with so much traffic the navy was unable to warn nearby ships and outposts of the danger. A German report on the battle mentioned coding errors. The radio was "constantly noisy with interruptions," stated the report. For a time, confusion reigned in the German response; the Americans had achieved surprise.

Despite this, German anti-aircraft gun crews got into action quickly and scored hits on several Dauntlesses. Lieutenant C.V. Johnson's 4B11 took a hit to the starboard wing but kept flying. Aircraft 4B23, flown by Lieutenant R.W. Phillips, took a 40mm explosive cannon round, which damaged its right stabilizer and put a hole in its rudder. Another hit on his port wing clipped the fuel tank but did not penetrate it.

Three 20mm shells struck Lieutenant L.M. Boykin's 4B13, but the plane flew on with no apparent effect. Lieutenant G.C. Simmons flew 4B27, took a 40mm round in the radio compartment behind the rear gunner, which also severed his right rudder cable. The Dauntless was a tough aircraft, and those particular aircraft stayed aloft and returned to the *Ranger*.

Unfortunately, even a rugged plane cannot fly if it is severely damaged. Other SBD aircrews were not so fortunate. The plane crewed by Lieutenant Clyde A. Tucker and Airman 2nd Class Stephen D. Bakran took a hit near the starboard wing root as they flew only 200 feet over the water. The Dauntless caught fire and went down at a 30-degree angle into the water and exploded, killing both American aviators.

Two Dauntlesses dive bombers, one of which swooped just 60 feet over the ship, finish off the *La Plata* with three bombs. The crew beached the burning ship.

A second SBD Dauntless crewed by Lieutenant (jg) Sumner R. Davis and Airman 2nd Class Donald W. McCarley took a hit to its engine. Davis tried to pilot the plane back to the *Ranger* but had to make a water landing 12 miles west of Bodø. The rest of the attack group was returning to *Ranger* at this time and saw the two men launch a life raft and signal that they were all right. The Germans later found both men and took them prisoner.

The Northern Attack Group achieved considerable success before it turned west toward its carrier. The Southern Attack Group of Avenger Torpedo Bombers and the Wildcat fighters took their turn, arriving about 50 minutes after the first wave. They reached the coast near Sandnessjoen, 100 miles south of Bodø, just as the morning sun appeared over the rocky peaks of the coastal mountains. The group ascended to 1,500 feet as Commander Ruddy led his force north along the coast, searching for targets. It took only a few minutes to find one.

Sailing through the placid waters below the attack group, the *Topeka* was a German-controlled merchant ship with Norwegian crewmen aboard. Taylor, the torpedo squadron commander, wagged his wings, signaling the fighters to begin their strafing runs. A pair of Avengers followed the Wildcats. The aircraft flew so low they were level with the ship's mast. Antiaircraft fire from both the ship and shore batteries along the coast met them, but the planes completed their runs and rejoined the group. Several bombs hit the *Topeka* and set her afire, forcing the crew to beach the ship, which kept burning until it was a smoking ruin.

An Avenger torpedo bomber attacks the freighter *Topeka*, which was carrying building materials bound for Germany. Three Norwegian and eight German sailors died in the attack.

Lieutenant Gerald Thomas watched the attack on the *Topeka* and saw his fellow flyers rejoin the group and fly north toward Bodø. Suddenly, just in front of him, the torpedo plane flown by Lieutenant (jg) John Palmer burst into flame and began spiraling toward the water. Squadron Commander Taylor broke radio silence and implored the crew to bail out, but only one parachute was spotted. The Avenger crashed into the sea. Palmer made it out, but both his turret gunner and radioman/bombardier/ventral gunner died.

"I must have caught a shell right through the back of the plane," Palmer recalled. "It went right under me and into the engine, because it caught fire. I think it must have killed Zalom and Miller." As more flak burst around the American formation, Thomas tried to make himself as small as possible, trying to center himself on the armor plating under his cockpit.

The Southern Attack Group continued north and soon spotted the *La Plata* and its escort. A quick attack run scored two more hits on the hapless freighter. Continuing north to Bodø, the group soon found more targets. As Thomas flew along, he noticed his section leader, Lieutenant (jg) Burt Trexler, wagging his wings, indicating their section was next to attack. Thomas watched a ship he thought was a tanker moving through the water below and soon got the order to attack it. The ship was a barge carrying 40 tons of ammunition. By the time the order came through, Trexler and Thomas were almost directly over the vessel, which meant they had to practically dive on their target

U.S. NAVY AIRMEN DOWNED DURING RAID ENDURED GERMAN POW CAMPS

The Germans captured three American naval aviators in the aftermath of the Bodø raid. They spent the rest of the war in prison camps, where they endured harsh treatment. The SBD Dauntless flown by Lieutenant (jg) Sumner Davis and his gunner, Donald McCarley, was struck by enemy antiaircraft fire over the harbor, and Davis tried to get his plane back to the carrier. The damage proved too severe, and therefore they made a water landing near Prestoya Island.

A Norwegian father and son out fishing spotted the two U.S. Navy airmen in their rubber raft and brought them to their home, but the island was too small to hide for long. The Germans captured both men and took them to the mainland.

Both aviators were taken to Trondheim the next day where they were kept in dark cells with sawdust on the concrete floor. The next day they were put on a train to Oslo with two armed guards. Davis was separated from McCarley, whose subsequent experiences are unknown.

A major in the Luftwaffe interrogated Davis at a ski lodge appropriated as a headquarters. The major asked where Davis was from and showed him a high-altitude reconnaissance photograph of a carrier.

"When I gave him the name, rank, and serial number stuff, he just smiled," recalled Davis. The Luftwaffe officer, who was clearly not an interrogator, just started talking about the United States. "He knew more about New York City than I did," Davis said. Davis subsequently was transferred to a camp near Frankfurt, Germany, where he briefly saw McCarley again before a transfer to Stalag Luft One near Barth. When Davis was freed at war's end, he had lost 40 pounds.

Lieutenant (jg) John Palmer went down after his Avenger took fire and burst into flame. His crew did not get out. He hit the water, got out of his parachute, and swam to the nearest shoreline. Unfortunately, he came ashore close to an antiaircraft gun emplacement. The German crew quickly took the young American prisoner. Palmer also wound up in Oslo, where he remained for a week before the long journey to Frankfurt. While in Oslo the Germans put him through "a week of interrogation on bread and water, and then took me to Stalag Luft Three," Palmer said.

Palmer's arrival in Oslo proved unwelcome even to his fellow prisoners. "I was the only U.S. Navy guy in this camp, and I found the other prisoners ignored me completely for about two weeks," Palmer remembered. "They thought I was a German plant. They showed me a German newspaper, which said the *Ranger* had been sunk in September. Of course, I told them I was off the *Ranger*, [but] they didn't believe me. They believed the newspaper."

Palmer remained in the camp until its liberation by the Soviets in January 1945. "We were liberated by the Russians and spent [several] months living off the country before an American unit took us in. I was sent back to Pensacola for a refresher, and then the atomic bomb ended the war. I got out of the Navy in September 1945."

—Christopher Miskimon

ABOVE: Navy aircraft participating in the raid inflict heavy damage on the tanker *Saarburg* and the *Kerkplein*, which was transporting 1,551 Russian prisoners of war. The *Kerkplein* bore no markings to indicate that it was carrying POWs. LEFT: Bombs explode around the tanker *Saarburg*. Because of their training and combat experience, the American aviators had considerable success striking their targets. OPPOSITE: An F4F Wildcat prepares to land on the USS *Ranger* as seen from a camera mounted behind the pilot. The carrier's successful attack on German shipping severely disrupted for several months the shipment of iron ore from northern Norway to Germany.

rather than do a glide-bombing attack more appropriate to a torpedo bomber.

As the two planes dove, Thomas realized he had gotten too far behind Trexler and would be caught in the leading plane's bomb blast. He rolled his plane and pushed into the dive to shorten the distance. As he rolled, Thomas lost sight of Trexler behind his plane's wing. When he corrected, the plane was not there. He later learned Trexler pulled out of the dive because it was too steep for a torpedo plane and the escorting fighters had not gotten the signal to strafe in time. As Thomas struggled to maintain his dive, he also hurriedly armed his bombs, opened his bomb bay and readied his guns to strafe.

"I fired a couple of bursts from the machine guns, pushed the pickle [the bomb release control], and dropped two 500-pounders," he wrote. "The plane came out of its dive just above the water. Because of the steep dive, I could not hold the nose on target, so the two bombs straddled the bow of the ship—at least 50 feet too far forward splashing water on the deck of the ship."

At that point, two bombs remained in the bomb bay. Thomas, who by that time was flying 50 feet above the water, started to prepare for another run. He began to climb near a small rocky island when someone yelled a warning over the radio. "Watch that shore battery!" the person shouted.

Thomas had not seen a gun emplacement close by and it peppered his wings with bullets, but the plane kept going. Thomas lined up for his run and went to full throttle; despite that, his aircraft felt agonizingly slow as tracer bullets from three different guns on the ship flew past his plane. One of his bombs struck the ship, which burst into flames.

He did not think to fire his guns in return. Just as he pressed the bomb release button, the engine took a direct hit. There was a flash of fire and smoke filled the cockpit. Thomas' turret gunner, a man named Garner, shouted they were on fire. "I hauled back on the stick to gain altitude and shouted over the intercom, 'Bail Out!'" recalled Thomas. He opened his cockpit at 800 feet, released his safety belt, and started climbing out of the plane. Yet he had forgotten to disconnect his radio cord, and as a result heard Garner shouting a warning to him.

"Don't jump!" shouted Garner. Jackson, the third member of the aircraft's crew, had accidentally pulled his rip cord inside the plane, which opened his parachute inside the aircraft, and he could not get out the escape hatch.

Thomas got back into the cockpit and started looking for a place to land. He decided on a water landing, trying to put down near one of the small islands; however, he realized that the German were concentrating antiaircraft fire on his plane, so he chose to get farther out to sea. As Thomas gained altitude, he realized there were no red warning lights on his instruments, everything read normal.

Thomas had to make a difficult decision. He knew *Ranger* was 100 miles away and the crew could only survive 15-20 minutes in the cold waters of the North Atlantic. Sweden, a neutral country, was just 90 miles away; therefore Thomas decided to head for internment in Sweden. He climbed to 5,000 feet and headed toward the imposing shapes of the mountains.

A new problem arose. His squadron mates had managed to sink two more enemy ships, the liner *Vaagen* and the troopship *Skramstad*, and damage several others. Now they were returning to *Ranger*, leaving Thomas's Avenger the sole American plane in the sky. German fire concentrated on them. At that moment, Thomas changed his mind, and he decided that they would try to reach the carrier.

Using his plotting board, Thomas calculated the heading and luckily soon spotted some Avengers heading west. A fellow pilot flew around Thomas's plane and gave him a thumbs-up, so he kept going,

watching and listening for any change in the engine. Oil soon covered his canopy, so he could barely see. The plane's oil pressure began to gradually drop.

