MILITARY HERITAGE
CMG 02313
WORLD WAR I
Brutal 1917 Offensive in Flanders
WORLD WAR II
Battle for BERLIN
CIVIL WAR
Jackson at Cedar Mountain
MEDAL OF HONOR
Hero at Gettysburg
+ BRITISH PARATROOPERS, ENGLISH CIVIL WAR, WORLD WAR I HEAVY BOMBERS, CRUSADERS VS. SARACENS, AND MUCH MORE!
SPRING 2022
$12.99US $13.99CAN
05>
0 71896 02313 8
RETAILER: DISPLAY UNTIL JULY 11
WARFAREHISTORYNETWORK.com
MILITARY HERITAGE ▪ SPRING 2022 Volume 24, No. 1

50 Hilton Street, Easton PA 18042
Showroom Open: Mon - Sat, 10am-5pm, Friday til 7pm

Tel: 610.250.3960
Fax: 610.438.2548
info@sarcoinc.com

SARCO, INC.

THE LEADING SUPPLIER IN FIREARMS. PARTS. ACCESSORIES.

GOT PARTS?? WE SPECIALIZE IN 'HARD TO FIND' PARTS!! FROM AK TO ZASTAVA...

www.SARCOINC.com

Use your Smart Device to Scan the QR Code and go straight to our website!

U.S. Marines in action 1953 Korea
Photo: Ed M. Dotten

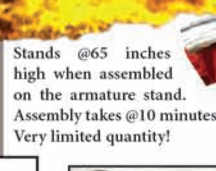
'Kings Guard Armor Set with Display Stand

Set includes, wood base with metal armature, helmet, cuirass front & back, shoulder pieces. Very Limited!

$695.00 #ARM13

Roman Lorica Armor Set

Stands @65 inches high when assembled on the armature stand. Assembly takes @10 minutes. Very limited quantity!



$395.00 + s/h #ARM10-SET

French MLE Hat in USMC Camo

French Style MLE bush hat worn by SEALs, UDT & MAC-SOG during the 1960's in Vietnam. Available in green or khaki "frog skin" camo.

$39.95 #HAT11

1918 U.S. TRENCH KNIFE MODEL - MARK 1 'AU LION'

A real 'Mauler', this combat fighting knife developed by the American Expeditionary Force, was contracted to U.S. and French manufacturers. With over 1.2 million ordered, only about 119,000 were produced before the war ended. Handle of solid brass with a 6.5 inch blade, the 23 oz. heft of the brass alone, allowed one to punch with the force of 'Kodiac Bear'! Our Mark 1 knife is the rarer version as produced in France for U.S. troops and is engraved with the 'Au Lion' cartouche on the ricasso. Not a cheap imitation…. Looks and feels like the original as used in combat over 100 years ago. New. *Sold as a curio collector item and without scabbard.

$39.95 #BAY333

M79 GRENADE LAUNCHER WITH HANDGUARD

PLEASE NOTE THESE COME WITH A COMMERCIAL STOCK NOT GI

Sarco has created a full size replica of the venerable M79 Grenade Launcher made famous in Vietnam and beyond. Combining newly made metal parts coupled with hardwood stock / foregrip furniture and accessories, this non-firing display piece is like having the real thing! The Rear Sight flips up and locks, safety locks the trigger, and the Barrel Latch swings to allow the barrel to open. The M79 comes with Sling (color may vary), small arms M79 Pouch, Combo Tool and GI reprint manual. As an extra, it is designed to shoot airsoft grenade launcher specific rounds . To comply with regulations, the front muzzle tip has a colored ring on the outside. Must be 18 or older to order. Very Limited ! **$385.00 #REP42**

WWW.SARCOINC.COM

German WW2 Paratrooper Helmet

Steel 'Fallschirmjager' helmet with Paratrooper leather liner w/ WW2 markings, and chinstrap assy. Size Large (@7-1/2 U.S. Size) New. **#HLM018 $49.95**

GERMAN M35 HELMET WWII

Model 1935 German helmet with rolled edge, metal banded liner with 8 tongue leather liner and leather chinstrap assembly mounted by 3 rivets on the 1.7-1.9mm thick steel shell. Helmet fits 7-1/4" to 7-5/8" head size (large). New, well made and great for static displays or reenactments. We have purchased the remaining stores of these from 'Kamabee Keep' along with various German helmet decals which we are using to provide one set of helmet decals with each helmet at no charge as long as supplies last. M35 helmet with decal - Sorry, no choice on decals as they are quite limited.

GERMAN 'FELDGRAU' GREEN $34.95 #HLM037
AFRIKA KORPS TAN $34.95 #HLM058

ALL PRICES IN SARCO'S ADS ARE SUBJECT TO CHANGE WITHOUT NOTICE. WE ARE NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR TYPOS. PLEASE SEE OUR WEBSITE FOR THE MOST CURRENT PRICES AND AVAILABLITY OF ALL OUR ITEMS.

Spartan Helmet Copper Finish

Steel Spartan style helmet with copper color finish, leather liner with chin-strap and bristled crop on top.

$57.95 #HLM062

USMC Herringbone Korean War Era Short Sleeve Utility Shirt

Rugged Olive Drab short sleeve shirt for combat duty with breast pocket and two large Map pockets inset under the chest. Officers and NCOs loved these shirts and they fade wonderfully and take abuse of the rugged outdoors. Newly manufactured and made with USMC embossed buttons like the original shirts. Rare as 'hens teeth' these days, this might be your one chance to obtain one. Very limited!

$49.00 #MISC868

Sizes: Medium, Large, XL, 2XL, 3XL

GERMAN PARATROOPER KNIFE

Metal scabbard has boot clip, good for fastening to boots or clipping onto belts. New.
$339.95 #BAY360

PPS43 SMG Parts Kit

'Like new' guns that have been properly demilled into kit form. The kit includes all cut parts of the receiver and cut barrel, serviceable internals, sights, and folding stock assy. Comes with 1 free 35rd magazine. A venerable historic SMG that has travelled the world in combat from the 'Reichstag' to the jungles of Indochina, and plains of Ethiopia. **$129.00 #MMP030**
Cannot ship to Washington State

M39-B German WW2 Smoke Grenade

(Inert)

Full size and can break down into components. Made from wood and metal. Rarely offered with tapered finger handle, used for identifying it in the dark by touch.

$29.95 #MISC678

German WW2 M39 Egg Grenade

Accurate inert steel reproduction with detachable Fuse assy. Full Size. **$22.95 #MISC680**

M24 German Stick Grenade

Standard Potato Masher grenade as used by German troops in WW2. Wood and metal construcion with individual components.

(Inert) **$24.95 #MISC464**

Save $4.00 on a fragmentation sleeve when you purchase the sleeve with the M24 German stick grenade! Sleeve with Grenade (inert) **$34.90 #MISC791**

M6A3 High Explosive Rocket

FOR THE M1, M1A1 & M9 BAZOOKAS

Completely inert, new made, and perfect for display or reenactments.

(Inert) **$39.95 #MISC447**

Napoleonic Flag

Represented the personal guard of Napoleon.
Size: 3x5 feet **$34.95 #FLAG03**

German Imperial WWI Flag

Classic German Imperial Flag that adorned Battleships, Army, and Headquarters installations from the late 1800s through 1918. Befitting that we can offer this classic war flag in 3 x 5 feet cotton 100 years after it flew during the War to End all Wars! **$18.95 #FLAG27**

OVER 100 DIFFERENT MILITARY HOLSTERS IN STOCK CHECK OUR WEBSITE !

AUSTRALIAN WW2 OWEN SUB MACHINE GUN

The Owen SMG is an icon of the Pacific war against Japanese forces. Our steel full size replica pays tribute to Evelyn Owen, who designed the firearm in 1939. Offset sights and top feed magazine made this a novel design that was effective from WW2 thru Korea and Vietnam. Redesigned from the 'Kamabee' sample sold about 10 years ago, this improved version has removable stock, magazine, sling, and we include a free 6 cell magazine pouch which shows storage wear & slight rust on some snaps, but heck... its FREE with purchase of this display gun.

OFFERED IN TWO FLAVORS
Camouflaged and in unpainted form

CHECK THEM OUT ON OUR WEBSITE!

OWEN CAMOUFLAGED SMG WITH POUCH
$299.95 #REP39
OWEN SMG UNPAINTED WITH POUCH
$269.95 #REP39-UNPAINTED

FAR EAST EXPEDITIONARY CORPS SHIRT

Rubber Plantation Security Shirts from Bien Hoa/Phu Rieng Du

$62.95
#SHIRT-01

Two large breast double snap pockets and two diagonal hip pockets provide plenty of room for storage. Waist cinching straps on inside for trim appearance. Heavy Duty Construction! New. Sizes: Med, Lg, XL, 2XL

U.S. M1 Carbine

(Non-Firing Display Gun)
Our display gun has cocking action, trigger pull, sling, detachable 15rd. mag., and U.S. marking on the wood stock. This version is how it appeared during WWII. $175.50 #REP07

SCOTTISH TWO HANDED SWORD & SCABBARD

A massive cleaving sword in steel with brass handle decorative fixtures hewn with a twisting rosewood type grip and an 'over the back' chest strap scabbard of leather with brass buckle. The most substantial and menacing of the Two handed swords that we have carried! Very Limited. New.
$99.95 #SWRD43

SCOTTISH CLAYMORE SWORD & SCABBARD

Scottish highlai sword with the classic brass basket hilt linec with crimson fa ric, and a steel blade of 34.5". / classic Scottish cleaving device of the 16th to 19th centuries. New. Call for shipping rates.
$64.95
#SWRD42

18th Century English Cutlass Sword

From 1750-1768,
this sword was produced and became a standard arm of American and Crown forces during several Wars. Well liked for its compactness and maneuverability, and well-designed brass handle with guard and 23.5" blade. Marked with 'SH' with a running Fox as originally produced by the armorer Samuel Harvey. Comes with Leather scabbard with brass accents. Frequently referred to as the 'Bunker Hill Sword' for its use there.
$69.95 #SWRD41

Flying Tiger Shield Emblem Patch

$24.95 #MISC908
Perfect for applying to leather flight jackets. 8" high by 7" across like the original.

U.S. WWII Paratrooper Signal Cricket

Brass w/metal clapper. Puts out a distinctive clicking sound so that allied troops could communicate to "friendlies". U.S. embossed. $7.50 #MISC284

BRITISH ARMY DPM CAMO BERGEN BACKPACK

$65.00
#MISC974
Padded shoulder straps, waist belt, and Molle connection straps make this ideal for camping or field operations

RHODESIAN SAVANNA BERGEN STYLE BACKPACK

Convertible backpack can be used for long range camping or tactical ops or convert to the size of a '3 Day' tactical pack. New.
$65.00
#MISC975

LEATHER CLAD VIKING BATTLE AXE

'Ragnar' Viking Axe, 28" long, leather bound handle with a striking face of over 6"
$39.00 #MISC807

STEEL TYPE 99 PROTECTIVE SHIELD

As used by Japanese forces during WW2. Complete with handle and monopod. New.
$99.95 #MISC443

ITALIAN GOTHIC ARMOR SUIT WITH STAND

Beautifully constructed Medieval set of Italian Gothic Armor in steel that comes with Sword, Wood Base, and Armature to hold the set in place. Overall height on stand is over 6.5 feet high. Extremely limited.
$1200.00
#ARM11

STALINGRAD REGIONAL AIRCREW ESCAPE MAP

Original Rayon fabric escape & evasion type map. One side covers the region including Stalingrad from the 48th to 52nd parallels and the other directly south of that to 'Stepnoy' region between the 44th and 48th parallels. Size@22"x23.5" Original.
$45.00 #MISC952

Reich WW2 Metal German Wall Plaques

Small 15 inches $22.95 #MISC371
Large 27 inches $50.00 #MISC372

WE HAVE A WIDE VARIETY OF REPLICA GUNS ! CHECK THEM OUT ONLINE !! WWW.SARCOINC.COM

VIETNAM ADVISOR'S BUSH HAT, US MILITARY

O.D. green. U.S. Sizes: 7-1/4", 7-1/2", 7-5/8", 7-3/4", 7-7/8"
$34.95 #HAT06

GERMAN MP40 SMG (non-firing)

Famous full size display gun with operating bolt, recoil assembly, folding stock, mag catch and trigger. Saw combat throughout Europe, Africa, and even Vietnam! Comes with steel magazine and leather sling.
$210.00
#REP02

GERMAN STICK GRENADE KEYCHAIN $5.00 #MISC785

U.S. Pineapple Grenade

(inert)
O.D. green body. $16.50 ea, 3 for $39.99 #AM026

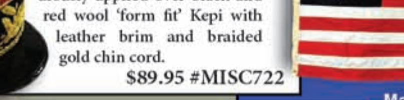
(Some States may have restrictions on ownership of INERT grenades. Check your local & State laws)

1928 Thompson Display Gun

Well-made wood and metal replica and has a cocking mechanism that moves back and forth and trigger that allows the bolt forward. Magazine catch also works. Comes with steel 50rd. display drum.
(non-firing) $249.95 #REP01

French General Officer's Kepi

Truly Museum Quality, metal gold thread embroidery meticulously applied over black and red wool 'form fit' Kepi with leather brim and braided gold chin cord.
$89.95 #MISC722



BETSY ROSS FLAG

Size 3 x 5 feet
$34.95
#FLAG56

Manufactured with heavy duty cotton layered with 13 embroidered Stars

M16A1 Display Gun

Venerable work horse of the U.S. Military, this full size M16A1 rifle made from metal and synthetic 'furniture', is about as close as you can get to the original in non-firing form! Comes with steel non-functional 15rd magazine. 7.5 lbs. Very hard to tell from the real thing!
$148.50 #REP31

British Grenadier Guards Regimental Flag

3 x 5 feet flag with fringe is a beauty for wall display and perfect for any 'Anglophile'!
$25.00
#FLAG30

REMEMBER THE MOVIES ZULU & ZULU DAWN? HERE IS THE REGIMENTAL FLAG OF THE BRITISH 24TH WARWICKSHIRE REGIMENT A beautiful wall hanger. Size 53" x 33". 2 grommets for use on pole.
$29.95 #FLAG32

German Balkenkreuz 'Vehicle Cross' Flag

All cotton, size 3 x 5 feet with loop and bottom draw cord. $18.95
#FLAG21

MILITARY HERITAGE

Spring 2022

FEATURES

26 SAVAGE FIGHT FOR SEELOW HEIGHTS
By Victor Kamenir
German General-Colonel Gotthard Heinrici disrupted the Red Army's plans to capture Seelow Heights in April 1945 on the road to Berlin. But his forces were no match for the mighty Red Army.

36 BLOODY COLLISION AT CEDAR MOUNTAIN
By David A. Norris
Stonewall Jackson rode forward to rally his troops when they wavered in the face of a bold attack by Nathaniel Banks in August 1862 on the outskirts of Culpeper, Virginia.

46 DARING STRIKE ON HAVANA
By Mike Phifer
A British task force moved rapidly to capture the strategic Spanish naval base at Havana in summer 1762 before disease had a chance to ravage the Redcoat ranks.

56 BLOODY REPULSE AT FONTENOY
By Robert L. Durham
When the Duke of Cumberland's crack British infantry breached the French line at Fontenoy in May 1745 during the War of the Austrian Succession, the French commander had a surprise in store for them.

66 HARD-WON VICTORY AT PASSCHENDAELE
By Mike Phifer
British and Commonwealth troops endured a living hell of mud and blood in autumn 1917 as they drove toward the town of Passchendaele in the face of fierce German resistance.

76 ROYALIST RECKONING AT NASEBY
By Joshua Shepherd
King Charles I's outnumbered Royalist army faced the Parliamentarian New Model Army at Naseby in 1645. At stake was the future of the Royalist cause.

86 CRUSADER CALAMITY AT DAMASCUS
By William E. Welsh
The leaders of the Second Crusade decided once they arrived in the Holy Land to try to capture Damascus. But their slow advance allowed a host of Muslim forces to rally to the defense of the great Syrian city.

36

26

COLUMNS

06 EDITORIAL

08 VALOR: Union Lieutenant Alonzo Cushing

12 WEAPONS: WWI Gotha Heavy Bomber

18 UNIFORM: British Paratrooper

20 SOLDIERS: Suleiman the Magnificent

94 BOOKS: Tank Battles of the Cold War

96 GAMES

Cover: A wounded British soldier shows off his steel helmet, which has been pierced by a piece of shrapnel, during fighting in December 1916. See story page 66. Photo: Imperial War Museum

Military Heritage (ISSN 1524-8666) is published quarterly by Sovereign Media, 6731 Whittier Ave., Suite C-100, McLean VA 22101-4554 (703) 964-0361. Periodical postage PAID at McLean, VA, and additional mailing offices. *Military Heritage*, Volume 24, Number 1 © 2022 by Sovereign Media Company, Inc., all rights reserved. Copyrights to stories and illustrations are the property of their creators. The contents of this publication may not be reproduced in whole or in part without consent of the copyright owner. Subscription Services, back issues, and Information: 1(800) 219-1187 or write to *Military Heritage* Circulation, *Military Heritage*, P.O. Box 1644, Williamsport, PA 17703. Single copies: $11.99, plus $3 for postage. Yearly subscription in U.S.A.: $39.95; Canada and Overseas: $53.95 (U.S.). Editorial Office: Editor, William E. Welsh. Send editorial mail to *Military Heritage*, 6731 Whittier Avenue, Suite C-100, McLean VA 22101. Email submission queries to Managing Editor Michael.Fowler@sovmedia.com. Review the magazine to tailor your submission to its approach before querying. Do not send unsolicited hardcopy manuscripts. The Editorial Department will not respond to inquiries regarding individual contracts. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Military Heritage*, P.O. Box 1644, Williamsport, PA 17703.

20th Century Soldiers – 100 Years of Innovation

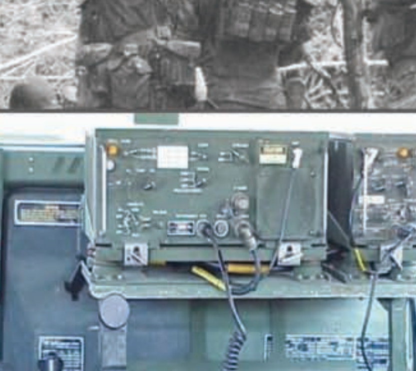
Army Heritage Days
May 21-22, 2022

9am to 5pm
Free Admission
Free Parking

250+ Reenactors
Museum Exhibits

U.S. Army Heritage and Education Center

Carlisle, PA 17013



www. ahec.armywarcollege.edu

Promotion courtesy of the Army Heritage Center Foundation

EDITORIAL

A Confederate Private's Eyewitness Account of the Battle of Cedar Mountain

IT IS A GIVEN that troops who are successful in battle are those that have confidence in themselves and in their commanders, and this was the case with the Confederate soldiers serving under Maj. Gen. Thomas J "Stonewall" Jackson who tramped into the railroad town of Gordonsville, Va., in late July 1862.

General Robert E. Lee had dispatched Jackson with three divisions after the Seven Days' Battles outside the Confederate capital at Richmond to check any southward advance by Maj. Gen. John Pope. U.S. President Abraham Lincoln had brought Pope east from the western theater to command a new Union Army of Virginia.

"We had been victorious in so many battles that the boys were rather anxious to meet General Pope," wrote Private John O. Casler of the 33rd Virginia Volunteers of Colonel Charles Ronald's Stonewall Brigade. "And we could hear it remarked in camp 'Just wait 'till Old Jack gets a chance at him; he'll take some of the starch out of him.'"

After deploying in the woods for battle at midday on August 9, Casler listened intently as the crash of musketry erupted to his right, indicating that the two sides were heavily engaged. What Casler heard was Brig. Gen. Samuel Crawford's Union brigade attacking Lieut. Col. Thomas S. Garnett's Confederate brigade, which had been poorly deployed in the woods west of Culpeper Road fronting in two directions. Crawford's Yankees struck Garnett's left regiments, wheeled left, and rolled up the brigade. The hapless Confederate brigade suffered "double fire, front and rear," Garnett wrote in his battle report.

As it pushed forward on the extreme left of the Confederate line, the Stonewall Brigade, part of which had entered a brushy field, soon ran into Union troops lying down on the reverse slope of a low rise in the ground, according to Casler. Both sides traded volleys at close range. These Union troops belonged to Brig. Gen. George Gordon's Brigade. "As our line on the left was about one regiment longer than theirs, the [Stonewall Brigade] kept on advancing and coming around on a wheel," wrote Casler. "The first line of the enemy fell back on the second."

The 33rd Regiment, which was still in the woods on the brigade's right, continued its advance, reaching the eastern edge of the woods. The Confederates saw before them a wheatfield that had recently been harvested. The right regiments of the Stonewall Brigade advanced into the wheatfield. "There the fighting was very heavy," Casler wrote.

But the tide of battle would soon turn in favor of the Confederates. Marching up the Culpeper Road, Maj. Gen. Ambrose Powell Hill's fresh Confederate division stabilized the Confederate line and allowed Jackson to drive Banks from the field in defeat.

The Stonewall Brigade lost just 10 killed and 51 wounded, while Garnett's brigade suffered 112 killed, 188 wounded, and 31 missing or captured. On the other side of the field, Gordon's brigade lost 74 killed, 191 wounded, and 79 missing, while Crawford's brigade suffered 97 killed, 397 wounded, and 373 missing or captured.

Casler bragged about the victory, stating that Jackson "gave General Pope a foretaste of what was to follow if he remained in Virginia long."

—William E. Welsh

VOLUME 24, NUMBER 1

CARL A. GNAM, JR.
Editorial Director, Founder

WILLIAM E. WELSH
Editor
editor@militaryheritagemagazine.com

MICHAEL FOWLER
Managing Editor

SAMANTHA DeTULLEO
Art Director

Contributors:
Robert L. Durham, Victor Kamenir, Joe Luster, Christopher Miskimon, David A. Norris, Eric Niderost, Mike Phifer, Joshua Shepherd, William E. Welsh

ADVERTISING OFFICE:

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

LINDA GALLIHER
Ad Coordinator
lgalliher@sovmedia.com
570-322-7848, ext. 160

MARK HINTZ
Chief Executive Officer

STEPHFANIE RUPP
Subscription Customer Services
stephfanie.rupp@psaemail.com

ROBIN LEE
Accountant

COMAG MARKETING GROUP
Worldwide Distribution

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

SUBSCRIPTION, CUSTOMER SERVICE, AND BUSINESS OFFICE
2406 Reach Road
Williamsport, PA 17701

(800) 219-1187

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

www.WarfareHistoryNetwork.com

INDIANA MILITARY MUSEUM

★ ★ ★ 715 South 6th St. • Vincennes, IN 47591 ★ ★ ★

VINCENNES INDIANA boasts the **Indiana Military Museum**, which has one of the most comprehensive collections of artifacts in the Midwest, including the military uniforms of Generals Patton and Eisenhower. Enjoy indoor and outdoor exhibits of military aircrafts, vehicles, artillery, uniforms, insignia and related artifacts spanning the Civil War through present day.

ANNUAL LIVING HISTORY EVENTS

WWI Event
April 2-3, 2022

WWII Living History Events
May 7-8, 2022

Salute to Veterans of WWII
September 3-4, 2022

Dates subject to change.

Eisenhower Exhibit

Salute to Veterans of WWII

Salute to Vietnam Veterans

Indoor Exhibits

VisitVincennes.org • 800.886.6443

Both: U.S. Army

Union Lieutenant Alonzo Cushing, severely wounded during the Confederate artillery bombardment, died at his guns during Pickett's Charge.

By William E. Welsh

The Gettysburg cyclorama shows a badly wounded Alonzo Cushing commanding one of his guns in The Angle. INSET: Cushing fought in most of the major battles and campaigns of the Army of the Potomac before Gettysburg.

One of the smoothbore cannons in Captain Merritt B. Miller's Third Company of the Washington Artillery deployed west of Emmitsburg Road just south of the town of Gettysburg fired a single round at 1:07 p.m. as a signal for the Confederate bombardment of Cemetery Ridge to begin.

Colonel Edward Porter Alexander, at the request of Lt. Gen. James Longstreet, had toiled all morning to assemble and position 170 cannon from all three Confederate corps to participate that afternoon in the largest cannonade ever undertaken on the North American continent.

The target of the Confederate rifled and smoothbore cannon was a 500-yard section of Cemetery Ridge, a low elevation in the cultivated landscape that rose just 40 feet above the surrounding terrain. Maj. Gen. George G. Meade, the Union commander, had assigned the Union II Corps to defend the position, which occupied the center of the Union army's fishhook-shaped battle line.

Maj. Gen. Winfield Hancock, who commanded the II Corps, had five batteries of cannon under his immediate control, organized into an artillery brigade. Meade also issued orders for additional batteries to be drawn from the Army of the Potomac's artillery reserve to deploy in support of the II Corps. More Federal batteries belonging to the Union I Corps occupied the ground north of Hancock's corps, which included Cemetery Hill, a commanding height that rose 500 feet above the town of Gettysburg.

General Robert E. Lee, the commander of the Army of Northern Virginia, intended the bombardment to precede an infantry attack by 13,000 Confederate soldiers in two-and-one-half divisions. The purpose of the bombardment was to destroy as many of the Federal batteries as possible, as well to demoralize the infantry that would

WHETHER IT BE ON THE SEAS OR IN THE AIR, NOW YOU CAN TAKE COMMAND OF THE LEGENDARY WEAPONS OF WWII

THE MOTOR POOL

They are the stuff of legend. They are the men and machines that fought to lay claim over vast swaths of Europe, North Africa and the Pacific at a time when the world quite literally hung in the balance. Amidst the carnage and destruction, these are the iconic aircraft and warships that will forever be etched into the annals of mid twentieth century warfare. These are the masters of combat. These are the **Legendary Weapons of World War II**.

From concept through to final production, we're sure you'll be proud to add any and all of the **Legendary Warbirds of World War II** to your private arsenal. This series will eventually encompass several dozen models and, as you can see, represent some of the most important aircraft that emerged from the Second World War. Each 1:72 scale introduction is produced in 1,002 piece lots, sits atop a beautiful display base, and comes packaged in a handsome case that comes with a leaflet discussing the plane in greater detail. Heavy in the hand and chock full of features you've come to expect from a premium range such as this, we're certain you'll want to collect each and every one of these handcrafted collectibles before our stocks run out.

$39.99 EACH!

WB0001
German Henschel HS-129 Ground Attack Aircraft - "Blue K", 5./Schlachtgeschwader 1, Eastern Front, June 194

WB0002
Soviet Polikarpov I-16 Fighter - Boris Feoktistovich Safonov, 72nd FAP, "For Stalin!", Murmansk, Russia, 1941

WB0003
German Dornier Do 335 Pfeil Fighter - Dornier Aircraft Factory, Oberpfaffenhofen, Germany, April 22nd 1945

WB0004
USN Douglas SBD-3 Dauntless Dive-Bomber - Dale Hinton/Jack Leming, USS Enterprise (CV-6), Marcus Island, March 4th 1942

WB0005
Soviet Ilyushin IL-10 Ground Attack Aircraft - Vladimir Avramovich Aleskenko, 15th GvShAP, Eastern Front, July 1945

WB0006
German Heinkel He 219A-0 "Uhu" Night Fighter - Manfred Meurer, Nachtjagdgeschwader 1, Germany, 1944

From concept through to final production, we're sure you'll be proud to add any and all of the **Legendary Warships of World War II** to your high seas fleet. This series will eventually encompass several dozen models and, as you can see, represent some of the most important ships that emerged from the Second World War. Each 1:1250 scale introduction is produced in 1,002 piece lots, sits atop a beautiful display base, and comes packaged in a handsome case that comes with a leaflet discussing the warship in greater detail. Each battleship features rotating gun turrets and highly detailed superstructures which the aircraft carriers come with a complement of aircraft lining their flight deck. Built from some of the finest materials known to the diecast industry, we're certain you'll want to collect each and every one of these handcrafted collectibles before our stocks run out.

$34.99 EACH!

WS0001
US Navy Pennsylvania Class Battleship - USS Arizona (BB-39), 1915

WS0002
US Navy South Dakota Class Battleship - USS Massachusetts (BB-59), 1941

WS0003
US Navy Lexington Class Aircraft Carrier - USS Lexington (CV-2), 1925

WS0004
US Navy Yorktown Class Aircraft Carrier - USS Hornet (CV-8), 1940

WS0005
US Navy Iowa Class Battleship - USS Missouri (BB-63), 1944

ORDERING INFORMATION:
$39.99 per aircraft; $34.99 per warship. Shipping: $10 per vehicle within the Continental US. For Alaska, Hawaii, the US territories, or outside the US, please contact us to ask about shipping rates. Order online via credit card, PayPal or Pay with Amazon at **www.themotorpool.net** or by phone at **(718) 465-3292**. New York state residents please add applicable sales tax. Sorry, no checks or money orders accepted.

sweep towards a conspicuous grove of scrub oaks on the north end of the ridge, known afterwards as the Copse of Trees. Once they had breached the Union line, the attacking Confederate infantry would wheel left to assault and capture Cemetery Hill, which was the key to the entire Union position.

As the Confederate bombardment grew in intensity, a storm of iron shot and shell slashed into the ridge and its reverse slope. The temperature nearly reached 90 degrees on the third day of the battle, and the searing heat did not disperse the smoke from the cannonade and the Union army's counterbattery fire that lay thick upon the ridge.

Of the five batteries belonging to Hancock's artillery brigade, Lieutenant Alonzo H. Cushing's suffered the heaviest damage. The 22-year-old officer had graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in June 1861 and immediately received his commission as a second lieutenant in the U.S. 4th Artillery. He commanded Battery A, 4th U.S. Artillery, which was equipped with six 3-inch ordnance rifles.

The Confederate bombardment on its position lasted for two hours, and during the course of the barrage, Cushing suffered shrapnel wounds to both his shoulder and groin. Sergeant Frederick Fuger, who became the next-in-command after two other lieutenants in the battery became casualties, implored him to go to the rear, but Cushing dismissed the request. "No, I stay right here and fight it out or die in the attempt," he replied.

Cushing was born in 1841 in Delafield, Wisconsin. When his father died prematurely, his mother moved the family to Fredonia, New York, to be near relatives. Cushing entered the U.S. Military Academy in 1857. Upon his graduation in June 1861, he reported immediately to Washington, D.C., where he trained enlisted artillerymen and joined the Army of Northeastern Virginia in its advance to First Bull Run.

Cushing did a stint as an ordnance officer in the service of Maj. Gen. Edwin Sumner during the Peninsular Campaign in spring 1862. In the Fredericksburg campaign, he again served Sumner, who commanded the Right Grand Division, as a topographical engineer.

He received command of 4th U.S. Artillery, Battery A, in time for the Battle of Chancellorsville in May 1863, where his battery was assigned to Maj. Gen. Darius Couch's II Corps.

The reorganized Union II Corps, with Hancock as its new commander, arrived in Taneytown, Maryland, on the morning of July 1. The town was 14 miles from Gettysburg, a place in southern Pennsylvania where 10 roads came together, making it of particular strategic importance.

The soldiers of the Union II Corps awoke at 3:00 a.m. on July 2 and marched off to Gettysburg from their bivouac north of Taneytown. They arrived at the battlefield after sunrise at 5:40 a.m. They left Taneytown Road and marched across the farmland to Cemetery Ridge. Brig. Gen. John Gibbon's division assumed a position on the right side of the II Corps line of battle on the north end of the ridge. Gibbon placed Brig. Gen. William Harrow's brigade on the left, Colonel Norman Hall's brigade in the center, and Brig. Gen. Alexander Webb's brigade on the right next to the I Corps.

Wikimedia Commons

U.S. Army

TOP: Upon graduating from West Point in June 1861, Cushing reported to Washington, where he trained volunteer troops. ABOVE: President Barack Obama presented the Medal of Honor to Cushing's descendents in a 2014 ceremony at the White House. OPPOSITE: Confederate Brig. Gen. Lewis Armistead leads his Virginians in a charge that carried them past one of Cushing's guns in The Angle.

Gibbon had under his direct command two artillery batteries. He ordered Lieutenant Frederick Brown's 1st Rhode Island, Battery B, which was outfitted with six 12-pounder smoothbores, to support Hall's brigade and Cushing's battery to support Webb's brigade.

Webb's brigade, composed mostly of Irish immigrants from Philadelphia, occupied a weed-choked field at a place where a low stone wall that marked property boundaries ran south along the crest of the ridge, turned west for 100 yards, and then turned south again parallel to the ridge. This area became known afterwards as "The Angle."

Cushing's battery had a core of regular army veterans and was rounded out by infantrymen who had transferred into the artillery branch. He had personally trained them, and, like most good commanders, he was a strict disciplinarian. The patch of ground that would serve as their position in the battle was full of brush and rocks, so Cushing immediately put his men to work clearing the ground for the battery's rifled guns, caissons, and horses.

In the late afternoon of July 2, the Confederate II Corps and one division of the III Corps attacked the Union left flank. At 6:00 p.m. Brig. Gen. Ambrose R. Wright's Georgia Brigade of Maj. Gen. Richard H. Anderson's III Corps division attacked Gibbon's center. Two regiments from Hall's brigade and one from Webb's advanced to head off the attack, and the action soon got heavy enough for Webb to commit his whole brigade against Wright's left regiments. Three artillery batteries from the II Corps, one of which was Cushing's, went into action to support Gibbon's infantry and ensure that they soundly repulsed the Georgians, as well as Brig. Gen. Carnot Posey's Mississippi brigade, which had attacked in a half-hearted fashion to the left of the better-led Georgians.

"We met the charge [of the Georgians] with such a destroying fire that they were forced back in confusion," wrote Anthony McDermott of the 69th Pennsylvania, one of the four regiments in the Philadelphia Brigade. "Their lines were broken and thinned as we poured volley after volley into their disordered ranks until they were a dispirited mob."

The Georgians overran part of Brown's battery; however, the Union infantry recovered all but one artillery piece. Wright complained bitterly afterwards that his attack had not been well supported. He lost 873 of his 1,450 men.

Longstreet, the commander of the Confederate I Corps, had sent orders at 9:00 a.m. to Colonel Alexander, to whom he had entrusted the task of overseeing the placement of the Confederate guns.

Library of Congress

Four hours later, the Confederate artillery and infantry were in position for what would famously be known afterwards as Pickett's Charge.

Gibbon's division would withstand the worst of the Confederate attack. Cushing's battery was just below the crest of the ridge on the morning of July 3, positioned between the 71st Pennsylvania and the 72nd Pennsylvania of Webb's brigade. Just to the left of his line of fire, the 69th Pennsylvania manned the stone wall in front of the Copse of Trees. In keeping with standard practice for artillery batteries of the time, the limbers were in a second line behind the guns, and the caissons in a third line behind the limbers.

The battery's position and that of Gibbon's division overlooked farm fields on the broad plain between Seminary and Cemetery Ridges. Emmitsburg Road was in no-man's land between the opposing forces. Wooden fences bordered both sides of Emmitsburg Road. To the advancing Confederates, the fences posed an obstacle that would prolong their exposure to Union artillery fire as they made their advance.

As the shells and case shot rained down on Gibbon's division, infantrymen and artillerymen alike scrambled for whatever cover they could find. Cushing and the other Union battery commanders along Cemetery Ridge and Cemetery Hill shouted to their gunners to man their artillery pieces. In a matter of minutes, the Union guns began firing back at the Confederate batteries. Although many of the Confederate artillery crews overshot Cemetery Ridge with their fire, enough landed squarely on the crest to cause considerable damage to the Union batteries. Caissons exploded, guns were dismounted, and carriages and limbers broken and shattered.

When the wheel of one of his guns collapsed, the artillerymen manning it scattered. Cushing furiously rushed over to the men to force them back to their gun. He drew his pistol and threatened to shoot any of his artillerymen who abandoned their gun without his permission. Working feverishly, the men installed a spare wheel onto the gun.

The young lieutenant Cushing, seasoned by many battles, maintained his cool demeanor throughout the ordeal. After identifying targets, he gave commands to the other lieutenants and sergeants supervising the gun crews that adjusted the battery's fire. "He was … talking to the boys between shots with the glass constantly to his eyes, watching the effect of our shots," wrote one of his men. As the bombardment wore on, the slashing shells from the Confederate artillery knocked out four of Cushing's six guns.

When the bombardment was over, Cushing found that he had only two serviceable guns and not enough men to work them, so he requested volunteers from the Pennsylvania Brigade to assist him. He then asked Webb for permission to run the guns up to the wall and have them interspersed with the soldiers of the 69th Pennsylvania, who had extended their line north deep into the Angle. The cool-headed general, who had remained standing through the entire bombardment leaning on his sword and puffing on a cigar, approved the decision.

Cushing ordered extra rounds of canister, an anti-personnel round in which iron balls were packed in a tin can and sprayed out upon leaving the muzzle of the gun, stacked next to his guns. As the advancing tide of gray-clad soldiers swept forward, Cushing directed every canister round fired at the Confederates as they surged uphill from Emmitsburg Road towards the stone wall in the Angle. The Confederates closing on the wall belonged to the Virginia brigades of Brig. Gen. Richard Garnett and Brig. Gen. Lewis A. Armistead. When the Virginians came to within 100 yards of the wall, Cushing ordered the gun crews to switch to double canister.

The Confederates were coming on fast, and some of them loaded and fired as they advanced. When the Confederates storming the position were just about to overrun the battery, Cushing shouted to Fuger that he would give them one more shot. As he grasped the lanyard to fire the artillery piece, a Confederate bullet struck him through the mouth, killing him instantly. Cushing fell over the handspike that was used to move the gun trail. His body was carried to the rear by Union soldiers.

Cushing was buried at West Point. In those days, the Medal of Honor was not given to soldiers who died posthumously during the Civil War. A Wisconsin resident, Margaret Zerwekh, who lived on land once owned by Cushing's father, contacted Wisconsin members of Congress in the late 1980s requesting that Cushing receive the Medal of Honor. He was formally nominated for it in 2002, and the U.S. Army approved the nomination in 2010. President Barack Obama presented the Medal of Honor in a 2014 White House ceremony attended by Cushing's descendents. ■

Germany sent Gotha heavy bombers over England during the Great War, where they rattled the English and provoked defensive countermeasures.

By Eric Niderost

AKG Images

The crew of a British Sopwith Camel flying at 10,000 feet downs the first Gotha on British soil during a night raid on London in January 1918. Germany reinvigorated its strategic bombing campaign late in the war by using Gotha aircraft instead of zeppelins.

It was the early-morning hours of June 13, 1917, when a group of German aircraft began its final preparations for a very special mission, which amounted to the first fixed-wing bombing of London. The British capital had already experienced a number of air raids conducted by Zeppelin airships, but the British made such sorties almost suicidal with effective countermeasures, in particular the use of an incendiary bullet that could ignite a zeppelin's dangerous hydrogen gas.

The Imperial German Navy stubbornly continued with Zeppelin raids, though they reduced the overall numbers of such missions. The German army, disgusted by the heavy losses of men and materiel, called a halt to their Zeppelin bombing program. They turned instead to conventional aircraft, certain that strategic bombing would break the island people's morale and cause the British Lion to sue for peace.

This first bombing raid was launched from an airfield near Ghent, in German-occupied Belgium. The bomber type used for this effort was a new machine, the *Grosskampfflugzeug* ("large battle airplane") IV, usually called the Gotha IV for short. It was remarkable for the time, powered by two 260 horsepower Mercedes engines that operated pusher, not tractor, propellers. It was a bit slow at 80 miles per hour, but it had an impressive ceiling of 18,000 feet.