They soon reached the carrier and Thomas went straight for it. His oil pressure was almost gone now. At the last minute, he spotted the landing officer waving him off. He went over the carrier almost crosswise to the deck and turned for another pass. This time he couldn't see the landing signal officer, but he could see *Ranger's* island, so he put it where he thought it would line him up on the flight deck. His plane's tail hook caught a wire just as it hit the crash barrier. The wing clipped the island. All three men jumped out of the plane as deck crew sprayed it down.

The flight deck officer grabbed him and berated him. "You son of a bitch!" he shouted. "You landed on a wave off and fouled up the flight deck. Now how am I going to get the other planes aboard?" It was only the pilot's 13th carrier landing.

Thomas went down to the squadron's ready room, wondering if he was going to be court martialed. He told his story, but no one knew if he would be in trouble for landing. A few minutes later, he learned the deck was cleared and the other planes were landing. Instead of a court martial, he later received an air medal for hitting his target and getting his crew back to his carrier with a crippled plane. The rest of the attack group made it back safely, although one fighter pilot was wounded by German fire and made a hard landing which collapsed his landing gear.

Despite the return of both strike groups, the fighting was not over. At 2:00 p.m. the *Ranger's* radar detected three German aircraft approaching the task force. The carrier had a combat air patrol of four Wildcats in the air and directed them toward the radar contacts. One pair of Wildcats played cat and mouse with the German plane in the clouds but could not spot it.

Ordered back to the ship, Lieutenant Dean "Diz" Laird kept looking back, hoping to spot the enemy plane. "I spotted this German bomber about eight or ten miles back coming out from behind a cloud," he recalled. "It was a Junkers 88. I hollered 'Tallyho!' and turned back. My leader joined me. The German saw us and immediately turned to the right and headed away. I was behind the German and shooting like hell, but I couldn't tell whether I was getting any hits or not."

After each pilot made a pass, the Ju-88 started smoking. Laird's flight leader, Lieutenant Boyd Mayhew, had to break off from his second pass so Laird moved in. "I was about two-thirds of the way through my run when the bomber exploded in a huge ball of fire and a bunch of little pieces flew off."

Before they could return to the *Ranger*, the combat air patrol was directed toward another radar contact. Flying through a heavy rain squall, Laird lost sight of his fellow American but spotted a German HE-115B twin-engined, three-seat floatplane. He turned toward the German and opened fire. Pieces of the floatplane's left pontoon flew off.

By the time Laird came around for another pass, he was 1,000 yards behind the enemy aircraft. In an ideal situation, the optimum range for a stern attack was 300 yards. Laird calculated that his .50-caliber bullets would drop about 25 feet in 1,000 yards, so he ascended that distance and fired.

He appeared to have scored some hits on the target because the HE-115B began descending toward the water in what appeared to be an attempt to land on its surface. When the plane touched the water's surface, though, the damaged pontoon collapsed. The plane did a cart wheel and broke apart.

Having observed the carnage, Laird returned to *Ranger* as the task force withdrew west. One fighter pilot on combat air patrol landed off center and ditched his plane into the sea. Luckily for that pilot, the British destroyer *Scourge* managed to pick him up.

The task force returned to Scapa Flow, where its members were congratulated for a successful raid. The operation was "an excellent training exercise for CAG-4," said Commander Ruddy. "We went in as many boys and came out as many men."

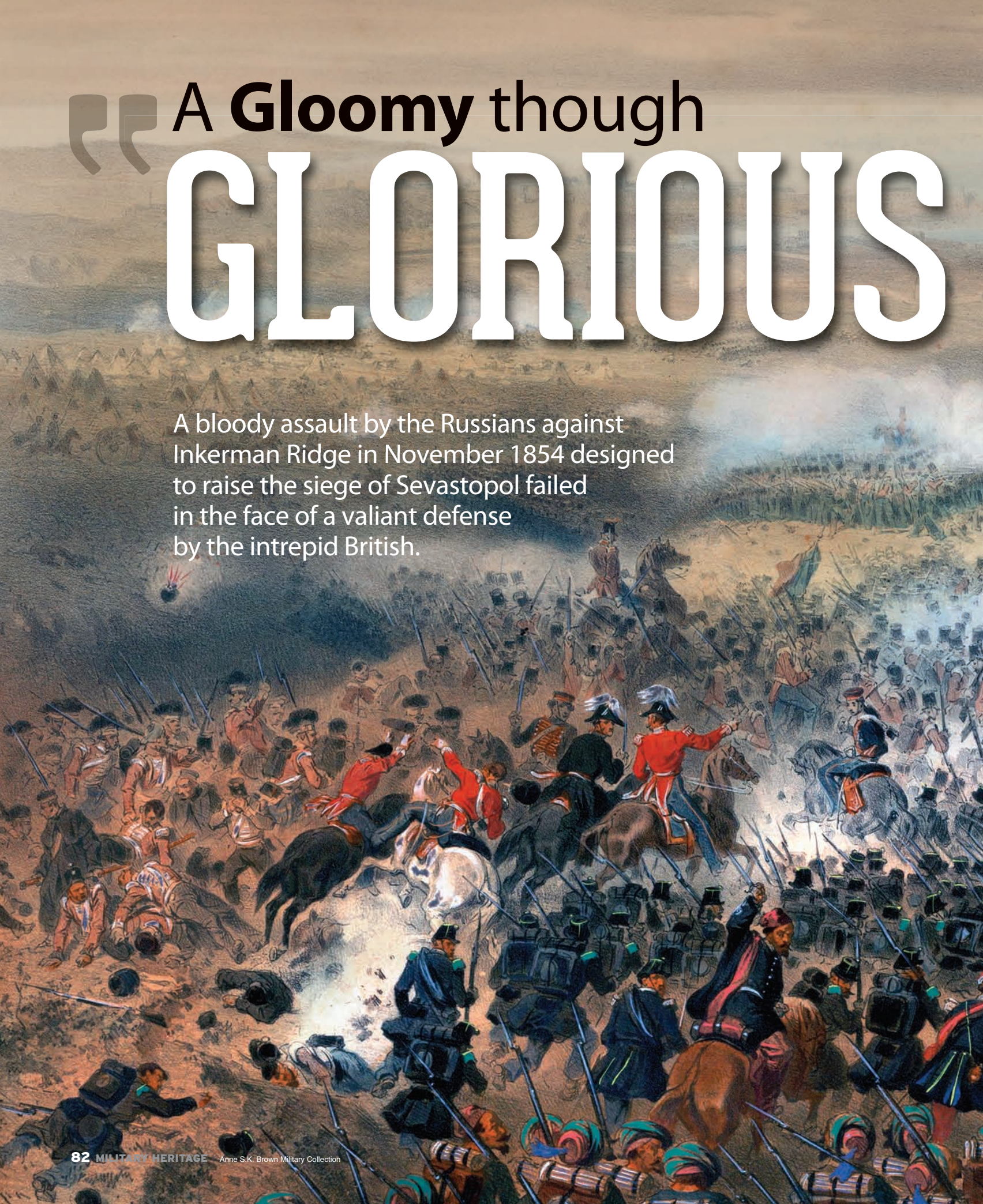
The raid severely disrupted the shipment of iron ore from northern Norway for several months. In late November, *Ranger* sailed for the United States. After one more mission ferrying fighters to Casablanca, Morocco, the ship spent the rest of the war in the Pacific on training duty, preparing new carrier pilots for service with the newer and faster fleet carriers. Its pilots went on to serve in combat throughout the Pacific for the remainder of the war. For its service in North Africa and its successful air strike in the Bodø, Norway, the *Ranger* received two battle stars.

The wreckage of the downed Avenger was found in 1987 in the waters off Bodø by Steinborn Mentzoni, a Norwegian who had watched the raid unfold as a nine-year-old boy. Divers recovered the remains of both deceased airmen. A blade from its propeller is now housed in the National Naval Aviation Museum in Pensacola, Florida. Searchers also located one of the two lost Dauntless dive bombers in 1990 and recovered the crew's remains.

The Norwegians erected a monument in 1987 in Fagervika, Norway, to honor the valor of the U.S. airmen lost during the raid. A propeller from Palmer's Avenger torpedo bomber adorns the memorial. The monument looks out over the icy waters of the Leads where the U.S. Navy delivered an important blow to the German war effort. ■

A **Gloomy** though GLORIOUS

A bloody assault by the Russians against Inkerman Ridge in November 1854 designed to raise the siege of Sevastopol failed in the face of a valiant defense by the intrepid British.

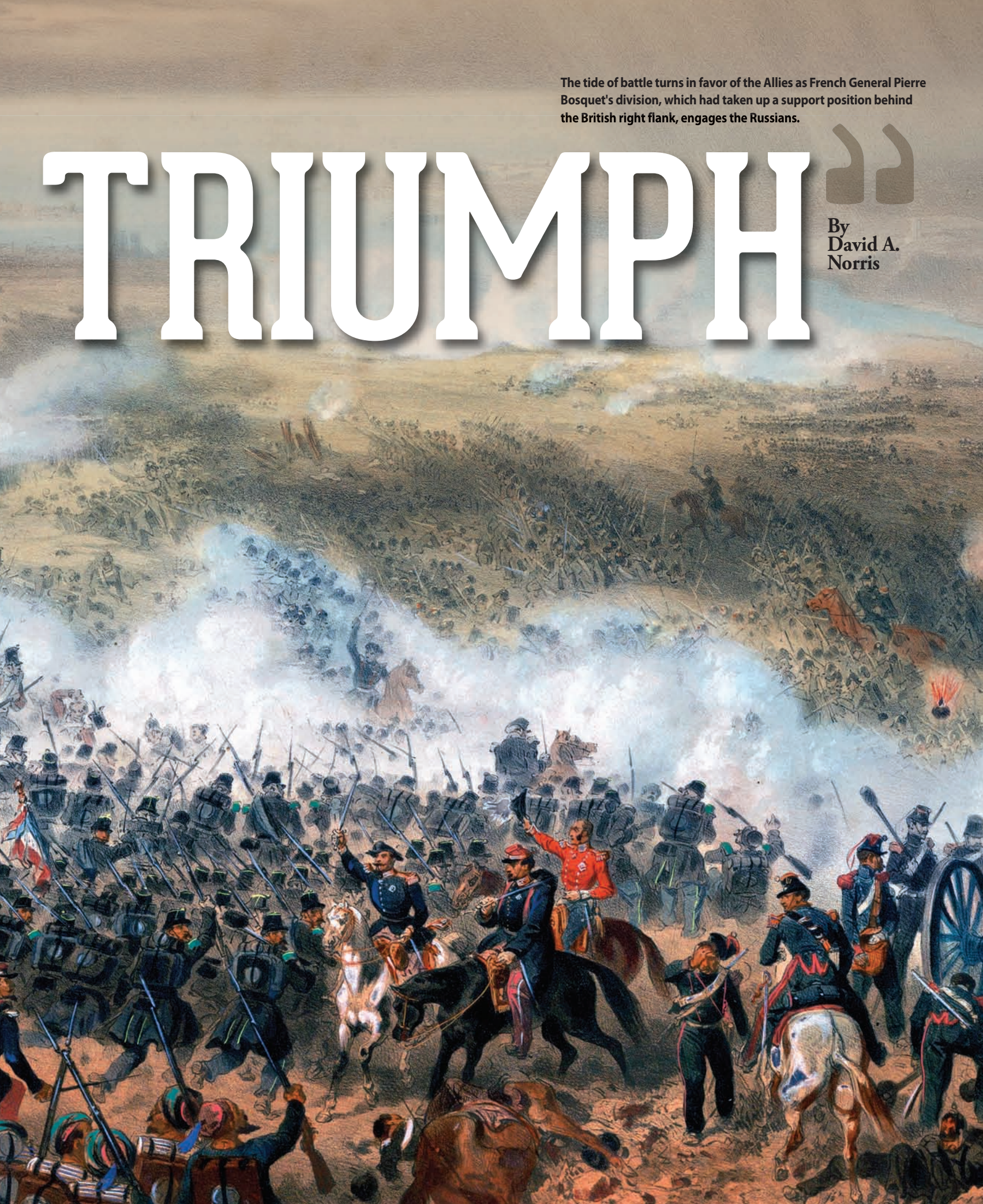


 Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

The tide of battle turns in favor of the Allies as French General Pierre Bosquet's division, which had taken up a support position behind the British right flank, engages the Russians.

TRIUMPH

By David A. Norris



AS the Battle of Inkerman veered into chaos, British Maj. Gen. George Cathcart stepped into the role of a line officer, leading several hundred men to cut into the flank of an approaching Russian column. Their success lasted only moments. Back on the ridge that Cathcart had to abandon for the charge, a flood of great-coated Russian infantry poured over the crest. Cathcart immediately turned to deal with this new threat.

More Russian troops fired into his reactionary force of soldiers, seemingly from all directions. With just 50 men remaining, Cathcart led them in a dash for the ridge, but Russian bullets mowed down the remainder of his men. "I fear we are in a mess," Cathcart said in the stoic manner of a cool-headed British commander to staff officer Major Charles L. B. Maitland. Shot through the heart, Cathcart had uttered his last words.

At the Battle of Inkerman on the outskirts of Sevastopol during the Crimean War, thousands of Russian, British, and French troops fought countless disconnected actions on ridgetops and in ravines, often while hidden by fog or drizzling rain. Momentum surged back and forth between the opposing sides, as regiments and broken detachments fought their way in and out of deadly situations. Senior commanders on both sides had little way of guiding the clash. On the field, line and company officers, as well as enlisted men, determined their own courses of action. Because of this, Inkerman is remembered as "The Soldiers' Battle."

European power politics took a strange turn in the early 1850s. Tensions in the Middle East drew Great Britain and France into an alliance with the Ottoman Empire against the Russian Empire. A riot between Orthodox and Roman Catholic churchmen over the control of Christian sites in Bethlehem erupted in 1853, which fanned the flames of conflict. Several Orthodox monks were killed in the riot, and Czar Nicholas I of Russia blamed the Turks, who controlled the region. The czar rejected diplomacy and instead demanded that the Ottoman Empire's Christian lands be annexed by Russia.

The sovereign states of Western Europe viewed the once-feared Ottoman Empire by the 1850s as a harmless "Sick Man of Europe." The Ottomans still maintained the balance of power in their domains, and made no trouble for Great Britain and France; instead, it was a growing and more aggressive Russia that worried the Western powers. Russia, with its vast interior that was practically landlocked save for a few ports on the edges of its empire, sought to strengthen its military and commercial power by seizing warm water ports. Nicholas I saw the Bethlehem riots as a pretext for seizing control of the Bosporus, the narrow strait between Asia and Europe that linked Russian territories on the Black Sea with the Mediterranean Sea.

Prussia and Austria eyed the simmering conflict, but ultimately did very little given that their interests were not threatened. The same could not be said for London, which expressed considerable alarm at the thought of Russia interfering with British access to India via the Middle East. Meanwhile, newly enthroned French Emperor Napoleon III, a nephew of Napoleon I, wanted to increase trade with the Ottomans and enhance French military and diplomatic prestige on the world stage.

Nicholas I sent Russian two armies to invade the Ottoman vassal states of Moldavia and Wallachia. The Russians crossed the Pruth River on July 3, 1853, and 12 days later marched into Bucharest. Ottoman Sultan Abdulmejid I responded to the violation of Ottoman sovereignty by declaring war on Russia on Oct. 23, 1853.

Next, Czar Nicholas directed Russian Admiral Paul Nakhimov to attack the Ottoman fleet in the Black Sea anchored at Sinope on the north shore of Anatolia. Using newly developed naval shells, the Russian fleet inflicted devastating damage on the wooden hulls of the Turkish ships in the one-sided naval action that unfolded on Nov. 30, 1853. Only one Turkish steamer escaped the carnage.

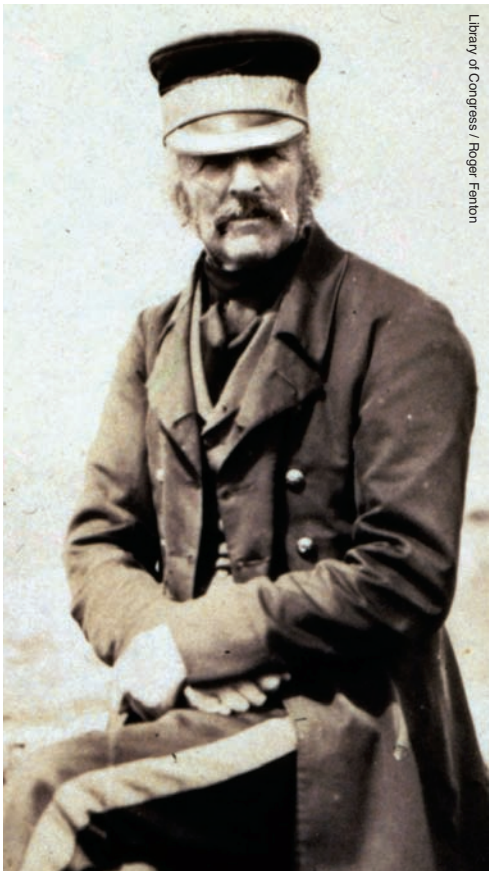
In the aftermath of Russia's combined land and naval campaign against Ottoman forces, the threat of Russian dominance in the region led Great Britain and France to come to the aid of the Ottoman Empire, which appeared to be outmatched by the aggressive Russians.

London and Paris paid scant attention to Russia's northern port of St. Petersburg. Instead, they directed their military effort towards negating Russia's quest for warm-water access through the Black Sea. The Western Allies responded by

Pictured left to right are French General of Division Pierre Francois Joseph Bosquet, Russian Prince Alexander Sergeyevich Menshikov, and British Maj. Gen. Sir John Pennefather.


Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles


Hermitage Museum


Library of Congress / Roger Fenton

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Maj. Gen. John Pennefather's troops checked the masses of Russian soldiers assailing their positions through a combination of timely counterattacks and well-served artillery that raked the Russians' tightly packed formations.

assembling large expeditionary forces for deployment to the Black Sea.

General Fitzroy James Henry Somerset, commonly known as Lord Raglan, commanded 24,000 British troops. A veteran of the Napoleonic Wars, Lord Raglan, who was wed to a niece of the Duke of Wellington, had lost an arm at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815.

Marshal Jacques Leroy de St. Arnaud commanded an initial French army numbering 40,000 troops. France's first contingent dispatched to the region comprised four infantry divisions and two cavalry brigades. As the leader of the largest Allied contingent, St. Arnaud was the overall commander of the allied forces arrayed against the Russians.

The French and British initially landed near Constantinople in April 1854 to protect it from a possible Russian attack, but shortly thereafter advanced their base to Varna on the west coast of the Black Sea, where their expeditionary forces could be resupplied by their respective fleets.

The Russians pressed deeper into the eastern Balkans while the British and French were establishing a foothold in the region. The Russians besieged the Ottoman fortress of Silistria in Bulgaria on May 11, 1854. But when Czar Nicholas learned on June 14 that Austria had assembled 50,000 troops in Transylvania and that Emperor Franz Joseph I was considering joining the Allies, he ordered his troops to withdraw on June 23. Russian troops did not comprehend the reason for the retreat, and their morale plummeted as a result.

The Turks pursued the Russians as they withdrew, inflicting heavy losses on their demoralized columns. By that time the British and French had embarked their forces at Varna, where they busied themselves setting up their respective camps on the plains around the city.

London soon decided that the objective for the Allied expeditionary forces should be the Russian naval base at Sevastopol. The government issued orders for Raglan to capture it. The two allied armies relocated once again. They set sail on Sept. 5 for Calamita Bay north of Sevastopol, where they landed on Sept. 18. Their troops needed to march just 30 miles to take the Russian stronghold and naval base of Sevastopol.

Prince Alexander Sergeyevich Menshikov, who commanded Russia's land and sea forces, was on hand in the Crimea. The first major battle between the opposing sides occurred on Sept. 20, when the allies succeeded in dislodging Menshikov's 37,500 troops from their defensive position behind the Alma River.

Menshikov withdrew his defeated Russian army toward Sevastopol. Quick moves by the Allies could well have overrun Menshikov and taken Sevastopol before the Russians could arrange their defenses, but the Allies did not follow up on their victory. Menshikov had no desire to have his army trapped inside Sevastopol, so he took advantage of the slow pursuit of the Allies to retreat across the Tchernaya River, two miles east of Sevastopol, where he planned to await reinforcements. He left the defense of the city to just 5,000 soldiers and 10,000 sailors from the Black Sea Fleet.