For armament, it boasted two 7.92mm Parabellum machine guns with pivoted mounts in nose and dorsal positions, and it could carry a bomb load of between 661 and 1,102 pounds. The Gotha G IV was maneuverable, but it had an unfortunate tendency to be unstable when landing, especially when returning from a bombing mission without its heavy payload.

The Germans had fostered hopes of launching their assault on London as early as May, but bad weather, especially the proverbial English fog, had frustrated their plans. But it was obvious that this June day was going to be bright and clear, so the German crews were in good spirits. They climbed into their cumbersome, fur-lined flight suits—necessary for high altitudes in open cockpits—boarded their machines, and readied themselves for the final takeoff.

Twenty-three Gothas participated in the inaugural run. Most were Gotha IVs, but at least one was the very similar Gotha V model. This Gotha stood out among the rest, and its unusual embellishment had everyone calling it the "serpent machine." This was not nose art, but body art, with the undulating green body of a snake stretching down most the fuselage's 77-foot length.

INVEST IN THE PAST

A RARE COIN IS NOT JUST A PIECE OF HISTORY, BUT A PRUDENT STORE OF YOUR WEALTH.

Are you interested in Civil War coins, Gold Rush coins, or maybe even shipwreck coins? Blanchard has deep roots in the precious metals and numismatic community and can source almost any coin you're looking to add to your collection.

Unprecedented times call for unprecedented measures. Own gold, like centuries of investors before you. Call or visit our site today!

Blanchard and Company, Inc. | www.blanchardgold.com | 888.663.2453

National Archives

TOP: Flown by a three-man crew, the two-engine Gotha G V heavy bomber could carry as many as ten 110 lbs. bombs. The Germans conducted 52 airstrikes on Great Britain using Gotha and "Giant" bombers. BELOW: A German gunner demonstrates how the Gotha's 7.92mm dorsal machine gun on a pivoted mount could be fired down through the fuselage.

This Gotha V, more formally Gotha G.V. 670/16 (the last number meaning it was manufactured in 1916) was piloted by 19-year-old Lieutenant Erwin Kolberg, with Rear Gunner Sergeant Mayer and commander/observer First Lieutenant Walter Aschoff. It was fitting that Aschoff commanded the serpent plane, because he himself was noted for his dash and eccentric color. He habitually carried a walking stick, a battered and ugly oak cane to be exact, as a lucky charm. This was his talisman of good fortune, and he refused to part with it.

The Gotha bomber also had an unusual feature, something that initially was going to confound its British opponents: The dorsal machine gun could be depressed down enough to enable it to fire through an open panel in the floor of the fuselage. This machine-gun/panel combination gave the Gotha a measure of protection against attack from below, a blind spot on most machines of the era.

The Gotha did not carry a radio, but some air crews may have taken carrier pigeons with them. Of course, the English Channel was a threat, especially if a damaged bomber could not make it back to base and had to ditch in the water. The Germans had constructed the Gotha's fuselage in such a way that the various vents and other openings could be plugged. The Gotha could float, at least for a time, with the hope that a German U-boat or surface vessel could come to the rescue before it sank beneath the waves.

The Gotha flight crews began to sweat, both from battle anticipation and from being trapped in those furry flight suits as the sun rose higher and the day gradually warmed. Nevertheless, this is what the unit had been wanting for weeks, and now their moment had arrived. In typical German fashion, their unit name was almost as long as their machines, a tongue-twisting *Kampfgeschwader 3 der Oberste Heeresleitung* of the Army High Command, which was abbreviated to Kagohl 3. It was not too long before Kagohl 3 had acquired the informal nickname *Enlandgeschwader,* which translates to "England Squadron."

It was 10:00 a.m. when the heavily laden bombers lifted off into the cobalt-blue sky bound for England. Two craft immediately had engine trouble and were forced to return to base, leaving 20 machines to press on to London. Others peeled off to secondary targets. For example, one Gotha headed southwards to the Kentish coastal town of Margate, on which it dropped five bombs.

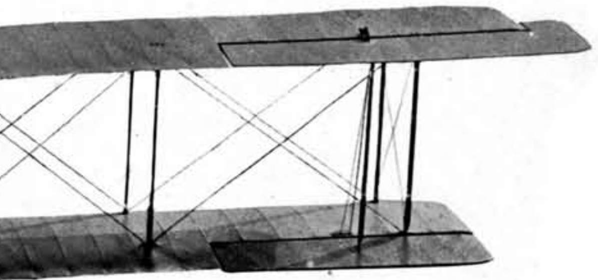
Captain Ernst Brandenburg, squadron commander of Kagohl 3, was personally present on this mission, and he now had 14 Gothas with which to complete his bombing run over London. The German bombers were flying abreast in two formations along a wide front. The noise of their combined engines was so loud they could be heard on the ground 10 minutes before the aircraft could be seen.

People in the suburbs rushed outdoors to find the source of the strange sound, a constant and unnerving drone. People who caught sight of the German formations were thrilled and delighted, and some actually cheered, describing the approaching aircraft as "white butterflies" or a "shoal of little silver fishes." At this stage, virtually everyone thought they were Allied airplanes.

The British were caught off-guard by the Gotha attack, but they were not defenseless. Squadrons 37, 39, and 50 were alerted, and at precisely 11:24 a.m., a 3-inch antiaircraft gun at Rumford roared to life, the first London defense gun to go into action on this raid. "Suddenly there stand, as if by magic in our course, little clouds of cotton, and the greetings of enemy guns," recalled one of the German commanders, who said the aircraft pressed on through the flak. "We fly through them [for] it is the heart of London that must be hit."

But how did this idea of bombing an enemy city come about? The idea of strategic bombing was in its infancy, as was aviation itself. One of the first proponents of strategic bombing was the Imperial German Navy. Largely bottled up in its home ports by the larger British Royal Navy and unable to break the British blockade that stifled German trade, the German navy yearned to take some kind of offensive action against the British Isles.

Grand Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz favored bombing England, but Kaiser Wilhelm II was reluctant to give permission for such raids, because members of the British royal family were his blood relations. The Kaiser finally gave his permission in January 1915, stipulating that only military targets would be considered. This decision spawned the zeppelin raids, but the early suc-



cesses of these airships could not be sustained.

Lt. Gen. Ernst Wilhelm von Hoeppner took control of the situation. His goals were simple but precise. He aimed for nothing less than the disruption of British industry and communications and disruption of cross-channel supply routes. But above all, he wanted to break the morale of the British people by delivering a psychological blow that would compel them to demand that their government sue for peace.

The first raid had Liverpool Street Station, one of London's largest rail terminals, as its primary objective. In these early years, it was almost impossible to drop bombs with any sort of precision. Seventy-two bombs were released within one mile of the station, but only three hit the target. Two of the bombs crashed through the station roof and detonated on the concrete waiting platforms, while a third scored a direct hit on a train waiting to depart.

The station was a scene of utter carnage. A dining car from the ill-fated train was shattered, and flames erupted from two of the coaches. When the raid was over, the British casualties included 162 dead and 426 injured.

But the real horror came when a single 50-kilogram bomb hit Upper North Street School in the London suburb of Poplar. It penetrated three stories before detonating in a kindergarten class. The playroom was transformed into a charnel house of ruble and tiny, mangled bodies. The bomb killed eighteen children outright, with a further 30 sustaining injuries.

War was one thing, but the killing of children, even as collateral damage, produced a wave of revulsion against the enemy. The dead were horrifying enough, but the sight of screaming and bloodied young children was doubly heartrending.

The first raid ended, and, from the German point of view, it was a remarkable success. The Gothas headed home, leaving 125,953 pounds of high-explosive damage in their wake. But in the wake of the bombing raid, the English bitterness towards the Germans increased tenfold. Afterwards, they detested everything German, and British citizens attacked German immigrants. In response to the furor, King George V dropped the royal family name of Saxe-Colberg-Gotha and substituted the more English-sounding name Windsor.

A machine gunner mans the nose gun of a Gotha heavy bomber. The air crews wore fur-lined flight suits to keep them warm at high altitudes in the aircraft's open cockpits.

More raids followed, and it was clear that the bombings of 1917 were a psychological blow, but not quite in the way that the Germans intended. Horrified at the random civilian deaths, and especially shocked by the senseless killing of innocent children, the British public demanded action. If the two British air forces, the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Naval Air Service, could not mount retaliatory raids at the moment, at least they could improve home defenses.

The raids showed that British home defenses were inadequate, at best. Some of the British fighters could not reach the Gotha's operational height, and those that could took time to climb to that level. By the time a British pilot got there, his prey was long gone. That is why only 11 out of 94 British defensive aircraft got close enough to the Gothas' sorties in that first raid even to fire at them. And the handful that did find the bombers was ineffectual, downing not a single enemy bomber.

Spurred by the public outcry, the War Cabinet formed a committee on defense and aerial operations. The findings and conclusions were largely the work of one committee member, Lt. Gen. Jan Christian Smuts. There is some irony in Smuts helping to defend London, because he was a Boer from South Africa, a man who had been an enemy of the British Empire years earlier.

Smuts and his committee established a London Air Defense Area. This was an umbrella organization that included the RFC squadrons, anti-aircraft guns, searchlights, and observer corps under a unified command. Brig. Gen. Edward Ashmore, a former RFC officer, was chosen to head this fledgling organization. It was a superb choice, for he had been serving as an artillery officer on the Western Front, so he knew the strengths and weaknesses of both airplanes and anti-aircraft guns.

Ashmore first redeployed his anti-aircraft guns in a defensive line 25 miles outside of London. Once that was finished, he created a boundary known as a Green Line around the British capital. Beyond this line, anti-aircraft guns had priority, and Allied planes were forbidden to enter. That gave the artillery freedom of action, and gunners could automatically assume that anything flying in their air space was an enemy to be dealt with accordingly.

These innovations proved effective, and the Gothas could no longer fly missions with relative impunity. The Germans started to take losses, and when they started to raid English coastal towns, the story was the same. The new British fighters, machines like the fabled Sopwith Camel, were also proving their worth in the crowded skies about the embattled island.

On the morning of Wednesday, August 22, 1917, 15 Gotha bombers from Kagohl 3 set out on yet another mission to England. It was to be a two-pronged attack, with one group to bomb Sheerness and then either Southend or Chatham, and the other group targeting Dover. The formation was spotted, and the alarm sounded for both antiaircraft and airborne units.

Flight Lieutenant Arthur Frank Brandon of the RNAS was already on patrol, flying his Sopwith Camel F.1 B3834, which he had named "Wonga Bonga"—was inspired by the sound that the

Wikimedia Commons

Alamy

ABOVE: A Gotha G IV is shown in flight over Belgium. The scale of the German bombing campaign against Great Britain was limited, but it did succeed in tying up British fighter aircraft. RIGHT: An ordnance specialist hangs bombs on the 78-foot wingspan of a Gotha bomber. Germany based an entire fleet of Gotha heavy bombers at airfields in occupied Belgium for strikes against Great Britain.

engine of the Gotha bomber made while in flight.

Brandon saw some of his RNAS comrades flying up to join him, but once he spotted the Gothas ahead, he did not wait for support. Positioning his Camel some 2,000 feet above the bombers, he dived down on Gotha G.IV 663/16 but resisted the urge to shoot until the last minute. At a distance of 200 yards from the target he opened fire, and the German bomber responded in kind.

Machine guns blazed, and Brandon noticed that the German rear gunner slumped as the bullets ripped into his body. Brandon circled and attacked three more times, until the Gotha's starboard engine burst into flames. Clearly crippled, the German bomb veered off and started to break up as it plunged earthward.

The fallen Gotha's three-man crew was dead, but the bodies were recovered and placed in a barn. It was said that anger against the bombing was so great that local residents came into the barn to kick and abuse the dead Germans. A guard had to be placed around the barn, and the enemy airmen were later buried in secret.

But the fascinating part of the story was that Brandon was not done yet. Wonga Bonga had sustained some battle damage in the Gotha fight—particularly a bullet in its No 6 cylinder—so he was forced to land. Knowing there were still Gothas nearby, he transferred to a Sopwith Camel named "Springbok" and took to the air once again. Brandon found another Gotha and peppered it with bullets, though it is not recorded if this particular bomber went down.

It is a matter of record, however, that besides Brandon's kill, the RNAS downed at least two more German Gothas that day. One of them, G.IV 663/16, crashed into the sea a half a mile from Margate. The pilot and observer were killed, but 19-year-old gunner, *Unteroffizeir* Bruno, Schneider, was picked up and rescued by the destroyer HMS *Kestrel*.

These mounting losses made the Germans rethink their original plans for daylight raids. The obvious solution was to switch to night missions, which commenced in early September 1917. The Germans transferred *Riesenflugzeug* ("giant aircraft") 501 from the Eastern Front to Belgium in autumn of that year, where its aircraft became a welcome addition to the German bombing campaign against England. Like most aircraft types, the design went through several incarnations. The last of these, the RVI, was truly a gigantic machine, boasting four engines, a crew of seven, and a wingspan of 138 feet.

Aided by mild weather, the September 1917 raids grew in intensity. There were no fewer than six raids across a period of eight days, with five of them hitting the capital city. The new commander of Kagohl 3, Captain Rudolf Kleine, was a great believer in offensive action, and was particularly intrigued by incendiaries.

It was said his dream was to set London ablaze, but the incendiary bombs failed to live up to their promise. In one raid, 260 incendiaries and 13 high-explosive bombs were dropped, but they set only three serious fires.

This is not to say that the bombings were futile. Production of munitions at Woolwich Arsenal fell during the attacks; people were killed and wounded; and as many as 300,000 Londoners were forced to seek shelter in London's Underground stations.

The last major raid took place the night of May 19-20, 1918. It was a major effort that included 38 Gothas and three "R" giants. Only 18 of the 41 machines made it to London, with the rest repulsed by the increasingly efficient British defenses or forced back by engine trouble. The London antiaircraft guns fired over 10,000 rounds that night.

Although they did not know it, the Londoners had seen the last of the German bombers, at least for this war. The German army was pressing forward with its last offensives on the western front and demanded more air support for its efforts. What is more, the newly formed Royal Air Force had begun bombing German cities and towns, and there was always a fear of even greater reprisals.

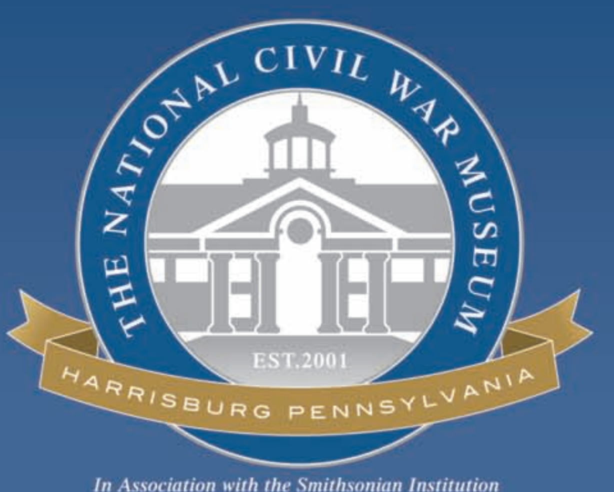
The German bomber offensive of 1917-1918 resulted in 487 deaths and 1,434 other casualties in the capital. Across the rest of England, perhaps another 350 died and 557 were wounded. But the Germans did not emerge unscathed: Kagohl 3 lost 24 Gothas shot down or missing, with another 36 destroyed or seriously damaged in landing accidents.

For all the tragic loss of life and material damage, the German bomber raids proved of lasting benefit to the British nation, because, through trial and error, a defensive template was developed that was going to be used again in World War II. This template, combined with radar, world-class intelligence, and real-time resource allocation, was going to help win the Battle of Britain in 1940. ■

One of the

Largest Museums in the U.S.

that portrays the whole story of the American Civil War.



In Association with the Smithsonian Institution

Monday – Saturday:

10:00 AM – 5:00 PM

Sunday:

12:00 PM – 5:00 PM

1 Lincoln Circle in Reservoir Park
HARRISBURG, PA • 717.260.1861

www.nationalcivilwarmuseum.org

Be sure to come check out our exhibit

Above and Beyond:
Medal of Honor Recipients of the Civil War

Open through January 31, 2023

UNIFORM

BRITISH PARATROOPER, 1ST AIRBORNE DIVISION, ARNHEM 1944

By William E. Welsh
Illustration by Johnny Shumate

HELMET: The rimless steel helmet was routinely fitted with camouflage netting.

UNIFORM: The long-sleeved Dennison jump smock, which was patterned on the German version, consisted of windproof cotton printed with brown and green camouflage. The airborne battledress trousers had chamois-lined pockets.

FIREARM: The British army modeled its .303-caliber Bren light machine gun after the Czech-made ZB vz. 26. The gunner carrying the gas-operated, magazine-fed weapon anchored the army's eight-man infantry section. Known for its incredible accuracy and reliability, the Bren gun had an effective range of 600 yards and a maximum range of 1,850 yards. It could be fired prone with a bipod or from the hip.

BOOTS: The British paratroopers had standard-issue jump boots with extended lacing from the instep to the calf and reinforced toe caps.

Image © Johnny Shumate

WEBBING: Paratroopers wore the standard issue 1937 pattern cotton webbing, which consisted of cross straps, belt, and two large pouches. The pouches could hold a water bottle, compass, ammunition, and hand grenades. A pack could be attached to the back.

HAND GRENADE: Airborne troops carried the No. 82 grenade, which was commonly referred to as the Gammon Bomb. It consisted of an elasticized knitted bag, metal cap, and fuse. The paratrooper tailored the amount of explosive and shrapnel in the bag to the target.

KNIFE: The Fairbairn-Sykes double-edged fighting knife with its foil grip resembled a dagger. A paratrooper carried the knife in a special pocket in his pants. This gave him easy access to the knife so that he could free himself if he became caught on a tree while landing.

The British Air Ministry established the British Airborne forces on June 22, 1940, at the request of Prime Minister Winston Churchill. Training took place at the Airborne Forces training school at Manchester's Ringway Airport, where the paratroopers learned to jump from converted Armstrong Whitworth Whitley medium bombers and Hotspur Gliders.

Paratroopers initially jumped without weapons and had to retrieve their weapons from supply containers once on the ground. The British Royal Air Force established the 1st Parachute Brigade on September 15, 1941, and added another the following year. The 1st and 4th Parachute Brigades participated in Operation Market Garden with the 1st Airborne Division in 1944. ■

W.Britain

Because History Matters

51072 .... **$7.50**
B-24 Liberator of the Mighty 8th
8.5x5.5" backdrop card

matte finish
Hand-Painted Pewter Figures

56/58 mm-1/30 Scale

13040
U.S.M.C. Lewis "Chesty" Puller, 1941-50
$45.00

10076
U.S.A.A.F. Bombardier England, 1943-45
$45.00

10077
U.S.A.A.F. Navigator England, 1943-45
$45.00

10078
U.S.A.A.F. Bomber Captain, England, 1943-45
$45.00

10081
U.S. General Dwight D. Eisenhower, WWII
$45.00

10084
U.S. Lieutenant General Omar Bradley, WWII
$45.00

Each one of our 1:30 scale metal figures is painstakingly researched for historical accuracy and detail. The originals are hand sculpted by our talented artists before being cast in metal and hand painted – making each figure a gem of hand-crafted history. Please visit ***wbritain.com*** to see all these figures and more from many other historic eras.

10059
Rosie the Riveter, 1941-45
$45.00

13031
Shore Leave
U.S.N. Sailor on Liberty with Date, 1942-45
$78.00

10067
George H. W. Bush U.S. Navy, 1944
$45.00

13053
U.S. Sailor in Whites, 1941-45
$45.00

10082
U.K. Prime Minister Winston Churchill, 1940-45
$45.00

10080
British Field Marshall Bernard Montgomery, 1944-45
$45.00

10083
German Generalfeldmarschall Erwin Rommel, 1944
$45.00

10068
John F. Kennedy U.S. Navy, 1945
$45.00

13003
U.S. Marine in Green Winter Service Dress, WWII
$45.00

13030
U.S.M.C. Women's Reserve 1941-45
$45.00

25027
R.A.F. Pilot with Model Spitfire and Child
$72.00

25025
I'll Be Seeing You
R.A.F. Pilot and Girl Kissing Goodbye
$72.00

25029
Got A Light?
U.S.A.A.F. Pilot Lighting Cigarette for R.C.A.F. Pilot
$72.00

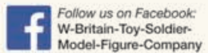
Use code MILHJAN to get a ***FREE*** Mini Backdrop with your first purchse!

CALL FOR A FREE CATLOG

See these and more W.Britain 1/30 scale historical metal figures at:

Tel: U.S. 740-702-1803 • wbritain.com • Tel: U.K. (0)800 086 9123

WBSOVM-MILH 01-14-2022 ©2022 W.Britain Model Figures. W.Britain, and [logo] are registered trademarks of the W.Britain Model Figures, Chillicothe, OH



Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent fought his way to the gates of Vienna while maintaining a death grip on southern Hungary.

By William E. Welsh

Hungarian National Museum

Venetian military engineer Gabriel Tandini listened intently in the semi-darkness of the Knights Hospitaller counter-tunnels beneath the walls of Rhodes for sound of Turkish sappers trying to dig under the city's walls. Tandini used a shallow drum covered with tightly stretched parchment similar in size to a tambourine as an early-warning device. When the Turks began digging with their spades, tiny bells on the listening device would begin jingling. Tandini and his skilled miners would then dig in the direction of the Turkish tunnel they had discovered. Once they were close to it, they would detonate explosives to destroy the head of the Ottoman tunnel.

The Turks had failed in 1480 to capture the fortress of Rhodes from the Knights Hospitaller. One of the reasons for the failure was the incompetent effort put forth by Mesih Pasha, a Byzantine Greek who had converted to Islam and served as the grand vizier to Sultan Mehmed II. Mehmed's great-grandson was Sultan Suleiman I.

Like his great-grandfather, Suleiman also found the Knights Hospitaller stronghold at Rhodes to be an affront to the Ottoman Empire given that it was situated just 11 miles from the southern shore of Ottoman-controlled Anatolia. Suleiman vowed to avenge the defeat his esteemed ancestor had suffered at the hands of the Roman Catholic military order. To avoid the mistake of entrusting such an important expedition to a subordinate, Suleiman set sail at the head of nearly 200,000 soldiers in 700 ships that weighed anchor off the northern shores of the island of Rhodes on June 26, 1522.

Suleiman "the Magnificent" was born in Trebizond on November 6, 1494, during the reign of his grandfather, Sultan Bayezid II. Suleiman's father, Selim I, overthrew Bayezid in 1512. The rebellion was significant because it was the first

Croatian nobleman Nikola Zrinski leads a sortie against the Turks at the Hungarian fortress of Szigetvar in 1566. The bloody siege was Suleiman's last battle. Inset: Sultan Suleiman I "The Magnificent" ruled the Ottoman Empire at the peak of its power.

"To you, it's the **perfect lift chair.** To me, it's the **best sleep chair** I've ever had."

— J. Fitzgerald, VA

You can't always lie down in bed and sleep. Heartburn, cardiac problems, hip or back aches – and dozens of other ailments and worries. Those are the nights you'd give anything for a comfortable chair to sleep in: one that reclines to exactly the right degree, raises your feet and legs just where you want them, supports your head and shoulders properly, and operates at the touch of a button.

Our **Perfect Sleep Chair®** does all that and more. More than a chair or recliner, it's designed to provide total comfort. **Choose your preferred heat and massage settings, for hours of soothing relaxation.** Reading or watching TV? Our chair's recline technology allows you to pause the chair in an infinite number of settings. And best of all, it features a powerful lift mechanism that tilts the entire chair forward, making it easy to stand. You'll love the other benefits, too. It helps with correct spinal alignment and promotes back pressure relief, to prevent back and muscle pain. The overstuffed, oversized biscuit style back and unique seat design will cradle you in comfort. Generously filled, wide armrests provide enhanced arm support when sitting or reclining. **It even has a battery backup in case of a power outage.**

White glove delivery included in shipping charge. Professionals will deliver the chair to the exact spot in your home where you want it, unpack it, inspect it, test it, position it, and even carry the packaging away! You get your choice of Genuine Italian Leather, plush and durable Brisa™, stain and liquid repellent DuraLux™ with the classic leather look or plush MicroLux™ microfiber, all handcrafted in a variety of colors to fit any decor. **Call now!**

The Perfect Sleep Chair®

1-888-814-0591

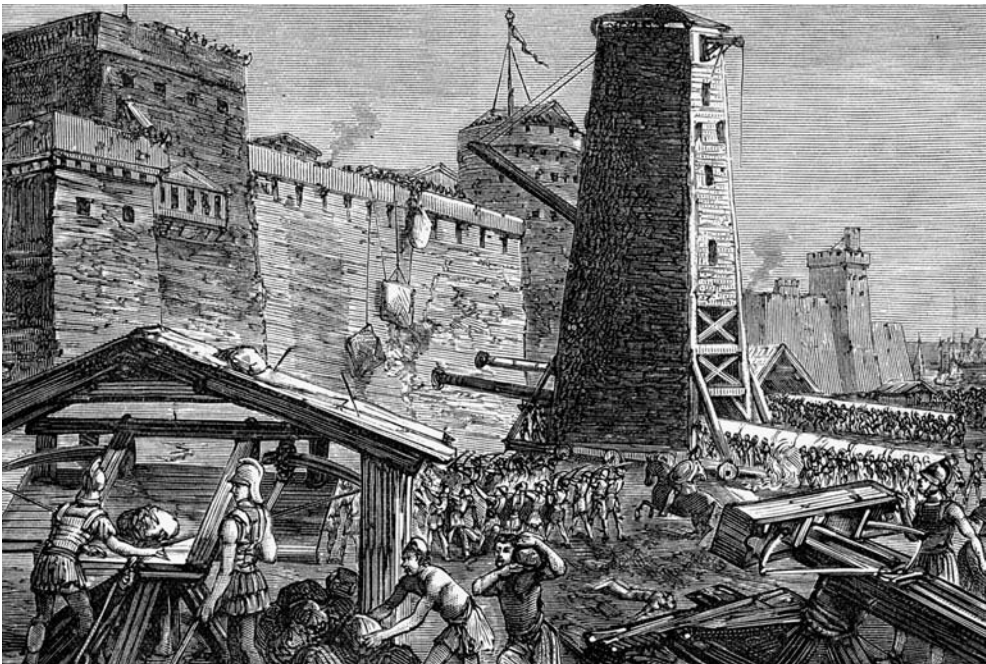
Please mention code 116425 when ordering.

Because each Perfect Sleep Chair is a made-to-order bedding product it cannot be returned, but if it arrives damaged or defective, at our option we will repair it or replace it.

© 2021 Journey Health and Lifestyle

46592

Wikimedia Commons



TOP: The Knights Hospitaller fortress at Rhodes fell to Suleiman's army in 1522 despite its strong defenses. BOTTOM: Suleiman triumphed over the Hungarians at Mohacs largely because of the iron discipline of his professional troops.

Hungarian National Gallery

time that an Ottoman prince openly rebelled against his father with an army. Selim "the Grim" exiled Bayezid and murdered his brothers and nephews to ensure there was no male relative in his immediate family to contest his rule. Despite his familial reign of terror, Selim doubled the size of the Ottoman Empire through his conquest of the Mamluk Sultanate in 1517.

Suleiman succeeded his father upon his death in 1520. The 25-year-old sultan inherited an empire that straddled three continents, covered one million square miles, and possessed 12 million inhabitants.

Suleiman's first score to settle was with the Hungarians. Sultan Mehmed II had tried unsuccessfully to capture the Serbian fortress of Belgrade in 1456 but was outwitted by the brilliant Hungarian commander John Hunyadi. Suleiman marched north in February 1521 at the head of 100,000 troops and a siege train of 300 cannons. Suleiman divided his forces. He besieged the fortress of Sabac and detached part of his army under grand vizier Piri Mehmed Pasha to lay siege to Belgrade. After the fall of Sabac, the main army joined the siege of Belgrade. When Ottoman sappers tunneling under Belgrade's walls succeeded in blowing up the main tower of the fortress, the Christian garrison surrendered.

Having captured Belgrade, Suleiman decided to address the long-standing problem posed by the presence of the Knights Hospitaller at Rhodes. When his first threatening letter to Grand Master Philippe Villiers de L'Isle-Adam failed to compel the military order to negotiate with him, he sent another letter. In his second dispatch he accused them of "monstrous injuries" and implored them to surrender the island and its fortress, stating that he would allow the brother-knights to "depart in safety with your most valued possessions."

When the sultan received no reply, he sailed at the head of an army nearly twice the size of the one that had captured Belgrade. But the fortress of Rhodes was stronger than the stronghold of Belgrade, for the Knights Hospitaller had been continually improving its defenses since they arrived in the early 14th century. In anticipation of the Turkish siege artillery, the outerworks and towers of the fortress had been fashioned into bastions better able to absorb the stone balls fired by the enormous Turkish bombards. Nevertheless, the garrison was paltry compared to the Turkish host. The grand master had just 700 knights and 2,000 mercenaries.

The Turks succeeded in breaching the outer defenses of the fortress in September after bringing down a section of the wall through mining. The knights repulsed the attack but knew fullwell that time was not on their side. The grand master entered surrender negotiations in December. Suleiman agreed to allow the knights to depart unmolested; however, the janissaries took it upon themselves to defile the sacred sites in the city. On January 1, 1523, the Hospitallers departed. They eventually found a new home in Malta when Holy Roman Emperor Charles gave them the strategically located island in 1530.

After driving the knights from Rhodes, Suleiman turned his attention once again to Hungary. He planned to use Ottoman-controlled Serbia as a springboard into Hungary. He had every confidence that his powerful army could vanquish the army of 20-year-old Hungarian King Louis II, who would need the assistance of other Catholic powers if he were to meet the Ottoman army on equal terms.

Louis, who ruled Hungary, Croatia, and Bohemia, called up forces from his regions, but received no forces from other Catholic powers. The 30,000-strong Ottoman vanguard of Rumelian troops under Ibrahim Pasha crossed the Drava River uncontested and occupied a line of ridges on the south side of the plain of Mohacs, where Louis waited with his 14,000 cavalry, 16,000 infantry, and 85 cannon. Suleiman fol-

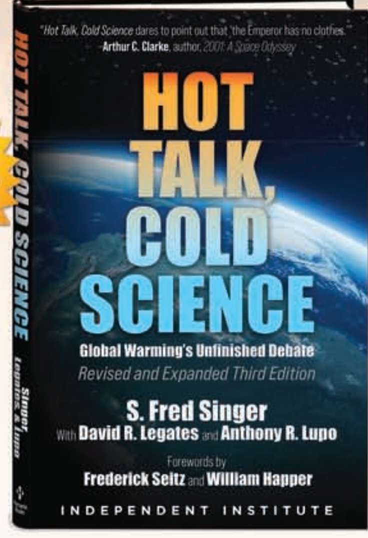
— ADVERTISEMENT —

Global Warming Hoax?

New Book Reveals Fact From Fiction . . .

What every American must know about DECADES of questionable scientific data used to potentially restrict our freedoms.

FREE With Special Offer!



If you ever suspect that you (and everyone else) have been lied to about the causes of "global warming" — then . . .

Here's one way to find out.

In the bestselling book ***Hot Talk, Cold Science*** you'll discover why global warming has been one of the most hotly debated issues throughout the world for the past 40 years.

Plus, you'll see how you may have been misled about climate change by government officials, scientists, and various foundations.

Why is this so important?

Ultimately, it comes down to controlling how we'll live our daily lives in the coming years.

Everything from where you live . . . to what kind of vehicle you drive . . . to what your children learn in school . . . to what food you can eat . . .

We've already seen it happening in the first months of the Biden administration.

And sadly, it's just the start.

That's why you MUST get a copy of ***Hot Talk, Cold Science*** today.

In the newly expanded third edition of this controversial bestseller, the authors and renowned climate experts reveal:

- **Why there is NO climate crisis** arising from human activities now . . . nor on the horizon over the upcoming years (p. 103)
- **How the ice mass in Antarctica has actually been *increasing*** since 1979 and NOT decreasing like we've been led to believe (p. 64)
- **The carbon dioxide disconnect** and why there is ZERO evidence linking carbon dioxide to climate change (p. 66)
- **How the BIGGER problem of "global cooling" has been overlooked** and why it could cause far greater hazards to humans than global warming (p. 174)
- **How a FAKE consensus of scientists and CORRUPTION of the peer-review process** have been purposely misused by politicians to further their agendas since 1990 (p. 56)
- **The "Hockey Stick" scandal** in which a small group of scientists conspired to rewrite climate history so they could claim that temperature increases in the 20th century were "unprecedented" — and how it was debunked! (p. 73)
- **The "Climategate" scandal** among top IPCC scientists that misrepresented and withheld important climate information . . . and then attempted to prevent discovery! (p. 77)
- **And much, much more . . .**

> ***Hot Talk, Cold Science*** **provides the reader with important facts and evidence conveniently overlooked by climate alarmists . . ." — U.S. Senator Ted Cruz**

Those are just a handful of the little-known facts (which are never reported by the mainstream media!).

Discover What the "Establishment" Doesn't Want You to Know

Now, keep in mind — the "Establishment" does NOT want people like you and me knowing the facts and the real reasons behind climate change.

Because the more people who know the real truth . . .

. . . the less chance they have of succeeding.

This is why we've made it a priority to get this must-have, 234-page book into the hands of as many Americans as possible so you can:

- **Regain control over how you live your life — especially after all of this coronavirus insanity we've endured the past year.**

This book is so critical that Newsmax wants to put a copy of it in your hands absolutely **FREE**. You just pay $4.95 to cover shipping.

To secure your **FREE** copy of ***Hot Talk, Cold Science*** simply follow the instructions below:

Claim Your FREE Book Today!

Call: (800) 497-5751

Online: ColdScience611.com/NMX37

See Website for terms, conditions, and eligibility for this offer.

Suleiman lost 20,000 men in a failed bid to capture Vienna in 1529. In the face of a determined defense by the Hapsburg forces, he withdrew before the onset of winter.

Prado Museum

lowed behind the Ottoman vanguard with 50,000 Anatolian troops.

Hungarian commander-in-chief Pal Tomori decided to attack before the Ottoman main army arrived in the hopes of defeating the vanguard. Louis accompanied the army, given that the future of his realm was at stake. The Hungarian heavy cavalry smashed through the Rumelian cavalry. By that time, the Anatolian cavalry had arrived to reinforce the Ottoman vanguard. The Hungarian armored cavalry smashed the Anatolian cavalry, as well. Believing the day was won, they attacked the Turkish center, where the Ottomans had chained together their cannons. By that time, Ottoman detachments of infantry and light cavalry began to assail the flanks and rear of the Hungarian army. The Hungarians tried to retreat but were annihilated. Louis drowned during the chaotic retreat in a flooded tributary of the Danube River.

In less than two weeks' time, the Ottomans had secured Buda, and the Ottoman victory at Mohacs divided Hungary. The Ottomans controlled southern Hungary, while the Hapsburgs controlled northern Hungary, which became known as Royal Hungary.

Suleiman marched on Vienna three years later. Although the defenses of the great city, which was the seat of the Holy Roman Empire, were weak and outdated, it boasted a garrison of 16,000 experienced troops. Hapsburg Emperor Charles V entrusted its defense to 70-year-old Count Nicholas of Salm, a veteran of the Burgundian Wars.

After a painstakingly slow advance from Istanbul, the Ottoman army arrived before the walls of Vienna on September 26, 1529. The wet weather had sided with the Austrians, producing a logistical nightmare for the Ottoman Turks, who had struggled along muddy roads on their 900-mile march with their artillery and supply wagons. Because of the conditions, Suleiman was only able to field 300 small guns that lacked the power necessary to open breaches in the six-foot-thick city walls. The defenders' strategy of constructing earthen and wooden walls and ramparts inside the fortress as a second line of defense proved to be a sound one.

The Ottomans tried to mine the walls, but half of the Austrian garrison sallied forth on October 6 and overran the Turks' forward lines, killing as many sappers as they could before withdrawing. The Turks succeeded, though, in breaching the outer walls on several occasions, but Imperial pikemen fought off the sultan's sword-wielding elite janissaries. Having lost 20,000 men, Suleiman raised the siege and withdrew south on October 14. The Ottoman siege of Vienna marked the apogee of Ottoman power. Suleiman's failure to capture the city had revealed weaknesses among his officer corps, as well as within the ranks of his janissary troops.

Suleiman launched his third invasion of Hungary in 1532 and besieged the stronghold of Koszeg, which was situated in western Hungary 60 miles south of Vienna. The fortress was held by Croatian Captain Nikola Jurisic, who had 700 soldiers but no artillery and only a few arquebuses. A gifted leader, as events would show, his paltry force held off the vast Ottoman host for three weeks, after which the Ottoman army again withdrew in defeat.

Afterwards, Suleiman campaigned against the Persians from 1534 to 1538. During that time, he decisively defeated Safavid ruler Shah Tahmasp I, who as a military leader was no match for Suleiman.

The Ottoman sultan had allowed southern Hungary to exist as a tributary principality under the direct rule of the Transylvanian voivode, but in 1541 he finally annexed the country, and it became part of the Ottoman Empire.

The following year he marched up the Danube and invaded Austria again in retaliation for Archduke Ferdinand's forays into Hungary. This time, his forces prevailed, and he successfully besieged two strategic fortresses, after which he entered into a truce with Emperor Charles V in 1544. Returning to the east, Suleiman campaigned in Armenia and Georgia. Suleiman also sided with his son Selim against another son, Bayezid, who'd rebelled against him. After he was defeated in the field, Bayezid took refuge in Safavid Persia, but

Suleiman bribed Shah Tahmasp to execute Bayezid, which he did in 1559.

Holy Roman Emperor Charles V had won a stunning victory against the Ottomans at Tunis in 1535. In the years that followed, the Knights Hospitaller at Malta aided the Spanish navy. As they had at Rhodes, the knights improved Malta's defenses. Because the knights had allowed Spanish fleets to rest, refit, and re-arm in their galley harbor, Malta incurred Suleiman's wrath anew. The sultan dispatched Grand Vizier Mustafa Pasha to capture the port in May 1565. The grand vizier not only had the support of the Ottoman navy, but also of the Barbary corsairs. But the Turks squandered their strength in repeated attacks on Fort St. Elmo, which guarded the harbor. Although reinforced by the Pasha of Algiers, the Turks still could not capture the walled port. The Ottoman army withdrew in September 1565. The debacle at Malta was one of the greatest disappointments of Suleiman's reign.

Suleiman undertook his seventh military campaign in Hungary, and the thirteenth of his career, in summer 1566. His ultimate goal was to besiege Vienna again, but the 72-year-old sultan allowed himself to be diverted from his ultimate objective. When he reached Belgrade in late June, he was informed that the southern Hungarian stronghold of Szigetvar had fallen to Hungarian Captain Miklos Zrinyi. Angered by Zrinyi's success, Suleiman turned west in a bid to retake Szigetvar. The sultan arrived at Szigetvar on August 5.