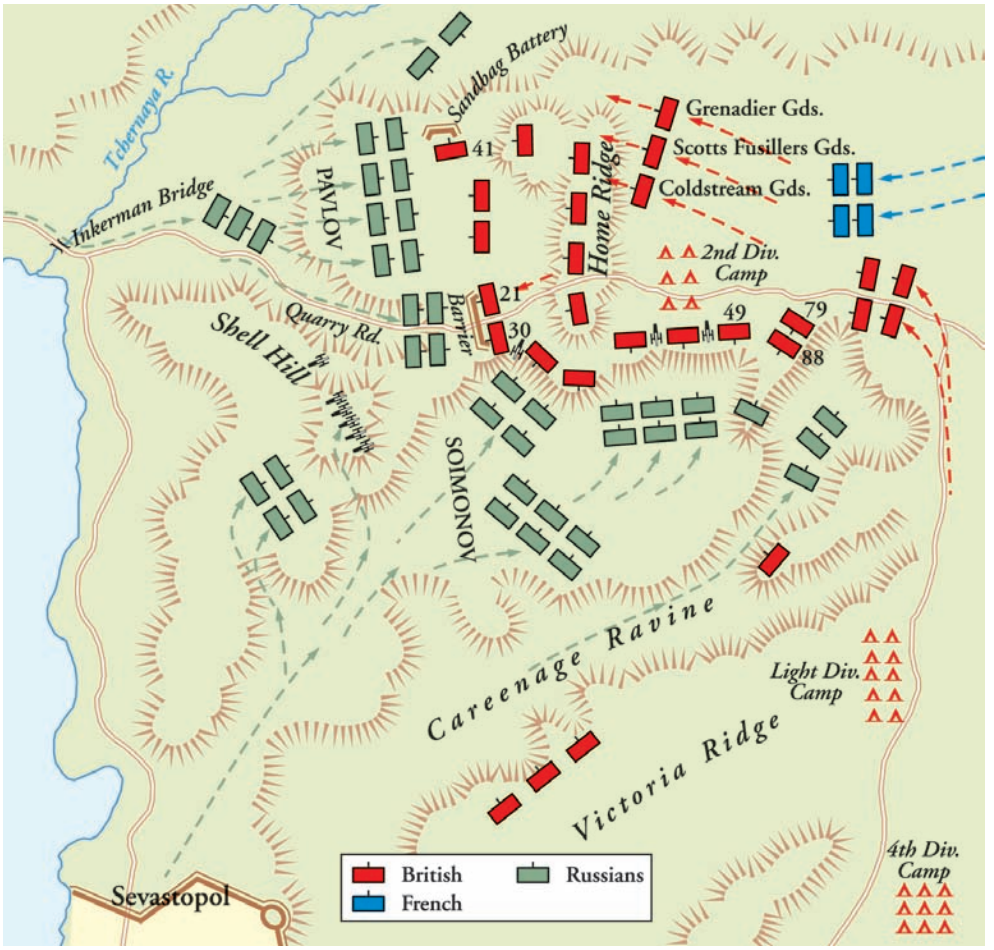
Fortunately for the Russians, a gifted army engineer named Colonel Eduard Totleben had arrived in Sevastopol that the summer and had immediately put the soldiers and sailors, as well as the residents of the city, to work improving its antiquated defenses. While thousands toiled to improve the walls and construct strongpoints, the Russian admirals of the Black Sea Fleet sank seven of their ships in the mouth of the bay on Sept. 23. The sailors from those ships and others were directed to man artillery positions along the city's landward walls. When the Allies reached the Russian stronghold on Sept. 27, its fortifications already forbade an immediate assault.

More troops joined Menshikov, eventually increasing the size of the Russian forces to 120,000. The Russian army far outnumbered the Allies' initial 74,000 French, British, and Turkish troops. The approach of winter was a worrisome prospect. Disorganized and far from supply sources, the British were especially low on food and suitable winter clothing. Moreover, the Allies lacked sufficient troops to both maintain a siege and protect themselves from attack against their siege lines by the Russian army outside of Sevastopol.

The British and French armies established new supply bases at the tip of the Crimean Peninsula in October that were in close proximity to their siege lines. The new British base was at Balaclava and the French base at Kamiesh.

Russian reinforcements arriving from the Danubian front under General Pavel Liprandi

Map © 2022 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN



Lt. Gen. P. I. Paulov's corps attacked the British right, while Lt. Gen. Feodor I. Soimonov fell on the British left. In so doing, they hoped to drive a wedge in the Allied line in order to isolate and destroy the British Second Division. BOTTOM: Left to right are Lt. Col. John Miller Adye, Lt. Col. Richard Dacres, and Captain Edward Bruce Hamley.

Library of Congress / Roger Fenton

enabled the Russians to go on the offensive before the onset of winter. An obvious target was the Allied right, east of Sevastopol, which was held by a small portion of the British contingent. Liprandi crossed the Tchernaya on Oct. 25 and attacked the British forces in what became known as the Battle of Balaklava. The battle was a draw, and the Russian army withdrew. Russian infantry poured out of Sevastopol the following day to make a sortie against the British infantry stationed on Inkerman Ridge. The small action, which was not much more than a skirmish, became known as Little Inkerman.

Although the Russian attacks failed to break the siege, they showed that the Allies were overextended and that an assault at a vulnerable point could break their lines. A new attack was planned in early November, again aiming at the British forces holding the Allied right. Two forces were to move simultaneously. Lt. Gen. P. I. Paulov would cross the Tchernaya and hit the British from the north, and Lt. Gen. Feodor I. Soimonov would lead an attack on the British left from Sevastopol.

Soimonov was to advance along the western side of the Careenage Ravine, a depression that rose to heights the British called Victoria Ridge. From there, he would strike the left flank of the British Second Division. The move was intended to drive a wedge into the Allied line, cutting off the isolated Second Division. The Careenage Ravine led to a creek flowing into Sevastopol Harbor, but for most of its length it was a dry canyon that meandered through a bleak landscape of barren and steep rocky slopes. Paulov would cross the Tchernaya via the Inkerman Bridge to join Soimonov. Once the two armies had joined up, Gen. Peter Andreivich Dannenberg would assume command of the operation. Meanwhile, troops remaining in the Sevastopol defenses would keep the French busy with diversionary attacks.

The target of the combined Russian attack was Lt. Gen. George de Lacy Evans' British Army's Second Division on the spur of Home Ridge at the southern end of Inkerman Ridge. Inkerman Ridge, which was situated east of the Careenage Ravine, took its name from the village of Inkerman, which was located on the heights across the Tchernaya.

The Second Division's position on Home Ridge two miles east of the Sevastopol defenses was held by its 2,700 men backed by 12 guns. To block the Post Road, which ran north and south through Home Ridge, the British built a work they called "The Barrier." Another high stretch called "Fore Ridge" rose just northeast of Home Ridge. Near the side looking down toward the Tchernaya River, the division built another work called the "Sandbag Battery," although no guns were placed in it yet. Behind Home Ridge was the camp of

the Second Division.

Half a mile south of Home Ridge, along the Post Road, 1,350 men of the elite Guards Brigade camped on the Sapoune Heights. This ridge overlooked the valley where the legendary Charge of the Light Brigade had occurred during the fighting at Balaklava, just 11 days earlier. Half a mile west of the Guards, across the Careenage Ravine atop Victoria Ridge, were 1,400 soldiers of Maj. Gen. William Codrington's brigade of the Light Division.

Brig. Gen. George Buller's brigade of the Light Division, as well as the Fourth Division under Maj. Gen. George Cathcart and Maj. Gen. Richard England's Third Division, were further away but still within three miles of Home Ridge. But as it would turn out, just 3,000 British troops were enough to have an effect on the impending battle. The nearest available French troops, under General of Division Pierre Francois Joseph Bosquet, were two miles in the rear of the Second Division.

Evans, who was a veteran of the Battle of New Orleans in 1815, had been injured in a bad fall from his horse on Oct. 30. As a result, his second-in-command, Maj. Gen. Sir John Pennefather, would lead the division in the upcoming battle.

Soimonov launched his advance in the gloomy predawn hours. The Russians tramped through a steady cold rain that fell on the already wet terrain. Six thousand Russian troops, led by 300 riflemen, edged toward the enemy forward outpost on Shell Hill. Nine thousand more Russians waited in reserve. Some distance behind Soimonov's foot regiments, wheels of Russian gun carriages creaked and rumbled.

At 4:00 a.m., the British sentries heard the deep tolling of the church bells in Sevastopol. The sentries thought little of the distant bells; after all, it was Sunday morning. Just as Russian commanders had intended, the tolling of the bells conspired with the misty darkness to cover the sounds of the Russian movements in the valley below.

Paulov was scheduled to attack simultaneously with Soimonov; however, the former's men were delayed for several hours as his engineers rebuilt a bridge across the Tchernaya. Without waiting for Paulov, Soimonov pressed his attack.

Lacking suitable guides or maps, Soimonov mistook his route and proceeded along the wrong side of the ravine. Poised along the eastern edge of the chasm, the Russian riflemen leading the advance ended up hitting the British right. In effect, he was attacking along the ground chosen for Paulov's wing. A spatter of gunfire began at 5:00 a.m. as the Russian riflemen neared the pickets along the outer perimeter of the British defenses.

A surprise dash by the Russians in the vanguard drove the outnumbered British pickets off of Shell Hill, and burly Russians rolled the czar's guns into place. Thirty-eight pieces of artillery—twenty-two 12-pounders and sixteen 6-pounders—were in battery only half a mile from Home Ridge, with their gunners ready to go into action. Further away in the rear, two Russian warships waited, ready to hurl their shells at long range into the British lines.

In the Second Division camp, the soldiers were already engaged in a battle against the drizzling rain that thwarted their efforts to light their breakfast campfires. When the first shots were heard "an alarm spread through the camps," wrote Captain Edward Bruce Hamley, a British staff officer with the Royal Horse Artillery. "Breathless servants opened the tents to call their masters; scared grooms held the stirrup; and staff officers, gal-

The British 55th Regiment crosses bayonets with the Russians. Since groups of British soldiers had to make snap decisions that morning that ordinarily would be made for them by their officers, Inkerman was known as a "soldier's battle."

Wikimedia

loping by, called out that the Russians were attacking in force." Panicking in the pandemonium, pack animals escaped their handlers and clattered through the camp.

Pennefather hurled his entire division against the onrushing enemy. Forming into two ranks, they poured a well-directed fire into the Russians. Already the surprise attack was running into trouble. Paulov's men were nowhere to be seen. Soimonov's regiments had little room to deploy in the broken terrain, and in the room available for their front could only deploy a few battalions at a time, not enough to take full advantage of their numbers.

So far as firearms, the British had a decided edge. Nearly all of them were armed with rifle-muskets, which fired the new and deadly Minié ball. Other than the rifle-bearing sharpshooters, all the Russians carried smoothbore muskets. Although they were percussion cap muskets rather than flintlocks, they were still accurate to just 100 yards.

By 7:00 a.m., the Russian gunners on Shell Hill could see the Home Ridge through a gap in the fog. The Russian guns fired into the British camp with "round shot and large shell, and tent after tent was blown down, torn to pieces, or sent into the air," wrote a correspondent with the *New York Times.* Lt. Col. John Miller Adye observed the effects of the Russian artillery fire as he rode through the camp. "Round shot were bounding along, tents were being knocked over, horses killed at their pickets, whilst blankets and great coats were lying about amid the brushwood, thrown down, apparently, by our men had hastily fallen in and hurried to the front," he wrote.

Damage could have been far worse to the British, had not Pennefather nearly emptied the camp by sending his entire command into the battle. As it was, the Second Division fended off the attacks and awaited reinforcements. When another Russian column approached Pennefather's left, the 49th Infantry fired into them. Fixing bayonets, the 49th charged and pushed the attackers back to Shell Hill.

Soimonov drew upon his 9,000 reserves for a

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BRITISH RIFLE-MUSKETS SUBSTANTIALLY OUTRANGED RUSSIAN SMOOTHBORES AT INKERMAN

The British had a decisive advantage in firepower at Inkerman owing to the distribution of two types of rifle-muskets to replaced the antiquated 1842 percussion cap smoothbore musket. Yet the British struggled to get the Pattern 1853 Enfield to the Crimean Theater and most line battalions fought at Inkerman with the Pattern Minié 1851 rifle-musket.

The Russians found themselves at Inkerman at a decisive disadvantage for the British rifle-muskets substantially outranged their smoothbore muskets. Whereas the Russian smoothbore muskets were most effective at 100 yards and had a maximum range of 300-400 yards, the British rifle-muskets could fire effectively at up to 800-1,000 yards, and had a maximum range of 1,200 yards.

The leap in firearm technology in the mid-19th century occurred with the introduction in 1849 of the revolutionary conical Minié ball developed by French Army Captain Claude-Étienne Minié. This new bullet featured a hollow base that was designed to expand to grip the rifling twists in the musket barrels. The French developed their Pattern Minié 1851 rifle-musket specifically for the Minié ball.

The British embarked in the early 1850s on a parallel development effort to update their long arm. They retooled some of their model 1842 muskets with rifled barrels and also produced a heavy Pattern 1851 Minié rifle-musket.

The challenge that the French and British achieved was to successfully field muskets with rifling that soldiers could load and fire as rapidly as a musket and maintain a high degree of accuracy. The Minié rifle-muskets achieved this because the Minié ball had sufficient windage to allow a soldier to ram it down the barrel quickly and easily in order to engage the rifling when fired.

The British army embarked on an initiative in 1851 to rearm all of its infantrymen with the rifle-muskets, but by the start of the Crimean War it still had not achieved this objective. The battalions in the expeditionary force sent to the theater of operations received the Minié rifle-muskets, but some of the Line battalions, such as those of the Fourth Division, shipped out with 1842 musket.

The British soon eclipsed the Pattern Minié 1851 rifle-musket with the development of the Pattern 1853 Enfield, a Minié-style muzzle-loading rifled musket. The muzzle-loading Enfield was the same length as the Pattern Minié 1851 but a pound lighter and fired a smaller caliber bullet.

Yet the British had not equipped many of their infantry units with the Enfield by the time of Inkerman, and the army did not distribute it in any appreciable numbers until 1855. Thus, the British line battalions at Inkerman fortunate enough to have a rifle-musket fought with the Pattern Minié 1851.

The Russians had begun to rearm their infantry with Minié rifle-muskets but still had a long way to go when the Crimean War began. The M1845 percussion musket constituted the standard long arm for the Russian infantry. Russian soldiers also were equipped with other smoothbore percussion models, such as the M1844, M1845, and M1852.

—William E. Welsh

A British Army soldier of the 23rd Foot (Royal Welch Fusiliers) is shown with rifle, canteen, and knapsack. The regiment fought in the battles of Alma, Inkerman, and Sevastopol.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Duke George of Cambridge led his crack Guards Brigade to reinforce the Sandbag Battery at a critical point in the battle. Although he was prepared to fight to the death at the position when down to just 100 men, his aides convinced him to withdraw.

renewed assault, and led it himself. British reinforcements, including Buller with the 77th and 88th Infantry from the Light Division, were arriving just in time. A six-gun battery of nine-pounders under Major Samuel Philip Townsend waited, their cannon muzzles facing into the murky haze.

"The crest of the hill was covered with smoke, and the entire ground there thickly covered with brushwood, through which we with the greatest difficulty moved the guns," wrote one of Townsend's officers. "Suddenly the smoke cleared away, and we discovered the Russian infantry in great force within 10 yards of us. I shall never forget the aspect of those fellows, dressed in their long grey coats and flat glazed caps, firing most deliberately at our poor gunners, and picking them down like so many crows."

Scattered foot soldiers, their units shattered by the advancing Russians, poured through the British artillery. A handful of men stayed with the guns, but not enough to hold them. Townsend gave the order to withdraw the battery, but it was too late. Lieutenant Frederick Miller just had time to spike one of his guns. Moments later, Townsend was killed by an exploding shell that struck him on the head and literally crushed it into pieces.

Miller drew his sword, and gallopped his horse towards the gun. He cut down first one Russian and then another. His quick action complled a dozen Russian soldiers to turn back. Meanwhile, Miller's gunners fought furiously using anything at hand, including their swords, rammers, sponge staffs, and fists to fend off the muskets and bayonets of the attackers. Even so, they lost three of their precious cannons.

General Buller led his regiments in a charge, joined by Pennefather's 47th Infantry. At about 7:00 a.m. "the ground was thickly covered with brushwood, and there was a pretty thick fog, which prevented our seeing a powerful force of about 3,000 men, who almost completely surrounded our poor devoted regiment," wrote a sergeant of the 77th Regiment of Foot that was published in the press. Most of the regiment was deployed elsewhere in the trenches around Sevastopol, he noted. "Our four companies did not amount to over 300 men," he wrote. "General Buller exclaimed, 'My God! We are surrounded!' and he ordered a volley to be fired into them, and charged them with the bayonet."

"[An] artillery officer came to us and said, "47th will you let them take our guns from us,"' and we all gave a shout to charge them," wrote a drummer of the 47th in another letter picked up by the press. "My sword was broken in my hand, and I worked away with the bayonet of one of our poor fellows that was killed by my side."

The countercharges pushed back the enemy and recovered the three captured guns. Two of the guns were found hastily spiked with wood splinters, and they were restored for firing soon enough. Buller was knocked out of action when his horse was killed by artillery fire, but Lieutenant Miller rode back to his battery without a scratch.

This first phase of the Russian attack stalled. Another column, of Russian sailors and marines, rose from the Careenage Ravine. They were caught between two groups of British infantry, and were driven back down the ravine. General Soimonov was shot dead and his second in command was wounded at the same time. With their senior leadership lost, Soimonov's division reeled back. Part of the force joined Paulov's 15,000 men, just now arriving after their long delay getting across the Inkerman Bridge.

Paulov's force formed a line facing the Sandbag Battery on their left and the Post Road north of the Barrier on their right. The Barrier was a simple work of "a wall of loose stones, crossing the road and stretching into the coppice on each side," wrote Hamley. "The Barrier was about a quarter of a mile from the Sandbag Battery, which was to the east higher up on Fore Ridge.

Dannenberg arrived and took overall command of the czar's forces. He directed the battle from Shell Hill, amid his artillery. Although they outnumbered the British guns, his batteries were taking incoming fire. The commander's horse was struck down by a fragment of an exploding shell. Another horse was found for Dannenberg, but as he was about to pull himself into the saddle, that horse was also shot. Mounting his third horse, he continued to press attacks on the British lines.

"The gloomy character of the morning was unchanged," wrote British war correspondent

William Howard Russell of the battlefield conditions that day. "Showers of rain fell through the fogs, and turned the ground into a clammy soil, like a freshly-ploughed field." The grey cloth of the greatcoats worn by the Russians helped them blend in with the mist. On higher ground, the air sometimes cleared and allowed visibility for considerable distances, only to close up again with more fog.

Another surge of Russian infantry drove the British back from the Barrier. Alerted to the loss of the fortification, Pennefather sent the 21st Royal North British Fusiliers, the 63rd Infantry, and the Rifle Brigade. This combined force took back the Barrier, and the British held on to it for the rest of the day.

Neither the Barrier nor the nearby Sandbag Battery were more than the most minor sort of defensive works. Yet, in a battleground with few distinctive landmarks, they were focal points for the bitterest fighting of the day. Brig. Gen. Henry William Adams held the Sandbag Battery with 700 men of the 41st and 49th Regiments of his brigade. The arrival of the Guards Brigade, comprising the Coldstream, Grenadier, and Scots Fusilier Guards regiments, from their camp brought Adams another 1,300 men to the beleaguered battery.

Waves of Russians contested the cold and muddy ground, and control edged back and forth. Furious charges and countercharges, and the turmoil of troop movements, created a gap in the British line between the Barrier and the Sandbag Battery. Prince George, the Duke of Cambridge, who was a lieutenant general and a grandson of King George III, joined the defenders of the Sandbag Battery. Raglan ordered Cathcart to support them on their left in order to fill the gap.

Cathcart, though, saw the advance of enemy units menacing the right of the Sandbag Battery. He ordered Brig. Gen. Arthur Wellesley Torrens to attack the Russians with 400 men. Torrens' horse was shot from under him, struck by five bullets.

Seeing his second-in-command had gotten up and was still directing the attack, Cathcart shouted, "Nobly done, Torrens!" Just then, a Russian bullet pierced Torrens' lung, splintered one of his ribs, and was caught in his greatcoat. With Torrens out of action, Cathcart himself took direct command, but when he glanced to the rear he saw Russian troops pouring into the once-again open space in the British line.

Caught between enemy troops approaching from both sides, Cathcart's men fired as their cartridge boxes grew lighter and lighter. When Cathcart called on his men to fire again, they protested that they had no more ammunition. With a remark destined to become something of a memorial to him, Cathcart replied, "Then, have you not your bayonets?"

With 50 men from the 20th Regiment, Cathcart attacked the Russians holding his former position. Enemy bullets steadily cut down the dwindling band of British soldiers. Cathcart's last words, spoken to Major Maitland, were "I fear we are in a mess." Seconds later, Cathcart fell from his horse, shot dead by a Russian musket ball.

Before the disintegration of Cathcart's attack, his success lured other British troops to push forward down the ridge. Bold as it was, this move left some of the ridge unattended, and Russian troops poured into the gap and threatened to turn the British right. A French regiment that just reached the front held on and repulsed the enemy attack and saved the Allied right.

With the fog and smoke obscuring the broken terrain of the battlefield, regiments and battalion fought their own battles with little or no direction from above. "Colonels of regiments led on small parties, and fought like subalterns, captains like privates," Hamley wrote of the confused and desperate struggle. "Once engaged, every man was his own general….The tide of battle ebbed and flowed, not in wide waves, but in broken tumultuous billows."

Russians of the Okhotsk Regiment mounted a determined effort to overrun the Sandbag Battery. Some tried to push their way inside through the embrasures. Others paused momentarily beneath the wall, where they were sheltered from the fire of the Guards. Those Russians who fired away their last bullets and hurled their empty bayonet-tipped muskets like javelins over the wall. After throwing their improvised spears, some took up rocks and lobbed them at the Coldstream Guards, who were holding the battery. In turn, the Coldstreams threw the sharp-tipped muskets back at the Russians. Where the parapet was too high to fire over, the guardsmen stood on the bodies of their dead comrades to raise their aim high enough.

Maj. Gen. George Cathcart led part of his Fourth Division in a charge downhill against a Russian flanking force. An easy target astride his horse, he was picked off by a Russian sharpshooter.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Library of Congress / Roger Fenton

Survivors of the 77th Infantry Regiment are shown in winter clothing as the siege of Sevastopol dragged on through the winter of 1854-1855. The Allies halted a potentially game-changing attack by the Russians at Inkerman that enabled them to sustain their siege.