The initial phase of the siege went well. The Ottoman Turks captured the old and new towns and drove the defenders into the citadel despite having to fight through a maze of rivers, streams, and marshes. Zrinyi held out, even though he had only 600 men left. Just as the fortress was about to fall to the Turks, Suleiman breathed his last breath. He died in his tent, and the senior commanders and his staff kept the news from the troops lest they should lose heart and refuse to keep fighting.

When the Turks made their final assault, the defenders exploded the contents of their magazine among the attackers. Zrinyi was killed by two bullets in the chest leading a charge during the final phase of the siege. Despite the Hungarians' heroic sacrifice at Szigetvar, the Turks captured the fortress.

Suleiman's death was not made public until his lifeless body was safely in Istanbul. Suleiman is the only ruler ever to have been given the sobriquet "the Magnificent." He built upon the successes of his predecessors, and during his reign the Ottoman Empire reached the pinnacle of its power. In the wake of his death, the empire would experience more setbacks and military defeats than ever before. ■

SUBSCRIBE TO

MILITARY HERITAGE

CALL TODAY!

800-219-1187

OR ONLINE AT

www.WarfareHistoryNetwork.com

Savage Fight for SEELOW HEIGHTS

German soldiers in foxholes with panzerfausts within arm's reach for immediate use await the onslaught of Soviet armor and infantry.

German General-Colonel Gotthard Heinrici disrupted the Red Army's plans to capture Seelow Heights in April 1945 on the road to Berlin. But his forces were no match for the mighty Red Army. **BY VICTOR KAMENIR**

Alamy

For Soviet Premier Josef Stalin and the people of the Soviet Union, the capture of Berlin was of great political and symbolic importance. Four years of total war had ravaged the western regions of the Soviet Union, leaving them a wasteland of destroyed cities, ruined industry, and decimated population. Stalin and his people deemed anything less than German unconditional surrender unacceptable. Every Red Army soldier who reached the Oder River knew it was his duty to the Mother Russia to rain down retribution on the Germans, and that there was no better place to avenge their people than Berlin.

The fall of Berlin was but a few months away when German Fuhrer Adolf Hitler addressed his people for the last time on January 30, 1945. The beleaguered German leader's radio address came on the 12th anniversary of the founding of the Third Reich. That very night, just north of the German town of Kustrin, the lead elements of the Soviet 89th Guards Rifle Division crossed the Oder River under cover of darkness. Meanwhile, elements of the Soviet 44th Guards Tank Brigade succeeded in crossing just south of Kustrin.

National Archives

Advancing Soviet troops relied heavily on the light, quick-firing 45mm anti-tank gun to knock out German panzers and self-propelled artillery.

Feeble German counterattacks against the two bridgeheads, which were 60 miles from the eastern outskirts of Berlin, over the course of the next two weeks failed to dislodge the Russian soldiers, who had entrenched as soon as they were across the last natural barrier between the Red Army and Berlin. In the weeks that followed, the Soviets pushed forward to secure the Reitwein Spur, a strategically important ridge that would play a key role in the preparation for the Red Army's assault on Berlin. The Red Army forces on the west bank of the Oder succeeded in connecting the two bridgeheads on March 22.

By the end of March, though, the Western Allies were even closer to Berlin than the Red Army. By that time, the U.S. Ninth Army had crossed the Elbe River and stood poised to lunge at Berlin. Yet General Dwight D. Eisenhower, the supreme commander of Allied Forces, believed that the German capital had no strategic value. Instead, he was concerned about strong German troop concentrations in southern Germany and Austria.

Eisenhower sent a telegram to Josef Stalin on March 28 advising him of the intention of the Western Allies to bypass Berlin and turn American forces south to prevent the Nazis from establishing an impregnable redoubt in the Alps. Allied intelligence had learned that Hitler wanted to construct a fortified redoubt in the Austrian Alps that might support thousands of troops.

Although Stalin agreed with Eisenhower, the Soviet premier nevertheless harbored deep mistrust toward the Allies and questioned their motives. What is more, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery disagreed with Eisenhower and believed that the Allies, who were just 50 miles from Berlin, should capture the Nazi capital before Soviet forces. Stalin was apprehensive that the Germans might surrender Berlin to the Allies and conclude a separate peace that would allow Germany to seek favorable terms at the conclusion of the war.

Stalin called 48-year-old Marshal Georgy Zhukov, the commander of the 1st Belorussian Front, and Marshal Ivan Konev, the commander of the 1st Ukrainian Front, to Moscow for a conference on April 1. He intended to discuss the need for an immediate push to capture Berlin. Indeed, the staffs of both generals had already drawn up plans for just such an attack. At the meeting, the two generals presented their plans to Stalin.

Stalin bestowed the honor of taking the German capital to Zhukov. The 1st Ukrainian Front to its south and the 2nd Belorussian Front under Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky to the north would provide direct support. Forces of the three fronts totaled 800,000 men, 3,100 tanks and self-propelled howitzers, and 20,000 artillery, mortars, and rocket launchers.

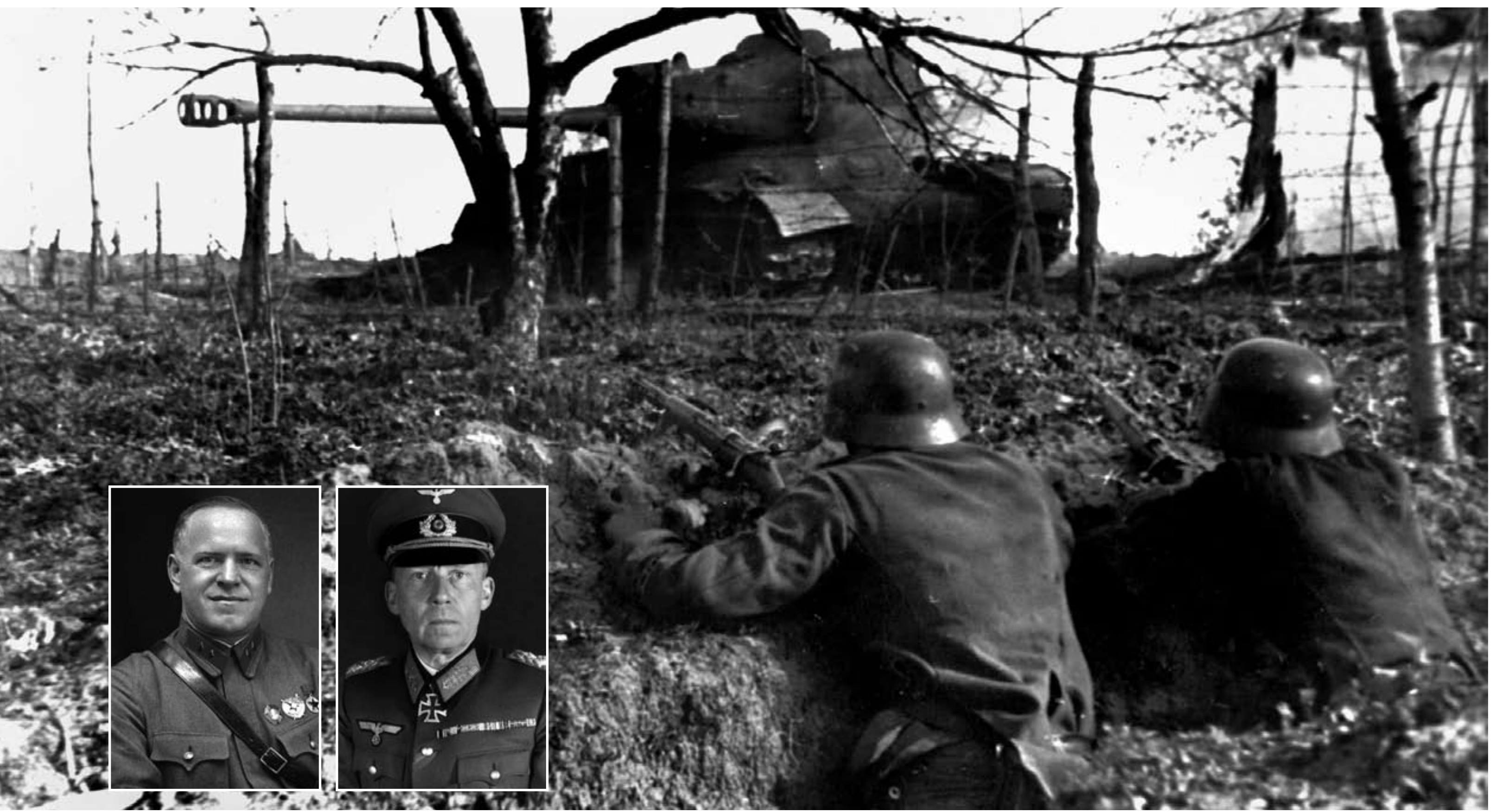
By March, both the 1st Belorussian and 1st Ukrainian fronts had reached the Oder and Neisse rivers, the last significant geographical barriers east of Berlin. The 1st Belorussian Front had established the bridgehead at Kustrin.

Strong German defensive positions atop Seelow Heights on the west bank of the Oder blocked the Red Army's most direct route to Berlin from the Kustrin bridgehead. Situated 10 miles west of the point where the Highway 1 crossed the Oder River at Kustrin, Seelow Heights rose 157 feet above the Oder. Although relatively low, the heights provided a commanding position overlooking the wide river.

Hitler had approved the appointment on March 21 of General-Colonel Gotthardt Heinrici to command Army Group Vistula, which was composed of General of the Armored Forces Hasso von Manteuffel's Third Panzer Army, which defended the lower Oder, and General of the Infantry Theodor Busse's Ninth Army, which had the difficult assignment of defending the middle Oder, which guarded the most direct approach to Berlin for the Soviet forces.

The 58-year-old recipient of the Knight's Cross excelled at defensive warfare and had proven himself repeatedly commanding forces in the Army Group Center on the Eastern Front. At times, while commanding the German Fourth Army in 1942, he had been outnumbered 12 to one. He knew how to hold a defensive line with as few men as possible with as little loss of life as possible. Nevertheless, he faced a daunting task defending the Oder line. He not only faced a shortage of experienced troops, but also severe shortages of tanks, artillery, ammunition, and fuel.

Busse's Ninth Army defended the sector that stretched from the Finow Canal in the north to



Guben in the south. The newly formed army consisted of 112,000 men in 15 divisions, 512 tanks, and 2,625 artillery, mortars and antiaircraft guns. General of the Artillery Wilhelm Berlin's CI Army Corps held the northern flank between Oderberg and Letschin, General of the Artillery Helmuth Weidling LVI Panzer Corps held the center section anchored on Seelow Heights, and SS-Obergruppenfuhrer Matthias Kleinheisterkamp's XI SS Army Corps held the southern sector.

ABOVE: Entrenched German soldiers armed with K98 rifles hold a position behind a wrecked tank. The Germans had constructed three fortified lines with mines and obstacles to blunt the Soviet attack against Berlin. INSET: Marshal Georgy Zhukov (left) led the Soviet 1st Belorussian Front, and General-Colonel Gotthardt Heinrici commanded the German Army Group Vistula. Both generals possessed great tactical ability.

In addition, Colonel Ernst Beihler's garrison occupied Frankfurt-an-der-Oder on the east side of the river. Hitler had declared it a fortress, meaning that it had to be defended to the last man. SS-Obergruppenfuhrer Friedrich Jeckeln's V SS Mountain Corps held the extreme southern flank of the Ninth Army. To the south of the Ninth Army was General der Panzertruppe Fritz-Hubert Graser's Fourth Panzer Army. Graser's army comprised the V Armee Corps, Panzer Corps Grossdeutschland, and LVII Panzer Corps.

The Germans had worked tirelessly for the past 15 months to construct three lines of defenses on Seelow Heights. The three fortified lines, which had a depth of between 10 to 15 miles, were from east to west the *Hauptkampflinie*, *Hardenberg-Stellung*, and *Wotan-Stellung*.

These defensive lines were a network of trenches, bunkers, minefields, and anti-tank defenses. In front of the heights was an antitank ditch that was 15-feet deep and 15-feet wide, and was protected by minefields. German artillery and machine-gun nests were positioned to sweep the ground in front of the ditch.

The steep eastern slopes of the heights, as much as 30 degrees in places, made them virtually impassible to armor. Having faced massed Soviet armor attacks, the Germans developed a concept that called for placing antitank artillery behind forward defensive positions to engage Soviet armor breakthroughs at short range. Every defile even marginally accessible by tanks bristled with German antitank guns and self-propelled howitzers in hull-down positions.

The Germans established other defensive positions on the reverse slopes, out of direct fire of Soviet artillery. The whole area was studded with small towns and hamlets turned into strongpoints. The German infantrymen manning each defensive position were furnished with ample supplies of the panzerfausts. The panzerfaust was a disposable, single-shot, recoilless weapon that mounted a high-explosive antitank warhead.

German combat engineers had flooded the plain between Seelow Heights and the Oder River, known as the Oderbruch, in spring 1945 by releasing water from an upstream reservoir. The flooding was exacerbated by spring thaws. A web of canals, which in dry weather could be crossed by tanks, had become small rivers over which bridges would have to be built.

The Soviet 1st Belorussian Front, which faced Seelow Heights, comprised nine all-arms armies and two tank armies. Positioned on the east bank of the Oder in the north were the 61st Army and the 1st Polish Army. In the Kustrin bridgehead on the west side of the Oder were the 47th Army, 3rd Shock Army, 5th Shock Army, and the 8th Guards Army. The 5th Shock and 8th Guards armies faced the strongest German opposition, where the State Highway 1 crossed Seelow Heights. On the south flank on the east bank were the Soviet 69th Army and the 33rd Army. In reserve on the east bank were the 1st Guards Tank, 2nd Guards Tank Army, and 3rd Army.

Zhukov planned to use the 8th Guards and the 5th Shock armies to pierce the German defenses. Once they opened a gap, the marshal planned to

commit the 1st Tank and 2nd Tank armies to exploit the opening. Zhukov ordered Colonel-General Ivan Katukov to ensure that his 1st Tank Army reach the eastern suburbs of Berlin on the second day of the offensive. Since it was important to advance as quickly as possible into Berlin, the marshal instructed Katukov to capture Berlin with just his tank army, rather than waiting for the slower- moving infantry formations behind him to catch up.

At dawn on April 15, the Russians conducted a reconnaissance-in-force to determine the strength and location of enemy artillery and strong points. Each division of the 8th Guards Army and the 5th Shock Army deployed an infantry battalion reinforced with tank and artillery to participate in the intelligence-gathering effort.

Intermittent fighting continued throughout the day, with the Soviets largely unsuccessful in their efforts to locate German artillery positions. This was partly because the Germans had anticipated the reconnaissance-in-force and had concealed their artillery.

On the night of April 15, Zhukov moved the 1st Guards Tank and 2nd Guards Tank Armies into the Kustrin bridgehead. Each tank army consisted of two tanks corps, a mechanized corps, a heavy tank brigade, and at least one self-propelled artillery brigade. Each army had approximately 800 tanks and self-propelled howitzers and 750 artillery pieces, mortars, and rocket launchers.

At 3:00 a.m. on April 16, Soviet artillery began pounding the German Ninth Army's forward positions. The purpose of the bombardment, which lasted for 30 minutes, was to overwhelm the Germans with the sheer volume of fire. Participating in the bombardment were Soviet 203mm heavy howitzers, which fired a 220 lbs. shell. The Russians had packed as many as 270 pieces of artillery on each mile of their front. The Soviets fired during their artillery barrage 1.2 million shells for a total of 98,000 tons, according to Zhukov.

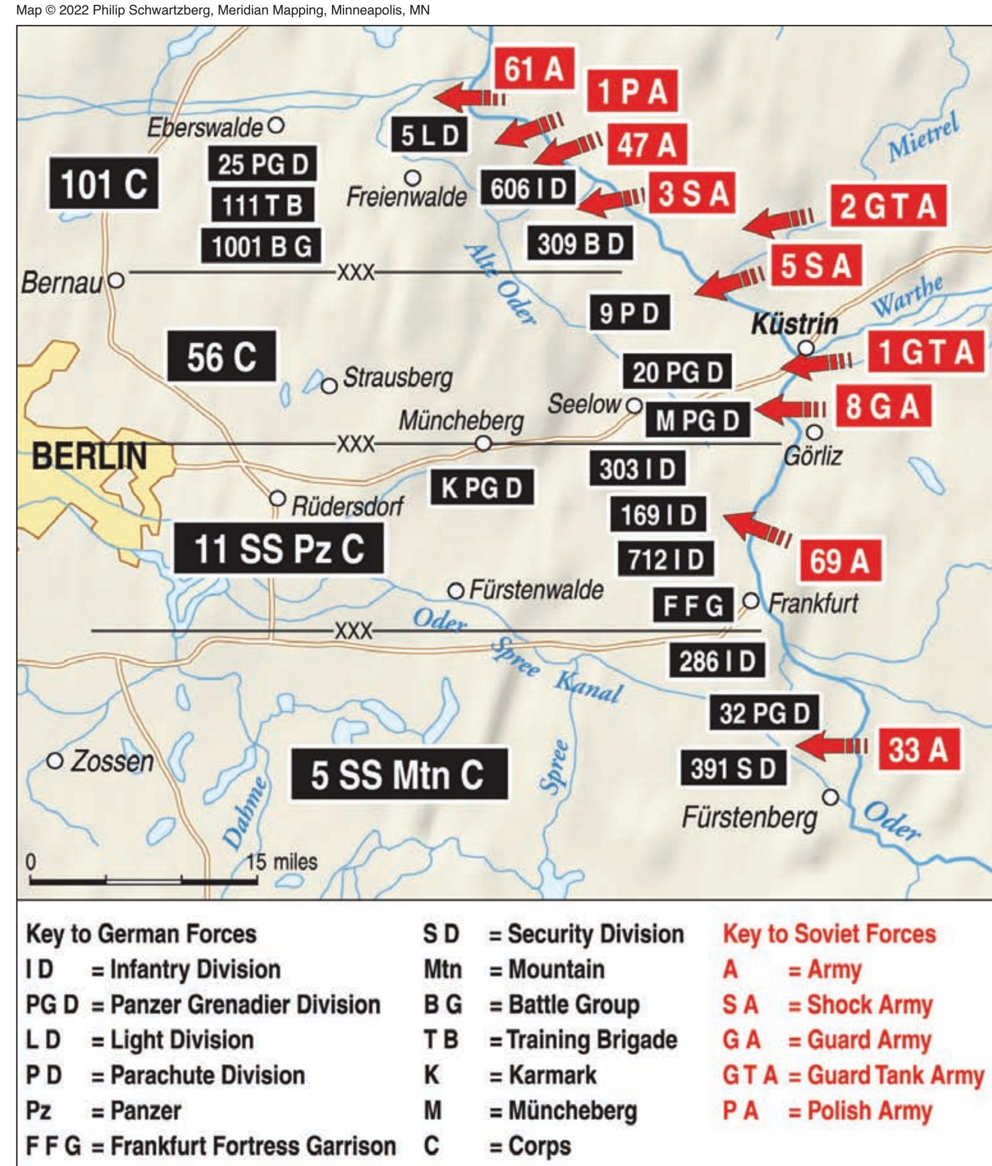
"A deafening noise fills the air," wrote Friedrich Schoeneck, a soldier in the German 309th Infantry Division "Compared to everything that has gone before, this is no longer a barrage, it is a hurricane that tears everything up above us, in front of and behind us. The sky is glowing red, as if it was about to burst. The ground wobbles, shakes and rocks like a ship in a force 10 wind."

Next, thousands of flares shot into the sky. This was the signal for the female Soviet soldiers operating the 143 searchlights stationed every 200 yards to illuminate the battlefield and blind the German defenders. As they did so, General Vasilii Chuikov's 8th Guards Army and General Nikolai Berzarin's 5th Shock Army began their advance. The searchlight plan backfired, though, by enabling the Germans to see the exact location of the advancing Soviet troops.

"The troops did not receive real help from the use of searchlights after the artillery preparation; the battlefield was covered in a wall of smoke, and it was impossible to understand whether the searchlights were functioning or not," wrote Chuikov. "In fact, such illumination did not help; on the contrary, it complicated the offensive. The light of the searchlights, reflecting from the night fog and smoke, blinded the advancing soldiers; moreover, against the background of such lighting, the silhouettes of the advancing troops became more visible to the enemy."

Weathering the artillery barrage, German troops reoccupied the first line of defenses in time to meet Chuikov's attack. The 8th Guards Army attacked with all three of its corps deployed in line of two echelons, with each division advancing on a front of 1,400 yards. The 8th Guards Tank Army operated in direct support of the infantry. Advancing among the attacking infantry were 82 IS-2 heavy tanks, 27 T-34 medium tanks, 14 ISU-152 heavy self-propelled howitzers, and 34 SU-76 self-propelled howitzers. Leading the attack were the tanks of the 166th Tank Regiment, equipped with mine rollers designed to detonate antitank mines and clear a passage in the minefields. The mine-roller tanks were closely followed by engineers and infantry, with heavy tanks and self-pro-

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



The Germans rounded out their depleted front-line units with Luftwaffe personnel and Volkssturm militia that lacked combat experience. In constrast, the Red Army had many elite guard and shock units that had distinguished themselves in previous battles on the Eastern Front. OPPOSITE: Soviet engineers advancing with the combat troops bridged the marshy ground on the west bank of the Oder River with logs to support the weight of the advancing tanks like this T-34.

National Archives

pelled guns in close support.

The Soviet tanks and infantry moved the first two miles over the waterlogged ground without resistance. The attackers soon ran into canals and streams crisscrossing the valley floor, and tanks and self-propelled guns began to fall behind the infantry. "The surviving enemy guns and mortars came to life at dawn and began shelling the roads along which our troops moved in dense formations," recalled Chuikov. "Command and control were disrupted in some regiments and battalions. All of this affected the pace of the offensive."

Especially heavy resistance was met along the Haupt Canal running at the base of the heights. The water in the canal was sufficiently deep to prevent tanks and self-propelled guns from fording it. The advance halted while Soviet combat engineers built bridges under fire. The narrow roads leading to the heights became packed with halted Soviet troops, unable to maneuver off-road due to swampy ground and minefields.

The reprieve came from Soviet ground-attack and fighter aircraft striking German positions in depth. After the canal was crossed, the direct attack on the heights began.

Hemmed in by swampy ground and minefields, Soviet armor could advance only along the narrow roads under direct German artillery fire. Heinrici's two armies had just 1,344 artillery pieces and flak guns used as artillery. These included 88mm Flak guns, 50mm Pak-38s, 75mm Pak-40s, 88mm Pak-43, and 37mm Flak guns. When a German gun knocked out the leading tank, the next tank in line would push the disabled tank off the road and continue the advance. This was repeated countless times as the Soviet forces advanced.

Soviet tanks could not navigate the steep slopes of the Seelow Heights. As they maneuvered to seek out narrow defiles, they presented vulnerable sides to antitank fire, and more and more burning Soviet tanks littered the slopes. Soviet infantry was hesitant to advance into the storm of lead. Everyone knew the war was practically over, and no one wanted to die this close to victory.

Despite heavy casualties and ever-increasing German resistance, by noon on April 16, the 8th Guards Army had fought its way through the first line of German defenses and reached the second, but could not break through. On the night before the Red Army's main attack, the majority of the German troops had withdrawn to the second defensive line in accordance with orders Heinrici had previously issued in order to minimize their losses during the bombardment that preceded the Soviet advance.

After nine hours of unsuccessful attacks, Chuikov ordered his command to stand down and bring up artillery for the next attack, set to go off at 2:00 p.m. Zhukov, who was in overall control and maintained close contact with Chuikov, also remained in constant communications with the Soviet Supreme Command in Moscow.

The Soviet armies to the north of Chuikov, while failing to achieve a breakthrough, made some inroads into German positions. The 5th Shock Army reached Platkow-Gusow, and the 3rd Shock Army came within miles of Letschin. The Polish 1st Army forced the Oder River north of Neulewins, while the Soviet 47th Army was heavily engaged near Wriezen. Although hard-pressed and suffering serious casualties from concentrated Soviet artillery fire and air attacks, the German Ninth Army's positions remained mostly intact.

The hastily prepared follow-on attack in the early afternoon was also unsuccessful in the face of withering enemy fire. As a result, Soviet casualties were higher than anticipated. Zhukov had deployed the 1st Tank Army in the same sector as the 8th Army to lend more weight to the Soviet attack. Moscow supported him in that decision.

Four narrow roads led from the Oder to the Seelow Heights in the sector of the 8th Guards Army. When the tank units of the 1st Guards Tank Army began moving forward, the situation along the roads became even more chaotic. The tanks of 1st Guards Tank Army came up behind the artillery of the 8th Guards Army, which could not get off the road to let the tanks through. The elements of the two armies became intermixed and entangled. German artillery falling among tightly packed Soviet columns created significant confusion and casualties.

Unable to untangle from the massive road jam, only parts of Katukov's 1st Tank Army attempted to close with the enemy. "The steepness of the eastern slopes reached 30 to 40 degrees," wrote Colonel Amzasp Babadzhanyan, the commander of the 11th Guards Tank Corps. "In this regard, when climbing, the tanks were forced to bypass steep slopes, cliffs, and fell into a fiery dead end, unable to turn around and leave the sector already

clogged with other tanks, and thereby expose the sides to the fire of enemy antitank weapons."

Heinrici's artillery in the second defensive position atop the heights pummeled the Soviet forces attempting to scale the escarpment. "Everyone who rushed forward instantly burned, because a whole enemy artillery corps stood at the heights and the defense on the Seelow Heights was not broken," wrote Katukov. The Soviets lost 200 tanks and suffered heavy casualties that included 29 brigade, regimental, and battalion commanders.

The 5th Shock Army to its right, which was commanded by General Nikolai Berzarin, had reached the Alte-Oder River midway to Seelow Heights, while 69th Army on the left, which was led by General Vladimir Kolpakchi, did not have any success at all. Zhukov was forced to report to Moscow that the offensive was not developing as planned; however Konev's 1st Ukrainian Front to the south had made good progress against the German Fourth Panzer Army, forcing the Neisse River in the sector between Forst and Muskau and penetrating German defenses up to twenty miles in depth.

Stalin always fostered a spirit of competition among his senior commanders. Stalin knew that Zhukov and Konev were bitter rivals, and so he pit-

Marshal Zhukov relied on armor and artillery to penetrate the German army's defense atop Seelow Heights.

As the forces of the Soviet Union began rolling back German gains in 1942, they found the Germans to be as staunch on the defense as they were formidable on the offense. To counteract massed Soviet tank attacks, the Germans developed a system of multi-echeloned antitank defenses in depth.

The workhorse of German antitank field artillery was the 75mm Pak 40 cannon, which was capable of destroying Soviet light and medium tanks at most distances and posing a significant threat to heavies from short distances and certain angles. To overcome the tough German defenses, the Soviet command developed and implemented the concept of breakthrough armor and artillery.

In addition to Soviet armor operating in direct infantry-support roles and armored corps and armies designated to exploit breakthroughs in depth, heavy tanks were organized into units to actually facilitate a breakthrough.

The breakthrough tank was intended to be the leading element in the attack, equipped with heavy armor to withstand enemy antitank assets and possessing sufficient firepower to suppress enemy strong points.

Organizationally, the breakthrough tanks were formed into separate tank battalions as part of infantry, motorized and tank divisions, with tank regiments as part of corps and armies. Their organization was different from regular tank units, with an emphasis on larger numbers of heavy tanks over the lights and mediums. The breakthrough units were given the honorary title of Guards and served as part of the Reserves of the Supreme Command.

By the time of the Berlin operation, heavy-tank regiments were organized into separate Guards heavy-tank brigades. Each brigade comprised three heavy-tank regiments, a motorized infantry battalion, and support elements. In all, a brigade numbered 1,666 men, 65 heavy tanks, three self-propelled howitzers, 19 armored personnel carriers, and three armored cars.

The breakthrough-tank regiment was equipped with heavy KV and IS series heavy tanks, Lend Lease British Churchill Mark IV tanks, as well as the SU series self-propelled howitzers. The SU-152, in particular, acting in a tank-destroyer role capable of destroying German heavy Tiger and Panther tanks, was nicknamed the "beast slayer."

Also part of the reserves of the Supreme Command, the breakthrough artillery was intended to deliver an overwhelming volume of fire to soften up and suppress enemy defenses to assist ground formations to achieve a breakthrough. After punishing casualties suffered by the Soviet Union during the early stages of the war, the Red Army came to rely increasingly on the firepower of its numerous artillery systems to strengthen its armies.

By the end of the war, a breakthrough artillery corps of 1,092 artillery pieces was composed of three divisions, each of seven brigades. Each division numbered 364 guns, mortars, and rocket artillery systems. The brigades contained light 76mm artillery, howitzers of 122mm and 153mm calibers, heavy 203mm howitzers, 120mm and 160mm mortars, and BM-31 Guards Katyusha rocket artillery brigades.

In addition, among the forces of the 3rd Belorussian Front that did not participate in the Berlin operation was the 20th Artillery Regiment, armed with six 152mm Br-2 cannons and two super-heavy 201mm Br-17 cannon.

Properly coordinated and executed, the Red Army's combination of infantry, artillery, and armor, supported by air assets, proved unstoppable in overcoming the German defenses.

—Victor Kamenir

National Archives

An ISU-152 heavy assault gun of the First Polish Division crosses the Oder. The Soviet self-propelled howitzer fired high-explosive rounds that could destroy reinforced bunkers, and also could blow the turret off of a German tank.

National Archives

The Red Army packed as many as 270 pieces of artillery on each mile of their battlefront. Many of the rear-echelon German troops thrust into the front line panicked in the face of the ferocious Soviet attack.

ted them against each other in a contest to see who could reach the German capital first. To spur Zhukov to intensify his effort, Stalin ordered Konev to wheel north his 3rd and 4th guards tank armies and have them advance on Berlin. In so doing, Stalin hoped the competition between the front commanders would produce beneficial results.

At dawn on April 17, the 1st Belorussian Front renewed its attack, which was preceded by another massive artillery barrage that lasted 30 minutes. When the guns stopped, Soviet ground-attack aircraft swept in to pound the German positions. Heavy fighting erupted overhead as Luftwaffe aircraft battled Soviet aircraft drawn from the Soviet 16th and 18th air armies. Given that the Luftwaffe barely had enough fuel to put its fighter planes aloft, it was not long before the Soviets achieved air superiority.

In heavy fighting, the 11th Guards Tank Corps was able to achieve complete penetration of the second defensive line on a narrow front up to six miles. The 5th Shock Army made similar progress. Next, Katukov committed the 8th Guards Mechanized Corps to exploit the success.

The Germans committed two reserve divisions to defend the heights, the 28th Motorized and the 168th Infantry. Constant German counterattacks pinned down the left flank of the 8th Guards and 1st Tank Armies.

Meanwhile, Graser's Fourth Panzer Army to the south pulled back the forces on its left flank under pressure from the 1st Ukrainian Front. Rather than committing his two reserve panzer divisions to shore up his northern flank, Graser kept them in the center. By nightfall, though, the positions of the German units defending Seelow Heights had become untenable. Unless the Ninth Army pulled back in line with the Fourth Panzer Army, it faced encirclement.

The Fourth Panzer Army "was torn into three isolated parts," wrote Konev afterwards. "One of its groups was cut off on our right flank, in the Cottbus area; the second, in the center, continued to fight against us in the woodlands of the Muskau region; and the third was also cut off on the left flank in the Gurlitz area."

At the end of the second day, the 11th Guards Tank Corps had reached the northern outskirts of the town of Seelow. Soviet armor and infantry advanced along narrow roads against intense opposition from German troops. Panzerfaust teams exacted a heavy toll in Soviet armor.

German infantry equipped with panzerfausts sought to knock out the lead tank, as well as the last tank, in order to bring the column to a halt. Once that was done, they would systematically knock out the rest of the tanks in the column. The shaped charge at the front of the Panzerfaust warhead made a hole more than two inches wide and sent a stream of molten metal into the tank's cabin, which killed or maimed the crew and destroyed the equipment inside.

The effective range of a panzerfaust was 200 feet, and casualties among the German panzer grenadiers ran high. Soviet infantry in close cooperation with the tanks had to dig out pockets of German resistance. Muzzle flashes from the launchers immediately drew Soviet return fire. In turn, Russian tanks blasted the German positions at point-blank range. The tank crews then assisted the infantry of the 8th Guards Army in clearing the Germans from the town.

"All the streets and crossroads in Seelow were cluttered with vehicles, tanks, self-propelled guns," recalled Katukov. "Enemy artillery was still shelling the town, and air battles still flared up in the sky, but Seelow was ours."

Once past Seelow Heights, the Russian troops advanced west towards Berlin, driving the Germans before them. The fighting was particularly ferocious at Muncheberg, which was situated

halfway between Seelow and Berlin. Soviet forces fought their way into the town. Determined to hold the town, SS forces counterattacked. The town changed hands three times before the Russians secured it. By the end of the day on April 17, the 8th Guards Army had captured the second defensive lines in its sector of the Seelow Heights and exited the Oder River valley.

The 1st Belorussian Front continued the advance on April 18 in the face of heavy resistance, bypassing the Seelow Heights from the north. The Soviet 47th Army and the 3rd Shock Army launched heavy attacks against the CI Army Corps at Bad Freienwalde on the left flank of the German Ninth Army, forcing its collapse.

As for Generalleutnant Arnold Burmeister's 25th Panzergrenadier Division, it tried to reestablish contact with the left flank of Generalmajor Josef Rauch's 18th Panzergrenadier Division from the LVI Panzer Corps near Protzel just west of Wriezen.

The 9th Parachute Division and the Panzer Division Muncheberg, which had been recently formed in the nearby town of the same name, became heavily engaged directly north of the Reichstrasse in the Gusow sector against the Soviet 5th Shock and the 2nd Guards Tank armies.

Muncheberg essentially was a powerful kampfgruppe. It included 11 Tigers, 11 Panthers, and eight Panzer IV tanks, as well as four Stug assault guns. Its troops put up spirited resistance to the Soviet armor before eventually withdrawing in the face of superior forces.

On the south flank of the heights, the Germans counterattacked with 11th SS Panzergrenadier Division Nordland, 23rd SS Panzergrenadier Division Nederland, and the 503rd SS Heavy Tank Battalion. The 503rd battalion was equipped with 10 69-ton Tiger II tanks. The Tiger II heavy tank combined the Tiger I's thick armor with the armor sloping of the Panther tank, which improved its survivability in battle.

The delays on the third day infuriated Zhukov. He repeatedly harangued his army commanders, exhorting them to take up positions with their lead corps to direct their forces. He also instructed them to bring forward all available artillery, even their heavy-caliber guns, to within two miles of the front line.

"[As you near Berlin] the enemy will resist and cling to every house and bush," he told his generals. "Therefore, tankers, self-propelled gunners, and infantry should not to wait until the artillery will kill all the Nazis and provide the pleasure of moving through cleared space."

The Red Army had succeeded by April 19, the fourth day of the battle, in opening a 15-mile gap in the German front between Wriezen and Behlendorf, thereby splitting the German Ninth Army wide open. The 25th Panzer Grenadier Division was thrown back to Eberswalde. To make matters worse, Red Army forces threatened to encircle its right flank. The Polish 1st Army had succeeded in crossing the Alte Oder River near Am Ranfter, thereby threatening German forces at Bad Freienwalde. In addition, the Soviet 47th Army, reinforced with the 9th Tank Corps, captured Wriezen.

The 3rd Shock army under Colonel-General Vasilii Kuznetsov cleared the last positions of German CI Army Corps, opening the way for General Semyon Bogdanov's 2nd Guards Tank Army to enter the breakthrough. The 5th Shock Army forced the survivors of the German 9th Parachute Division to retreat northwest to Neu-Hardenberg.

At that point, Chuikov's 8th Guards Army and Katukov's 1st Guards Tank Army overcame the last resistance of German LVI Panzer Corps on Seelow Heights. Soviet 82nd Guards Rifle Division resumed their advance at midday on April 18 and captured Muncheberg after desperate fighting in

Both: National Archives

the streets of the town. Following the fall of Muncheberg, German resistance noticeably weakened. By the end of the day, the German front had disintegrated. All that remained was the need for the victorious Soviet forces to mop up pockets of resistance in order to open a path to Berlin. On the German right flank between Carzig and Lebus, the XI SS Corps had to pull back to maintain contact with the LVI Panzer Corps.

The offensive of the 1st Ukrainian Front reached the area of Luckenwaldes south of Berlin on April 19. This forced the Germans to abandon Frankfurt-an-der-Oder. The retreating Germans attempted to withdraw west to Berlin, but the 1st Belorussian and 1st Ukrainian fronts succeeded in encircling the south flank of the German Ninth Army and the V Army Corps from the Fourth Panzer Army southwest of the Seelow Heights in the area of Zossen-Bad Saarow. Nearly 200,000 German soldiers became trapped in the pocket. Afterwards, there were no more organized German units between the Seelow Heights and Berlin.

In the evening, Katukov received a dispatch from Zhukov.

"The 1st Guards Tank Army is entrusted with the historical mission of being the first to break into Berlin and hoist the Victory Banner," stated the dispatch. "You are personally charged with its execution. Send the best brigade from each corps to Berlin and assign them the task of breaking through to the outskirts of Berlin no later than 4:00 a.m. on April 21 at any cost." Racing to Berlin, Katukov's tankers reached Berlin's suburbs that day.

But it would be several more days before Berlin was completely encircled. At midday on April 24, the lead elements of the 4th Guards Tank Army from the 1st Ukrainian Front forced the Havel River and linked up with the 47th Army of the 1st Belorussian Front, closing the ring around Berlin. On the same day, reconnaissance units from the 1st Ukrainian Front linked up at Torgau on the Elbe River with the advancing U.S. 1st Army.

Six armies from the 1st Belorussian Front, including Chuikov's 8th Guards Army and the two tank armies, and three armies from the 1st Ukrainian Front, including two tank armies, participated in the battle for Berlin. Defended by close to 200,000 men, 3,000 guns, and 250 tanks, the city was a virtual fortress.

The German defenders converted massive concrete and steel buildings into veritable bunkers bristling with machineguns and cannons. The streets were blocked with barricades up to four yards deep. The defenders had an ample supply of panzerfausts, which proved deadly against Soviet tanks in the narrow confines of the city.

The veterans of Chuikov's 8th Guards Army, who had fought at Stalingrad, used their street-fighting experience in storming Berlin. Each infantry platoon or company was reinforced by several tanks, a self-propelled howitzer, several artillery pieces, and detachments of combat engineers and radiomen.

Clearing the city block by block, and paying a heavy price in men and machines, the Soviet troops worked their way closer and closer to the center of the city. Hitler committed suicide on April 30, ushering in the opportunity for unconditional surrender, which occurred on May 7.

After the war, Zhukov was criticized for a frontal attack against the Seelow Heights rather than bypassing them from the north and south. He was decried for putting his desire to be the first in Berlin over the lives of his men. Although initially battering against strong and determined resistance, the forces of Zhukov's leading armies eventually found a week spot in German defenses and pierced them on a narrow front, allowing his tank formations to exploit the breakthrough. Soviet casualties during the fighting for the Seelow Heights were 30,000 killed and wounded. As for the Germans, they suffered 12,000 casualties.