Eventually the Russians surged around the flanks of the Sandbag Battery. They blocked the open rear of the battery, and the Coldstream Guards found themselves trapped with their backs to the sandbag wall. But the Guards rushed ahead and broke through the Russians surrounding them, and escaped to find temporary safety with the main British line.

The Guards had only a short respite. Two more Russian regiments marched down the Post Road. To counter them, and prevent the Russians from rising from the ravines to occupy the high ground so tenaciously held by the British, the Guards were sent back to regain the Sandbag Battery. With bayonets and clubbed muskets, they drove through the enemy and regained the battery. When General Bosquet saw the human wreckage strewn around the Sandbag Battery later in the battle, he gasped, "What a slaughterhouse!"

With his staff on Home Ridge, Raglan sent orders to bring up two 18-pounder guns. Then, they had to wait under heavy enemy fire for the pieces to arrive.

With Raglan was Brig. Gen. Thomas Fox Strangways. Long ago the brigadier had distinguished himself as a young artillery officer when attached to the Swedish forces at the Battle of Leipzig in 1813. Russian Czar Alexander I, who was also present at Leipzig, had removed from his coat his own Order of St. Anne medal and presented it to Strangways. Now Strangways was under the fire of the army of Nicholas I's son, Alexander I.

At 9:30 a.m. a shell exploded inside the horse of one of Raglan's staff officers. Shell fragments struck down another officer's horse, and nearly severed Strangways' leg. "The poor old general never moved a muscle of his face," an eyewitness told Russell. "He said merely, in a gentle voice, "'Will anyone be kind enough to lift me off my horse?'"

Strangways was borne to the rear. Nothing could be done for him and he lived only two more hours. By some accounts, Strangways was wearing his Russian medal when he died. The general's horse, which bolted after the shell burst, was found unharmed; oddly enough, even the stirrup leather was undamaged.

Captain Robert Nigel Fitzhardinge Kingscote, an aide to Raglan, wrote about his narrow escape from death on Home Ridge in a letter, "A shell pitched on the flap of my saddle behind my leg and sword, which it bent, fell on the ground, where I saw it fizzing," he recalled. "But before I could kick my horse out of the way it burst, without touching either me or my horse. Why the horse's ribs were not broken I cannot conceive."

Back on Victoria Ridge, Codrington refused to take any reinforcements, and sent any available troops across the ravine to the more endangered sections of the Allied line. To Codrington's left was the Lancaster Battery, a work intended to accommodate heavy naval guns for bombarding the Sevastopol works. Sailors remained in the battery, although all the artillery save one heavy Lancaster 68-pounder gun had been removed. With some difficulty, the Lancaster gun was turned to bear on the Russians on the other side of the ravine. Rocket fire from the battery also aided in their defense.

When Russian troops approached the battery, the massive 68-pounder was of little practical use against infantry at close range. Five sailors withstood the enemy fire, firing from the parapet with a stream of muskets loaded by the wounded and handed up to them. Two of the sailors were killed, but survivors James Gorman, Thomas Scholefield, and Thomas Reeves each received the Victoria Cross for his valor at Inkerman.

Codrington's men were exposed to deadly fire from Russian sharpshooters, who took cover in caves along the ravine. One hundred and twenty Royal Marines were with Codrington, who dispatched some of them to clear away the enemy snipers.

Corporal John Prettyjohns and several marines captured one of the caves. The corporal shot four Russians in the initial clash. Although they held the cave, the marines were nearly out of ammunition, and they could see Russian infantry streaming up the slope toward them in single file.

Prettyjohns ordered the men to gather as many stones as they could, and they waited until the Russians reached their position. Prettyjohns seized the first enemy soldier to reach the marines' position, and threw him down the slope. As the soldier tumbled down, he knocked down others who were climbing the slope behind him. From the top of the ridge, the marines broke up the attack with a barrage of heavy rocks and stones. Corporal Prettyjohns became the first Royal Marine to be awarded the Victoria Cross.

By mid-morning, enough French troops joined newly arrived British units to enable the Allies to hold their line. Among the French were the exotic and colorful Zouaves with their North African-inspired uniforms of red and blue, topped with red fezzes for headgear. The eye-catching attire and daring exploits of the Zouaves in the Crimean War subsequently inspired many American units of the late antebellum period and the American Civil War to adopt their exotic uniforms.

In the final phase of the battle, the flagbearer of the French 6th Regiment of the Line was shot dead. Lt. Col. Francois-Auguste Goze seized the fallen standard, but lost it when a bullet smashed into his arm. Colonel Edmond-Jean-Armand Filhol de Camas, commanding the regiment, rallied his men with the cry, "To the flag, my children!" They charged and took back their banner. Filhol de Camas was mortally wounded, but his men held on to the flag.

Fighting on the battlefield peaked after midday. When the weather temporarily cleared about noon, it seemed to war correspondent Russell that

Continued on page 98

The 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment compiled an impressive combat record as one of the most distinguished units that fought in the Vietnam War.

By Christopher Miskimon

Photo: Barry Beaven / 11thcavnam.com

Troopers of the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment negotiate a narrow path with their tank in the Vietnamese jungle.

The troopers of the 1st Squadron 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment, in an armored column in Long Khanh Province, South Vietnam, on December 2, 1966, waited at their base camp for an order to move out on an escort mission. Their task that afternoon was to escort a truck to a nearby quarry where combat engineers waited with another convoy of dump trucks loaded with gravel for a construction job. The armored escort consisted of two M-48 tanks and three M113 Armored Cavalry Assault Vehicles.

The column moved out at 4:00 p.m. It was under the command of platoon leader Lieutenant William Radosevich, who sat in a tank at the head of the column. In the middle of the column were ACAVs and two supply trucks. The third ACAV and the second tank brought up the rear.

The route took them through the village of Suoi Cat. As they passed through the village, the cavalrymen immediately sensed something was wrong. The absence of children playing was unusual, and the village seemed oddly still and quiet. James Clifford, the loader on Radosevich's tank, spoke first. "Something doesn't look right," he said. Radosevich agreed.

Those in the rest of the vehicles in the convoy felt the same way. Nash Loya, a gunner on one of the ACAVs, zipped his flak vest and manned his M-60 machine gun. Radosevich turned to his right in the commander's hatch of the tank, accidentally hitting the turret traverse control. The turret slewed to the right, just as Clifford looked down and saw a man crouched in a ditch staring straight up at him.

Clifford swung his machine gun to point at the man just as a mine went off 10 meters ahead. The detonation proved premature. Clifford thought that perhaps the movement of the turret had scared the enemy into detonating the mine too soon. A shrapnel fragment hit Radosevich below

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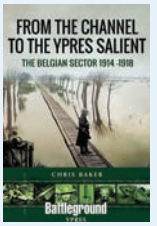
SHORT BURSTS

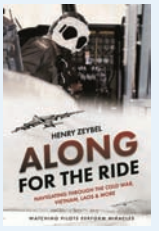
Mountain Commandos at War in the Falklands (Rod Boswell, Pen, and Sword Books, 2021, $42.95, hardcover.) The Royal Marines' Mountain and Arctic Warfare Cadre carried out many missions during the war. This firsthand account is written by their former commander.

Victoria Cross Winners of the Korean War (Stephen Wynn, Pen, and Sword Books, 2021, $29.95, softcover.) The British Government awarded four Victoria Crosses during the Korean War, with two more receiving the equivalent George Cross. Each incident is discussed in detail.



From the Channel to the Ypres Salient: The Belgian Sector 1914-1918 (Chris Baker, Pen, and Sword Books, 2021, $29.95, softcover.) This illustrated guidebook leads the reader through the Belgian battlefields of World War I.

To Boldly Go: Leadership, Strategy, and Conflict in the 21st Century and Beyond (Edited by Jonathan Klug and Steven Leonard, Casemate Books, 2021, $34.95, hardcover.) This new work discusses strategy using vignettes from science fiction. The book is innovative and entertaining.



Along for the Ride: Navigating through the Cold War, Vietnam, Laos and More (Henry Zeybel, Casemate Books, 2021, $34.95, hardcover.) The author served as a navigator on strategic bombers and AC-130 Spectre gunships during his career. His memoir reveals what it was like flying missions during the Cold War.

The New Knights: The Development of Cavalry in Western Europe 1562-1700 (Frederic Chauvire, Helion and Company, 2021, $43.15, softcover.) Cavalry forces went through extensive changes from the 16th to the 18th centuries. This book documents that evolution.

Egypt 1801: The End of Napoleon's Eastern Empire (Stuart Reid, Frontline Books, 2021, $42.95, hardcover.) Napoleon left a French army in Egypt when he sailed home to conduct a coup in France. The French campaign in Egypt and Syria ended in failure for France and improved the reputation of the British Army.

Roman Britain's Missing Legion: What Really Happened to IX Hispana? (Simon Elliott, Pen, and Sword Books, 2021, $39.95, hardcover.) The Hispana Legion disappeared from Roman histories around AD 108. The author discusses new evidence that reveals the unit's actual fate.

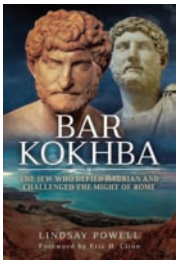
one eye, partially blinding him. "Ambush!" he shouted into his radio. All the drivers followed standard procedure and went into a herringbone formation, where each vehicle alternately points left or right off the road to provide 360-degree firepower. Enemy fire from machine guns, recoilless rifles, and mortars pummeled the Americans, but they were not helpless.

They replied with machine guns and the 90mm cannon of the tanks. The two unarmored supply trucks were mobile, so Radosevich led them out of the kill zone and to the quarry. He then returned to the fight. The remaining vehicles started leapfrogging their way forward out of the kill zone themselves. Gunner Nash Loya's ACAV took some hits, and he was wounded at the beginning of the fight. Struggling back up to his M-60, he saw three enemy soldiers preparing to fire a recoilless rifle at his vehicle. He took aim and fired. "As I pulled the trigger, I saw them all hit the ground," he recalled. "I knew that I had killed them. I was glad at the time."

The trailing tank fired three rounds with its gun before one jammed, taking the cannon out of action. A hit from a recoilless rifle round blew the commander's cupola off the tank, taking its .50-caliber machine gun with it. The crew had only their coaxial machine gun to keep the enemy at bay, but to clear the jam from the main gun, the loader had to elevate it, taking the coaxial gun out of action. The loader fired a submachine gun out a hatch to keep enemy infantry away, but the situation for them began to look grim. Ahead of them, another recoilless round struck an ACAV, starting a fire on the vehicle.

The situation looked grim for the convoy at that moment, but it was only the beginning of 1st Squadron's ordeal that day. The conclusion of the ambush on Highway 1 and many other similar narratives of the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment can be found in ***Blackhorse Tales: Stories of 11th Armored Cavalry Troopers at War*** (Donald C. Snedeker, Casemate Books, Havertown PA, 2021, 292 pp., maps. Photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $34.95, hardcover).