Zhukov's frontal attack pinned down the forces of the German Ninth Army and prevented them from retreating to defend Berlin. The majority were pushed southwest of the heights, where they were subsequently encircled and taken prisoner, thus denying many of Hitler's veteran troops the opportunity to defend the German capital. ■

ABOVE: A Red Army soldier victoriously plants a flag atop a destroyed German pillbox. Marshal Zhukov was criticized for conducting a costly frontal attack, but he succeeded in the pitched battle in destroying many units that might have retreated into the city. OPPOSITE: The crew of a Soviet anti-tank gun advances into the outskirts of Berlin. Soviet shock troops pierced the German defenses on Seelow Heights, thereby allowing elite guard units to pour through breaches in the German fortifications.

A Federal battery fords a tributary of the Rappahannock on the day of battle. At the outset of the campaign, Jackson hoped to defeat the newly established Federal Army of Virginia one corps at a time.

IN the shadow of Cedar Mountain on the southern outskirts of Culpeper, Virginia, Maj. Gen. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson deployed the troops at the head of his column of march against a reinforced Union corps on August 9, 1862. Jackson's left wing anchored in the woods west of the Culpeper Road suddenly came under heavy attack. "Crash succeeded crash; the mighty thump of the shells against the forest trees was not heard for the din of the musketry," recalled Lieutenant John M. Gould, a regimental adjutant with the 10th Maine Infantry. "Rising higher and more terrible than all was the hurrah of the boys of our own brigade as they pushed back their foe."

A Confederate battalion on the left flank dissolved before the oncoming wave of shiny Union bayonets and swirling powder smoke. Assailed on both its front and its suddenly unprotected flank, the adjacent Confederate regiment crumbled, exposing the next unit in the Confederate battle line. Caught

BLOODY COLLISION AT CEDAR MOUNTAIN

Stonewall Jackson rode forward to rally his troops when they wavered in the face of a bold attack by Nathaniel Banks in August 1862 on the outskirts of Culpeper, Virginia.

By David A. Norris

by surprise, Confederate regiments fell like dominoes one after another, and the Battle of Cedar Mountain was shaping up to be the greatest disaster of Jackson's impressive career as a Confederate general.

On June 26, 1862, Maj. Gen. John Pope took command of the 50,000 troops of the Union's newly constituted Army of Virginia, which was tasked with defending Northern Virginia while Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan's Army of the Potomac battled General Robert E. Lee's Confederates east of Richmond.

Born in Louisville, Kentucky, Pope graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1842. Appointed a brigadier general of volunteers on June 14, 1861, he succeeded in opening the upper Mississippi River nearly to Memphis, Tennessee, by capturing the Confederate strongpoint of Island Number Ten in early spring 1862.

Puffed by his successful campaigns west of the Appalachian Mountains, Pope arrived in the East and issued proclamations that sounded both harsh and pompous. Pope's General Order No. 5, issued on July 18, 1862, directed his troops to "subsist upon the country" in Union-occupied territory in North-

Library of Congress

ern Virginia at the expense of disloyal secessionists. In a subsequent general order he vowed to exile all residents who refused to sign an oath of loyalty.

Pope went on to anger his own men nearly as much as he did the Confederate sympathizers. He introduced himself in a message with the phrase, "I come to you from the West, where we have always seen the backs of our enemies," which hardly endeared him to the eastern troops.

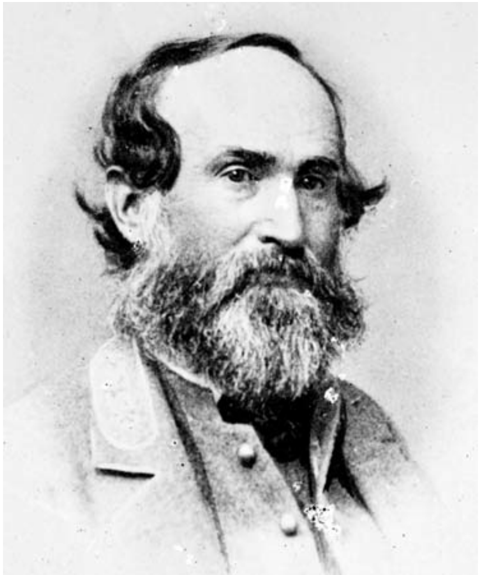
Pope's army was fashioned from three small Federal armies operating in the Shenandoah Valley and Northern Virginia. In the Union Army of Virginia, Maj. Gen. Franz Sigel commanded the I Corps, Maj. Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks led the II Corps, and Maj. Gen. Irvin McDowell commanded the III Corps. From his position north of Richmond, Pope had orders to monitor the Shenandoah Valley and shield Washington, D.C., from offensive moves by Lee's Army of Northern Virginia.

McClellan had attempted to advance up the Virginia Peninsula in spring 1862 as a way to reach Richmond quickly and avoid Confederate defenses in Northern Virginia. His army had advanced close enough to Richmond to hear the capitol's church bells. When General Joseph E. Johnston, the commander of the Confederate forces defending Richmond, was severely wounded at the Battle of Seven Pines on May 31, Confederate President Jefferson C. Davis selected General Robert E. Lee as Johnston's replacement. When Lee assumed command, the tide of battle shifted in favor of the Confederates.

Under its new commander, the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia struck McClellan's army in one attack after another during the Seven Days Battles. Not every attack was successful, but in the face of the aggressive shift in the Confederate strategy, McClellan fell back repeatedly. As he fell back in the face of persistent Confederate attacks, McClellan shifted his base from White House Landing on the Pamunkey River, a tributary of the York River, to Harrison's Landing on the James River. After the Union victory at Malvern Hill on July 1, which ended the Seven Days Battles, McClellan withdrew his forces to Harrison's Landing, where they bivouacked under the protective firepower of Union gunboats. Lee retained the bulk of his army in position to defend the Confederate capital until such time as McClellan departed the Virginia Peninsula.

Originally, the Union's War Department intended Pope to join McClellan's drive against Richmond. With McClellan defeated, the plans were reversed. It was now McClellan who was to move by land and water to join Pope in Northern Virginia. When combined, the Union armies would have 130,000 troops against 80,000 Confederates.

All: Library of Congress



TOP ROW: Confederate Brig. Gen. Jubal Early and Union Brig. Gen. Samuel W. Crawford. BOTTOM ROW: Confederate Colonel Alexander G. Taliaferro and Union Maj. Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks.

McClellan lingered along the James long enough that Lee turned his attention northward toward Pope. Lee focused his attention on the need to protect Gordonsville against Pope, who was advancing cautiously towards that strategically important town. Gordonsville, where the Virginia Central and Orange & Alexandria railroads met, was a vital rail junction through which passed food and supplies from Shenandoah Valley to the Army of Northern Virginia.

Lee dispatched Jackson with just two divisions to protect Gordonsville, where he was to observe Pope's movements. Old Jack arrived at his objective on July 19. Jackson's force initially consisted of just his old division, which was led by Brig. Gen. Charles Winder, and the division of Maj. Gen. Richard S. Ewell. Winder commanded four brigades, and Ewell led three.

Lee heavily reinforced Jackson by ordering Maj. Gen. A. P. Hill's large division to join him at Gordonsville. Hill set out from Richmond on July 27. The addition of Hill's 10,000 troops gave Jackson nearly 17,000 men. It also gave him enough troops to engage Pope.

Pope issued orders on August 6 for his 28,000 troops to converge on Culpeper Courthouse, which was 30 miles northeast of Gordonsville on the Orange & Alexandria line. When Jackson learned of Pope's advance, he set his troops in motion toward Culpeper.

Maj. Gen. Henry Halleck, whom President Abraham Lincoln had appointed to serve as gen-

eral-in-chief of all Union armies, instructed Pope not to seek battle until reinforced by McClellan. Halleck also warned Pope not to allow Lee's army to get between his army and McClellan's forces once the latter reached Northern Virginia. To keep a watchful eye along the line of the Rapidan River, Pope dispatched Brig. Gen. George D. Bayard's cavalry brigade. They passed through Culpeper and set up a picket line along the river.

The cruel August sun blazed across the sky, radiating its heat upon the Union foot soldiers as they trudged toward Culpeper. Men fell from the ranks from exhaustion and sunstroke. "Clouds of dust hung over us, there was not a breath of air, and the road was like a furnace," recalled Brig. Gen. George H. Gordon. (Gordon commanded one of two brigades in Brig. Gen. Alpheus Williams' First Division of Banks' II Corps.)

In the 28th New York, as many as 10 men and two officers died on any given day. As the bluecoats marched by orchards, hunger and thirst drove men to pluck and devour tart, unripe green apples, which knocked more men out of the ranks with intestinal disorders. "If we were not conforming to Pope's order to live on the country, we were doing the next best thing—we were dying on it," wrote Gordon.

Pope was in force at Culpeper Court House on August 8, but under pressure from Jackson's advance, Bayard fell back from the Rapidan toward Culpeper. Pope summoned Banks to join him, as well as Sigel, and sent Brig. Gen. Samuel W. Crawford's brigade of Williams' division ahead to meet Bayard. Brig. Gen. James Ricketts' division, which belonged to McDowell's III Corps, marched three miles from the courthouse and halted along the Culpeper Road.

Crawford had been in the war since the beginning. He was an army surgeon stationed at Fort Sumter during the bombardment of April 12, 1861, that triggered the war. Quickly transferring to the infantry, Crawford attained a field command by mid-1862, but had not seen any action since Fort Sumter.

With four infantry regiments, six 3-inch Ordnance Rifles, and four 10-pounder Parrott Rifles, Crawford joined Bayard at 4:00 p.m. Bayard had fallen back several miles and halted between the south and north forks of Cedar Run. Crawford inspected the front and spotted some enemy pickets and cavalry, so he brought up his artillery and posted his own pickets and cavalry to keep an eye on the Confederates.

One mile to the southeast of their camp loomed Cedar Mountain. An isolated, rocky ridge more than one mile long, Cedar Mountain rose high above the surrounding undulating terrain. A planter named Daniel Slaughter lived on the land. Early accounts referred to the battle by various names. In addition the Cedar Mountain, it was also called Slaughter's Mountain and Cedar Run Mountain.

Jackson intended a quick advance to confront Pope, but his secretive nature kept his generals from knowing his plans, which cost him most of a day's progress. On August 8, Ewell was to march first, followed by Hill. But Jackson changed his mind. To better protect the wagon train, he decided to send Ewell down a different road. But he failed to notify Hill of the change.

The next morning, a column of troops marched past Hill, who waited under the impression that they were Ewell's men. Hill found out the men belonged to Winder's command and not to Ewell's command, but he stayed in place rather than push through the column and scramble Winder's order of march. In the belief that his orders were being deliberately disobeyed, Jackson confronted Hill. More arguing and delays followed, and Hill claimed Jackson sent orders for him to backtrack to Orange Courthouse. The Culpeper Road was so jammed with troops, horses, wagons, and artillery that Ewell and Winder made only a few miles that day and bivouacked far from Culpeper.

On the morning of August 9, Banks' remaining 7,000 men were about three miles north of Crawford and Bayard, further back along the Culpeper Road. Pope sent orders at 9:45 a.m. for Banks to join Crawford.

Pope's orders stoked considerable controversy for years afterward. The orders arrived by one of Pope's aides, Colonel Louis H. Marshall, who was a Union loyalist nephew of Robert E. Lee. At Banks' insistence, an officer wrote down the verbal order delivered by Marshall: "General Banks to move to the front immediately, assume command of all forces in the front, deploy his skirmishers if the enemy approaches, and attack him immediately as he approaches, and be reinforced from here." Banks rode to check with Pope in person to confirm his orders, and Pope told him that a staff officer, Brig. Gen. Benjamin Stone Roberts, who was familiar with the area, "would designate the ground you are to hold."

With Roberts, Banks rode over the countryside that was destined to become a battlefield later that day. Roberts told him that Crawford's position along Cedar Run was the best place to place his troops. But Roberts went beyond just designating the ground for Banks to deploy; he told the II Corps commander that "there must be no backing out this day." Banks found the remark insulting.

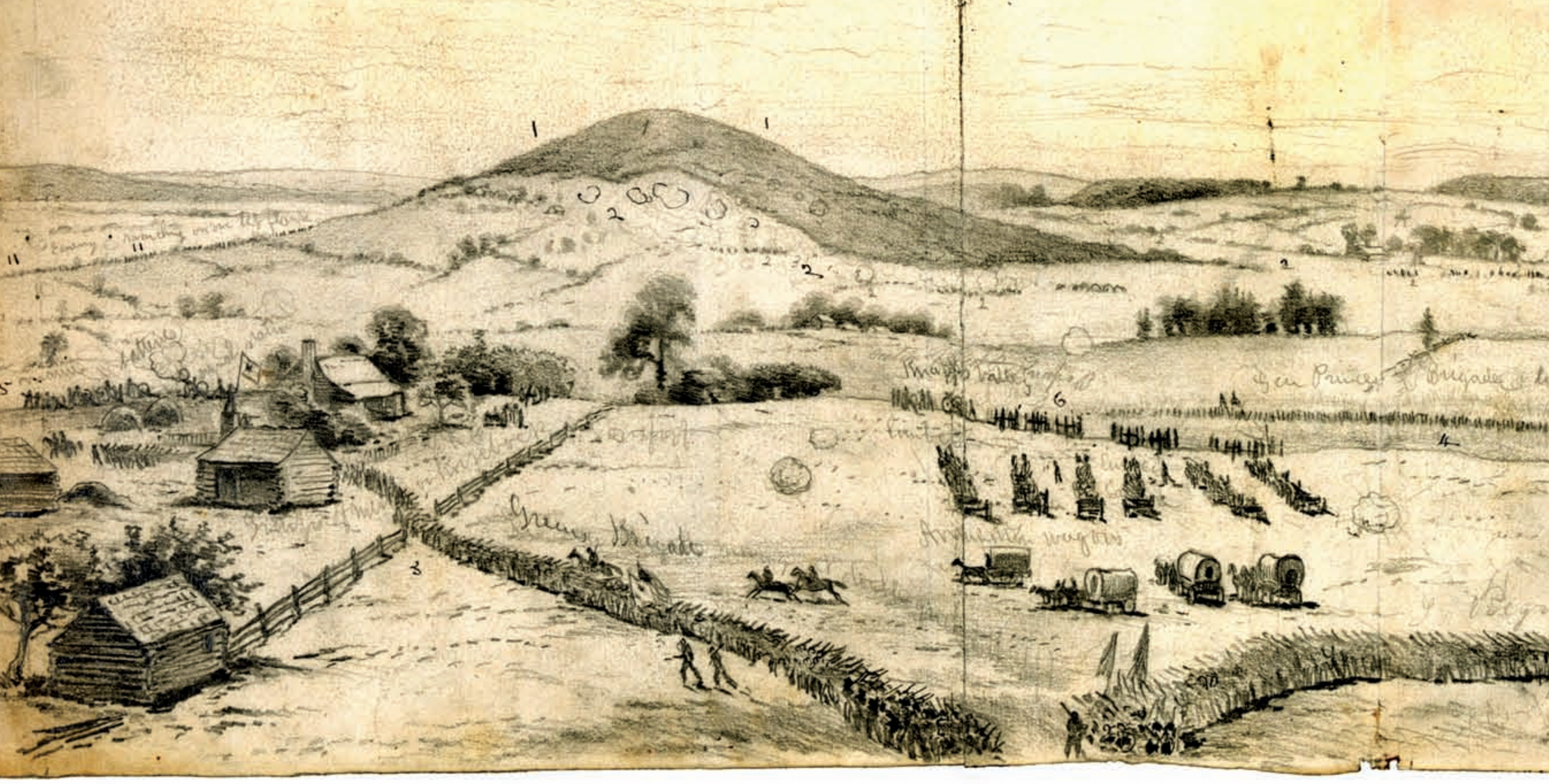
That same morning, Jackson left his wagon train under guard at the Rapidan and pushed his three divisions across the river. Ewell's division led, followed by Winder and Hill.

Ahead of the Confederate column, troopers belonging to Brig. Gen. Beverly Robertson's brigade of Virginia cavalry spotted the Union horsemen. Brig. Gen. Jubal Early's foot soldiers from Ewell's division moved to the front. They halted along Culpeper Road where a gate opened onto a dirt road that led to the Crittenden farm. Confederate guns unlimbered and fired, spurring a substantial return fire from the Union batteries.

One mile west of Cedar Mountain, Ewell and

Library of Congress

Officers of the 10th Maine Regiment photographed a few days after the battle at the location where the regiment made its stand. Jackson's old division held the ground behind them in the distance.



Library of Congress

Early halted at a farm owned by a family named Petty. Jackson arrived to find Ewell playing with the family's children on the porch. Scant information came back from cavalry patrols, for Robertson was not nearly as effective a cavalry commander as Maj. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart. So Old Jack had only a vague idea of the enemy's positions, and he apparently believed all of the enemy troops were south of the Culpeper Road.

Three-fourths of a mile ahead of the Confederate column, there was a Y-shaped fork where the road to Madison Courthouse departed northwest from the Culpeper Road, which bent to the northeast. Jackson planned an attack. Detached from Ewell, Brig. Gen. Jubal Early would attack along the road, with Winder's division following behind and to his left. Ewell was to take the rest of his division and sweep far to the right, across Cedar Mountain, and fall upon the Union left. Hill would remain in reserve.

Winder and Early moved ahead as far as the Crittenden Gate. Winder's men moved into wooded terrain left of the Culpeper Road. As for Early, he led his troops to a position to the right of the Culpeper Road, where there was a wide expanse of open ground on the west side of the mountain. The open vista allowed the Confederates to see Union troops in the distance.

Ewell was fortunate in his position. Cedar Mountain afforded "Old Bald Head" a commanding position for his artillery, which unlimbered high above the enemy guns and troops. What is more, the wooded mountainside offered fine cover for his infantry. The combination of artillery and musket fire could sweep downward into the open terrain northwest of the mountain, where the Union troops were in plain sight. Early, south of the Culpeper Road, was somewhat exposed, but at least he would have a clear view of any approach by the enemy.

But west of the road, the land was largely wooded except for a couple of open fields. At the edge of the fields, the brush quickly transitioned into dense woods. Winder's regiments would have little warning should Yankee troops burst out of the tree cover and fall upon them.

One mile northeast of Winder and Early, and a mile and a half north of Cedar Mountain, Banks' two infantry divisions waited on the far side of Cedar Run. Williams' division was on the right, with Crawford's brigade ahead and to the right of Brig. Gen. George H. Gordon.

Brig. Gen. Christopher C. Augur's division held the Union left, with the brigade of Brig. Gen. John Geary brushing against the Culpeper Road next to Williams' left, and Brig. Gen. Henry Price to the left of Geary. Brig. Gen. George Greene's brigade, with only two regiments on hand, formed the small reserve.

Among Crawford's troops, Lieutenant Gould of the 10th Maine saw some horsemen in the distance. "We could not believe they were Confederates," wrote Gould. "One man especially said they looked 'too natural' for that,' but by and by a puff of smoke and the dull report of a gun convinced the doubters. They were shelling some cavalry, and perhaps it is needless to add that the cavalry were not there by the time that the piece was loaded again."

Cannon of both armies opened heavy fire at 2:00 p.m. Shot and shell hurtled over the sun-baked cornfields and meadows. Soldiers on both sides clad in wool uniforms sweated profusely as the temperature hit 98 degrees that afternoon.

Winder arrived with his staff. Taking note of the Federal batteries in the distance to his right front, the general ordered his divisional artillery chief, Captain R. Snowden Andrews, to open up on the Federal artillery with his rifled guns.

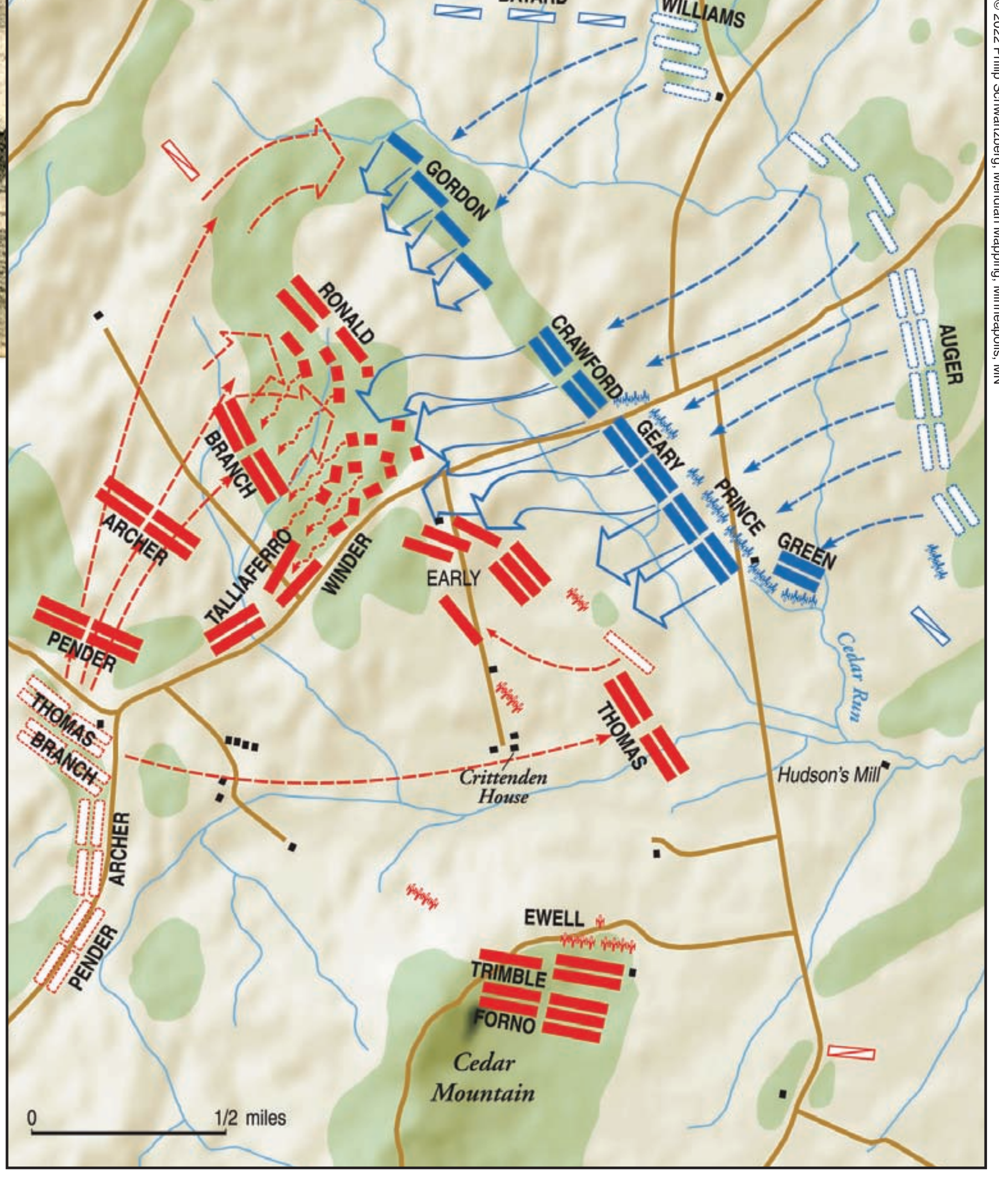
Three Confederate guns, two from Captain William T. Poague's Rockbridge Artillery and one from Captain Joseph H. Carpenter's Alleghany Battery, replied to the enemy guns from the corner of a field near the Crittenden Gate. All three guns were 10-pounder Parrotts and could easily reach the Federal guns just 700 yards away. Winder joined them, cast off his jacket in the heat, and peered toward the enemy through his field glass to observe effects of his fire.

Union shells soon burst amid the Confederate guns. Carpenter fell with a wound to his head that would later prove fatal. Winder was struck by a shell at 5:00 p.m. that passed between his left arm and side, badly damaging the left side of his chest. He was borne to the rear, where he died at sundown.

Two other officers were wounded by shellfire, and a third was hurled back about 10 feet but escaped serious injury. Oddly enough, despite the fearful toll among the officers, none of the enlisted men handling the three guns were hurt.

About the time Winder was mortally wounded, the nearest Union reinforcements, which were

LEFT: Brig. Gen. Alpheus S. Williams' Federal division advances at the outset of the battle in war artist Edwin Forbes' panorama of the battlefield. The Confederate battle line rested on the woods north of the Culpeper Road at top right. BELOW: Brig. Gen. Samuel Crawford's sledgehammer attack shattered the Confederate line, routing Jackson's old division. Jackson responded to the crisis by personally rallying his troops and reinforcing his left wing with the vanguard of Maj. Gen. A.P. Hill's division.



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

Ricketts' troops, were several miles to the rear. Banks still believed that he outnumbered the enemy and that a bold push would sweep the Confederates from the field. He construed his written version of Pope's orders as calling for a quick attack without a delay to await the rest of the army. Roberts' cutting remark that "there must be no turning back" still stung him. For that reason, even though additional support was still some miles away, Banks ordered an all-out press against the Confederate lines.

Augur's two brigades under Geary and Prince charged toward Jackson's right. Their path to the Confederates' waiting muskets and guns was across an open field, exposing them to "a most deadly fire of grape and canister," wrote a soldier of the Union Army's 2nd Maryland Infantry of Prince's brigade. "Our men reeled and staggered. Whole ranks appeared to be swept down. Our major fell dead. The slaughter was terrible."

The Confederate brigades of Colonel Alexander G. Taliaferro and Early, arrayed in front of the lane running to the Crittenden House and to the right of Jackson's location near the Crittenden Gate, received Augur's attack. Adding to the guns at the gate, more artillery pieces from several batteries had been brought up to support Taliaferro and Early. Prince aimed for Early, while Geary's advance pressed toward Taliaferro's men and the guns at the Crittenden Gate.

In Geary's brigade, Private Henry C. Jacobs of the 5th Ohio charged until the stock of his gun was shattered in his hands by a Confederate shot. In another of Geary's regiments, George Williams of the 29th Ohio also had his musket shot out of his hands. He picked up another, only to have his replacement musket knocked out of his hands by another enemy bullet. Williams survived the battle to carry off the third musket he fired that day.

Early and Taliaferro, and their protective artillery, fell back 300 yards. Despite giving up some ground, they held their ranks together.

Williams' division waited after Augur's attack. They advanced at 6:00 p.m., with Crawford's brigade in the lead. One of their four regiments, the 10th Maine, had been detached to support the Union center. Gordon's brigade was held back for the moment, but it eventually would

follow in support.

Ahead of Crawford's three attacking regiments was a wheat-stubble field, 300 yards in width. The field's eastern edge was the Culpeper Road, beyond which was open country, but the other three sides were bounded by woods. Just beyond the southern edge of the field waited Lt. Col. Thomas S. Garnett's Virginian brigade.

Garnett's line was bent at a right angle, with its front facing into the wheat-stubble field and its left turned to face a bit of the Culpeper Road. Garnett's left and rear were covered by woodland and protected by the guns near the Crittenden Gate.

Crawford asked for a battery to help soften up the Confederates facing him across the field. Before the guns could arrive, a courier from Williams ordered the brigade to advance. Williams did add one of Gordon's regiments, the 3rd Wisconsin, to support it on its left.

Color Sergeant James Hewison of the 5th Connecticut offered his revolver to his commander, Colonel George D. Chapman. Chapman turned down the offer, telling the sergeant that his life was just as valuable to himself as was his own to him. The colonel led his men into the battle armed only with his dress sword.

After fixing bayonets, the bluecoats waited by the rail fence marking the boundary of their side of the field. When the order came to charge, they climbed over or pulled down pieces of the fence and "with one loud cheer charged across the open space in the face of a fatal and murderous fire from the masses of the enemy's infantry, who lay concealed in the bushes and woods," Crawford wrote.

The Union troops had advanced 50 feet beyond the fence into the field. "The Confederates were shooting into the open and had a fair mark while they themselves were entirely concealed by the tree trunks and foliage of the forest and the fire of our men was, therefore, to a large extent lost, as it was without aim at any seen enemy, but only generally into the edge of the woods," states the regimental history of the 5th Connecticut Volunteers. The bluecoats closed their thinning ranks and kept advancing toward the enemy.

Library of Congress

Lieutenant Washington L. Hicks (l) of the 28th New York Regiment of Crawford's brigade and Corporal C. Dorma Clarke of the 23rd Virginia Regiment of Colonel Taliaferro's brigade. Soldiers of both regiments found themselves in the thick of the fight.

Many of the bullets aimed at the regimental flags found their marks in the color bearers. Sergeant Hewison, carrying the state colors of his regiment, fell among others of his regiment, but amid the chaos none of his comrades noticed him. One officer of the 5th Connecticut later wrote that seven men fell bearing their national colors.

If the woods concealed the Confederates, the dark depths of brush and leaves also concealed some of Crawford's men, who had moved into the trees west of the open field. They rushed from the shadowy woods and smashed into the Virginian left flank.

Garnett, who rode to his left when he heard the rising tempo of firing, arrived to see the enemy's rapid advance. "The enemy in heavy force rapidly advancing, not more than 50 yards from our front, bearing down on us also from the left, delivering as they came a most galling fire," wrote Garnett. "Unable to withstand this fire from front and flank the First Virginia Battalion gave way in confusion, and rendered abortive every effort of its corps of gallant officers to reform it."

As the First Virginia Battalion dissolved, Garnett rode to the next regiment in his line, the 42nd Virginia. Garnett ordered the regiment's commander, Major Henry Lane, to turn his regiment to face its left and block the enemy attack. Moments later, Lane was shot and mortally wounded. By that time, enemy troops were in the rear of the 42nd Virginia and Garnett's other regiments, where they produced much disorder in their ranks as they fired into them.

Garnett's 48th Virginia was in a line bent at a right angle, so half faced the open field charged by Crawford and half faced the Culpeper Road. To its right was Garnett's last regiment, the 21st Virginia, commanded by Lt. Col. Richard H. Cunningham.

Captain William A. Whitcher of the 21st Virginia saw his men in high spirits, as they had just repulsed an advance of a Union regiment, which had burst out of a cornfield, in his words, "to our left oblique."

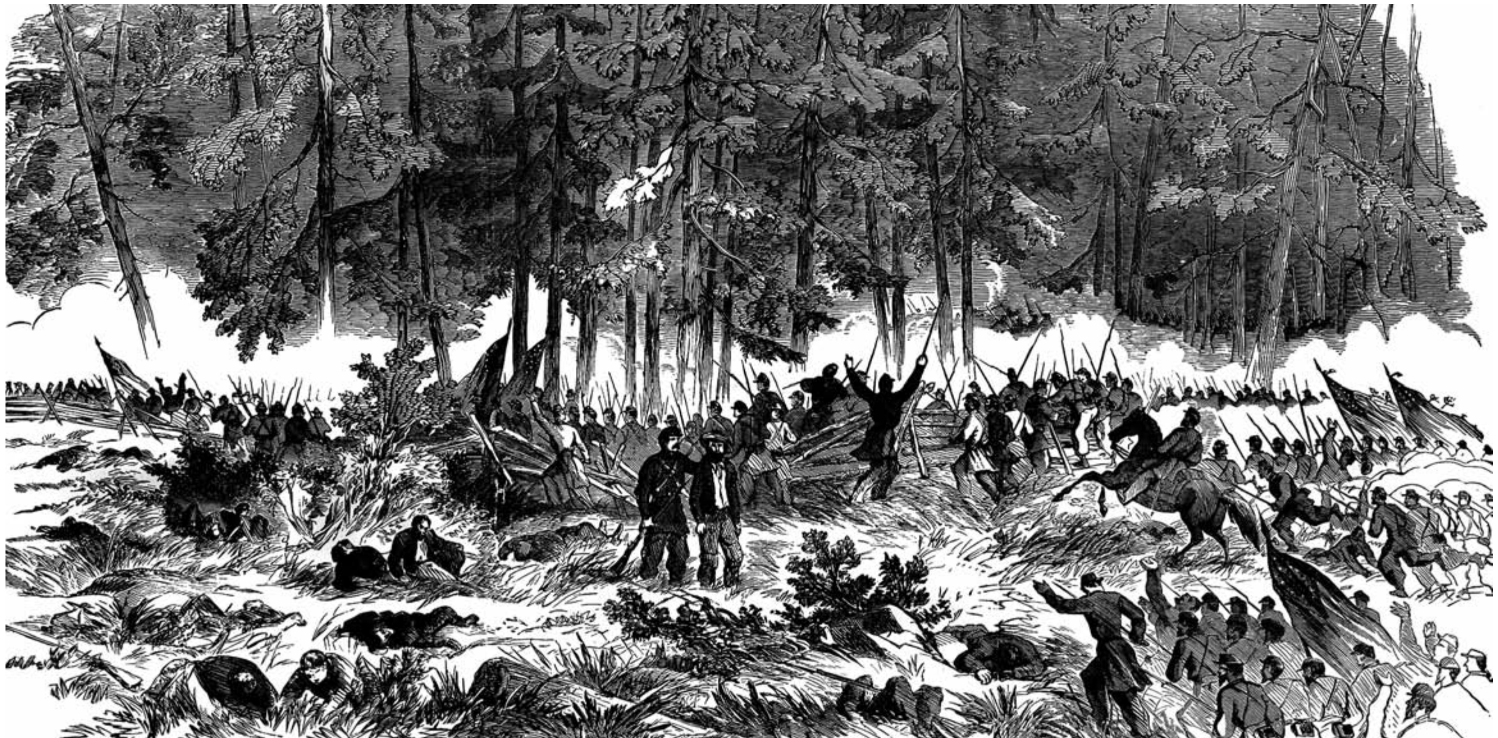
"Suddenly and without any warning whatever, a murderous fire was poured upon us from the rear, at least a brigade of the enemy having passed through the woods and reached within twenty or thirty paces of us," wrote Whitcher.

Cunningham shouted orders to his men. Whitcher could not hear Cunningham's voice over the roar of battle, but saw his commander gesturing toward a fence to their right. Cunningham was then struck down with a mortal wound. In quick succession the adjutant was captured and three members of the color guard were shot down as the regiment was pushed back. Whitcher, the next-in-command, took control of the regiment. He rallied some of the men 150 paces back from the road.

The Stonewall Brigade, which was led by Colonel Charles A. Ronald, was some distance to the left and rear of Garnett. The veterans of the Stonewall Brigade were also surprised and driven back by the sudden onslaught of the enemy.

Taliaferro's brigade, to Garnett's right, had been under cannon fire for some time before Geary's infantry advanced to within musket shot. While clashing with the Union infantry in their front, the collapse of Garnett's brigade left Taliaferro's regiments open to attack from their left and rear by

Harpers Weekly



The soldiers of Crawford's brigade advanced stealthily through the woods against the Confederate line and then charged the enemy at the double-quick. As the Union troops exploited their success, some Confederate units took fire from three sides at once.

Crawford. Under pressure from three directions, Taliaferro's brigade fell back deeper into the woods.

Small groups of Taliaferro's men held together against the Union advance. Lieutenant Henry M. Dutton of the 5th Connecticut, son of a former state governor, died as his regiment fought in the woods. After the battle, a Union burial party later found "the body of Sergeant Alex. S. Avery, of Company G [with] his hands still clasping a gun with bloody bayonet, while around him lay the bodies of five dead Confederates, all slain by bayonet wounds," according to the regimental history of the 5th Connecticut.

To Taliaferro's right, the Union tide rushed into the left-flank regiments of Early's brigade, which also buckled under the same pressure as the other two surprised Confederate brigades.

Fearing that the guns with Taliaferro would fall to the enemy, Jackson sent them to a safe location. While emboldening the bluecoats, the withdrawal of their guns loomed as an omen of disaster to the Confederate foot soldiers. Jackson decided on a spectacular gesture to rally his men. For the first time during the war, he reached to draw his sword. Unfortunately, it had been so long since he last took out his sword, the blade was rusted fast inside the scabbard. Unable to tug the blade free, Jackson detached the scabbard from his sword belt. He flourished the scabbard and sword overhead.

"Rally, brave men, and press forward!" he shouted. "Your general will lead you! Jackson will lead you! Follow me!" Although Taliaferro stopped Jackson from leading a charge, scores of men found new hope as the general flourished his scabbard high above his head, and a growing core of soldiers rallied to hold their position.

By this time, the lead elements of Hill's division, which had seven brigades rather than the usual four, were streaming into the front lines. Crawford's regiments were stalled in the woods. "The support I looked for didn't arrive," he wrote. The Union attack, successful as it had been so far, came with a heavy cost. Many of the bluecoats were already left behind, fallen in the field or further along during their surge into the woods.

As the 5th Connecticut plunged deeper into the woods, Lt. Col. Henry B. Stone shrugged off a minor wound. Another shot struck him in the thigh. His men thought that he was fatally wounded and left him propped against a tree. Stone lived long enough to be taken prisoner, but would die in captivity.

Crawford's advance was nearing its crest, as the bluecoats swung toward their left toward the open ground along the Culpeper Road. A Confederate flag bearer was shot down, and several Union soldiers sprinted toward the fallen banner. Captain William W. Bush of the 28th New York was seen picking up the captured flag.

When the dwindling Federal force pushed deeper into the tree cover beyond the stubble field, the Stonewall Brigade fell back until they met Hill's troops marching to the front. After the arrival of reinforcements, the brigade reformed and joined with Winder's old regiments and Hill's corps to continue the battle. The brigades of Garnett, Taliaferro, and Early reformed to retake their lost ground. With thousands of fresh troops added to the array against them, the Union soldiers began falling back with appalling losses.

Every one of the field officers in the 5th Connecticut, the 28th New York, and the 46th Pennsylvania were dead, wounded, or fell into enemy hands. Over half of the line officers in those three regiments were either hit or captured. Captain Bush, who minutes before had achieved the goal of capturing an enemy flag, was among the prisoners.

Sergeant Hewison recovered a bit from the shock of his bullet wound. He came to amid dead or badly wounded men, but still in possession of his flag. He tore the colors from the staff and wrapped the bright cloth around his body under his jacket, and crawled away on his hands and knees. When fellow Federals found him and bore him away safely to seek medical attention, he still had the salvaged flag with him.

Colonel Chapman was briefly taken prisoner and freed. As his regiment fell back to the edge of the woods before the blood-spattered field they'd crossed at such great cost, the colonel was captured once again. Among some of his men nearby arose the cry, "Let's recapture him, there's but few Rebs around him." Nearly two dozen men rushed to save Chapman, but the valiant group was overwhelmed by the sudden appearance of more Con-

Library of Congress

federates. The colonel stayed in enemy hands until he was exchanged a few months later.

When the 10th Maine came under fire from different directions by multiple Confederate regiments, Gould noted the variety of noises made by the enemy bullets. From some Confederate muskets came "the fierce zip of the swift Minie bullet," he recalled. Even more common than the sound of the Minie bullet was "the singing of slow, round balls and buck shot fired from a smooth bore, which does not cut or tear the air as the creased ball does," he wrote. "Each bullet, according to its kind, size, rate of speed, and nearness to the ear made a different sound. They seemed to be going past in sheets, all around and above us."

Brig. Gen. Lawrence O'Brien Branch, who led the vanguard of Hill's division, halted for some moments near the front. He was followed closely by Brig. Gen. James Archer's Tennessee brigade, which would go into line on his left. Branch had served three terms as an antebellum congressman from North Carolina.

Confederate troops pressed forward into the chaos engulfing Banks' crumbling army, surrounding and capturing isolated Federal units. Both Augur and Geary were wounded. Corporal John M. Booker of the 23rd Virginia grabbed the bridle of a Union officer, thereby making a prisoner of Prince. The high-ranking prisoner was taken to Powell Hill. "General, the fortunes of war have thrown me in your hands," Prince said. Bullets hissed and buzzed through the air around them. "Damn the fortunes of war, General!" Hill snapped. "Get to the rear! You are in danger here!" Prince would remain a prisoner of the Confederacy for four months.

Calling up Greene's small reserve force made little difference in the overwhelming odds facing the Union troops. Banks gave in and withdrew his infantry at 6:30 p.m., which fell back in good order. To buy some time, Bayard ordered a desperate charge by Major Richard I. Falls and the 1st Pennsylvania Reserve Cavalry. Falls had just 175 men on hand, but they plunged in among the Confederates, causing for a brief time considerable chaos before they were forced to fall back. 30 of Falls' men were killed or wounded. Falls' horse was shot from under him, and so many of the regiment's horses were shot down that fewer than 75 men were able to ride back.

The 10th Maine exchanged volleys with the advancing enemy. "The sun had set and the smoke had settled like a thin mist over the entire field of battle," wrote Gould. "We could see, too, the blaze of the enemy's muskets instead of the puff of smoke which one observes in broad daylight. Over these dark and smoky woods was the bright sunlight dazzling our eyes and adding another drop to our bucket of disadvantages."

The last light of day faded as Banks retreated, with victorious Confederate troops following at his heels. "The landscape itself was "as romantic as hell, [with] a full moon which disclosed the dark shadows of the woods and threw a dreamy light over the landscape," Gordon overhead a staff officer remark.

Some of Crawford's men thought they were safely away and halted to build campfires in the moist, cool grass of a clover field, according to

Opposing sides exchange fire at close range during the Union attack on the Confederate left in another sketch by Forbes. Neither side gained any appreciable strategic advantage from the sharp clash.

newspaper reports. Confederate gunners were still in range, though. Firing at the distant, twinkling campfires, the Confederate artillerists broke up the idyllic evening respite and drove the exhausted Yankees further along into the night.

Confederate cavalry surprised Pope and his generals as they tried to manage the retreat. Gordon remembered the enemy riders bursting from the woods 30 yards from them.

"The bullets hissed through the bushes, sparkled in the darkness as they struck the flinty road, or singing through treetops, covered Pope and his officers with leaves and twigs," Gordon wrote. Banks "was struck by the forefoot of an orderly's horse as the animal reared from fright [and suffered] a severe confusion." Mounting quickly, the generals and their staff officers galloped toward Culpeper.

Adding to the combined dangers of enemy troops and the darkening night, a Union battery half a mile to the rear opened fire. "Plump in our midst came the friendly shells," continued Gordon, who escaped injury when a shell exploded "so nearly under my horse that I have never been able to tell whether it was to the right or the left of a plumb-line through his belly." Officers shouted for someone to put a stop to the friendly fire, and an aide rode to the battery and halted its fire before they killed one or more of their own generals.

Confederate pursuit did not continue for long. Too late to affect the battle, Ricketts and Sigel had moved forward in support of Banks. Once Jackson learned of the arrival of Union reinforcements, the risky prospect of continuing the battle in the dark did not appeal to him, and he ended the active pursuit of the Yankees.

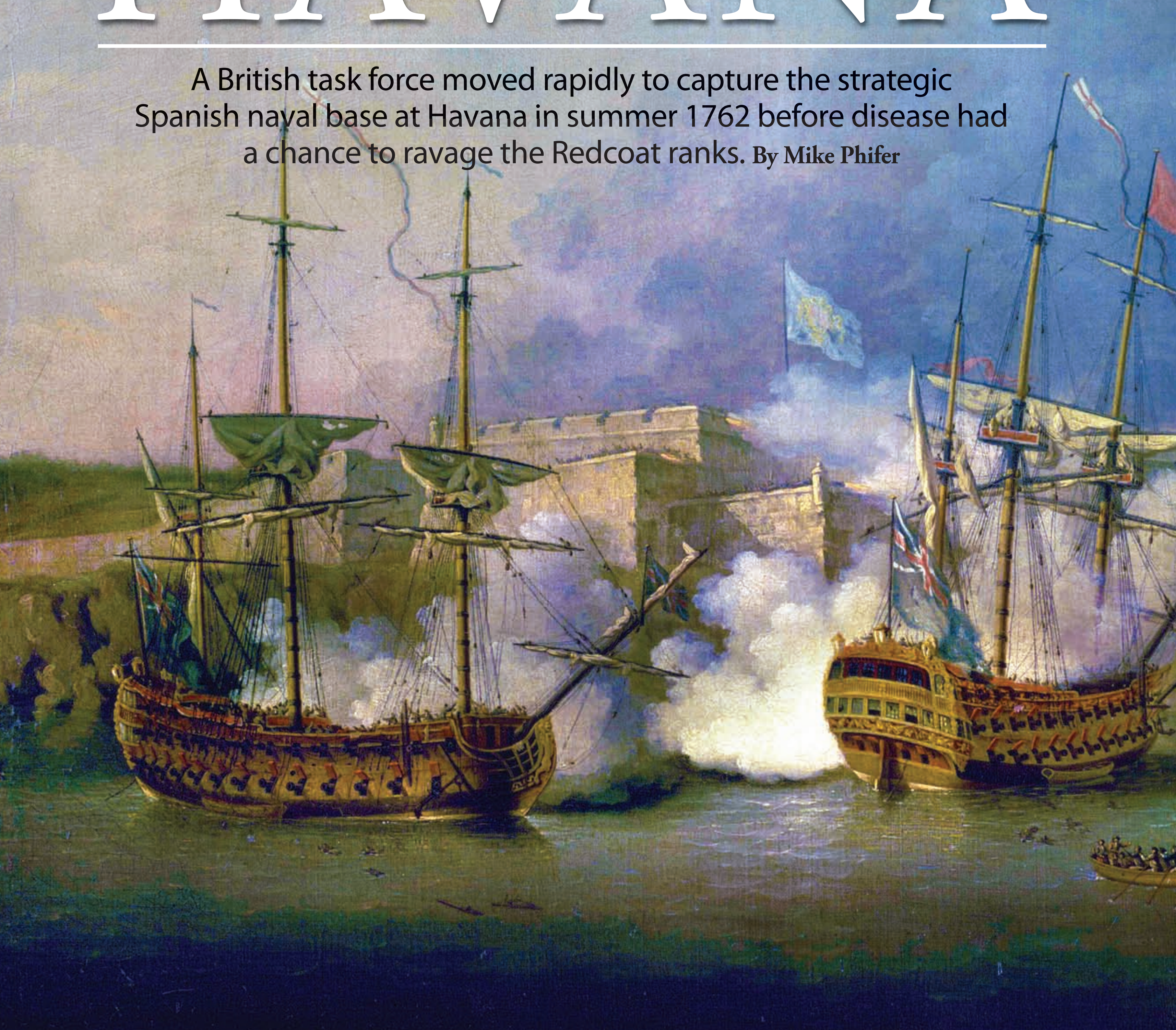
Cedar Mountain was one of the rare battles when Confederate troops outnumbered their enemies; on this occasion, by slightly more than two to one. Banks' 8,000-man corps lost 2,253 men, including 314 dead, 1,445 wounded, and 594 missing and captured. Crawford's brigade alone suffered 867 casualties, which was more than one-third of the day's total. As for Jackson's wing of Lee's army, it suffered 1,338 killed, wounded, or missing.

The Confederates lingered on their hard-won battleground for three days, after which they withdrew to Gordonsville. If the clash won no direct benefits for Jackson, it certainly dampened Pope's prospects for a successful campaign.

Halleck ordered Pope to halt his advance on Gordonsville. Pope's Army of Virginia stayed inactive for many days, which allowed Lee ample time to gather his army and bring it north. In this way, Cedar Mountain set the stage for the Confederate victory at Second Manassas on August 29-30. That decisive victory paved the way for the Confederate invasion of Maryland and the war's single bloodiest day, which occurred on September 17 on the bank of Antietam Creek, when Lee once again battled Maj. Gen. George McClellan at the head of the Army of the Potomac. ■

DARING STRIKE ON HAVANA

A British task force moved rapidly to capture the strategic Spanish naval base at Havana in summer 1762 before disease had a chance to ravage the Redcoat ranks. **By Mike Phifer**



The guns of the British warships assaulting the Cuban shoreline just east of Havana on the morning of June 7, 1762, roared to life in a flash of orange flames and grey smoke. As they furnished covering fire for the landing force, hardy sailors heaved with all of their might against the wind and current to propel their flat-bottomed longboats with infantry and marines aboard to shore on the island.

Packed into the first wave of 49 boats, each of which was manned by 18 sailors and junior officers, were two battalions of grenadiers. The grenadiers formed the center of the first wave. To their right were boats carrying a battalion of light infantry, and to their left were boats bearing three battalions of regulars. A second wave of 27 boats moved into position behind them bearing more grenadiers and a battalion of the Royal American Regiment.

The first wave of redcoats bounded out of the boats into the warm water at 10:30 a.m. They held their muskets and cartridge boxes high to avoid getting them wet as they waded ashore. The sailors rowed back to the waiting line of ships of the line and transports to ferry more troops ashore. Forming up on the sandy beach the troops on the left flank soon came under fire from Spanish troops manning several artillery pieces in a makeshift fort at the mouth of Bacuranao River.

British warships HMS *Marlborough*, HMS *Dragon*, HMS *Cambridge* bombard the imposing strongpoint of El Morro Castle that guarded the approach to Havana harbor.

National Maritime Museum / Wikimedia

A British frigate and sloop supporting the landing troops silenced the Spanish guns and forced the enemy troops manning the strongpoint to withdraw. The second wave of troops came ashore at midday. Once the landing force was ashore, the light troops marched west along the narrow beach toward another enemy fort on the Cojimar River. British ships took it under fire, forcing 600 Spanish troops to spike their guns and withdraw inland. Royal marines came ashore and secured the stone fort.

The main force of British troops crossed the Cojimar and advanced two miles before halting for the night. Back at the landing site, reinforcements came ashore along with guns, horses, and provisions. All things told it had been a good day. The British had secured their beachhead with relative ease. On the morrow they planned to take up siege positions around Havana. Successfully besieging Havana, the crown jewel of Spain's New World Empire, would not be an easy task because of the deadly threat of disease in the tropical environment.

By 1762 Great Britain had been at war with a coalition led by France that included Austria and Russia for six years. In North America the war between the two rival European powers had begun as early as 1754. Six years into the global conflict known as the Seven Years War, Great Britain had shattered a good part of France's overseas empire in North America, India, and Africa, but at a great cost in blood and treasure. Great Britain experienced an additional financial burden in continental Europe where it supported Prussia against France's ally Austria.

As peace talks ground to a halt in 1761 between Great Britain and France, the Spanish crown threatened to enter the war on the side of France. King Louis XV of France and King Charles III of Spain had close ties given that each monarch belonged to a branch of the Bourbon dynasty. What is more, King Charles disliked the British and wanted to prevent a British victory that would alter the balance of power.

On August 15, 1761, the two monarchies entered into an alliance known as the Third Bourbon Family Compact. Under the terms of the agreement, Spain agreed to enter the war by May 1, 1762, if it was not over by then. This would allow time for the treasure fleet to arrive in Spain from the New World before Spain's advent of hostilities with Great Britain. France in turn promised to support Spain if attacked. The compact forbade both parties from making separate peace with Great Britain.

When news of the alliance reached Great Britain's parliament, Prime Minister William Pitt "the Elder" strongly pushed for a declaration of war against Spain. All of his fellow ministers, with the exception of one, disagreed with him for they did not believe that Great Britain had the military resources to fight a new enemy. In the fall out from the disagreement, Pitt resigned from office on October 5, 1761.

The British ambassador to Spain delivered an ultimatum to Madrid on November 19. The ultimatum stated that if Spain did not immediately renounce any intentions of acting as an ally of Britain's enemies in the Seven Years War, then a state of war would exist between the two nations. Madrid did not respond to the ultimatum. Great Britain therefore declared war on Spain on January 4, 1762. Two weeks later Spain declared war on the British crown.

The British ministers had been correct in their assessment. Great Britain was in no position financially for a drawn-out war with the Spanish crown. Spain had to be dealt a swift decisive blow to knock it out of the war as quickly as possible. Lord George Anson, the First Lord of the Admiralty, submitted such a plan in early January 1762. Anson and General John Ligonier, the commander-and-chief of the British army, met with senior cabinet officials and proposed an attack on Havana.

Havana was home to 70,000 people and was the third largest city in the Americas after Lima and Mexico City. The Royal Shipyard of Havana was one of the three most important shipbuilding and repair facilities possessed by the Spanish

All: Public Domain

TOP: British Maj. Gen. William Keppel points to British troops storming El Morro Castle in a contemporary painting by Joshua Reynolds. BOTTOM (left to right): British Lt. Gen. George Keppel, Earl of Albermarle; British Vice Adm. George Pocock; and Spanish Captain Don Luis de Velasco.

National Maritime Museum / Wikimedia

Flat-bottomed boats transfer troops and equipment from Vice Adm. Pocock's fleet (right) to the British encampment at Cojimar Bay (left) in preparation for the advance on Havana from the east.

crown. In addition to serving as a strategic naval base, Havana also boasted a robust economy, exporting sugar, tobacco, and animal hides. It was where Spanish galleons laden with gold and silver from the Spanish Main rendezvoused before making the voyage across the Atlantic heading to Spain. Havana possessed an expansive natural harbor that could accommodate as many as 1,000 sailing ships. Thus, it was of paramount importance that Havana remained in Spanish hands.

The cabinet not only accepted Anson's proposal to capture Havana, but also another plan to send a leaner expeditionary force to seize Manila, the Spanish capital of the Philippines, which was crucial to the sustainment of Spain's Pacific empire.

The British hoped that the loss of both Manila and Havana would seriously damage Spain's trading economy forcing it to negotiate for peace. The new Prime Minister, Thomas Pelham-Holles, the Duke of Newcastle, was reluctant to dispatch an expedition to Havana for he believed it would be an expensive and hazardous military operation. The cabinet, which dismissed his concerns, ordered senior military officials to begin preparing for the daring venture.

Vice Adm. George Pocock was selected to command the expedition's naval forces, and General George Keppel, the Earl of Albemarle, was given command of the land forces. Albemarle's two younger brothers also participated in the Havana expedition. Commodore Augustus Keppel was Pocock's senior naval commander. Lt. Gen. George Elliot served as Albemarle's senior commander of the land forces. Maj. Gen. William Keppel was given command of one of the two infantry divisions participating in the expedition.

The British plan called for Pocock and Albemarle to sail with 4,000 regulars, a Royal Artillery detachment, and a handful of engineers from England for the Caribbean. They would be reinforced not only by troops already in the Caribbean, but also American provincials.

In July 1761 Pitt had sent 11 battalions of British soldiers who were veterans of the Canadian campaign to the Caribbean. They had departed from New York under the command of Maj. Gen. Robert Monckton. The Royal Navy put British troops ashore on Martinique in mid-January. After heavy fighting between the French garrison and British forces, the French surrendered on February 12.

As was often the case in campaigning in the Caribbean, yellow fever proved deadlier than bullets. Monckton reported in May that a quarter of his troops were too sick for duty. Although given the choice to participate in the raid on Havana, he was too ill and returned to New York.

War with Spain "gives me great concern," Richard Huck, a British army physician serving in Martinique wrote upon hearing of Spain's entry into the war. "I am afraid we shall broil long in the Torrid Zone." The sickness and disease that swept through the British expeditionary forces in Martinique did not bode well for operations in Cuba.

Another body of troops slated for the expedition was to come from North America. It was to number 4,000 troops and be made up of regulars and provincials from Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island. Lt. Gen. Jeffery Amherst, the commander-in-chief of British forces in North America, did not receive specific instructions until April1 regarding how many troops were to be raised from the four American colonies.

Amherst wrote to New York Governor Cadwallader Colden informing him that provincial troops were needed for an expedition of great importance to the British crown. "I am confident it will be very agreeable to them, since they will meet with every indulgence and will not be subject to the fatigue that they have gone through in the long marches in former campaigns," he wrote. Amherst promised the New Yorkers' service would be of short duration and that they would be able to return to their homes immediately upon the conclusion of the expedition. He sent similar letters to the governors of Connecticut, New Jersey, and Rhode Island.

Colden wrote back to Amherst on behalf of the New York Assembly, whose members were apprehensive that the provincial troops were to be sent to the West Indies. They requested that the troops only serve on the continent of North America. What is more, they had a deep-seated fear that they would be compelled to enlist with the regulars.

"Their destination must remain a secret for the present," replied Amherst. He assured them that as soon as the provincials' service was no longer

ABOVE: British forces seized La Cabana Heights east of the city in order to bombard the harbor, the city, and El Morro. They then landed more troops on the Chorrera side to the west, which secured a crucial water supply needed to sustain the British forces. RIGHT: The British built four batteries of heavy guns and mortars atop La Cabana Heights in order to pound the Spanish garrison into submission. The bell tower of Havana's cathedral can be seen at left and El Morro Castle is at right.

needed, they would be returned to New York. He also reassured Colden the provincials would not be compelled to enlist in the regular service. New York ultimately sent 600 men, which combined with the other three colonies' contribution totalled 2,000 provincials, all of whom would participate in the Havana expedition.

Pocock set sail from Portsmouth, England, on March 5 with five ships of the line and a frigate protecting a large fleet of transport vessels. Packed aboard the transports were troops, ordnance, and supplies. The fleet reached Barbados on April 20. From there he set sail for Martinique, which he reached six days later.

Upon arriving at Martinique, Pocock's expedition assimilated the ships supporting Monckton's army, as well as Monckton's 8,000 troops. Even more ships joined Pocock's fleet when it reached Cape St. Nicholas on the west side of Hispaniola. This gave him a total of 20 ships of the line, eight frigates, and 200 troop transports. Pocock was to rendezvous with the North American convoy at the cape, but on May 26 he received word that they were delayed. The next morning he set off without them for Cuba.

With the help of local pilots from New Providence, captured Spanish charts, and a recent nautical survey, Pocock decided to sail to Havana by taking the dangerous route known as the Old Bahama Passage along Cuba's northern coast. Most ships sailing to Havana skirted along the southern coast of the island before rounding the western end to enter the harbor at Havana. By using the northern passage Pocock would be able to enter Havana by surprise.

Although the pilots proved of limited use, the British fleet divided into seven formations passed through the strait. The British fleet captured four Spanish naval vessels on June 2, while two schooners managed to escape toward the Atlantic. Pocock learned from the captured crews the strength of the garrison and that a Spanish squadron was in the harbor. The British fleet pressed on toward its objective, which by that time was just 15 miles away.

Due to its importance, Havana was well fortified with a three-mile-long circuit wall. King Philip II of Spain had ordered the construction of two forts, one on each side of the narrow strait leading into Havana's harbor, in 1589. The smaller of the two forts, star-shaped La Punta, was situated on the southwest side of the strait adjacent to the port. El Morro Castle, the larger and more formidable of the two forts, was situated on the opposite side of the strait channel. The narrow entrance to the harbor was protected by Spanish ships at anchor inside the harbor, as well as the battery at the foot of El Morro.

Several small forts were situated at the mouths of nearby rivers along the coastline. One was located at the mouth of the Cojimar River four miles east of El Morro and two more were situated near the mouth of the Chorrera River.

Field Marshal Don Juan de Prado, the captain-general of Spanish forces in Havana, had arrived to assume command in January 1761. He was the top commander of both naval and land forces. Admiral Gutierre de Hevia command the 14 ships of the line and four frigates in Havana harbor, while Lt. Gen. Jose Antonio Manso de Velasco commanded the army forces at Havana.

Velasco commanded 1,800 regular infantry, 800 dragoons, and 300 artillerymen stationed in Havana and its forts. He also had 6,300 militia men, but less than half of these white, free black, and mulatto troops had muskets. The naval personnel under his command consisted of 5,500 sailors and 750 marines.

A report of the approaching British fleet reached Prado from the commander of the fort near the Cojimar River on the morning of June 6. Prado traveled across the strait in a small boat to El Morro to get a first-hand look at the approaching ships with his spyglass. He incorrectly surmised that the vessels arriving belonged to a trade convoy.

A pilot left behind by Prado to watch the fleet spotted ships turning toward the beach at Cojimar. He quickly reported this to Prado. Church bells in Havana sounded the alarm. Inhabitants

National Maritime Museum / Wikimedia

rushed out of their homes as panic overtook the civilians. "All the city was a great confusion," wrote Spanish Captain Juan de Casta. Later in the day a good part of the fleet sailed past the harbor toward Chorrera. At that time, Prado realized that the British had come to lay siege to Havana and a council of war was quickly held.

Prado ordered troops to Chorrera to oppose an anticipated British landing at that location. Meanwhile, a large force of Spanish regulars, dragoons, and militia were on the march for Guanabacoa, a large village located at an important crossroads southeast of the harbor. Admiral Hevia ordered the captains of three ships of the line to sink their vessels to block access to the harbor's entrance. The ships were sunk over the course of three consecutive days beginning on June 8. In addition, Spanish engineers constructed a boom, which they installed on June 9.

General Velasco dispatched sailors and marines to defend key parts of Havana's defences. Don Luis de Velasco, the captain of the 70-gun *Reina,* assumed command of El Morro with its 700-man garrison and 64 guns. Another naval captain, with the surname of Briceno, took command of the forces at La Punta at the entrance of the harbor. At the same time, Admiral Hevia put sailors, blacks, and Jesuit college students to work hauling seven heavy guns from the Spanish warships to the top of the key La Cabana Heights, a ridge that commanded the harbor and the city on the east side. Prado had boasted that the British would find Havana impregnable, and he hoped that if they were defeated it would deter them from attacking other Spanish bases.

Pocock sailed west toward Chorrera with part of the fleet in order to create a diversion, other ships moved into position to the east to land Albemarle's assault force on a three-mile stretch of the coast between the Cojimar and Bacuranao rivers.

Following the successful landing on June 7, Albemarle's troops set off inland the following day. Colonel Guy Carleton led the light infantry towards Guanabacoa along the west bank of the Cojimar River, Colonel William Howe led two grenadier battalions to reconnoiter La Cabana, and Albermarle followed with the main body marching parallel to Carleton further inland. The capture of Guanabacoa was of great importance because the town and the fertile land surrounding it could supply the army with water, cattle, and vegetables.

Carleton's column, which had two guns with it, encountered a few companies of Spanish regulars, a large body of militia, and 300 dragoons in the early afternoon. The dragoons advanced at a slow trot towards Carleton's troops. British infantry fired a heavy volley at the horsemen. The dragoons fled back to the protection of the main line.

The British succeeded, albeit with some difficulty, in getting their guns across a narrow river and into action against the Spanish troops. The Spanish returned fire, but shortly afterwards withdrew, conceding control of Guanabacoa to the British. Albemarle arrived at Guanabacoa with the main force and conferred with Carleton. Albermarle ordered seven battalions to hold the town. They were further instructed to gather whatever provisions they could find and roundup the cattle. As for Carleton, Albermarle ordered him to take his light infantry and secure La Cabana heights in preparation for construction of artillery batteries on the high ground.

Previously, Howe's grenadiers had probed La Cabana on the night of June 8. Their arrival had prompted the Spanish to destroy their guns to prevent them from falling into enemy hands. The Spanish officer in charge ordered the sailors to spike their guns or push them into the harbor. He left behind a detachment of expendable Spanish militia to delay the British as long as possible.

To the west of Havana at Chorrera, Royal Navy warships traded fire with Spanish shore batteries on the night of June 10. The British found at first light the next day that the Spanish had abandoned Chorrera. After a rugged journey through thick woods that afternoon, Carleton's light troops easily drove off the militia.

Carleton's troops named their position atop the heights the Spanish Redoubt. Spanish artillery fire

A second British task force captured Manila dealing a crippling blow to Spain's Pacific trade.

The British ministry approved a plan set forth by Lt. Col. William Draper to capture Spanish-held Manila in 1762 during the final phase of the Seven Years War. Draper, who held the temporary rank of brigadier general, set sail from England and arrived in Madras, India, in late June 1762. While there he met with the George Pigot, the governor of Madras, and Maj. Gen. Stringer Lawrence, commander-in-chief of the British forces in India, to discuss his plan and acquire the troops necessary to capture Manila, the capital of the Spanish-controlled Philippines.

Lawrence did not want to give too many troops to Draper because he feared a French attack on Madras. In addition to the 600 men of Draper's regiment, the 79th Regiment of Foot, the general also was given for the expedition a company of royal artillerymen, 600 Sepoys, and 300 various other troops assigned drawn from the East India Company. Among the ancillary troops were two companies of French deserters.

"Such a banditti never assembled since the time of Spartacus," said Draper of his mixed force. The expeditionary force set sail on August 1 for the Philippines. The passage took seven weeks. Draper's squadron sailed into Manila Bay on September 23 unharmed the guns of the fort guarding the harbor, which remained silent.

Archbishop Manuel Antonio Rojo del Rio y Vieyra, the Spanish governor-general of the Philippines, was surprised by the fleet's arrival for he was unaware that Spain was at war with Great Britain. He sent a letter by boat to inquire what business Draper planned to conduct in Manila. Draper got down to business right away. He informed Rojo of the recent declaration of war and demanded the immediate surrender of Manila. The governor flatly refused.

On the evening of September 24, a force consisting of the British regulars of the 79th Foot, Royal Marines, and artillerymen came ashore one mile from Manila. The rest of Draper's force arrived ashore once the veteran troops of the vanguard had secured the beachhead. Draper easily repulsed a feeble Spanish attack. He demanded a second time that Rojo surrender the town, but the governor once again refused.

Draper then initiated a formal siege of Manila. Once the British had established their batteries, they began a steady bombardment of the city's outer walls. The Spanish sortied on October 4 with 2,000 Filipinos, the majority of who lacked muskets and fought with bows and spears. The roar of British cannon and well-delivered volleys of musket fire shattered the Spanish assault.

Shortly afterwards, the British guns opened a breach Manila's walls. At first light on October 6, the redcoats of the 79th Foot attacked. "They mounted the breach with amazing spirit and rapidity," wrote Draper. The troops quickly overcame enemy resistance as they fought their way deep into the city. Rojo, who had retreated to the citadel in the northwest corner of Manila, eventually surrendered. British losses in the short siege amounted to just 35 killed and 112 wounded. With the fall of both Havana and Manila, the Spanish had suffered considerable damage to their overseas empire and global trade.

—Mike Phifer

Ayala Museum Manila

Crack troops of the British 79th Regiment of Foot storm the walls of Manila with the support of the Royal Artillery. The Spanish did not anticipate an attack by the British on the Pacific outpost.

from El Morro and Havana soon crashed into the British position on the heights. Undaunted by the artillery fire, the British infantry on June 12 began constructing a battery for howitzers near the Spanish Redoubt. The guns atop the commanding heights would be able to fire on the Spanish ships in the harbor and also into Havana.

Across the strait, The British began constructing a grand battery 200 hundred yards from El Morro on June 13. In the weeks that followed, the British constructed a half dozen other batteries, one of which included mortars.

Toiling under fire from Spanish guns at El Morro and from Spanish warships in the harbor, the British troops constructing the batteries suffered casualties not only from shell fire but also from heat exhaustion. Rainfall initially hampered the construction of the batteries, but a drought followed that forced the British to ration drinking water. Since excavating earth proved nearly impossible in the rocky soil, the British relied on sandbags, fascines, and gabions to furnish cover for troops manning batteries and constructing saps at El Morro in preparation for an assault.

Work crews had to hack roads through the jungle in order to haul cannon from the warships to the hilltop batteries. The rocky soil precluded digging trenches in the earth. The British troops filled thousands of sandbags on the beaches, which were then carried inland by soldiers, sailors, and laborers. Men died from the fatigue and heat, while others were captured or killed by enemy irregulars preying on British foragers.

Howe landed 2,800 troops on June 15 at Chorrera on the west side of Havana. He hoped not only to find new sources of water in that location, but also divert the streams flowing into the city that sustained the Spanish. Unfortunately, the British did not find sufficient water, and therefore had to tap into the water stored on their warships to sustain the troops deployed east of the city.

General Velasco orchestrated several sorties to keep the British off balance. In the early morning hours of June 29, 1,000 Spanish troops attacked the British batteries deployed against El Morro. The British fought fiercely, and succeeded in repulsing the Spanish. The following day, the British completed the construction of their artillery positions.

At dawn on July 1 the British batteries began shelling El Morro. Albemarle hoped to open a breach in the sturdy walls of El Morro. Captain Augustus Hervey had orders to lead four ships-of-the-line into position to lend their weight to the bombardment of El Morro. The *Stirling-Castle* was delayed, but at mid-morning the *Cambridge*, *Dragon*, and *Marlborough* opened fire on El Morro.

National Maritime Museum / Wikimedia

British redcoats storm the crumbling rampart of El Morro Castle. The Royal Scots formed the forlorn hope and were followed by regulars carrying assault ladders, marksmen, sappers, and lastly the main assault force.

Spanish gunners responded with a heavy fire from the fort's batteries directed at the warships. Unfortunately, the Spanish sailors manning some of the batteries at El Morro were unable to depress their guns far enough to strike the hulls of the ships; for that reason, they directed their cannon fire to the rigging, spars, and masts. The fire proved effective and wrought substantial damage, bringing some masts crashing down on to the decks of the ships.

As the tide went out the *Dragon,* which was close to El Morro, ran aground. With no help coming from the other ships, the crew of the *Dragon* off loaded stores and managed to get her free after considerable difficulty. The *Dragon* then withdrew with the other two battered ships. The three ships suffered a combined total of 200 casualties.

With the three British ships driven off, the Spanish gunners returned fire on the British batteries. Five hundred Spanish sailors crossed the harbor that night to bringing with them ammunition and replacement gun carriages for the defenders of El Morro. "[We found taking El Morro] to be tougher work, and the Spaniards more resolute than was at first imagined," wrote Mackellar.

The British batteries continued their bombardment the next day. An ember from the guns at the Grand Battery ignited the dry fascines at midday on June 2. The gunners and soldiers managed to put the fire out, but in the early morning hours of the following day it flared up anew. Flames lit up the darkness as it overtook the Grand Battery destroying most of it. The loss of the Grand Battery was "a mortifying stroke," lamented Mackellar.

Albemarle ordered the battery repaired, which was made almost impossible by enemy artillery fire. Another fire in the battery on July 11 rendered it unusable. Meanwhile, more batteries were under construction, while sailors unloaded heavy 32-pounder guns from the warships. Manned by naval gunners, the 32-pounders wrought havoc on El Morro. The Spanish had been replacing their damaged guns at night, as well as regularly rotating fresh troops from Havana to crew the guns.

But with heavier naval guns pounding El Morro's walls, the British succeeded in knocking out many of the Spanish guns. But the British had problems as well for their artillery crews were running low on ammunition. The British sailors needed to have their powder and shot replenished if they were to continue to bombard El Morro. For that reason, Commodore Keppel ordered ammunition brought in from British-held Jamaica.

With their guns dominating El Morro, the British began constructing a path of attack towards the fort. Since the ground was too hard to dig trenches, the troops and laborers crafted gabions. The gabions they constructed were wicker cages filled with earth and rock. The work on the path of attack progressed well over the course of a week. By July 19 the saps to conceal the British approach had been advanced close to El Morro's seaward bastion and the lip of its protective ditch. If the British could secure that position, they could fire their muskets at Spanish troops on the fort's ramparts.

British intelligence reports regarding El Morro had failed to note the deep ditch in front of the fort. The British initially intended to fill the ditch with 600 bags of cotton, but this proved impractical because they had underestimated the depth of the ditch. Instead, they decided to mine the seaward bastion, place explosives in the mine, and detonate the explosives with the intention of making a breach in both the ditch's counterscarp and the ditch itself. With the ditch full of debris, the attacking troops could fight they way over the top of the rubble and into the bastion. Some of the sailors aboard the British warships were Cornish miners, and they joined army sappers in attempt-

ing to dig the tunnel despite the rocky soil.

Discerning the British plans, the Spanish retaliated. A total of 1,500 Spanish troops counterattacked at 4:00 a.m on July 21. They arrived not only by crossing the strait from Havana, but also from the woods around El Morro.

The Spanish also attacked the British position at La Cabana. British soldiers firing well-aimed volleys of musketry bloodied the Spanish force assaulting La Cabana. A battalion from the Royal American Regiment advanced to reinforce the British troops. The British and Americans succeeded in repulsing that counterattack, as well as others made against the saps and redoubt, inflicting heavy losses on the Spanish. The ground in front of the British position lay blanketed with dead and dying Spanish soldiers. Those who survived the assault on La Cabana either drowned trying to swim back across the harbor or were taken prisoner. The British lost 50 men in the bloody clash. One of the Spanish musketeers shot Carleton in the arm.

As the siege progressed, skirmishing continued to flare up at hot spots around Havana between Spanish militia and British regulars. More dangerous to the British than the Spanish musket balls and machetes was yellow fever. "Fluxes and intermitting fevers is the general disorder, occasioned chiefly by violent heats and great damps in the night," wrote Lt. Col. Samuel Cleveland, a British artillery commander. Yellow fever, a lack of water, and intense heat had afflicted 5,000 British soldiers and 3,000 British sailors. With disease running rampant, Albemarle became greatly concerned over his prospects of taking Havana. "If the North Americans do not arrive, and very soon, I shall be at a great loss how to proceed," Albemarle wrote to Earl Charles Wyndham of Egremont, the British Secretary for the Southern Department.

The reinforcements from North America were on their way. The Independent Companies, the British 46th Regiment, and provincials drawn from the four colonies crammed aboard 16 transports and set sail on June 9 from New York under a small escort. They convoy transporting them sighted Cuba 10 days later.

But the convoy ran into trouble as it grew nearer to Cuba. One transport grounded on July 20. Battered by a strong gale, its sailors and soldiers climbed aboard rafts in the storm-tossed waters and made for shore. The following day another ship picked up the men. Five more ships became grounded on July 24. The drenched soldiers and sailors managed to make it to shore safely as the rest of the convoy sailed on leaving them stranded for the time being. Several transports eventually returned and retrieved them on August 2.

Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando

ABOVE: Spanish fortress commander Don Luis de Velasco had 500 regulars, marines, and militia with which to defend El Morro Castle. Lacking sufficient troops and supplies to continue fighting, General Juan de Prado surrendered the city shortly after the fall of El Morro. OPPOSITE: British troops ferry across the harbor entrance to take possession of Havana in mid-August after the short siege. Spain regained Havana from Great Britain through the Treaty of Paris in exchange for Florida.

The remaining vessels reached Havana on July 28 and disembarked their troops. The provincials were taken to the west side of the city to reinforce Howe's command, which suffered severely from sickness and constant harassing attacks by the Spanish. The stranded troops, which included half the Connecticut Regiment, were unable to rejoin their command until August 8.

The second contingent of troops from North America set sail on June 30 from New York in a convoy of 14 transport ships, which were escorted by three warships. Not far from the Bahamas the convoy encountered French ships. The British transports scattered to evade capture or sinking. But the French captured five carrying a total of 400 soldiers. The rest of the transports reached Havana on August 5.

During this time, British miners continued to work on their tunnel at El Morro. The work was completed on July 30. The miners detonated explosives at 2:00 p.m. that day. "[There] was a very grand explosion in our favor," Sergeant Roswell Park of the Connecticut Regiment wrote in his journal. The explosions had sent earth, dust, debris, and smoke skyward. When the smoke and dust cleared, Keppel and Mackellar saw that the explosion had failed to collapse the outer ditch as they had hoped, yet enough of a breach had been made that Keppel ordered his troops to prepare to storm El Morro.

Lieutenant Charles Forbes of the 1st (Royal) Regiment of Foot and a section of 12 men spearheaded the forlorn hope that plunged into the breach. They were followed by Lieutenant Nugent of the 9th Regiment of Foot and Lieutenant Daniel Holroyd of the 90th Regiment of Foot, each of whom led a dozen men bearing ladders that also belonged to the forlorn hope. The main body of the assault force under Lt. Col. James Stuart followed the forlorn hope. It consisted of 300 troops from the 1st (Royal) Regiment and handpicked marksman from the 90th Regiment.

More troops stood by to reinforce the assault on El Morro. These forces included a contingent of 150 men of the 35th Regiment of Foot, as well as 150 sappers who would clear rubble from the breach. Lastly, Keppel's 1st Brigade stood ready to lend its weight to the attack if needed.

Velasco had 500 regulars, marines, and militia with which to defend El Morro, but they were unable to stop the determined redcoats. "The attack was so vigorous and impetuous that the enemy were instantly driven from the breach," wrote Albemarle. In the ensuing musket fire

Velasco, while attempting to rally his troops, was mortally wounded when he was shot through the lung.

As more redcoats scrambled into El Morro, Velasco's second-in-command, Captain Marques Gonzales, also was slain in the fighting. Spanish casualties mounted rapidly. After 30 minutes of desperate fighting, most of the troops in the garrison had surrendered. Those who refused to surrender tried to escape by climbing over the walls of the fortress "much as sheep jump over a wall," recalled Sergeant Park.

A small contingent of Spanish troops took shelter in a lighthouse near the flagpole. They quickly spotted the three lieutenants who led the attack congratulating each other and opened up killing Nugent and Holroyd. An enraged Forbes now led his men against the lighthouse, smashed in the door and killed everyone inside. The British pulled down the Spanish flag and ran up their own colors. After weeks of sweat, toil, and bloodshed El Morro was in British hands. With the guns of El Morro silenced, the siege of the port-city could proceed with greater manpower.

The British lost 42 men killed or wounded in the fighting at El Morro, while the Spanish lost 493 killed, wounded, and captured. More than 200 Spanish tried to escape across the harbor to Havana, but a good number drowned in the attempt. The Spanish received permission to move Velasco to Havana where he died two days later.

Spanish guns across the strait soon opened up on the ruins of El Morro to prevent the British from using the shattered fortress. The British decided to abandon the ruins and instead began constructing more batteries on La Cabana. Heavy guns were drug and shoved up the heights and planks torn from captured enemy frigates were used to construct gun platforms. By August 10 the batteries were completed which boasted 45 guns and eight mortars.

That same day Albemarle sent a summons to Prado demanding that he surrender the city. "I find myself well assured of carrying on the defense, with strong hopes of a happy [conclusion]," Prado replied in a dispatch. Despite his bold talk, the Spanish defenders faced an increasingly grim situation. While the British guns atop La Cabana swept the town and harbor from the east side, British forces had begun constructing new saps and batteries on the west side of the city. Prado and his senior commanders knew that they faced a shortage of troops and ammunition needed to prolong the siege.

British guns atop La Cabana shelled La Punta and a bastion on the north side of Havana on August 11. After a six-hour bombardment, the Spanish troops at La Punta surrendered. Prado requested a ceasefire at 2:00 p.m. in order to begin surrender negotiations. Albemarle approved the request. The two sides spent the following day in negotiations. Prado agreed to surrender the city, but was unwilling to relinquish the Spanish ships in the harbor. When Albemarle threatened to open fire with his guns, Prado dropped his demands. The Spanish surrendered Havana to the British on August 13.