The author serves as a historian for the veterans of this proud unit and has spent decades gathering stories from them. This book, his second on the unit, gathers their accounts into a narrative of the 11th ACR's time in South Vietnam from 1966 to 1971. The work contains clear prose and good photographs to accompany the text. After each chapter there is a vignette of a combat action breaking down the engagement in detail. Each section of the book has veteran accounts expertly woven into the narrative, giving the volume authenticity and gritty realism. Most importantly, the author has collected the experiences of Vietnam veterans to keep their history alive for current and future generations.



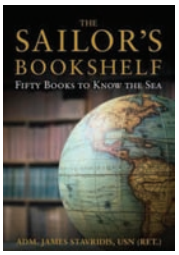
Bar Kokhba: The Jew Who Defied Hadrian and Challenged the Might of Rome (Lindsay Powell, Pen and Sword Books, South Yorkshire UK, 2021, 336 pp., maps. Illustrations, bibliography, index, $34.95, hardcover)

Simon bar Kokhba gave his name to an epic struggle between Jewish militia and the Roman Empire. This war took place 1,900 years ago, the spark that ignited the war might have been Roman Emperor Hadrian's decision to rebuild the ruined city of Jerusalem as a settlement for retired Roman soldiers. Such a move constituted a serious insult to the Jews and touched off the Bar Kokhba War, or Second Jewish War, which lasted from 132 AD to 136 AD.

The Romans held every advantage, but the Jewish militia held out against them for four years. When it finally ended in a Roman victory, Hadrian expelled the Jews from Judaea, renamed the province Palestine, and banned Jews from entering Jerusalem.

This book is part history and part biography, covering the life of Simon bar Kokhba, who lent his name to the conflict he fought against Rome. The author believes his subject's life was covered in myth,

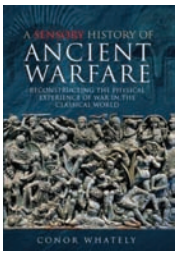
akin to King Arthur, and set out to separate fact from fiction. The resulting well-written narrative is drawn from numerous sources and adds a new account to the history of Bar Kokhba and his war.



The Sailor's Bookshelf: Fifty Books to Know the Sea (Admiral James Stavridis, USN (Ret), Naval Institute Press, Annapolis MD, 2022, 214 pp., notes, bibliography, $24.95, hardcover)

It takes the study of a wide variety of subjects to fill a naval officer's body of knowledge and Admiral James Stavridis spent his career keeping his reservoir of information topped off. Along the way he collected many books which increased his understanding of the medium over which he plied his trade. The world's oceans are vast, beneficent, cold, uncaring, and bountiful all at the same time and it takes decades to truly build the in-depth experience to master it.

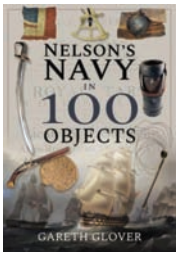
Stavridis compiles in this informative work the titles of the 50 volumes he considers most necessary for a sailor to cultivate their knowledge. Each chapter covers a different title, and the author writes a few pages on what it taught, why this book matters, and why it mattered to him in his career. Not all the books are military history, but many talk about traits of leadership and skills any sailor can use to their benefit. The book is concise and enjoyable.



A Sensory History of Ancient Warfare: Reconstructing the Physical Experience of War in the Classical World (Conor Whately, Pen and Sword Books, South Yorkshire UK, 2021, 157 pp., photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $39.95, hardcover)

The first sign that Persian king Artaxerxes II's army had arrived at Cunaxa on the left bank of the Euphrates River on September 3, 401 B.C., came in the early afternoon as a cloud of dust swirled like a white cloud low in the sky. Soon a dark smudge appeared on the ground in the distance. As the tightly packed formations of enemy soldiers advanced, the Greek mercenaries who were part of Cyrus the Younger's army could see flashes of bronze, soon followed by the glint of the sun from their enemy's spearpoints. Cavalry wearing white cuirasses, light infantry with wicker shields and heavy infantry with wooden ones all marched forward in squares. Ahead of all the Persians went scythed chariots. Aside from the clatter of equipment, the Persians advanced in silence. Although the titanic clash that day was a tactical draw, it was a strategic victory for Artaxerxes.

Ancient battlefields were a cacophony of sound, sight, and smell. Iron, wood, horses, unwashed bodies, blood, and viscera all contributed to what was an assault on the senses as much as one on the bodies of the combatants. Though there are always challenges to recreating the ancient world accurately, the author does an excellent job combining available sources and descriptions with what can be determined through modern analysis and experimentation. Six battles from Cunaxa to the Sassanian siege of Edessa in 544 A.D. receive insightful analysis of what it was like to be present at the event.



Nelson's Navy in 100 Objects (Gareth Glover, Frontline Books, South Yorkshire, UK, 2021, 301 pp., photographs, index, $49.95, hardcover)

Hardtack, known as "ship's biscuit" to British sailors, constituted a considerable portion of every wooden warship's larder. The copper sheathing which coated the lower portion of HMS *Victory's* hull kept its timbers safe from the Teredo worm, which could burrow into the planks and weaken them. It also retarded the growth of barnacles and seaweed. To keep a ship watertight, hemp yarn was stuffed in the gaps between the planks, driven in hard by a mallet and then covered with hot pitch as a sealant.

During a sea battle, gun crews fired carronades mounted on the upper decks to sweep enemy sailors from the decks of their own ships. If those crewmen proved too slow in their duties, the boatswain might give them a sharp rap across the back with his "start," a short club made of knotted rope, wood, or even metal. After When Admiral Horatio Nelson died at the Battle of Trafalgar on October 21, 1805, his body was sealed in a water barrel known as a "leaguer."

Using objects to give insight into a historical period is a common approach today, and this work falls into that standard format with no surprise or deviation. But the book stands out for its depth of research and the well-written explanations of how each object was used and fit into life in the Napoleonic-era Royal Navy. The book is lavishly illustrated in full color, which significantly enhances the presentation of the material.

The Siege that Changed the World: Paris 1870 - 1871 (N.S. "Tank" Nash, Pen and Sword Books, South Yorkshire UK, 2021, 294 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $42.95, hardcover)

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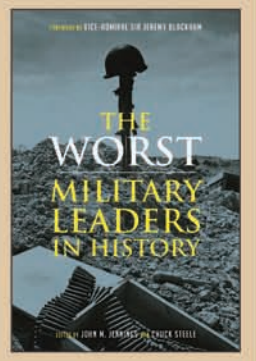

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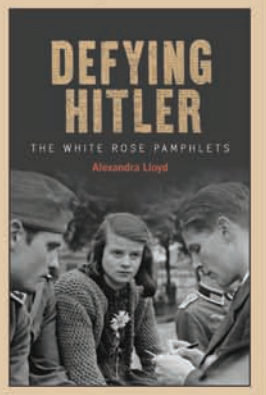

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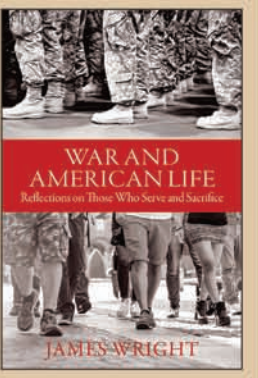

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GAMES

A RECENT CLASSIC IS BACK IN THE SPOTLIGHT WHILE SNIPER ELITE 5 HAS ITS SIGHTS SET ON SUCCESS

By Joseph Luster

This War of Mine: Final Cut

Genre: Strategy/Sim • Platform: PC • Publisher: 11 Bit Studios • Available: Now

Polish developer 11 Bit Studios first released *This War of Mine* back in 2014, and the mark it left remains. There's nothing quite like this one when it comes to war games, as players are tasked with helping a group of civilians survive in the middle of a war-torn city. It's a heartbreaking but worthwhile experience through all of its peaks and valleys, and now it's available for an even wider audience thanks to the recent release of *This War of Mine: Final Cut* on PlayStation 5 and Xbox Series X|S.

Those who opt for the current-gen versions of *This War of Mine* won't just have to settle for the base game, which is nearly 10 years old at this point. The *Final Cut* version packs the game with upgraded 4K visuals, improvements to the user interface, remastered maps, new story content and more. *Final Cut* was previously released in 2019 to celebrate the game's fifth anniversary, and was made available as a free upgrade to those who already owned a copy of the original.

There are some other options for anyone who wants to ensure they have the full story, as well. *This War of Mine: Complete Edition* includes the *This War of Mine: Stories* narrative DLC, or that portion can be purchased separately on PS5 and Xbox Series. Unfortunately, this is a game that's all the more relevant today than even when it was initially released. 11 Bit Studios previously teamed up with British non-profit War Child—a cause dedicated to helping children affected by conflict—and delivered 100 percent of the net income generated by its DLC. Let's hope won't always be a necessary form of aid, and is eventually something left to the history books.

No matter what's going on in the world, though, *This War of Mine* remains an essential experience for the well-rounded war gamer. If you don't mind making your way through a rather harrowing simulation, you'll find the end result duly rewarding.

Sniper Elite 5

Genre: Shooter • Platform: PS4, PS5, Xbox One, Xbox Series, PC • Publisher: Rebellion Developments • Available: Now

For fans of brutal sniping action, there aren't many substitutes that can match what the *Sniper Elite* series brings to the table. *Sniper Elite 5* continues the trend with a campaign set in 1944 France and centered on the events of D-Day, during which elite marksman Karl Fairburne uncovers a nefarious Nazi plot known as Operation Kraken. Before the Nazis are able to turn the tide of war back in their favor, Karl must cross enemy lines and use his absurdly precise skills to put an end to the operation and its mastermind, Abelard Möller.

One of the key highlights of *Sniper Elite 5* is the way it incorporates multiplayer. Not only can you experience the full campaign and take down the Axis forces to stop Möller once and for all with a friend in two-player co-op, but there's a new Invasion Mode that really shakes things up and makes progressing through each mission a little more harrowing. Similar in some ways to the way invasions work in the *Dark Souls* series, other human players can attempt to halt your progress by invading your game in an effort to hunt Karl down with the help of other Axis soldiers.

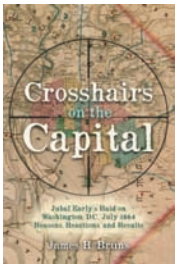
The AI soldiers can be used to help find Karl's location while the enemy player seeks out the best position from which to snipe our hero and call it a day with a major win for evil. Players aren't completely defenseless against these invaders, though. Karl can use phones scattered around each level to gather intel and ultimately find out where the invader is located to beat them to the punch. It's an effective means of upping the tension and stakes throughout each area, but whether this sounds like a thrill to you or not, it's completely optional. You can simply toggle Invasion Mode on and off in the game menu, so feel free to enjoy *Sniper Elite 5* at your own pace.

Naturally, in addition to the advanced gun physics and accurate depictions of historical weapons, *Sniper Elite*'s notorious Kill Cam is back and better than ever. Beyond the rifle and takedown kills, the Kill Cam can also be triggered with pistols and SMGs, and bullets can ricochet off bone for even more visceral damage. Like the previous games, it's all very gory, so much so that it goes completely over the top and transcends being off-putting in any way. These slow-motion X-Ray train wrecks are just a part of what sets the *Sniper Elite* games apart from the rest, adding in a touch of splatter excess to what is otherwise just a straight-up solid shooter series.