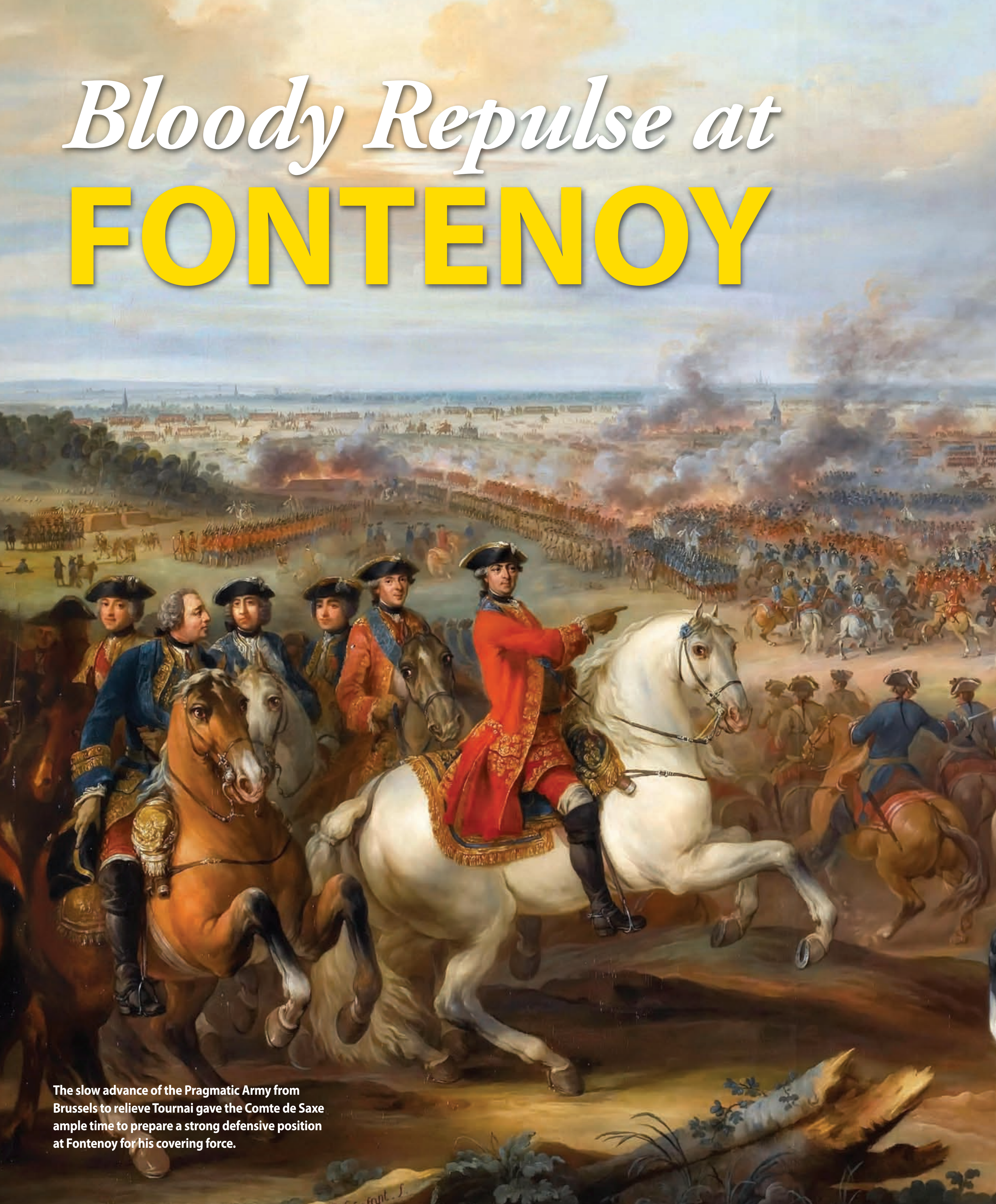
The capture of Havana proved lucrative for the British especially in prize money which amounted to £737,000. A third of this prize money went to Pocock and Albemarle, while each soldier received £4 and each sailor £3.

The capture of Havana ultimately proved costly to the Spanish. In the Treaty of Paris of 1763, Spain handed over Florida to Great Britain, receiving Louisiana from France in compensation. Given that the treaty forced France to cede all of its territory on the North American mainland to Great Britain, the British were willing to return Havana and Manila to Spain.

The Spanish surrender of Havana could not have come sooner as disease decimated the ranks of the British army. The British lost 520 men killed in action and another 4,700 as a result of sickness. Among the American dead was Sergeant Park, who had succumbed to disease in September.

Many of the soldiers never recovered their health after they left Cuba. Of the returning troops, military chaplain John Graham wrote, "perhaps those were happiest who died and left their bones around Havana, for those who returned home, took with them broken strength, and a languor which lasted to their life's end." ■

Bloody Repulse at FONTENOY



The slow advance of the Pragmatic Army from Brussels to relieve Tournai gave the Comte de Saxe ample time to prepare a strong defensive position at Fontenoy for his covering force.

When the Duke of Cumberland's crack British infantry breached the French line at Fontenoy in May 1745 during the War of the Austrian Succession, the French commander had a surprise in store for them.

By Robert L. Durham

The French cavalry thundered ahead, straight for the British open square. The red-coated infantry made ready for them, the front-rank knelt with muskets planted in the ground and their fixed bayonets pointed outward. The rear-ranks fired by platoon, as fast as they could reload. Horses screamed, spilling their riders in heaps on the rain-soaked ground. Horsemen that were shot from their horses cried out in their pain, desperately clinging to life, despite their injuries.

Unable to close with the British infantry, the French horsemen wheeled about, firing their pistols in a valiant attempt to break the British line. Having suffered a bloody repulse, the French cavalry reformed in the rear. While the cavalry regrouped, the artillery crews manning the cannon mounted in the Redoute d'Eu on the French right flank shelled the British line. The English soldiers stood firm, and as casualties mounted, men in the rear rank stepped forward to replace those who had fallen in the front line.

At the start of the Battle of Fontenoy on May 11, 1745, a French army led by Marshal Maurice de Saxe, the Comte de Saxe, suffered an initial repulse at the hands of Prince William Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland's British-Dutch-Austrian army. After that, Saxe decided to remain on the defensive, and Cumberland took the initiative. It was anyone's guess whether he would have better luck on the attack than had his opponent.

The War of the Austrian Succession began in 1740 upon the death of Emperor Charles VI, Holy Roman Emperor, and the last male heir to the throne of Habsburg. The Habsburgs were the traditional rulers of the Holy Roman Empire. The seeds of the war were sown in 1713, when the Treaty of Utrecht brought an end to the War of the Spanish Succession. The Pragmatic Sanction, one of the many edicts in the treaty, stated the imperial throne of the Holy Roman Empire, in Vienna, should pass directly to the eldest son or, in the absence of a son, to Charles' eldest daughter. When he died in 1740, Maria Theresa, his oldest daughter, became heir to the Habsburg Monarchy and the Holy Roman Empire.

Despite the edict, Prince-elector Charles Albert of Bavaria challenged her right to inherit. Charles had the support of France, Prussia, and Saxony. The "Pragmatic Allies" backed Maria Theresa. These included Austria, Britain, Hanover, and the Dutch Republic. As the conflict widened, Spain, Sardinia, Saxony, Sweden, and Russia were drawn in. The pretext

Alamy

tion in Flanders. In addition, possession of Lille would give the Allies a strong base for a drive on Paris. But Saxe harried Wade incessantly, keeping him off balance. At one point, a French raiding party overran the Allied headquarters. Wade was under such heavy pressure that he relinquished the initiative and withdrew into winter quarters at Antwerp.

Prince William Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland, assumed command of the Allied army. The 24 year-old duke, who was King George II's second son, had served with honor at Dettingen, and his peers thought well of him. Britain's allies confirmed him as Captain-General of His Majesty's Forces serving in Europe and commander-in-chief of the Pragmatic Army.

From his headquarters in Lille, Saxe began planning for the 1745 campaign, which he intended to begin earlier than usual. This meant the Pragmatic Army would have to respond to French movements rather than execute its own strategy. Cumberland decided to advance to Mons, where the latest information placed Saxe's army. Mons was one of a string of fortresses that the Allies had established as a buffer between France and the Austrian Netherlands. The duke did not expect Mons to hold out long against the French. What is more, Cumberland did not want to hand the French an easy victory by remaining inactive, so he marched to Mons.

Unknown to Cumberland, Saxe actually intended to strike the fortress of Tournai, which was situated 30 miles northwest of Mons. The French commander detached 22,000 troops from

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

ABOVE: Marshal Maurice de Saxe (left) and Prince William Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland. Suffering from dropsy, Saxe was confined to a horse-drawn litter for most of the battle. TOP: French cavalry harried Allied flanks and screened the movement of infantry to threatened sectors throughout the day at Fontenoy.

for the war was Maria Theresa's right to inherit from her father, but, in reality, France, Prussia, and Bavaria entered the war because they saw an opportunity to challenge Habsburg power. The two sides would fight battles and sieges in three theaters, which were Central Europe, Austrian Netherlands, and Italy, as well as on the High Seas.

The Pragmatic Army, which included Austrian, British, and Hanoverian forces, defeated the French on June 27, 1743, at Dettingen, in the Electorate of Mainz within the Holy Roman Empire. King George II of Britain led the Pragmatic Army, which marked the last time a British monarch participated in a battle.

The following year Austria and Central Germany became the principal theater of war. Saxe, who was newly promoted to marshal, was the illegitimate son of King Augustus II the Strong of Poland-Lithuania and the Elector of Saxony, and he defended Flanders with 30,000 men against an Allied army twice that size.

Forty-nine-year-old Saxe had compiled an impressive military record. He had served in various armies since his early teens, when he served under the Duke of Marlborough at the Battle of Malplaquet fought in 1709 during the War of the Spanish Succession. Afterwards, he served under Prince Eugene of Savoy against Ottoman forces holding Belgrade in 1717 during the Austro-Turkish War.

At the time of the Battle of Fontenoy—a town situated five miles south of Tournai in the Austrian Netherlands—Saxe was seriously ill with dropsy and therefore had to travel by carriage. The marshal, because he was so unwell that morning, could not bear the weight of the steel cuirass he usually wore in battle; instead, he wore a quilted taffeta version. He sucked a musket ball to mollify the thirst caused by his illness.

Field Marshal George Wade, the Allied commander, prepared a plan of campaign that included capturing the important French fortress of Lille. If the Allies could capture Lille, they would substantially compromise the French posi-

his main army to besiege Tournai, which was held by 9,000 Dutch troops.

Saxe then led his main army, which numbered 50,000 men and 100 guns, on a march to occupy Fontenoy and Antoing, which were five miles southeast of Tournai. In so doing, he blocked the Pragmatic Army's route to Tournai.

Cumberland was not overly concerned with the possible loss of Tournai, although his Dutch allies were deeply concerned over the matter, because if Tournai fell to the French, Saxe would have an open path into the heart of the Netherlands.

Saxe put his troops to work fortifying the towns of Fontenoy and Antoing. The attackers would have to fight their way through a rock-filled ditch to engage a first line of entrenched musketeers. Behind the trench was another line of musketeers, stationed atop a rampart behind a high wall. Three redoubts strengthened the fortified line between the villages.

The French marshal also established two more redoubts, known as the *Redoute de Chambonas* and *Redoute d'Eu*, east of Fontenoy on the edge of the Bois de Barri. The Bois de Barri was an expansive, maintained wood that had no undergrowth. The two redoubts were positioned such that the troops manning them would be able to attack Allied troops if they tried to pass between the town of Fontenoy and the Bois de Barri. However, the French marshal purposely did not fortify the area between Fontenoy and the Bois de Barri because he believed the marshy ravine that ran through the sector made it impassable. But he did deploy the Gardes Francaises brigade in that location as a precaution. In addition, he stationed the two battalions of the Arquebusiers de Grassin Brigade in the woods to fire into the flank of any force trying to assault the Redoute d'Eu, which was the westernmost of the two redoubts.

The Pragmatic Army, which had 50,000 troops and 93 guns, arrived in front of Fontenoy on the evening of May 10, 1745, having marched all day on muddy roads. Cumberland was in the saddle before dawn the following morning to reconnoiter the French positions. A thick mist hung low over the fields, which made it difficult for him to ascertain with great accuracy the strength of the enemy positions. Nevertheless, he decided that the Redoute d'Eu was a primary objective and had to be taken for his attack to succeed. With this in mind, Cumberland sent orders to Brig. Gen. Richard Ingoldsby instructing him to clear any French troops from the Bois de Barri and capture the Redoute d'Eu. Cumberland intended Ingoldsby's attack would be the first British assault of the morning.

Ingoldsby had a brigade of 2,000 men in five regiments. One of the five regiments was Colonel Robert Munro's 42nd (Royal Highland) Regiment of Foot, also known as the Black Watch. Cumberland instructed Ingoldsby to march directly against Redoubt d'Eu and seize its guns. They were to turn the guns on the French, but if that was not possible, then they were to spike them. A detail of British artillerymen accompanied the attack for this purpose.

Colonel Robert Munro's 42nd Royal Highland Regiment, known as the Black Watch, advances into withering French fire at the start of the battle.

Ingoldsby began his advance at 6:00 a.m. The Grassins in the Bois de Barri raked Ingoldsby's right flank with fire as it advanced. Munro suggested to Ingoldsby that he send his light troops to clear the woods, but Ingoldsby ignored his advice. Instead of advancing immediately, Ingoldsby requested that artillery be brought forward to support his attack.

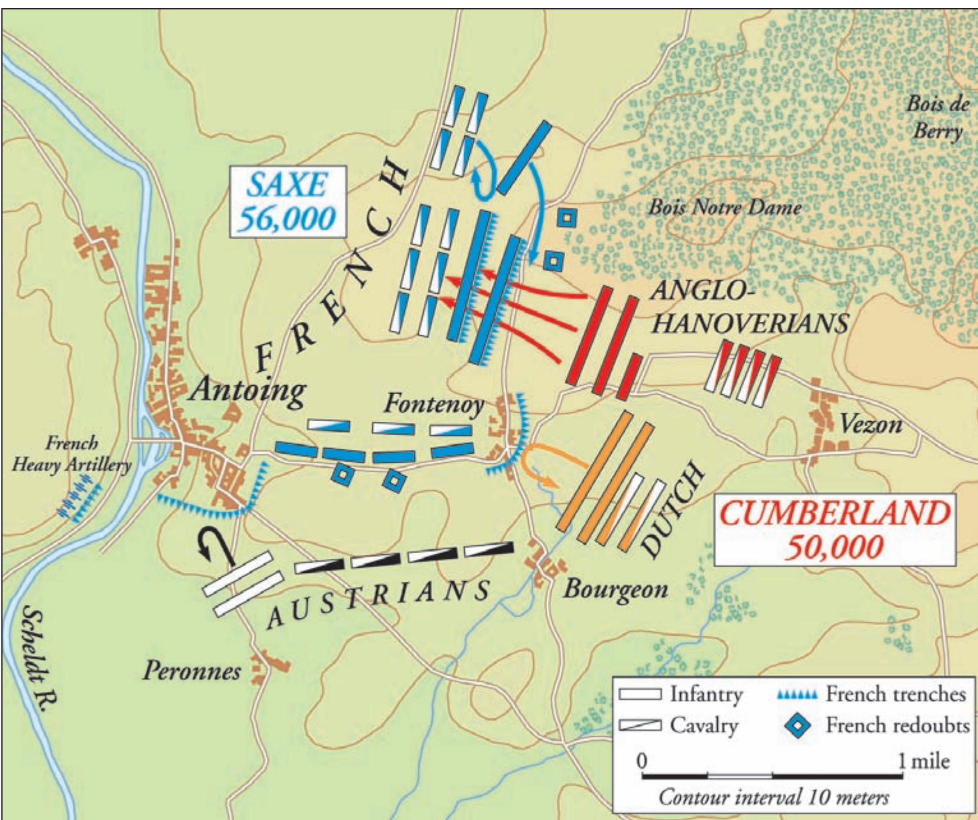
In so doing, Ingoldsby wasted considerable time waiting for artillerymen to bring forward three 6-pounders. At the time, civilian contractors drove the cannon to the battlefield, dropped them off where ordered, and then took their horses to the rear to wait out the battle. When Cumberland sent the guns to Ingoldsby, the gunners had to painstakingly manhandle them into place.

Cumberland, who became deeply frustrated with Ingoldsby for the time-consuming delay, rode forward to issue orders to the artillerymen. He instructed them to fire canister into the Bois de Barri to drive off any French troops on the edge of the wood. Believing that Ingoldsby would advance since he now had artillery support, the duke rode off to attend to matters on other parts of the battlefield.

With Munro's Royal Highlanders in front, Ingoldsby's troops advanced along a sunken road, but the advance soon ground to a halt when the Grassins poured a heavy fire into the troops at the front of Ingoldsby's column. The Grassins were skilled sharpshooters. Men in the back of the formation passed loaded muskets to those in the front. With the front of his column taking considerable casualties, Ingoldsby again halted his advance. When he learned of the delay, Cumberland returned to Ingoldsby's location to assess the situation himself. He admonished Ingoldsby to no avail. Ingoldsby, who greatly overestimated the number of French troops in the Bois de Barri, spent the remainder of the battle sheltering his troops in the sunken lane.

Cumberland then ordered Lt. Gen. James Campbell to take his 15 squadrons of cavalry forward in an attempt to prompt Ingoldsby into advancing. Unsuccessful in this endeavor, Campbell led his men forward past the Bois de Barri. The guns of Redoute d'Eu shelled the British and Hanoverian horsemen. A cannon ball struck Campbell in the thigh, nearly shearing off his leg and mortally wounding the general. At that point, command of the leading horsemen devolved to Maj. Gen. John Lindsey, the Earl of Crawford. Crawford withdrew his cavaliers out of the French

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



ABOVE: Saxe's defensive position bristled with cannon and well-placed redoubts. Cumberland's two columns of crack British and Hanoverian foot soldiers endangered the French left, but Saxe's timely counter-attacks saved the day. RIGHT: British Lord Charles Hay in the middle ground of the painting is said to have offered French Comte Joseph Charles Alexandre d'Anterroches the first volley, an offer that the Comte politely declined. Hay's was confident his troops would respond with an even more devastating one.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

cannon fire, and they reformed behind the British infantry.

Cumberland did not interfere with Crawford's decision; staying where they were would have done little good, for the cavalry would only have interfered with the British infantry, which was deploying into line of battle. What is more, the cavalry would have been exposed to the enemy artillery fire. The constrained nature of the terrain on the Allied right flank allowed no room for cavalry and infantry to function in concert with each other.

At that point in time, King Louis XV was crossing the Scheldt River at Calonne with the Dauphin Louis and Marc-Rene de Voyer, the Comte d'Argenson and the French minister of war, in order to take up a position on the center-right of the French army to observe its progress. Two squadrons of Gardes de Cheval stood nearby as close escort to the king. Although deferential to the king, Saxe did not appreciate the distraction the monarch's presence on the battlefield caused. The marshal instructed his aides to make sure that an easily accessible route back across the Scheldt remain open, with the guard of Royal Grenadiers in place for protection in case circumstances required that the king and his royal party needed to leave the battlefield in a hurry.

Saxe worried Cumberland might turn his left flank. Because of this, he issued orders to his artillery crews that once the morning mist had cleared, they were to shell the Pragmatic Army. When the French gunners went into action, the Allied gunners responded. The consequence of the bombardment and counter-bombardment was largely ineffective.

When the artillery fire had died down, Lt. Gen. John Ligonier advanced his infantry lines. Saxe personally directed the artillery fire. In addition to artillery firing from fixed guns, smaller French guns went into action in front of the infantry.

The Anglo-Hanoverian troops stood up to the artillery fire quite admirably. They closed their ranks whenever the French firing opened a gap in their lines. Once they had completed their move, a second line advanced. Cumberland ordered seven light guns muscled forward to drive away the French gunners.

Louis, the Duc de Gramont, the commander of the Gardes Francaises, was mounted on a white horse. He made an easily identifiable target for British gunners, who fired round shot at his position. The cannon ball shattered his thigh, inflicting a mortal wound. As he was carried to the rear, Saxe ordered Louis Antoine de Gontaut, the Duc de Biron, to replace him. Saxe also withdrew the Gardes Francaises and the Gardes Suisses to a safer position so they would not suffer needless casualties from Allied artillery fire.

At that point, Cumberland went yet again to speak to Ingoldsby, but by that time he had abandoned the idea of having his subordinate silence the guns in the Redoute d'Eu. It may have become apparent to Cumberland that the strength of the infantry reserves posted on the French left flank meant that Ingoldsby did not have enough strength to capture the redoubt. Thus, Cumberland was forced to abandon a key part of his battle plan.

Cumberland dispatched a messenger with orders to Prince Karl August Friedrich of Waldeck-Pyrmont instructing him to commit the Dutch infantry against the entrenched French forces between Antoing and Fontenoy. Four can-

non shots signaled the start of the attack. At the signal, two Dutch cavalry columns moved forward and took up positions to support the attack.

Next, long lines of blue-clad Dutch soldiers advanced with bayonets fixed towards the French right wing. French infantry from the safety of redoubts and trenches fired on the Dutch infantry, and French shells blew gaping holes in the Dutch formations.

The eight battalions of the Waldeck Infantry Regiment drifted towards the right during the advance. This opened a large gap in the Dutch line. As the advance continued, the Dutch battalions veered towards the village of Fontenoy. Waldeck brought forward three dragoon squadrons to restore the proper direction of attack of the Dutch line. Sending their horses to the rear with the horse holders, they went in with the infantry.

Despite the mist that partly concealed their advance, the Dutch infantry stood no chance against the French artillery. French musket fire felled the majority of the officers and men in the front ranks. The Dutch foot soldiers leaned their bodies forward as they advanced into the whirlwind of enemy musket and artillery fire. Although they made a valiant effort, the Dutch could not make any appreciable headway. They eventually fell back to reform their torn and tattered ranks.

The Prince of Waldeck-Pyrmont brought forward the second Dutch column, but it was hit by the same 16 guns arrayed in the three redoubts that the first column had experienced. The attack of the second column also broke under the French fire. It was obvious they had no chance to reach and breach the French position. One of the Dutch cavalry squadrons retreated entirely from the field, galloping completely out of the fight. The Dutch infantry and cavalry squadrons were still in range of the French artillery, which fired on them with no retaliation. The feeble Dutch attack had lasted no more than an hour.

At 11:00 a.m. Cumberland sent the Hanoverian Borschlanger Regiment into the Bois de Barri with orders to capture Redoute d'Eu at any cost. This met with the same result Ingoldsby had experienced. Simply put, artillery positioned in the Redoute d'Eu shattered the attack.

The duke then transferred two regiments, one of which was the Black Watch, from Ingoldsby's command to the left to reinforce a renewed Dutch attack. Field Marshal Christian Moritz Konigsegg-Rothenfels, commander of the Austrian troops in the Allied army, requested that a British four-gun battery of howitzers be brought forward to support the attack. The Borschlanger Regiment marched north to support the assault. Cumberland entrusted Colonel Scipio Duroure with leading the troops that would participate in the assault. Duroure led the assembled troops forward to attack the French, who were entrenched in the town.

At that critical moment, a French musket ball wounded Ingoldsby. The command of his diminished brigade fell to Hanoverian Maj. Gen. Ludwig von Zastrow, whose men carried

Bridgeman Images

Ingoldsby to safety.

Munro's highlanders advanced along a sunken road and attacked the French, catching them by surprise. "They rushed upon us with more violence than ever sea did when driven by a tempest," recalled a French eyewitness. Munro instructed the men of the Black Watch to lie prone upon receiving the French volleys, and then rise to fire their own volleys. Munro, though, did not go to ground. He remained standing because of his stoutness. He feared his men would have to help him to his feet if he were to lie down, which would be an undignified sight.

The Scotsmen of the Black Watch carried their broadswords into battle, and they used them in hand-to-hand fighting with the French Dauphin Regiment. It was an uneven fight, for the Scotsmen had a considerable advantage with their broadswords. They drove back the French infantry with which they were engaged and then overran a French battery. The French gunners who were unable to escape were cut down next to their guns.

Saxe then ordered the du Roi Regiment forward to reinforce the troops defending Fontenoy. The arrival of the reinforcements enabled the defenders to rally and repulse Duroure's assault. After that repulse, Waldeck-Pyrmont attacked the village with his Dutch infantry, but the French repulsed that assault, as well.

Despite their bravery, Munro's highlanders had to withdraw because Waldeck-Pyrmont's second attack met a hail of round shot and canister. Duroure's men suffered severe casualties in their attack on the village of Fontenoy. Of Duroure's officers, only Captain Charles Rainsford of the 12th Foot remained standing. He extricated the soldiers from the cottages and gardens of Fontenoy to retreat as best as they could. Despite Cumberland's best efforts, Saxe's right flank and center held their original positions.

Next came the turn of the vaunted British infantry to try to break the French left center. They formed themselves into two lines totaling 16,000 men. Cumberland accompanied them on horseback with his staff as they began their advance.

Taking posts of honor on the right in the first line were the 1st Foot Guards (Grenadier Guards), 3rd Foot Guards (Scots Guards), and the 2nd Foot Guards (Coldstream Guards). Next in seniority came the Royal Brigade and Onslow's Brigade. Deploying behind them in the second line were Howard's Brigade, Sowle's Brigade, and the remainder of the Hanoverian Brigade.

Cumberland intended to thrust his Anglo-Hanoverian infantry through the left center of the French line, and then wheel left to roll up their position. The attack occurred simultaneously with Duroure's second attack on Fontenoy in order to put the maximum pressure possible on the French army.

The British formation moved 800 yards up the wet slope, advancing through the marshy ravine that Saxe had believed to be impassable. They marched with their drums beating and colors flying. French artillery shelled them from both sides. The gaps in the ranks caused by the artillery were bravely closed with the soldiers dressing to the right.

Suddenly, the French Guard and Swiss Guard brigades and three regiments rose up from a sunken road 70 yards in front of the Allied troops. They fired a heavy volley into the surprised British infantry, but it was largely ineffective because the French soldiers aimed too high. Those men in the front of the Anglo-Hanoverians that fell were swiftly replaced by the rear-rank men. The British in the front returned the volley, firing by platoon rather than by rank. Men in the rear rank loaded

French King Louis XV and his staff observe the Pragmatic Army's attack at bottom right in a contemporary panorama of the battle. The easy defeat of the Austrian and Dutch assaults allowed the French to shift forces against Cumberland's better troops.

muskets and passed them forward to the front rank. The rolling fire of the British impressed the French.

After firing, the British infantry advanced through the smoke from their muskets, getting steadily closer to the French with each volley until they were at point-blank range. The British volley fire mauled the French and Swiss Guard brigades. Both formations broke under the weight of the attack. The ground where they had stood was littered with 400 dead and dying Frenchmen.

"The French Foot Guards ran away at the first fire, as [they had] at Dettingen," wrote Major Richard Davenport of the British Horse Guards, referring to the battle two years earlier when King George II had decisively defeated a French army in Bavaria.

Saxe then committed his last infantry reserves in a desperate bid bring Cumberland's seemingly unstoppable advance to a halt. "They advanced as if performing a part of their exercise, the sergeant majors leveling the soldiers' muskets to make their discharge surer," wrote a French participant.

The Irish Brigade, serving with the French, was commanded by Charles O'Brien, the Comte de Thomond, moved forward to strengthen the French line. But since they had no support, they were compelled to fall back. Much of the French infantry were routed into a panicked flight. "There was one dreadful hour in which we expected nothing less than a renewal of the affair at Dettingen," wrote the D'Argenson.

The fire from the Redoute d'Eu and the Grassin light infantry in the Bois de Barri caused some confusion in the ranks of the British battalions. However, order was quickly restored, and they fixed bayonets and moved forward, urged on by Cumberland. The effect of the French artillery fire gradually lessened as the ammunition supplies were reduced. With this diminished impediment, the vital left-center of Saxe's position was carried. The staunch British infantry seemed to have pulled victory from what previously seemed to be near-certain defeat.

Saxe's best infantry regiments had collapsed. It seemed that the French were on the verge of a disaster. The marshal hurried from the field to the king, who remained calm. Noailles urged the king to withdraw, with the Dauphin, to safety across the Scheldt. "I am going to stay where I am," said Louis. Saxe offered some reassurance by pointing out that he had reserves stationed nearby.

The compact column of Allied infantry moved relentlessly forward, inclining slightly to the left away from the harassing fire from the Grassins in the Bois de Barri. The British soldiers calmly continued firing volleys as they advanced. The Aubeterre Regiment, which stepped forward to try to stop their advance, was shattered by the volley fire.

Saxe then ordered the Roi Regiment against the flank of the British column, but they also were repulsed with heavy losses by the 2nd Foot Guards. The Hainault, Royal, and de Vaisseaux Regiments shifted from behind Fontenoy to try to close the gap and restore the French line. The rolling volleys of the British infantry, though, thwarted their effort, inflicting heavy losses on the French infantry.

At that crucial moment, Saxe ordered a cavalry charge. The British infantry, upon hearing the thunder of hooves, refused their flanks and brought forward the 3-pounder cannon that had been dragged forward by the grenadier companies.

The French cavalry attack lacked the power that Saxe had expected. This was because Louis-Charles Le Tellier, the Comte of Estrees, who commanded the Brigade de Royal-Cravates, did not bring forward his entire cavalry force. He ordered just four regiments, numbering about 2,500 men, to make the assault. The men and horses advanced at a measured pace toward the British infantry. The cavaliers kept from charging in order that they would not tire too quickly. "It was like charging two flaming fortresses rather than a column of infantry," recalled one French officer.

The British cannoneers fired off their last load of double-shotted canister, which left knots of struggling, shrieking horses before them, then ran for shelter into the infantry column. The front-rank men knelt on one knee, the butts of their muskets planted in the ground with bayonets pointed outward. The second and third ranks were prepared to deliver their death-dealing volleys. When the French cavalry was 50 yards away, the British line opened fire. The French cavaliers, unable to close with the British and use their swords, wheeled in front of them, firing carbines and pistols. Two more French cavalry regiments came to their aid, but to no avail. Those cavaliers who survived retreated.

A few of the cavaliers managed to force their horses into the ranks of the 2nd Foot Guards, but

all were swiftly shot or bayoneted. The Royal Roussillon Regiment tried once again. The ground was littered with dead and wounded horses and men, so they came on at a walking pace, only to be driven back as all those before them. Although driven off, the cavalry had achieved its objective, which was to stop the British advance.

As the British lines advanced again, they found there was not enough space between the town of Fontenoy and the Bois de Barri to keep their formation. All that stood between them and victory seemed to be two lines of French cavalry. As the British pushed on, the space of the gap and the threat from the remaining French cannon caused the men to instinctively move away from the flanks, causing the lines to contract. The battalions deepened their formations. Eventually, they formed three sides of a giant square, leaving the rear open. Maj. Gen. Ludwig von Zastrow's Hanoverians served as a ready reserve inside the square. The further they advanced, though, the more the Anglo-Hanoverians exposed themselves to being taken in the flank.

Saxe decided at 12:30 p.m. the time was right to counterattack. He ordered the three infantry regiments that had rallied to attack the west side of the Allied square while two others assailed the north side of the square. The French regiments outnumbered the British regiments, which had been under a concentrated cannonade for hours.

However, Saxe's plan was nearly undone when Joseph de Randon, the Comte d'Apcher, launched an attack without orders. D'Apcher sent two regiments of cavalry against the west side and northwest corner of the Allied square. Some of the cavalry recoiled at volleys from the British line, but four squadrons of the Noailles cavalry cut their way through the ranks of the 3rd Foot Guards before running headlong into the Hanoverian reserves. Just 14 cavaliers from the lead squadron escaped with their lives.

Estree ordered a brigade of cavalry forward to cover the retreat of d'Apcher, and the confusion prevented the advance of the Irishmen. Cumberland, seeing the hesitation in the French ranks, directed the Earl of Albemarle to order the 2nd Guards to advance towards the nearest enemy and give a close-range volley. Cumberland then changed the angle of the British attack to veer away from the Bois de Barri toward the northern end of Fontenoy.

King Louis ordered Louis-Philippe d'Orleans, the Comte de Montesson, to advance the Maison du Roi and Carabineers of the French cavalry to form a support for the unnerved cavaliers. But they attacked without orders. Charging toward the British line, they saw a repeat of the other French cavalry charges when the British

The advent of the line of bayoneted muskets transformed warfare in the 18th century

Few developments in weapons and tactics completed by the beginning of the 18th century placed the infantryman in the front line of battle formations and made infantry increasingly significant because of its firepower.

The introduction of the bayonet, which made the pike obsolete, had occurred as early as the mid-17th century. The socket bayonet replaced the primitive plug bayonet, a process that was completed by European field armies by the first decade of the 18th century. This enabled infantrymen armed with flintlock muskets to function both as light infantry and heavy infantry. By the beginning of the 18th century, the use of the bayonet was practically universal.

The formidable firepower of the infantry came from the introduction of the flintlock musket, which used an oblong paper cartridge that contained both ball and powder. A skilled infantryman armed with a flintlock musket using paper cartridges could get off three or more shots per minute. Infantrymen armed with flintlock muskets formed up tightly, shoulder-to-shoulder. Three ranks became the optimal infantry line in the 18th century, although some field armies initially lagged behind and still used four or even five ranks. In the three-rank formation, the tallest men, placed in the first rank, kneeled to fire, and the third rank fired over the shoulder of the second rank. This tactical advance significantly widened the front of a regiment in battle, and it also substantially increased its firepower.

The musket on the battlefield was used in volley firing throughout the 18th century. The relative inaccuracy of the musket meant that it was imperative to fire a high volume of rounds in order to inflict casualties. In the platoon-firing system, officers and sergeants directed their troops to execute firing-line, company, or full-battalion volleys as necessary. The standard method of infantry fighting in the line system of bayoneted infantry became fire and movement.

The essential components of success for the field armies in the first half of the 18th century, which generally numbered between 40,000 to 70,000 troops for logistical reasons, were discipline and firepower. The aides of the so-called great captains of the age, the most illustrious of whom were the Duke of Marlborough, Comte de Saxe, and King Frederick II of Prussia, were trained to keep an eye on the performance of the infantry in battle.

But not all infantry were line infantry. In the 18th century, light infantry armed with either muskets or rifles without bayonets were used as skirmishers, raiders, and scouts. Using their own initiative in battle, they relied on cover and concealment in the terrain itself or behind walls to protect them from cavalry and volley fire from dense ranks of line infantry. The British called them light troops, the French called them *chasseurs*, and Germanic-speaking states called them *jagers*.

—William E. Welsh

The socket bayonet enabled British troops at Culloden to defeat Scottish rebels armed with broadswords at close quarters.

infantry opened on them, emptying saddles and felling horses.

The French army was barely hanging on when Saxe received a report that the artillery in Fontenoy was out of round-shot and canister. They were firing blank cartridges. Saxe, who was convinced that the British superiority was exhausted, decided to assemble as much fresh artillery as possible against the British-Hanoverians and attack with fresh troops.

The Irishmen had seen little action, and others were comparatively undamaged. They had 13 battalions to pit against the exhausted British. Moreover, two brigades of reinforcements were already on the way from Sainte-Trinite. They would place another seven battalions at his disposal. Lowendahl would also bring two fresh cavalry brigades, one of them the cuirassiers. Saxe's left flank, anchored on Fontenoy, stood firm.

Even so, a sense of gloom hung over the French senior commanders at 1:00 p.m. Saxe was the only one that remained optimistic about a French victory. Noailles advised King Louis and the dauphin to retreat across the Scheldt River for safety, but the king refused to consider such a move. He would not betray the trust of Saxe. The local attacks Saxe had ordered had been driven off, but they had succeeded in halting the seemingly relentless advance of the British column.

Saxe rallied the Normandie and Vaisseaux regiments and sent them back into action buttressed by the remaining soldiers of the Gardes Francaises and Gardes Suisses. He ordered the Irish troops, one of his last available reserves, to strike the Allied column. The Irishmen advanced to the sounds of the fife and drum. British musketry tore through their ranks, but they carried their attack forward and clashed in a sharp melee with the British infantry. The British succeeded for a time in checking the Irish attack, but the balance of the melee tipped in favor of the French when the Normandie Regiment charged some of the British cannon, thereby relieving the pressure on their comrades. Together, the Frenchmen and Irishmen drove back the British.

At that point, Cumberland accepted that his army had been fought to a standstill by the French. He therefore focused on disengaging his troops, which was always a difficult task. When the British and Hanoverians began their retreat, Saxe ordered his cavalry forward again. The French horsemen, though, mistakenly attacked the Irishmen on their side, mistaking their red coats for those of the British infantry. The cavalry, to their credit, realized their mistake and charged the British.

British line troops formed squares, but the weight of the French cavalry attack succeeded in breaking the formations. With their squares collapsing, battalions of British infantry fought their way eastward. At that point, the bottleneck between Fontenoy and the Bois de Barri became an impediment for the counterattacking French, as it had been for the attacking British. Saxe tried to funnel as many as 30 infantry battalions through the narrow gap in pursuit of the fleeing British.

The Earl of Crawford brought up his cavalry brigades to cover Cumberland's retreat. Since there was no way to avoid the French artillery fire, Crawford flung his men into the French infantry ranks, slowing their advance but with a great loss of cavaliers and horses. Saxe, seeing that nothing more could be done, called off any pursuit. The two armies slowly disengaged. The battle drew to a close at 2:00 p.m. The French marshal then rode off to inform his king that the French forces had been victorious.

After meeting with the king, Saxe ordered his cavalry to secure the artillery and munition wagons abandoned by the retreating Allies. He also arranged for the gathering of the dead and wounded of both sides.

French pressure increased on the Dutch garrison at Tournai after the Pragmatic Army's defeat at Fontenoy. As a result, the Dutch garrison in the strategic fortress retreated into the citadel on May 22. Thus, they surrendered the town to the French. The French besieged the citadel on June 1, and it capitulated 18 days later. The terms of surrender stipulated they would not bear arms against France and her allies on the continent until January 1, 1747.

Just as the Dutch had feared, Saxe then marched into the Austrian Netherlands. He captured Bruges without firing a shot. Over the course of the next few weeks, four more major towns yielded to the French.

By the end of 1745, the French occupied most of the Austrian Netherlands, threatening the British links with Europe. Through his brilliant operations in the Austrian Netherlands, Saxe had cemented his reputation as one of the great captains of the 18th century and restored French supremacy in Western Europe.

But the British Navy's blockade had a crippling effect on France, and it forced the French to the peace table. In the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748, King Louis XV agreed to withdraw from the Austrian Netherlands and return the Dutch barrier forts. The people of France were both shocked and disappointed with the king's decision.

As for the central matter of the Austrian succession, all parties agreed to accept the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713. This confirmed Maria Theresa as her father's heir. But Austria did not come out a clear winner because it lost key territory. The British compelled the Austrian queen to cede the wealthy province of Silesia to Prussia. Maria Theresa was determined to try to take back Silesia. In the final analysis, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle established only a brief peace, for the Seven Years' War erupted the following decade. ■

Museum of French History

French King Louis XV sits astride his white horse and receives captured "colors" from the Comte de Saxe and the soldiers of the Brigade du Roi at the end of the hard-fought battle. To his credit, Cumberland carried out a fighting withdrawal in good order.

By Mike Phifer

British soldiers fixed their bayonets and waited tensely in the trenches for the order to go over the top. Officers glanced at their watches and counted down as the minutes and seconds ticked away to zero hour. "Five minutes to go!" shouted Lieutenant Ulrich Burke of the Devonshire Regiment down the right and left of his trench sector. Other officers along the whole British line were doing the same.

At 3:50 a.m., the early morning came alive as thousands of British artillery pieces opened up. "A long, jagged line of flame burst from the ground [in front of me]," recalled Captain Thomas Owtram of the King's Own Royal Lancaster Regiment. "I blew my whistle and shouted. Men struggled stiffly to their feet, and we advanced until the shells were bursting only about 50 feet in front of us."

Along the whole British line, other officers were blowing their whistles and shouting the same orders. Thousands of British troops climbed out of the trenches and began to follow the creeping barrage. "The noise was tremendous, and shout as hard as you could, it was impossible to make the man next to you hear," wrote Stanley Bradbury of the Seaforth Highlanders.

Hugging the curtain of shells, four corps from the British Fifth Army had just spearheaded a major attack on July 31, 1917, in the Ypres Salient. The Third Battle of Ypres had just begun.

Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, the British commander-in-chief, had strong hopes for this offensive, believing the campaign would end the war. It would be followed that autumn by the British and Commonwealth forces' assault on Passchendaele, which would mark the final phase of the Third Battle of Ypres.

Although the British held Ypres, the Germans controlled the wooded ridges that dominated the agricultural town, mostly from the east and south.

The high ground included Messines Ridge to the south and continued northeastward to Passchendaele Ridge. Lesser ridges or rises named after other towns also were held by the Germans. Holding three sides of this salient, the Germans

HARD-WON VICTORY AT

British infantry prepares to assault German positions on Menin Road Ridge. The British squandered valuable time preparing for the Passchendaele offensive, giving the Germans ample time to improve their defenses.

Alamy

Passchendaele

British and Commonwealth troops endured a living hell of mud and blood in autumn 1917 as they drove toward the town of Passchendaele in the face of fierce German resistance.

launched the first War's major gas attack in April 1915 in an attempt to rub out this Allied-held bulge. A green Canadian division managed to plug a gap in the line when colonial French troops gave way. The Allies would continue to hang on to the Ypres Salient for the next two years.

Besides being symbolic of Allied determination to win the war, the Ypres Salient was strategically important to the British, as the channel ports vital to their supply line to England were a short distance away.

Similarly, holding the high ground dominating the salient was important to the Germans. Twelve miles northeast of Ypres was the vital rail center of Roulers, which the Germans needed to keep in their hands. They also needed to protect the Belgian coast, where German submarine bases were located at Ostend and Zeebrugge.

For some time, Haig had been nurturing plans to launch an offensive from Flanders that would shatter the German lines, capture Roulers, and free the Belgian coast, aided by an amphibious landing. Haig believed the Germans would be forced to stand and fight, since they did not want to lose their ports on the south side of the English Channel and the rail center. In Haig's thinking, the German resistance would be worn down, especially after the casualties they had suffered in the bloodlettings at Verdun and the Somme.

The first phase of Haig's plan was launched when Sir Herbert Plumer's Second Army conducted a fierce attack against Messines Ridge. Greatly aided by 19 mines that contained over a million pounds of explosives and devastated the German defences, the British took the ridge. This victory secured the southern wing of the Ypres salient, allowing Haig to focus on the main part of his offensive to the east.

Before this happened, though, Haig traveled to London, where he met for three days beginning on June 19 with the Prime Minister David Lloyd George, Chief of the Imperial General Staff Sir William Robertson, and members of the War Cabinet to discuss his plan, which he hoped would end the war. George was not keen on Haig's plan; instead, he preferred sending troops and equipment to the Italian Front with the hopes of not only weakening the Germans, but also forcing the Austrians out of the war. But Haig, who had the support of Robertson, believed the Italo-Austrian front to be nothing more than a sideshow. Haig insisted that the Germans had to be defeated in Flanders. First Sea Lord Admiral John Jellicoe also favored Haig's plan because he wanted the German U-boat bases on the coast of Belgium destroyed. This objective had become imperative, because the Germans U-boat campaign was taking a heavy toll on Allied shipping.

When all opinions had been heard, Haig received permission to begin to prepare for his Flanders offensive pending final approval by the War Committee, which gave its approval on July 20. The committee issued a stern warning to Haig not to allow his offensive to turn into another debacle similar to the Somme offensive of 1916.

Haig brought in Sir Hubert Gough and his Fifth Army to spearhead the northern opera-

Imperial War Museum

ABOVE: While the British painstakingly brought supplies by pack trains to the front lines in late July, their artillery fired upwards of four million shells to soften the German positions for the infantry attack. BELOW: Soldiers of the German Fourth Army await the British attack. The Germans had multiple layers of trenches in the Ypres sector that were studded with concrete pillboxes and blockhouses. OPPOSITE: A British 18-pounder battery goes into action on July 31, the first day of the British attack. The Fifth Army began the attack with nine divisions attacking northeast of Ypres.

Imperial War Museum

tion—the second phase—of his plan, which was to capture the high ground east of Ypres, including the dominating Passchendaele Ridge, and shatter the German position in Flanders. Gough's attack was to be supported by Plumer on his right and by the French First Army on his left. Once the Passchendaele Ridge had been captured, Gough was then to continue attacking northeast onward to the Belgian coast. Sir Henry Rawlinson's Fourth Army would aid along the coast with an amphibious landing.

Gough began to organize his army for the upcoming assault, which was scheduled for July 25 but then postponed until July 31. The troops dug support trenches, built roads, laid telephone cables, and stockpiled tons of supplies. They also gathered hundreds of thousands of rounds of ammunition for 3,000 guns. These guns were brought in at night and positioned on timber platforms to keep them from sinking into the mud. The Allies bombarded German positions during the second half of July with upwards of four million shells.

The Royal Flying Corps battled enemy aircraft overhead in a bid to dominate the air space to a depth of five miles over the front. "Never before had we seen such masses of aircraft and air combat as at the front above Ypres," wrote German soldier Johann Schardel.

The Germans had multiple layers of trenches in the Ypres salient that were studded with pillboxes and blockhouses. The Germans also had 1,500 guns in the sector. By the third year of the war on the Western Front, the Germans employed the concept of an elastic defense. This entailed putting light forces in the frontline trenches and keeping the bulk of their forces further back and ready to counterattack immediately.

The German lines took a terrible pounding from the two-week British bombardment, which destroyed support trenches and smashed barbed wire. The shelling also churned the up the terrain with more shell holes and destroyed the delicate drainage system of an area with a notoriously high water table. The German infantry suffered heavy casualties, as did their guns, destroyed by accurate British counter-battery fire. Ominously for the British, though, many of the enemy pillboxes remained intact.

"The whole of Flanders earth moved and appeared to be in flames," wrote General Hermann von Kuhl, Rupprecht's chief of staff, when the British bombardment began on the morning of July 31. Haig committed the II, XIV, XVIII, and XIX corps of the Fifth Army to his offensive. Two French corps and three corps from the British Second Army supported the main attack on the left and right, respectively.

As the troops moved forward in the darkness, crawling over the pock-marked terrain, in support of them were 136 tanks of the Tank Corps. As the offensive progressed, the British found that the tanks were of limited use. They broke down frequently due to mechanical failure, at which point the Germans could easily knock them out with their artillery.

At first the attack went well as the troops of the Fifth Army pushed toward their first objective, 1,000 yards forward, which was known as the Blue Line.

By early afternoon on the first day, Gough's attack began to slow down when the Germans launched a series of furious counterattacks. In vicious close-quarters fighting, the Germans succeeded in halting the progress of the Fifth Army, but not before it had captured most of its first and second objectives. The Germans held a tactically important position on Gheluvelt Plateau, which allowed them to pour enfilading fire into Gough's right flank. Haig issued orders that the plateau needed to be captured at all costs. The British had gained nearly 3,000 yards and captured 5,600 prisoners in their first thrust.

The situation worsened in the late afternoon when it began to rain. The rain, which would last for nearly a week, turned the terrain into a muddy quagmire. The British continued their offensive despite the harsh weather; however, Haig decided on August 4 to postpone operations indefinitely. Up to that point, the Allies had suffered 35,000 casualties and the Germans an equal number.

Imperial War Museum

ABOVE: British soldiers struggled through the mud as they carry a wounded comrade to safety near Pilckem Ridge during the second day of the attack. Heavy rains in early August turned the ground into a muddy morass that hampered the offensive. BELOW: These soldiers of the 15th Scottish Division died during the mid-August assault on Langemarck. Throughout the campaign German artillery barrages isolated British troops, making them vulnerable to well-executed counterattacks. OPPOSITE: The team of a British Vickers machine gun in action at the battlefront in September. The water-cooled heavy machine gun performed extremely well in the muddy conditions of the battlefield, but used copious amounts of ammunition.

The Fifth Army renewed its attack a handful of times in August. It gained some ground, but at a heavy price. The weather still remained uncooperative, with more pounding rain. "The labor of bringing up supplies and ammunition, of moving or firing the guns, which had sunk up to their axles, was a fearful strain on the officers and men, even during the daily task of maintaining the battle front," wrote Gough. "When it came to the advance of infantry for an attack, across the waterlogged shell-holes, movement was so slow and so fatiguing that only the shortest advances could be contemplated."

Disappointed in Gough's performance and his failure to take the vital Gheluvelt Plateau, Haig had Plumer take over. Unlike Gough, who attacked on a wide front, Plumer planned to use "bite-and-hold" tactics: He would attack on a shorter front with shorter advances after a long bombardment to take the heavily defended Gheluvelt Plateau. Once this was taken, then a push on to Passchendaele Ridge could be made.

As preparations for the coming attack were underway, Haig was summoned on September 4 to meet with Lloyd George. The prime minister was displeased with the way things were progressing in the Ypres Salient. He argued that because Russia was succumbing to revolution, mutinies were occurring in the French Army, and the Americans had not yet begun arriving in large numbers, it would be better to suspend operations in Flanders. Haig, who was backed by Robertson, argued that it was for these very reasons of Allied weakness that the offensive had to continue. Haig won the argument.

The attack was scheduled for the early morning of September 20, but hours before the troops were to advance, the rains came again. At 5:40 a.m., the British guns that had been shelling the Germans for a few days now laid down a creeping barrage. Following behind the curtain of shells were the I Australian Corps, the New Zealand Corps, and the British X Corps of the Second Army attacking up the Menin Road east of Ypres. Five divisions from the Fifth Army also attacked to the north. This time, there would be little tank support.

At a cost of 20,000 casualties and an advance of 1,500 yards, the Second Army's attacks were successful, taking its objectives and digging in. The expected German counterattacks were stopped in the afternoon by furious bombardments and spirited machine-gun fire. Plumer quickly prepared for the second stage of his offensive, aided by a clearing of the weather.

Lloyd George visited the front to find Haig beaming with victory. Told of the visible deterioration of the German prisoners, Lloyd asked to see for himself. The prime minister was shown only the sickly POWs, giving him the impression that the German army was being worn down.

At dawn on September 26, the 5th and 6th Australian divisions of the I ANZAC Corps followed a creeping barrage toward Polygon Wood on the Gheluvelt Plateau. "The advance itself was the finest we had ever experienced," recalled Lt. Sinclair Hunt 55th Battalion of the 5th Australian Division. "The artillery barrage was so perfect, and we followed it so close, that it was simply a matter of walking into the positions and commencing to dig in."

Attacking to the south of the Australians was the X Corps, which, with the help of an Australian brigade, captured its objectives. The expected

German counterattacks were defeated. Haig had gained another 1,200 yards.

"I am of the opinion that the enemy is tottering and that a good vigorous blow might lead to decisive results," Haig told his generals. Plans and preparations were quickly made for an attack on the eastern side of Gheluvelt Plateau and the village of Broodseinde. The Allied guns opened fire at dawn on the rainy morning of October 4. The I and II ANZAC Corps moved toward Broodseinde Ridge, while the X Corps pushed further into the Gheluvelt Plateau. Supporting them on their northern flank were elements of the Fifth Army.

By mid-day, the Australians, New Zealanders, and British had made an advance of 1,200 yards, secured their objectives, dug in and repulsed German counterattacks. Gheluvelt Plateau, Broodseinde, and the surrounding high ground had been taken at the cost of 20,000 casualties. The Second Army now found itself in front of Passchendaele.

Haig was elated with the success and planned three more hurried advances, scheduled for October 9, 12, and 14, to capture the village of Passchendaele and the ridge of the same name. Haig was certain the Germans were near their breaking point with few reserves and that now was the time to hit them hard again. Although the Germans had received heavy losses, though, they were far from finished.

The Germans again modified their defensive tactics to deal with the Second Army's successes by creating a so-called "outpost zone" in front of their lines, lightly manned by a thin chain of positions. When the attack came, these outposts would fall back to the main line and a destructive heavy-artillery bombardment would be laid down on the advancing enemy in the outpost zone. It was hoped this would give time for the counterattacking divisions to get into position. However, what the Germans really needed to stop the Second Army was rain.

The Germans soon got their wish, as it began to rain hard on October 7. The wide swath of shell-cratered lowlands before Passchendaele Ridge was soon turned into a sea of mud. Rain would continue to fall through much of the month. Despite the weather, preparations for the coming attack continued, as engineers—hampered by enemy shelling—constructed roads to move up supplies and guns through the mud. Horses and mules carrying eight artillery shells each, struggling through the mud sometimes up to their bellies, brought ammunition to the guns; it was not enough to supply the demands of the guns that managed to be dragged forward.

Despite the conditions, less preparation time, and the reduced artillery support, two British divisions serving with the II ANZAC Corps—exhausted from getting to the start point—attacked on the morning of October 9. The attacks had only limited success, with heavy casualties. Three days later Haig tried again. The 3rd Australian and the New Zealand divisions spearheaded the attack for the II ANZAC Corps. The New Zealand division received orders to take the heavily fortified Bellevue Spur, a knoll protecting the western approach to Passchendaele. The Australians had orders to advance to the outskirts of Passchendaele.

Fierce German machine-gun fire, thick rows of barbed wire, and a sea of mud cost the New Zealanders 3,000 casualties for little gain. The 9th Brigade of the Australian 3rd Division did manage to make it to the outskirts of Passchendaele, but with no support and mounting casualties, they had to pull back. Suffering severe casualties and worn out, the ANZACs would soon be relieved. The breakthrough to Roulers and clearing the Belgian coast seemed no longer attainable, but Haig was still determined to take Passchendaele Ridge despite the appalling conditions of the battlefield. With Lloyd George still attempting to halt the campaign, Haig needed a victory to save his career, and he now turned to the Canadians Corps.

"There's a mistake somewhere. It must be a mistake! It isn't worth a drop of blood!" roared Lt. Gen. Sir Arthur Currie, commander of the Canadian Corps, to his staff when he got wind of a rumor that his corps would be sent to Passchendaele on October 3.

There was no mistake, as Maj. Gen. Sir Henry

Imperial War Museum

Bundesarchiv Bild

Horne, commander of the British First Army of which the Canadian Corps was a part, confirmed to Currie. The Canadians were to be sent to Gough's Fifth Army. This Currie would not tolerate and told Horne plainly that he would not serve under Gough, whom he believed had mishandled the Canadians the year before on the Somme.

Haig agreed to send the Canadians to Plummer's Second Army instead. They would still be going north to Flanders in an attempt to take Passchendaele Ridge, however, and Currie received his official orders 10 days later. On October 13, Currie went to see Plummer personally. He estimated it would cost the Canadians 16,000 casualties to take the ridge and asked Plummer "if a success would justify the sacrifice." Plummer could only reply he had his orders.

Because of his experiences in the Ypres sector in 1915 and 1916, Currie had no desire to return to the sector. "[I] never wanted to see the place again," he said after he received a visit from Haig. Nevertheless, he energetically set about getting his 100,000-strong corps moving north. By October 17 Currie had sent observation parties to the battlefield to reconnoiter the situation. At 9:00 p.m. every night, a conference was held to evaluate the incoming reports—and they were not good. "The mud was quite indescribable," wrote Lt. Col. Edmund Ironside of the 4th Canadian Division. Currie went to look for himself. "The battlefield looks bad," he wrote in his diary. "No salvage has been done and very few of the dead buried."

The Canadians were soon moving into the front lines, taking over the positions held by the 3rd Australian Division and New Zealand Division of the II ANZAC Corps. On the right of the Canadians' new 3,000-yard position was Ypres-Roulers Railway, while on the left-half flank of their sector was a spur of high ground running southeast through Bellevue. The Ravebeck stream, swollen now to half a mile wide in places, split their sector in two. Half the terrain in their front before Passchendaele lay in water and deep mud.

The Canadians were to take over 360 British and Australian guns, but to their dismay they found just 200 guns, with the rest having been destroyed or sunk in the mud. The Canadian Corps had no shortage of artillery, but getting it to the front—as well as supplies and drinkable water—was extremely toilsome in the deep mud. The handful of roads for trucks and trails for packs animals had to be improved upon. Overcoming the skepticism of the British officers, the Canadians obtained a sawmill and felled trees in the woods to the rear. They then cut them in planks and, working around the clock, constructed plank roads. This improved conditions somewhat. To help the infantry move through the mud and water, duckboards, or, as the Canadians called them, bathmats continued, as they had in previous part of the campaign, to be laid down.

Despite the work done, getting to the frontlines was still difficult, especially with the enemy shelling and gas attacks. In the end, the Canadians would get their guns, 587 artillery pieces all together, which over the next month would hammer the German positions with 1.4 million shells. "We never found a piece of ground for a gun platform where we did not have to fill a shell hole," wrote Canadian gunner Philip Debney of the 32nd Battery.

The Canadians planned to take Passchendaele in three attacks with limited objectives. The first was to start on October 26. Haig scheduled the other two attacks for October 30 and November 6. FOn October 24, Canadian troops from 3rd and 4th Divisions made their way through the mud and water to their starting points. On the morning of October 26, the guns that had been pounding the Germans for the last four days began laying down a creeping barrage. Due to the impassable morass that split their sector, the Canadians were making a two-pronged assault. On the left, the 3rd Division attacked on a narrow front along with the 4th Canadian Mounted Rifles and the 43rd and 58th Battalions.

Eight minutes after the creeping barrage began, the troops moved forward in drizzling rain. Enemy machine guns opened up, stitching the 4th Canadian Mounted Rifles with lead. Many

of the wounded who collapsed in the porridge-like mud drowned in it. A pill box and two nearby machine guns temporarily held up the battalion's advance until 19-year-old Private Tommy Holmes leaped into action. Moving forward from shell hole to shell hole, he took out the machine-gun crews with well-tossed grenades. Returning to his comrades to get another grenade, he had soon taken out the pill box. For his bravery, he would be awarded the Victoria Cross. He was the first of nine Canadians to earn this medal over the next two weeks.

The 4th Canadian Mounted Rifles pushed on and captured Wolf Copse, their intermediate goal, but heavy fire from their flanks and front prevented them from pushing on to their final objective. They dug in and beat off an enemy counterattack later in the afternoon. Meanwhile, to their right, the 43rd and 58th battalions took their intermediate objective with little trouble. Then German shells began screaming down on them, and with little cover available, most of the men fell back to their starting line.

But 50 men of the 43rd Battalion had no intention of giving up the small hold they had on Bellevue Spur. Blazing away from the edges of shell holes, the small band of plucky Canadians beat back a number of German counterattacks. A company from the 52nd Battalion soon raced to their aid and arrived in time to stop another German counterattack. The small band of Canadians then attacked, taking a number of pill boxes and bagging 100 prisoners. Soon, reinforcements from the 52nd Battalion arrived, and by next morning, they had secured their intermediate objective and pushed to within about 300 yards of the Red Line Objective.

The flooded terrain caused a narrowing of the front in places. Because of this, the right prong of the attack by the 4th Division could only be led by the 46th Battalion with the 50th Battalion following in support. "We were wading in mud and falling in shell holes," wrote Sergeant Don McKerchar of the 46th Battalion. The situation worsened when shells began landing on the advancing troops and machine-gun fire tore into them. Despite appalling casualties, the Canadians in this South Saskatchewan-raised battalion pushed on 600 yards to their objective, known as the Decline Copse. The copse straddled the Ypres-Roulers Railway. With help from the 50th Battalion, the 46th Battalion then succeeded in repulsing two enemy counterattacks.

The Germans pummeled the Canadians in the late afternoon with a heavy barrage of artillery fire. Behind this curtain of shells, the Germans attacked from three sides. The Canadians sent up flares to call in their artillery, but for some reason it was 20 minutes before their guns gave them support. The survivors of the 46th Battalion fell back, only to be met by Major John Hope and Captain William Kennedy, who rallied them. Supported by fire from the 10th Canadian Machinegun Company, Hope led the 46th Battalion back into action. The soldiers succeeded in capturing a rise near the Decline Copse.

That night, the 44th and 47th Battalions relieved the 46th Battalion—which had taken 70 percent casualties during the day's fighting—and the 50th Battalion. The two fresh battalions launched a night attack against Decline Copse, thinking they had taken it. Come morning, they were informed by the Australians fighting on their right flank that Decline Copse was still in German hands. The Canadians quickly realized they had become confused in the dark and had captured a small wood instead of Decline Copse. The night of October 27, the Canadians rectified their mistake and took Decline Copse.

Although the Canadian Corps had not met all their objectives for their first attack, they were on slightly higher and drier terrain for their next scheduled attack on the October 30. Other Second and Fifth Army attacks supporting the Canadians had failed to gain much ground, with the exception of the Australians.

Preparations quickly started for the next assault, aided when the rain stopped for the three days leading up to the attack.

At dawn on October 30, the Canadian guns opened up, laying down a creeping barrage. The Canadian Corps objective was to secure their Red Line Objective from October 26 and then push on 700 yards to secure their Blue Line Objective for this day. Supporting them on the Corps' right

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

ABOVE: The Passchendaele offensive consisted of two phases. The Fifth Army attacked on July 31, but after some initial gains north of Ypres, it ground to a halt in late August. The offensive resumed in late September with the intrepid Canadians capturing Passchendaele on November 6. OPPOSITE: Germans take cover in a shell crater during a counterattack. The Germans held troops in reserve for counterattacks that negated the British army's incremental advances.

was the I ANZAC Corps and the XVIII British Corps on their left. Again attacking on the left of the Canadians Corps was the 3rd Division, whose objective was the final capture of Bellevue Spur. The Germans intended to fight desperately to keep this key position defending Passchendaele.

The 3rd Division was attacking on a three-battalion front this time, comprising the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, 49th Battalion, and 5th Canadian Mounted Rifles. Struggling through mud and water, the light infantry soon came under a storm of fire as they neared their intermediate objective, a strongpoint dubbed Duck Lodge. Suffering heavy casualties, the light infantry managed to take Duck Lodge at 7:00 a.m. They then advanced to the Blue Line, where the bombed-out village of Meetcheele was located. They succeeded in capturing the village after some brutal fighting.

In the intervening time, the 49th Battalion, which was deployed to the left of the Canadian Light Infantry, managed to capture their intermediate objective of Furst Farm. They had been hit hard by enemy artillery and small-arms fire, causing them to suffer 75 percent casualties. They dug in and were unable to advance any further.

To the 49th Battalion's left, the 5th Canadian Mounted Rifles endured vicious machine-gun fire but captured their intermediate objective. Ignoring a wound in his thigh, the commander of the battalion, Maj. George Pearkes, ordered his men onward, sending a small detachment to capture Source Farm, where the attacking British units were only make slight progress. In the meantime, Pearkes took Vapor Farm, his Blue Line objective, which he described as "a rotten haystack." The 5th Canadian Mounted Rifles fought off fierce counterattacks and managed to hold both farms, suffering severe casualties in the process. Overall, the 3rd Division had pushed the front line further up Bellevue Spur.

On the right flank, the 4th Division also attacked on a three-battalion front, using the 85th, 78th, and 72nd battalions. Machine-gun fire lacerated the advancing Canadians. Despite

Austro-German offensive against Italy coincided with the Battle of Passchendaele

At a meeting in London that preceded the Battle of Passchendaele, British military and political leaders argued as to whether to continue their push into Flanders against the Germans, or whether to funnel men and equipment to Italy to assist against the Austrians. Prime Minister David Lloyd George was the dissenting voice in the mid-June conference; he argued for making the Italo-Austrian front a top priority. In the end, the War Cabinet allowed Field Marshal Douglas Haig to proceed with the Flanders offensive.

The British and French enticed Italy into joining the war in early 1915 by promising it substantial territory in Austria-Hungary if it agreed to join the fight against the Central Powers. Specifically, the Allies told Italy that it might receive, in the aftermath of the conflict, South Tyrol, Trentino, Trieste, and part of the Dalmatian Coast. This was set forth in the secret pact known as the Treaty of London and signed in April 26, 1915. The pact required Italy to declare war on Austria-Hungary within a month. Italy did so on May 23.

Wikimedia

A column of Italian anti-aircraft gun trucks heads to the rear during the long Italian retreat at Caporetto. The Italian army was on the brink of collapse when British and French troops arrived to stabilize the situation.

The two countries shared a mountainous, 370-mile border. Italy launched an offensive on the eastern end of the border, where it hoped to advance into Austria-Hungary through the Isonzo valley. Most of Italy's troops were raw recruits, and they lacked sufficient heavy artillery. Italy attacked four times in 1915 but made no headway at the cost of 27,000 casualties. A stalemate followed that lasted for almost two and one-half years.

Italy continued to hammer ineffectively against Austria-Hungary. Over time, though, they succeeded in gaining a thin foothold inside Austrian territory. Italy's eleventh attack began in August 1917, and after a month, the Italians had again failed to break out into Austria—at the cost of 150,000 men to Austro-Hungarian losses of 100,000. When Austro-Hungarian military leaders contemplated launching an offensive against the Italians, the Germans prevailed upon them to allow a German general to direct the offensive.

General Otto von Below's Austro-German Fourteenth Army attacked on October 24. On the first day, the Austro-German forces bombarded the Italians on the Isonzo front with gas, smoke, and high-explosive shells. Using infiltration tactics, the Austro-German forces breached the line held by the Italian Second Army at Caporetto on the northern end of the Isonzo front.

Over the next three days, the attacking forces routed the Second Army. Italian Marshal Luigi Cadorna ordered the remnants of the army to fall back to the Tagliamento River. But in their retreat, the Second Army disrupted the Italian Third Army. Fortunately for the Italians, the Austro-German forces began to experience supply shortages, which gave the Italians a reprieve during which they successfully regrouped behind the river.

But on November 2, the Germans succeeded in breaking through the Tagliamento line. The Italians fell back again, this time to the Piave River. In the wake of these defeats, Cadorna was sacked and replaced with General Armando Diaz.

Although Austro-German forces assailed the Piave line in late November, the Central Powers decided in early December that they could not achieve anything else strategically important on the Italian front that merited suffering additional casualties. For that reason, the offensive ended on December 2.

—William E. Welsh

Canadian War Memorial

Corporal Ronald Lebrun, the machine gunner at far left, was the only one of the soldiers of the Canadian 16th Machine Gun Company shown in this photo to survive the bloody battle. Over the course of the 13-week offensive, the Allies suffered 240,000 casualties.

suffering heavy casualties, the 85th Battalion had secured its final, or Blue Line, Objectives by 6:35 a.m. The 78th Battalion also took its final objectives, as did the 72nd Battalion, whose goal was the key point of Crest Farm. A patrol from this battalion actually pushed into the flattened ruins of Passchendaele. Being in a vulnerable position, it wisely pulled back. German artillery pounded the Canadians digging in at their objectives for 18 hours. The Germans counterattacked during the night but were hurled back. Having advanced about another 1,000 yards, the Canadians now prepared for their attack on Passchendaele, which lay not far away.

Working around the clock, the engineers repaired plank roads and pushed them farther to the front. The mud-covered and exhausted troops of the battered 3rd and 4th Divisions were now pulled back to be replaced by the 1st and 2nd Canadian Divisions.

On the morning of November 6, the Canadian guns laid down a creeping barrage as the troops pushed ahead from their forward positions, hugging this exploding curtain of steel and death. Attacking on the left was the 1st Division, which advanced on a three-battalion front made up of the 3rd, 1st, and 2nd battalions. The 3rd Battalion by mid-morning had finally finished clearing the Bellevue Spur by taking Vine Cottage, which boasted a handful of pillboxes and machine-gun posts. Meanwhile, the 1st and 2nd Battalions' attack went well against their Green Line Objective of the little village of Mosselmark, located north of Passchendaele. By 7:45 a.m., Mosselmark was in Canadian hands, and the two battalions were securing their objective.

The 2nd Division, on the right flank of the Canadian Corps, attacked on a four-battalion front. The 26th, 27th, 31st, and 28th battalions followed the deafening creeping barrage toward their objective of Passchendaele itself. Quickly overcoming German resistance, the 26th Battalion took the high ground above Passchendaele. The other three battalions took out pillboxes and machine-gun emplacements as they relentlessly advanced toward the village of Passchendaele itself, which was, by now, not much more than a pile of rubble. Just before mid-morning, the Canadians rooted the Germans out of the village with bayonets and grenades. The Canadians had captured Passchendaele. To the north, a rare sight of green fields and gentle villages and farms greeted the mud-plastered Canadians.

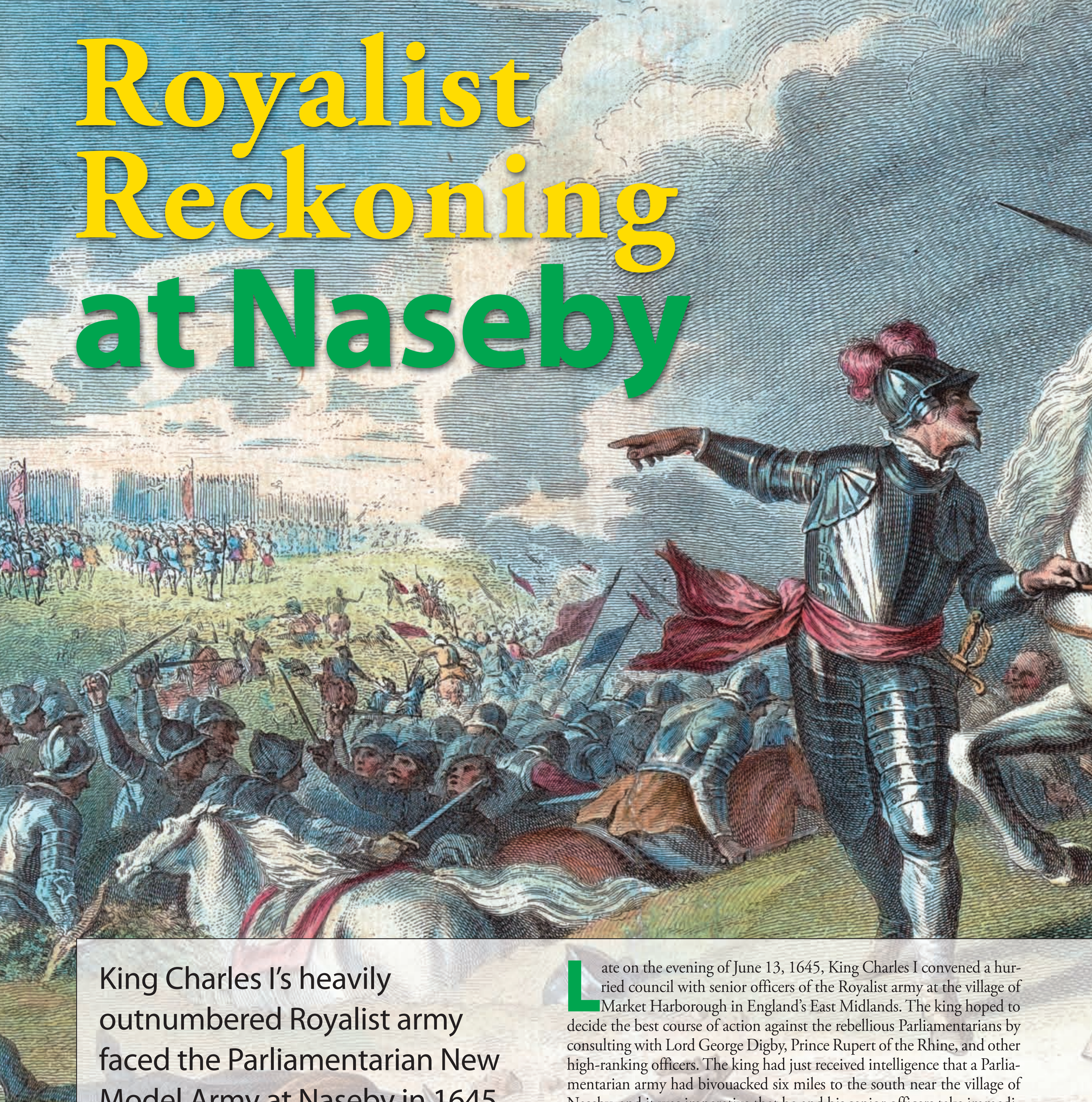
But the fighting was not over yet. In a driving rainstorm, the Canadians launched another attack on November 10 to capture the remaining high ground north of Passchendaele. A creeping barrage opened up at 6:05 a.m., and the 7th and 8th Battalions spearheaded the attack for the 1st Division. Their objective was Vindictive Crossroads, 1,000 yards north of Passchendaele, which they captured after some hard fighting. Half a mile further north was Hill 52, the highest point on Passchendaele Ridge. It was taken early the next morning by the 10th Battalion.

Meanwhile, the 8th Battalion had captured its objective of Venture Farm as well as four enemy 77mm guns by 7:15 a.m. The 1st British Division launched supporting attacks on their left, but they were driven back by fierce German counterattacks. The result was that the Canadian 8th Battalion's flank became exposed. With help from the 5th Battalion, the 8th Battalion was forced to plug the gap by turning back their left flank. They were still in an exposed position, and the Germans plastered the Canadians with a horrific shelling. Taking shelter in water-logged shell holes, the Canadians held on and repulsed the German counterattacks. Passchendaele was at last securely in Canadian hands.

Currie's grim prediction that taking Passchendaele would cost his corps 16,000 casualties was close. The Canadians suffered 15,654 casualties. On the whole, the British forces, which had advanced just five miles since July 31, suffered 240,000 casualties. German losses were comparable.

The Canadians were relieved from Passchendaele on November 14. They soon would be headed back to Vimy Ridge for the winter. Canadian Private George Bell was one of the Allied soldiers who was glad to leave. "[Passchendaele was] the most awful place in the world," he said. Thousands of other Allied and German soldiers who endured the misery of the campaign would likely have agreed with him. ■

Royalist Reckoning at Naseby



Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

King Charles I's heavily outnumbered Royalist army faced the Parliamentarian New Model Army at Naseby in 1645. At stake was the future of the Royalist cause. **By Joshua Shepherd**

Late on the evening of June 13, 1645, King Charles I convened a hurried council with senior officers of the Royalist army at the village of Market Harborough in England's East Midlands. The king hoped to decide the best course of action against the rebellious Parliamentarians by consulting with Lord George Digby, Prince Rupert of the Rhine, and other high-ranking officers. The king had just received intelligence that a Parliamentarian army had bivouacked six miles to the south near the village of Naseby, and it was imperative that he and his senior officers take immediate steps to counter the threat.

Amid the flicker of candlelight, features sharpened as the men bickered over how best to respond. Little was known for certain regarding Parliamentarian strength and dispositions. Prince Rupert, who was the king's nephew, opposed a direct move against the enemy, arguing for caution. At

King Charles I prepares to lead his reserves into action at the climax of the battle, but the Earl of Carnwath restrains him. "Will you go upon your death?" the earl asked.

that point in the conflict, Rupert commanded the king's army, although the king still accompanied his troops in the field. In contrast, Digby and other officers, many of whom were disaffected with Rupert's leadership, argued aggressively for an immediate strike against the seditious Parliamentarians.

After the officers voiced their opinions, all eyes turned to the king. Despite his pretentions to royal prerogative, Charles was a pliable monarch who was known to adopt the last advice that he heard. The king, who detested being chased by what he regarded as a band of rebels, decided the matter. He declared that the army would immediately seek battle.

"Resolutions were taken out to fight," wrote Sir Edward Walker, the secretary of the king's Council of War. The following day, Prince Rupert, who still commanded the Royalist army on the field of battle, would get another crack at the Parliamentarian army in a struggle that had dragged on for three years.

The battle that would unfold the following day on the fields of Naseby was the culmination of a long-standing power struggle between king and Parliament. That body had experienced a rocky relationship with the monarch as soon as he ascended the throne in 1625. That same year, with little input from Parliament, Charles wed the French Princess Henrietta Maria. The king's marriage to a Roman Catholic alarmed the unbending Puritan faction in Parliament. Moreover, Charles' overweening insistence on unbounded crown rights was pushing the English nation towards the terror of an internecine civil war.

Charles' stubborn attachment to George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham, precipitated a complete collapse of cooperation between king and Parliament. Buckingham headed up a string of disastrous military excur-

sions against France and Spain, and in the wake of the debacles, the House of Commons demanded Buckingham's removal. When the king refused, the House of Commons, the only body in England empowered to levy taxes, refused to provide more revenue to the king.

The situation rapidly degenerated as both sides adopted a hard line. The king dismissed Parliament in June 1628. Two months later Buckingham was mysteriously assassinated. Far from seeking accommodation, Charles progressively attempted to expand his own power. The Parliament of 1629 resisted the king's attempts to adjourn it. For the next 11 years, the king ruled without the nation's representative body. He sought to collect revenue outside of the traditional legal vehicle of Parliament.

Through levying a series of his own novel—and often extra-legal—taxes, Charles succeeded in alienating a good portion of his subjects. The king collected naval taxes, which were generally collected during wartime, throughout England, and likewise exacted heavy fines for minor infractions and trumped-up offenses.

The king's insistence on enforcing Anglican rites throughout his realm only served to further anger England's Puritan faction, as well as Scottish Presbyterians. A Scottish rebellion erupted in 1639, but Charles, unable to raise the necessary funds without the assistance of Parliament, was unable to quash the revolt.

The final breach took place early in 1642. Determined to arrest five members of Parliament that he was convinced had aided the Scottish Rebels, Charles took the unprecedented step of entering Parliament with an armed guard and demanding the surrender of the five men. Although the members were absent, the king's effort to forcibly enter Parliament was widely considered an unacceptable breach of the English Constitution and only served to cement his reputation as an absolutist monarch. This action by the king directly precipitated armed conflict. Afterwards, both sides scrambled to secure fortresses, arsenals, and popular support.

Charles raised the royal standard at Nottingham on August 22, 1642, officially ushering in the long-feared civil war. Both sides scrambled to raise armies composed of local militia units. The king, driven from London but holding court from Oxford, controlled much of northern and western England, as well as Wales. Parliament, which retained control of London, drew its support largely from southern and eastern England.

For the next two years, the two sides maneuvered against each other and fought various battles and sieges throughout England, but neither was able to gain the upper hand. Parliament's lackluster command, poor coordination, and outright bad luck ensured that, although the king's troops were badly handled, his army always slipped away intact.

It became apparent to members of Parliament that it had to undertake a major shakeup in the high command and organization of its forces in order to break the stalemate and achieve victory. Largely jettisoning the three field armies that had previously waged war against the king, Parliament authorized the New Model Army in February 1645. Organized and trained along the lines of King Gustavus Adolphus' Swedish Army, the New Model Army replaced the part-time militia of the period with a full-time, professional body of troops. Sir Thomas Fairfax, a competent and proven field commander, was given overall command of the reinvigorated army.