With enhanced weapon customization, new traversal mechanics that give your stealth options a boost, and many other improvements over its predecessors, *Sniper Elite 5* is one all shooter fans should give a spin. It's available on PlayStation 4, PlayStation 5, Xbox One, Xbox Series and PC, and if you have Xbox Game Pass you can try it out free of charge. ■

The Prussian army marched on Paris in autumn 1870 after defeating the French at Metz and Sedan. French Emperor Louis Napoleon III had made a disastrous error in July of that year declaring war on Prussia. The inability of the French to halt the Prussian juggernaut ultimately visited misery on the people of Paris. The Prussians had surrounded the French capital by mid-September, leaving its citizens frightened and rebellious. Starvation pushed the populous further into rioting. Paris eventually surrendered on January 28, 1871, and the rest of France capitulated, too. The humiliating defeat led directly to the formation of the Paris Commune and plunging France into civil war.

The Siege of Paris proved the pivotal event of the Franco-Prussian War. It had long-term effects for Europe; for example, it encouraged German militarism. The author analyzes these various effects, including the expansion of communism and the contraction of French global influence. The book offers a comprehensive examination of the political, social, and military factors surrounding the siege.



Crosshairs on the Capital: Jubal Early's Raid on Washington, D.C., July 1864: Reasons, Reactions and Results (James H. Bruns, Casemate Books, Havertown PA, 2021, 240 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $34.95, hardcover)

Confederate Lt. Gen. Jubal Early's raid on the Washington, D.C., area began as retaliation for a failed Union raid against Richmond, intended to free Union prisoners of war. The raid also aimed to free Confederate prisoners of war interred at Point Lookout in southern Maryland. Yet another objective was to capture as much food as possible from the Maryland farms around Washington. By 1864, such food-gathering missions were necessary tasks-of-survival for the Confederates, as the South's food supplies and transport networks had by been severely damaged by the depredations of the Federal invaders.

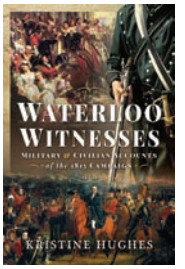
If militarily feasible, Early planned to capture Washington. In the end, a small army of Union civilians, government clerks, former slaves and invalids foiled Early's attack through the sheer amount of fire they were able to put out until Union troops arrived. The hard-fighting general settled for keeping the city's defenders in place while his troops gathered the food stores they so desperately needed.

If the Confederates had captured Washington D.C., in summer 1864 it might have altered the course of the Civil War. The author offers an informative account of the raid from start to finish. His informative work has extensive details on the planning, conduct, and aftermath of the campaign. Every facet of the raid is covered and expertly analyzed. The book is well illustrated and has extensive annotations that reveal the depth of the author's research.

Air Power in the Falklands Conflicts: An Operational Level Insight into Air Warfare in the South Atlantic (John Shields, Air World Books, South Yorkshire UK, 2021, maps, table, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, $42.95, hardcover)

Lieutenant Ricardo Lucero flew an A-4C Skyhawk attack plane during the Falklands War in 1982. On May 25 he flew his fourth mission against the British forces attempting to retake the islands after an Argentine invasion and seizure earlier that year. "Three previous attempts were aborted when your British Harriers intercepted us over the sea," he wrote. On this fourth attempt Lucero was shot down by antiaircraft fire at the British beachhead at San Carlos. Subsequent research showed the prior missions had failed more due to bad weather, ground fire and an inability to find their targets. Lucero gave his account while in a British hospital at Ajax Bay recovering from his injuries. He was the only Argentine fighter jet pilot captured during the brief war.

While this book includes several personal accounts of the Falklands air war, it is overall a complete accounting of the entire conflict's air operations. The author convincingly demonstrates how the lessons of this late Cold War conflict still have relevance today in this new age of expeditionary warfare. The author is British, but he remains impartial in his assessments, using extensive Argentine resources. There are also numerous charts and tables helping explain the organizations and actions of the war.



Waterloo Witnesses: Military and Civilian Accounts of the 1815 Campaign (Kristine Hughes, Pen and Sword Books, South Yorkshire UK, 2021, 292 pp., photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $34.95, hardcover)

Sergeant Charles Ewart served in the Royal Scots Greys, a cavalry unit engaged at Waterloo against the French 45th Regiment, another cavalry formation. He spotted an enemy officer carrying his regiment's Imperial Eagle standard and

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determined to capture it. "The officer who carried it and I had a short contest for it; he thrust for my groin, I parried it off and cut him through the head," he said.

Ewart also had to fight off a lancer and a foot soldier as he tried to carry the standard to the rear for safe keeping. "I cut him through the chin upwards through the teeth," he said of the lancer. As for the foot soldier who charged him with a fixed bayonet, "I parried it and cut him down through the head," Ewart said. A British officer ordered him to take the captured standard to the rear.

The Battle of Waterloo is considered one of history's greatest battles, and so has been written about, analyzed, and refought thousands of times on the written page. What makes this book stand out from others is its focus on personal accounts from Waterloo's participants. The reader gets to experience the fighting from June 16 to June 18 June 1815 through the descriptions of the men and women who were there.

Soviet State Security Services 1917 – 1946 (Douglas A. Drabik and Douglas H. Israel, Osprey Books, Oxford UK, 2022, 64 pp., maps, photographs, bibliography, index, $20.00, softcover)

When the Communists came to power in Russia in 1917, they immediately formed the Cheka, a secret police organization. It proved instrumental to their success during the Russian Civil War. Afterward the Cheka transformed into the State Political Directorate (GPU) and Joint State Political Directorate (OGPU) before assuming the familiar initials NKVD, which stood for People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs. The NKVD expanded substantially under Premier Josef Stalin.

During World War II the NKVD deployed entire divisions along with border guards and internal security formations. The organization also operated the infamous gulags, the forced labor camps where brutality was the norm. After the war Stalin decided the organization wielded too much power and dissolved it into several smaller bureaus including the security agency known as the MGB, which was the forerunner of the Cold War KGB.

Initially serving as police and internal security forces, these evolving organizations played a major part in World War II. This book succinctly summarizes the evolution of Soviet security forces over two decades, including their organization, activities, and leadership. Color artwork and photographs bring life to the text and give the reader a view of these forces in action. ■

ARNHEM

Continued from page 33

British ceased Operation Berlin at 5:00 a.m., when the morning light enabled the Germans to deliver accurate fire. The British succeeded in evacuating 2,163 paratroopers and glider pilots, 160 Poles, and 75 Dorsets. The British left behind 400 men.

With the areas taken by the two American airborne divisions and the British Second Army, the Allies had a base from which to conduct further operations. For his part, Montgomery declared Operation Market Garden 90 percent successful. This success came at a high cost, as the 1st Airborne Division and Polish 1st Parachute Brigade would never recover from their losses. Even though 1,892 men of the 1st Airborne made it to safety, 5,903 were captured and 1,174 died.

The division returned to England in May 1945 and subsequently was sent to Norway. The Glider Pilot Regiment had 219 killed with a further 511 captured. Although the Polish 1st Independent Parachute Brigade listed 92 dead and 111 captured, the 1,486 survivors would lose their beloved commander. Sosabowski, who was an outspoken critic of the operation, was made a scapegoat for its failure and forced to step down as the Polish brigade's commander.

Exact German losses are not known. Model estimated his forces suffered 3,300 casualties, of which 1,300 were killed. Yet that figure includes the losses in the Eindhoven and Nijmegen sectors. Other estimates list at least 2,500 casualties at Arnhem.

The heroic sacrifices of the 1st Airborne were for naught. The British pulled back to just north of Nijmegen, as the salient was considered untenable. Martin B-26 Marauders of the U.S. Army Air Forces 344th Bomb Group destroyed the Arnhem Bridge on October 7. The Allies did not liberate Arnhem until April 1945.

Many revisionists believe the battle for Arnhem was lost by the delay in Nijmegen. Planning decisions, such as prioritizing the Groesbeek Heights over the Nijmegen Bridge, handicapped the operation before it began.

Williams' decisions to limit the lifts to just one per day and his prohibition of a coup de main shackled Urquhart. The British chose distant drop and landing zones, thus forcing the Allies to lose the element of surprise necessary for such a daring operation to succeed. Add to this poor communications, adverse weather, and simple bad luck, and the odds seemed to have been stacked against the British and Polish paratroopers. Yet despite all these obstacles, the airborne men came close to succeeding. In the annals of history to this day, the Battle at Arnhem constitutes Great Britain's last major battle loss. ■

GLORIOUS TRIUMPH

Continued from page 91

the Russians were beginning to break off the engagement and pull back. But more misty rain began to fall and under the cover of the returning fog, the Russians rallied but their final attacks were repulsed with great losses.

The pair of British long 18-pounders ordered by Raglan reached the front. Their greater range enabled the big guns to hammer the Russian gun crews on Shell Hill, whose shorter range pieces could not hit back. Two new French horse artillery batteries unlimbered and joined the bombardment. Return fire dwindled away as Dannenberg's exhausted army began withdrawing from the field at 1:00 p.m. They split into two groups. The late General Soimonov's surviving troops trudged back into Sevastopol, and Paulov's men streamed back over the Inkerman Bridge.

The battle was "a gloomy though a glorious triumph" wrote Hamley. His comrades were famished, and too bone-weary to exult in victory as they had after the bloody clash at Alma. "All our army was fasting all day," wrote a drummer of the 47th Infantry. "It was [midnight] before I could get a morsel to eat; and if you were to see my hands, all covered with blood and tearing the raw pork in my teeth, you'd say that I was hungry."

Of the 8,500 British troops on hand at Inkerman, 2,640 were killed, wounded, or missing. French losses among their 7,500 troops came to 1,465 men. Russian losses were much higher, estimated at 12,000 of the 42,000 troops engaged.

At Inkerman the Allies halted a potentially game-changing attack and held their positions. A determined and aggressive follow-up might have shattered the Russian Army and ended the war, but the Allies lacked sufficient reserves to overpower the Russians. The Russians then adopted a defensive posture, drawing the Allies into a grueling siege that lasted until September 1855. When it was all over, sickness and disease had felled far more British soldiers at Sevastopol than Russian guns.

Long after the war, John Adye, who by then had obtained the rank of major general, heard a tale from an old veteran. Adye had obtained a place for the soldier, who won the Victoria Cross at Inkerman, in the Yeomen of the Guard. While on duty at Buckingham Palace, the yeoman spoke with a Russian grand duke who was interested in his decorations. Seeing the Inkerman clasp on the medal, the grand duke told the yeoman that he too had been at Inkerman. "The old Yeoman," wrote Adye, "in telling me the story, said he thought he might be so bold, so he replied, 'Well, sir, if you [were] at Inkerman, I hope we may never meet again on so unpleasant an occasion.'" ■

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