The New Model Army, which contained a solid core of experienced veterans, was expanded with fresh recruits. Veterans and recruits alike were subjected to constant drill and rigid discipline to ensure they were ready for battle. Particular attention was paid to the officer corps. Promotion was based on merit, not social standing, ensuring that politically connected but incompetent officers could be weeded from command. Crucial to the

Public Domain

improvement of the officer corps were statutory requirements ensuring that members of Parliament could not serve in the army.

Oliver Cromwell, the rising star of the Parliamentarian forces, was the notable exception to that rule. Born to middling gentry stock, Cromwell was a devout Puritan and, at the outset of the Civil War, a member of Parliament. As a vocal opponent of the king's abuse of power, it was no surprise that he took up arms for Parliament. Although he possessed no appreciable military experience, Cromwell raised a troop of cavalry and quickly proved his worth as a reliable subordinate, natural leader, and fierce fighter. Although he began serving in the field in 1643 with the rank of colonel,

All: Public Domain

Left to right: King Charles I, Lt. Gen. of the Horse Oliver Cromwell, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and Prince Rupert of the Rhine.

he was promoted to Lieutenant General of the Horse the following year.

A stern disciplinarian who earned the nickname “Old Ironsides,” Cromwell nonetheless exhibited a genuine regard for the welfare of his men. His cavalrymen, also known as Ironsides, responded with a reciprocal loyalty, and became one of Parliament’s crack units.

True to his republican leanings, Cromwell had little use for the deference usually granted to the upper classes of society; instead, he opted to promote men who possessed genuine military merit. He scorned the tradition of appointing upper-class gentlemen to the commissioned ranks regardless of the skills they possessed. “I had rather have a plain russet-coated captain that knows what he fights for and loves what he knows, than that which you call a gentleman and is nothing else,” he wrote. “I honor a gentleman that is so indeed.”

When the campaign season of 1645 began, both sides failed to implement a cohesive strategic vision and largely split up their forces to carry out smaller operations. Although Fairfax led much of the New Model Army to relieve the Parliamentarian city of Taunton in southwest England, Cromwell’s cavalry was ordered to harass Royalists in the vicinity of Oxford. Charles waffled over his various options, which included a direct confrontation with the New Model Army or a renewed campaign in northern England, where the Royalist army had suffered a decisive defeat the previous summer at Marston Moor.

Subsequent events put the two sides onto a collision course that would end in central England. The Royalist army groped its way northwest out of Oxford on May 7, pointlessly burning a succession of magnificent manor houses and struggling to protect its supply lines from roving bands of Rebel cavalry. Fairfax, on his way to Taunton, received orders to change directions. At the same time, Parliament’s Committee of Both Kingdoms ordered the New Model Army to head north and lay siege to the Royalist capital at Oxford.

Alarmed by the development and hoping to relieve the pressure on Oxford, Charles turned east and invested the Parliamentary town of Leicester. A brief siege of the town ended on May 31, when Royalist forces stormed the city in an orgy of bloodshed and widespread plundering. “There were many Scots in this town, and no quarter was given to any in the heat,” wrote Richard Symonds, a trooper in the King’s Lifeguard of Horse.

The Royalist victory clearly demanded a response. Fairfax abandoned his siege of Oxford on June 5 and headed north, hoping to shield the region from further depredations by the king’s forces. As Parliamentarian forces continued to consolidate under Fairfax’s command, Charles occupied the town of Market Harborough. Although he suspected that his forces were outnumbered, Charles ultimately chose to seek pitched battle with the Parliamentarians.

Although Charles was considered the titular head of the Royalist army, Rupert had been made General of the King’s Army in autumn 1644 despite his defeat at Marston Moor. The dashing 25-year-old nobleman, whose military career had begun in the latter part of the Thirty Years War on the European Continent, had volunteered to serve his uncle at the outset of the English Civil War. As the two armies jockeyed for position in June 1645, Rupert dutifully obeyed the king’s desire to give battle; however, he believed that direct confrontation with the numerically superior and seemingly formidable New Model Army was inadvisable.

King Charles and Prince Rupert confer on the way to Naseby. The king’s decision to divide his forces in the face of a powerful Parliamentary army contributed to the Royalist defeat.

On the evening of June 13, a cavalry clash north of the village of Naseby revealed that the two armies had come within striking distance of each other. Fairfax, who had consolidated an appreciable army of 13,500 men, was eager to pursue the king and give battle. King Charles likewise decided to fight. In the early morning hours of June 14, the Royalists marched south out of Market Harborough.

That morning, the village of Naseby was blanketed in fog. Situated in England’s Northampton County, Naseby was a quiet village that boasted tidy rows of thatched cottages that exemplified the pastoral simplicity of the East Midlands. But

Key Battles in the English Civil War Before Naseby

The four-year-long First English Civil War from 1642 to 1646 was one of the most famous of the conflicts of the age of pike-and-shot infantry. The ratio of shot to pike was 2:1, although it varied according to unit. Heavy cavalry, which usually deployed on the flanks where it had more room to maneuver, fought with flintlock pistols and swords, while dragoons fought dismounted with carbines and swords.

Edgehill (October 23, 1642)

After raising troops in Shrewsbury in the West Midlands, King Charles I set off on a march to London. A Parliamentarian army led by Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex, blocked his way on the escarpment of Edgehill in Warwickshire. The ensuing battle was a confused affair. Although Prince Rupert's superior cavalry outfought the Parliamentary cavalry, it exhibited a lack of discipline. The Parliamentary infantry outshone the Royalist infantry, which was driven from the field. The battle ended in a draw. Charles marched to Oxford, where he established his headquarters, while Essex withdrew to his base in London.

ABOVE: Prince Rupert leads a Royalist cavalry charge at Edgehill. BELOW: Cromwell's cavalry played an instrumental role in the Parliamentary-Covenanter victory at Marston Moor.

Newbury (September 20, 1643)

King Charles' Royalist army besieged Gloucester in early August 1643 in an attempt to wrest control of the Severn Valley from the Parliamentarians. The Earl of Essex marched to relieve Gloucester, prompting the king to raise the siege in early September. The opposing armies then raced east towards London. The Royalist cavalry got ahead of the Parliamentarians and took up a blocking position at Newbury. Essex's army deployed on a key patch of high ground south of the town known as Round Hill, where it repulsed repeated attacks by Royalist units. The sanguinary contest lasted 12 hours with both sides suffering heavy casualties. Having exhausted their ammunition and gunpowder, the Royalist army withdrew to Oxford. By retaining control of southern England, the Parliamentarians achieved a strategic victory.

Marston Moor (July 2, 1644)

When Prince Rupert arrived in York in late June 1644 to relieve a Royalist army that had been besieged for more than two months, the two sides fought a pitched battle at Marston Moor seven miles from the city. Sir Thomas Fairfax's Parliamentarian army, heavily reinforced by the Scots, held a considerable numerical advantage over Rupert's Royalist army. To Rupert's surprise, Fairfax attacked during a thunderstorm on July 2. Although the Scottish infantry fled the field early in the battle, the Parliamentarian troops never wavered. Lieutenant General of the Horse Oliver Cromwell seemed to be everywhere at once. After defeating most of the Royalist cavalry, he joined forces with the Parliamentarian foot to smash the Royalist infantry and deliver a crushing defeat to Prince Rupert. Through their decisive victory, the Parliamentarians gained control of northern England.

—William E. Welsh

Public Domain

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Royalist forces are shown arrayed in the distance on Dust Hill with the Parliamentary forces deployed in the foreground on Mill Hill near the village of Naseby. Colonel John Okey's dragoons are shown beyond the hedge at left in position to harass the Royalist right flank.

as thousands of armed men began to converge on the area, it was apparent that the rural tranquility that Naseby had enjoyed for generations would be shattered in the coming day.

As the morning's fog began to burn off, the two sides were in sight of each other across a broad valley. Fairfax could see large numbers of Royalist cavalry already formed, with infantry moving up fast. The Parliamentarians had initially formed for battle on an imposing ridge just north of Naseby. But the ridge was fronted by an inordinately steep slope that was cut by rugged draws, and it was apparent that it would be suicidal for the Royalists to attack such a strong position.

Cromwell was always itching for a fight. Hoping to provoke a battle, he turned to Fairfax and suggested shifting the line to the left, where a gentler slope would encourage an enemy attack but still offer good prospects for victory. "I beseech you, draw back to yonder hill, which will encourage the enemy to charge us, which they cannot do in that place, without their absolute ruin," pleaded Cromwell.

Filing off to the left, the New Model Army took up positions across the top of a deceptively gentle ridge. In a successful effort to conceal his true numbers, Fairfax drew the bulk of his army back from the crest. The center of the position was dominated by Mill Hill. The army's right flank was protected by Lodge Hill, which was covered by a rabbit warren, whose dens would be dangerous to any advancing cavalry.

Fairfax's right wing of horse, commanded by Cromwell, included veteran cavalry outfits that would be invaluable in the coming fight. The infantry, consisting of nine regiments in two lines, was under the command of Sergeant Major General Philip Skippon. Fairfax's left wing of horse was under the command of Colonel Henry Ireton, the army's commissary general of horse and a close associate of Cromwell. Fairfax positioned a thin screen of musketeers in front of the army. They were tasked with breaking up enemy attacking formations before they struck the main line of the Parliamentarian army.

The Royalists, positioned along a ridge dominated by Dust Hill, were in high spirits as they formed for battle. With 10,000 men under his command, Prince Rupert led some of the finest regiments in England, which included a good proportion of veterans who had seen extensive action. Rupert's line of battle was well-planned and conventionally arranged. His left flank was protected by five regiments of cavalry under the command of Colonel Sir Marmaduke Langdale. The Royalist center was composed of a solid core of infantry, both musketeers and pikemen, under the overall command of Maj. Gen. Sir Jacob Astley.

As the Royalists made their last-minute dispositions across the valley floor, Cromwell noticed an irresistible tactical opportunity. Running perpendicular to the enemy's right was the western boundary of Naseby Parrish, known as Sulby Hedges. To Cromwell's well-trained eye, the hedges offered an ideal position from which to harass an exposed Royalist flank; therefore, he acted quickly to exploit the weakness.

Cromwell dashed off in search of a unit that was, as yet, undeployed. In the rear of the main line he found was he was looking for: an outfit of dragoons under the command of Colonel John Okey. Okey was distributing ammunition to his men when Cromwell showed up and ordered Okey to flank the Royalist right.

A dedicated Parliamentarian and hard-hitting field commander, Okey was an ideal man for the job. Additionally, his dragoons were particularly well-suited for the assignment. Although equipped with swords for close-quarters fighting, the dragoons were armed with muskets and fought dismounted. In the fight that would unfold on the rolling fields of Naseby, Okey's men would serve as an invaluable source of mobile firepower.

Quickly making for the open pasture to the west

of Sulby Hedges, the dragoons galloped north until they neared the Royalist flank. While one man in 10 was detailed to hold the reins of the dragoons' horses, the rest of the men advanced dismounted toward the hedge. The element of surprise, though, seemed to have been lost: As they made their way into position, they were seen by Royalist troops on the opposite side of the hedge.

Prince Maurice's cavalry was accompanied by a detachment of musketeers, troops who were well-equipped to fend off Okey's dragoons. As the two sides nervously eyed each other, a sharp exchange of gunfire erupted. The bark of musketry over Sulby Hedges could be heard across the field, and heralded the beginning of a major fight.

Although the hedgerow served as a reasonable shield from a cavalry charge, it offered no protection from small-arms fire. Rather than be drawn into a protracted and pointless gun battle with enemy musketeers, Okey wisely pulled his dragoons a bit south along Sulby Hedges to low ground that offered better cover for his men. By disengaging from the musketeers, Okey was able to keep his unit intact for his primary mission of harassing the enemy cavalry's right flank.

But far from pulling out of the fight, Okey's men were clearly eager to have at the Royalists. From their new position, the dragoons opened fire, sending a sheet of musket fire over the hedge that scorched the enemy flank. It was a one-sided fight, and the dragoons were enjoying it. Okey's men targeted the Royalist horsemen "with shooting and rejoicing," wrote their commander.

On the opposite side of the hedge, both horse and rider grew understandably jittery at the incoming fire. Rather than subject themselves to further punishment, the Royalist cavalry bolted forward toward the main Parliamentarian line. Since Okey's dragoons had unexpectedly chewed up the Royalist right, Prince Rupert's meticulously planned attack had been launched prematurely.

Prince Rupert joined his troopers in person, and the entire right wing of cavalry, anxious to get at the Rebels, gave spur to their mounts. Their charge rapidly took them across the narrow valley that separated the two armies. Watching the attack unfold from the heights above, Ireton responded immediately, ordering his own cavalry forward to meet the oncoming Royalists. From the hedgerow, Okey's dragoons maintained a harassing fire into the flank and rear of the Royalist cavalry. Near the bottom of the valley, Rupert's horsemen, their ranks disordered by boggy ground, hastily reformed, then charged again.

Ireton's cavalry, galloping full-speed downhill, crashed into the Royalists on the downward slope of Sulby Hill. With barking pistols and flashing swords, a furious melee developed. On Ireton's left, Colonel John Butler's Regiment, which had

Public Domain

been slow in mounting their charge, was bowled over by the momentum of the Royalist cavalry. Butler was badly wounded and his men pushed out of the way.

From the hedges Colonel Okey witnessed the threat to Ireton's left and unleashed a galling fire into the exposed Royalist flank. But with Butler's regiment broken, there was little to stop the Royalists. Charging straight ahead, Rupert's cavalry crashed through Ireton's reserves and plunged into the Parliamentary rear.

On Butler's right the Parliamentarian cavalry got the better of the fight, slamming into the Royalist horse and throwing them back. Two Royalist regiments turned for the rear, and another, panicked by the confusion, joined in the retreat. Yet the fight was far from over. Despite the Royalist cavalry on the right having launched their attack prematurely, the King's infantry was following hard on their heels, and Fairfax's Parliamentarian army would have no respite.

The Royalist foot, with shouldered arms and colors flying, came on gamely. Due to the fact that the Parliamentarian line had been pulled back behind the crest of the ridge, the Royalists proceeded blindly and were largely unsure of their enemy's precise dispositions. As they crested the ridge, though, they were met with a dispiriting sight. Arrayed directly in front of them was the dense first line of the New Model Army, resplendent in their red coats and preparing to fire from close range.

Neither side had much time to react. A sheet of flame erupted from the Parliamentarians, but the gunfire had remarkably little effect on the Royalists. Much of the musketry, fired by nervous new recruits to the New Model Army, had been aimed too high and passed harmlessly over the heads of the Royalists.

Exhilarated that they had closed with the Rebels without being subjected to effective musketry, the Royalists pushed to close quarters, and a savage melee ensued. The Royalists, wielding swords and clubbed muskets, slashed and bludgeoned their way through the front line of the Parliamentarian foot.

Unnerved by the unexpected fury of the Royalist attacks, the troops in the center of Fairfax's line began to give way almost immediately. Two regiments, those commanded by Sir Hardress Waller and Colonel John Pickering, cracked under the pressure and began falling back in a good measure of confusion. Parliamentarian offi-

cers, shouting above the gunfire, tried to rally their men, but were far from successful. Terrified men streamed into the ranks of the Parliamentarian second line, spreading panic like a contagion.

The sudden collapse of the Parliamentarian center uncovered the flanks of the regiments positioned on both ends of Fairfax's front line. The extreme left of the line, occupied by Skippon's Regiment, had been left relatively unscathed by the Royalist musketry, but now found itself in a brutal close-quarters fight. Skippon, their commander, was a stern man; for most of his adult life, he had known little else than fighting. A staunch Puritan, Skippon had seen lengthy service with Protestant armies in Holland and Bohemia during the Thirty Years War.

At Naseby, Skippon was in his element. Early in the fight, a musket ball had crashed into Skippon's right side, punching through his breastplate and leaving a bullet hole just under his ribs. But with Royalists bearing down on his men, Skippon refused to quit the field. Thundering from his saddle and in great pain, Skippon barked orders to his troops and, with the help of a handful of stray horsemen from Ireton's cavalry, succeeded in slowing the momentum of the enemy's attack.

Yet their bold stand failed to turn back the main thrust of the Royalist charge, which had collapsed the center of the first rank of the Parliamentarian infantry. Sensing victory within reach, the Royalist infantry surged forward, driving a deep salient into Fairfax's rear line. For the untested recruits of the New Model Army, their first experience in the field was indeed a baptism of fire.

The rigid training and discipline to which they had been subjected, however, began to pay dividends. With Royalist troops massing in the center of the line but unable to break through, they became increasingly vulnerable. Parliamentarian officers succeeded in steadying their men and stabilizing their lines, then began aggressively pushing back. The Royalists, by that time dangerously overextended and outflanked on each end of their line, had no choice but to give ground.

Almost imperceptibly, the momentum of the battle had suddenly shifted in Fairfax's favor. With renewed energy, the Parliamentarian infantry pressed forward, quickly gaining possession of the high ground at the top of the ridge and driving the Royalists back down the slope. But an even greater peril was unfolding on their left, where disaster loomed.

Cromwell's cavalry launched a disciplined charge that smashed through the Royalist cavalry opposing him. His "Ironsides" then struck the flank of the Royalist infantry in the center of the field.

Although the Royalist horse had experienced stunning success against Ireton's cavalry on the right, they ran against a solid wall of Parliamentarian forces on the opposite end of the line. The king's Northern Horse, consisting of three divisions of cavalry under the command of Colonel Langdale, struggled to launch an effective charge. Brushy ground, paired with the presence of an extensive rabbit warren, slowed their pace and wrought havoc with their dispositions. As the troopers of the Northern Horse carefully plodded their way around the dangerous holes and dens of the warren, Cromwell's Parliamentarian cavalry had ample time to prepare for the attack.

When the two sides finally clashed, the fight was sharp but decisive. Langdale's cavalry pushed against the Parliamentarian line, and the brunt of their attack fell on Colonel Edward Whalley's Regiment. Whalley's men held firm, and the Royalists, unable to make any headway, began to fall back. With the Royalist infantry falling

Public Domain

Rupert's foolhardy decision to pursue retreating Roundhead cavalry, rather than staying on the field of battle, forced King Charles to consider leading a counterattack with his Lifeguard horsemen. But the king was unwilling to risk everything, including his life.

back in the center and the king's Northern Horse turned back in front of him, Cromwell was quick to act. Smelling the blood of a demoralized enemy and eager to exploit an advantage, he ordered a counterattack.

After navigating their way through the worst of the terrain, the Rebel cavalry reorganized and charged into Langdale's horse. Thundering across open ground, the Parliamentarians shattered the Royalist cavalry, which quickly broke apart and fled across the open expanse of the valley.

But as he pressed forward, Cromwell sensed another irresistible opportunity. To his left, the hard-pressed Royalist infantry was retreating downhill in mounting confusion. Their front was increasingly threatened by Fairfax's infantry, and, due to the flight of Langdale's Northern Horse, their left flank was dangerously exposed. The situation was a cavalryman's dream, and Cromwell, needing no further prodding, acted immediately.

While the front line of his cavalry continued a spirited pursuit of Langdale's broken Northern Horse, Cromwell pivoted his reserves in a wide arc to the left, charging into the open flank of the Royalist infantry. Spurring their mounts and wildly swinging swords, Cromwell's horsemen tore through the confused ranks of the enemy infantry, bowling men over in a wild killing spree. For the Royalists, what had been a disorganized retreat degenerated into a chaotic rout.

Unit cohesion broke down as panicked Royalists fled for the rear. Exultant that the tide of battle had obviously turned in their favor, the Parliamentarian infantry pressed their advantage, staying close on the heels of the Royalists as the fighting swept across the valley. As their will to fight evaporated, increasing numbers of the king's foot soldiers threw down their arms and pleaded for quarter.

More of Fairfax's men rallied as the New Model Army went on the offensive. Much of Ireton's cavalry, after having been driven from the field earlier in the fight, swung around the army's right flank, adding their weight of numbers to Cromwell's horse. Fairfax was swept up in the moment, personally charging forward with his men and crossing sabers with the Royalists. Junior officers tried to pull him back to safety, but not before his helmet was knocked off his head.

As the king's infantry raced pell-mell for safety, they were greeted by the sight of Prince Rupert's Bluecoat Regiment of Foot standing firm along Dust Hill. Held in reserve since the start of the fighting, the regiment was one of the most reliable veteran units in the king's service.

Initially raised in 1642 in southwest England's Somerset County, the regiment had seen action in the storming of Bolton, sieges of Liverpool and Leicester, and the pitched battle at Marston Moor. Although direct command of the regiment fell to a lieutenant colonel, its ceremonial head was Prince Rupert himself. At Naseby, the Bluecoats would more than live up to their reputation.

While the Bluecoats stood motionless on Dust Hill, the disorganized remnants of the Royalist army swept around their flanks in a mad dash for safety. The regiment, lacking flank support, stood out as a small island of blue along the top of Dust Hill. Parliamentarian infantry and cavalry moved up to attack but failed to break through. Following the wild pursuit of the defeated Royalist army, the Parliamentarian lines had become disjointed, leading to a series of uncoordinated piecemeal attacks against the Bluecoats.

The regiment was attacked repeatedly but stood firm, suffering mounting casualties but refusing to budge. Parliamentarian officers struggled to regain order in their commands, which had become

intermingled. Amid the confusion, Fairfax arrived on the scene, and focused his full attention on the growing fight around the Bluecoats.

Realizing that a coordinated attack would likely have better success against stubborn troops, Fairfax developed a simple plan. While Fairfax personally led a mounted detachment to attack from the rear, he instructed D'Oyley to attack simultaneously from the front.

By that time, the Bluecoats had reached their breaking point. When Fairfax and D'Oyley's men executed the attack, they succeeded in breaking their way into the center of the position. With the Bluecoat's exterior lines breached, they were quickly beset by swarms of howling Parliamentarians who were determined to inflict a grim retribution. In a swirling melee, the position became a charnel house. Refusing to surrender, the Bluecoats fought to the death. The Parliamentarians shot down or clubbed to death dozens of them.

Charging into the thick of the fight, Fairfax killed the regimental ensign. A Parliamentarian soldier claimed the Royalist standard as his own, and true to character, the lord general refused to claim the flag for himself. "I have honor enough, let him take that to himself," Fairfax said. Due to the stubborn fight for Dust Hill, the Bluecoats had been nearly annihilated.

The precise chronology is uncertain, but at some point, King Charles nearly entered the fight personally. Watching helplessly as his army virtually disintegrated, Charles prepared to lead his own Lifeguard of Horse into battle in a desperate attempt to slow the advancing Parliamentarians. The prospect of the king directly risking his life in battle alarmed onlookers. According to tradition, the Earl of Carnwath put a stop to it. The furious earl grabbed the reigns of Charles' mount and impetuously swore at the danger to the king's person. "Will you go upon your death?" the earl asked his monarch. Brought back to his senses by the rebuke, Charles called off the attack.

With the Bluecoats finally out of the way, there was little to stand in the way of the complete collapse of the king's army. What ensued was a chaotic retreat to the north as desperate Royalists scrambled to escape the New Model Army. As the flight continued, the king's forces degenerated to little more than a disorganized mob.

A running rearguard action ensued for several miles as isolated groups of Royalists, urged on by their officers, turned to fire on their pursuers. When the Royalists reached the high ground of Moot Hill, they attempted to make an organized stand but were quickly driven off by superior numbers. Fleeing to nearby Wadborough Hill, they rallied again, but retreated yet again when forced off the hill by Parliamentarian troops.

The fighting degenerated to a wild stampede. Parliamentarian cavalry ran down isolated knots of panic-stricken Royalists, rounding up prisoners by the score. When the Royalist baggage train became trapped on a traffic-clogged country road, mayhem ensued. The army's terrified female camp followers streamed across an open field in a pathetic attempt to escape. Enraged soldiers from the New Model Army ran amok. Roman Catholic Irish women reportedly were killed outright. The Parliamentarian soldiers delivered a knife cut to the face or nose of other women whom they contemptuously referred to as "the middle sort of ammunition whores."

Worse horrors awaited Royalist troops at the little village of Marston Trussel. Taking a wrong turn at a village crossroads, dozens of confused soldiers missed the main road north and ended up running down a dead-end street that deposited them on the grounds of the local church and graveyard. Parliamentarian soldiers vengefully cut down helpless Royalist soldiers who found themselves trapped in the churchyard.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

One of the king's baggage wagons flees the field. The Royalist army, which suffered heavy losses, handed the New Model Army its first victory.

The soldiers of the New Model Army seized the primary escape route from Naseby, forcing the survivors of the Royalist army to set out for safety cross-country. They stopped briefly in Leicester, but then resumed their retreat to the northwest. The masses of Royalist soldiers who had been captured in the fighting were housed in any available building. Dozens were herded into confinement in the chapel in Market Harborough; hundreds more eventually made their way to London, where they were ignominiously paraded through the streets in an exultant exhibition of Parliament's triumph.

Considering the numbers of men engaged, the fight at Naseby had been a bloody affair. Across the slope where the New Model Army had struggled to turn back the enemy, 400 scarlet-clad Parliamentarian troops lay dead or wounded. For the king's forces, the battle had been nothing short of a disaster. Of the king's army, 1,000 had been killed and 5,000 more captured. The flower of the Royalist army had been shattered, and with it the king's cause.

Although Charles would maintain the fight for his throne, the crushing defeat that his army suffered at Naseby had largely sealed his fate. In the wake of the battle, the king's fortunes would wane, willing recruits would grow increasingly scarce, and royal coffers continued to dry up. On the run from an ascendant Parliament, Charles would never again be able to field a professional and experienced army the likes of which he had sacrificed on the fields of Naseby.

Obliged to surrender himself to Scottish forces in 1646, the king was surrendered to the English Parliament the following year. Charles was eventually tried for waging war against Parliament and the English people, found guilty, and sentenced to death. His grim execution by beheading was carried out on January 30, 1649.

To his last Charles had remained intransigent. The English people possessed no "share in the government; that is nothing appertaining unto them," he wrote. Although the monarchy was restored in 1660, the rights of the people to representative government had been solidified by the bloody Civil Wars that decimated England. The fate of Charles I, and with him the concept of the divine right of kings, had been decided on the fields of Naseby. ■

Crusader Calamity at DAMASCUS

By William E. Welsh

The leaders of the Second Crusade decided once they arrived in the Holy Land to try to capture Damascus. But their slow advance allowed a host of Muslim forces to rally to the defense of the great Syrian city.

The hot sun beat down on the mud-brick and wooden buildings, the lush orchards, and the patchwork of pastoral fields around the oval-shaped, walled city of Damascus in southern Syria on the morning of July 24, 1148. The dome of the Umayyad Great Mosque in the center of the great city reflected the sun like a brilliant diamond. On that day, the strategic metropolis had become the front line of the war between the Frankish crusaders, who had controlled the coast of the Levant for half a century, and the forces of the expansive Seljuk Empire that controlled Persia, Iraq, and Syria. Long columns of crusaders, consisting both of knights and sergeants on horseback and others on foot, moved forward at a measured, determined pace as they pressed their attack on the suburbs west of the city. Whether mounted or on foot, each of the Frankish crusaders clutched a large, kite-shaped shield to protect him from the withering fire of Muslim arrows.

A half century earlier, their predecessors had fought their way to Jerusalem, and in a great feat of arms captured the city from the infidel. The generation of crusaders marching on Damascus that morning drew inspiration from the heroes of the First Crusade, and they hoped that their heroic and glorious deeds, undertaken in God's name, would one day as well be inscribed in Latin chronicles for posterity. Although physically exhausted and weary from their long journey to the Outremer (Crusader States), their eyes flashed and sparkled when they spoke with each other of the gold, silver, and jewels they hoped to soon plunder from one of the richest cities in Islam.

The devout crusaders had no doubts as to the resilience of their foe, though, and had a keen appreciation for both the professional and irregular Muslim troops that they would fight in the narrow streets and alleys of the suburbs and city. They were painfully cognizant that the urban setting gave the Muslims, who excelled in ambush and hit-and-run tactics, an advantage that would have to be overcome with the brute force inherent in the mail armor, lance, and sword that were the stock and trade of Christendom's holy warriors. Despite the hurdles in their path to the heart of the city, they remained confident that they could successfully carry it by assault.

Under the leadership of the Frankish and Norman lords who were the senior leaders of the First Crusade, the Latin crusaders had succeeded in securing Jerusalem for Christendom through a well-executed siege against its Egyptian Fatimid defenders in 1099. The 13,000 crusaders who besieged the Holy City of Jerusalem benefitted from the weakness of the Fatimid garrison, which they outnumbered. For the next several decades, the Franks tried to consolidate their holdings on the Levantine coast, as well as push inland; however, it proved difficult to advance into Syria against the powerful Seljuk Turks operating from their secure base at Mosul in the Tigris Valley.

The Seljuk Turks, who were an Oghuz Turkic nomadic people from Central Asia, had invaded the cultivated lands of Persia and Iraq in the 10th century. Sultan Tughril officially founded the Great Seljuk Empire in the 11th century, capturing the Abbasid capital of Baghdad. He relegated the Abbasid Caliphs to state figureheads responsible only for religious matters, and he merged the caliphate's armies with his own forces. Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan, his successor, won a decisive victory over a Byzantine army in 1071 at Manzikert in eastern Anatolia.

By the time of the First Crusade, the Great Seljuk Empire included Mesopotamia and most of the Levant. Other Turko-Persian states controlled various parts of the Anatolian peninsula, also known as Asia Minor. The Seljuk Sultanate of Rum held sway over eastern and central Anatolia, while various smaller Turkic principalities controlled eastern Anatolia.

In the first quarter of the 12th century, the Muslim emirates of Aleppo and Damascus suffered from instability and weak rulers. As they were under the control of the Seljuk Sultan, they required a frequent infusion of manpower and strong military leadership dispatched by the atabeg (governor) of Mosul.

Seljuk Sultan Mahmud II had appointed Imad al-Din Zengi to serve as the atabeg of Mosul in 1128. A handsome Turkish warlord with flashing eyes, he was resourceful, ruthless, and opportunistic. Seeing an opportunity to take direct control of Aleppo, he did so without asking the Seljuk sultan for permission. Zengi's watchword was cruelty. He sewed terror throughout the region against his foes, his rivals, and even his subjects. By annexing Aleppo, Zengi carved out for himself a small Seljuk state, but remained faithful to the Seljuk Sultan in Baghdad.

Of the four crusader states established at the time of the First Crusade, Zengi targeted the County of Edessa. It was an inviting target because of its location in Upper Mesopotamia,

AKG Images

King Louis VII of France fights for his life on Mount Cadmus during a heated skirmish with Seljuk Turks on the long journey to the Holy Land.

Painting by Emile Signol

ABOVE: Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux preached the new crusade in a grueling seven-month tour through France, the Low Countries, and Germany. OPPOSITE: Pope Eugenius III presents his pilgrim staff to King Louis VII at the Church of St. Denis. A high-ranking knight holds the Oriflamme, which was the battle standard of French kings.

where it was surrounded by Turkish lands on three sides. Although he detested the Franks, he was just as willing to wage war against the Sunni Muslim emir of Damascus. Once he secured control of Aleppo, he began to try to pluck from the vine of Damascus strategic towns such as Homs, Hama, and Baalbek.

Muin al-Din Abu Mansur Anur, a Mamluk Seljuk Turk, had seized power in Damascus in April 1138. He held the office of atabeg of Damascus, while the weak emir of the Burid Dynasty remained in power as the nominal ruler of the Emirate of Damascus. In September 1139, Zengi besieged Damascus; however, he was unwilling to bombard it because he did not want to inflict heavy damage on the sacred Islamic city, for Damascus, with its Umayyad Mosque, was the fourth-holiest site in Islam. Instead, he periodically attempted to carry it by storm. Anur, knowing that he needed reinforcements, convinced King Fulk of Jerusalem to come to his assistance on the grounds that Zengi also posed a major threat to the northern half of Fulk's kingdom. When Fulk arrived outside Damascus with a large force of Franks, Zengi raised the siege and withdrew east to Mosul to plot his next move.

Zengi succeeded, though, in capturing the Frankish-held city of Edessa in December 1144. News of the disaster reached Western Europe six months later. Pope Eugenius III was bogged down at the time in the tumultuous politics of the Italian peninsula, but he proclaimed a crusade through a papal bull issued on December 1, 1145.

Eugenius left the recruiting and organization of the crusade to Burgundian Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux, who embarked on a grueling seven-month tour that began in August 1146 to preach the crusade. A large force would be essential if there were to be any hope of recovering Edessa, because the leaders of the Latin crusader states were stretched thin just trying to protect their frontiers and garrison their cities.

Damascus was a so-called "oasis city." With its headwaters in the Anti-Lebanon Mountains, the Barada River flowed southward for 50 miles to Damascus. The river turned east as it neared Damascus and flowed past the northern walls of the city. Since ancient times, farmers had carved out channels in the ground at various levels parallel to the main branch of the river to divert its flow. The irrigation canals created fertile zone that stretched five miles west and northwest of the city, creating a sizeable oasis in which the residents grew fruits, vegetables, and nuts.

An invading army approaching from the west would have to fight its way forward along narrow pathways through the densely planted trees and crops. Making matters worse, many of the local farmers had constructed two-story wooden towers that allowed them to keep close watch on their fields, and these would serve as defensive outposts in the coming battle.

Zengi did not live long to enjoy his conquests for very long. While besieging Qualat Jabar in northern Syria on September 14, 1146, a Frankish slave murdered him in his sleep. Zengi's heirs divided up his federation. His eldest son Sayf al-Din Ghazi took control of Mosul, and his second son Nur al-Din installed himself as the atabeg of Aleppo.

Whereas a handful of ambitious barons had led the First Crusade, it became clear early on that one or more kings would lead the Christian warriors who would participate in the Second Crusade. Twenty-five-year-old King Louis VII of France already had planned to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and the new crusade catered to his ambitions. Royal France in the mid-12th century consisted of little more than the counties surrounding Paris, because nearly all of western France belonged to the Angevin king of England. Louis made the savvy decision to term the Frankish crusaders who would serve under him the French royal army, which would serve to boost his stature at home and abroad. His participation was noteworthy, for it marked the first time in three centuries that a French king would embark on a foreign expedition.

Although he was initially reluctant to participate in the crusade, intense ecclesiastical pressure on German King Conrad III compelled him to take the cross as well in order to lead a German army of crusaders. With Italian politics stabilized to a degree, Pope Eugenius traveled to Paris in spring 1147 and participated in a ceremony in

June outside the city at the Royal Church of St. Denis, in which he presented his pilgrim staff to Louis as the French monarch prepared to set out for the Holy Land. His wife, French Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine, would accompany him on the crusade. Louis then raised the Oriflamme, which was a pointed, blood-red banner on a gilded lance that was stored at St. Denis. The Oriflamme served as the king's royal banner, and it was believed to have served as Charlemagne's battle standard.

Meanwhile, Conrad had embarked with the German crusaders from Regensburg in May. After the ceremony at St. Denis, Louis traveled to Metz, where he took charge of the northern French army and set off in late June. They planned to march overland through Anatolia in the same fashion as their predecessors of the First Crusade. The two monarchs had tentatively agreed to join forces once they had crossed the Bosphorous in order to overpower the Seljuk warriors of the Sultanate of Rum. The Seljuks of Rum had learned in the First Crusade that they could not fight a pitched battle on even terms with the heavily armored Franks. For that reason, they had fought smaller crusader armies that had passed through Anatolia in subsequent years primarily with hit-and-run tactics to weaken them. The Seljuk horse archers bided their time and looked for opportunities to encircle and destroy the vanguard or rearguard of a column of crusaders marching through their territory.

Conrad's German army reached Constantinople in mid-September 1147, and Louis' French army arrived in the Byzantine capital in early October. The German king became impatient and set off without waiting for Louis to reinforce him. The crusaders had a choice at the outset of three southeastern routes through Anatolia to Antioch. The first and most direct route began in Nicea and passed through Dorylaeum, Iconium, and Tarsus. A second route followed the coastline south to Ephesus and then east through the Meander Valley through Laodicea to Iconium and Tarsus. The third route deviated from the second route by turning south from Laodicea and then east to Antalya and Tarsus.

The German king led the cream of his army on the northernmost route, which guaranteed he would face strong resistance from mounted Turks of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum. Although the Byzantine-Seljuk frontier lay 125 east of Laodicea, Turks routinely raided deep into Byzantine territory in western Anatolia.

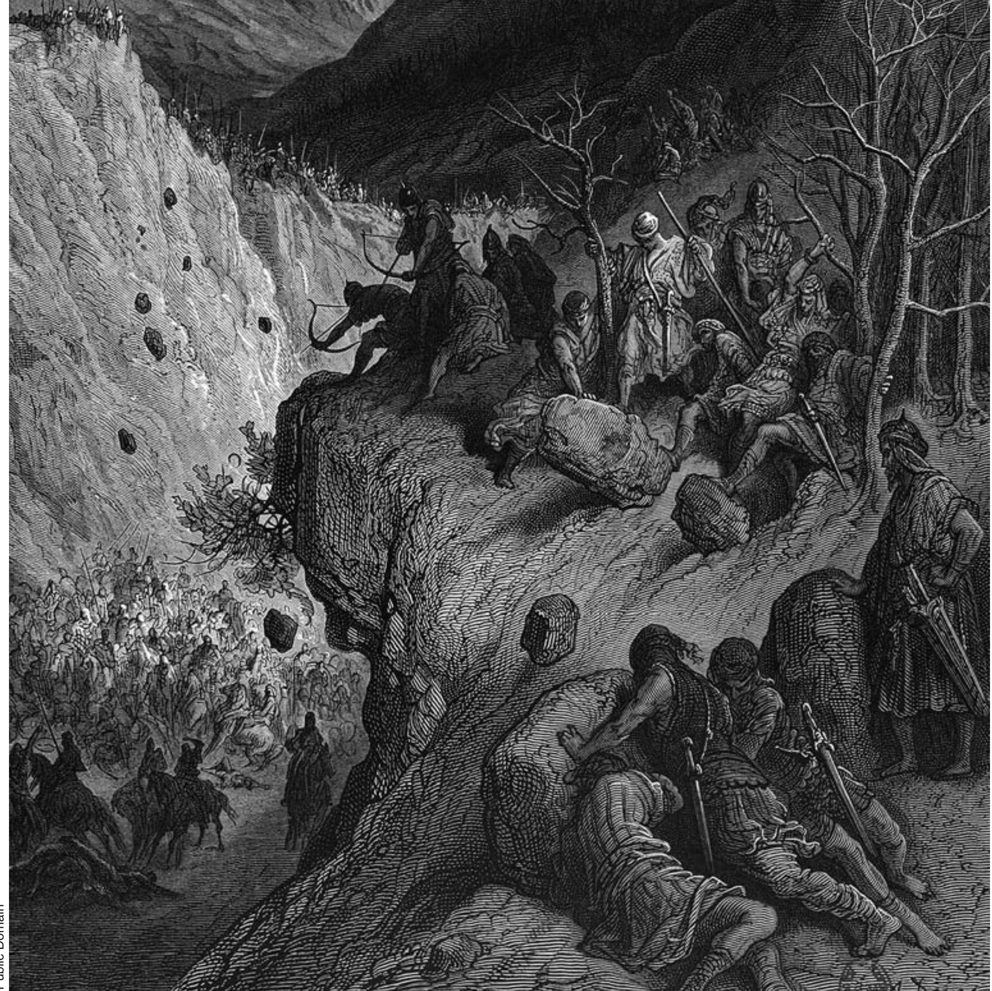
Beginning on October 25, the Seljuks began a series of mounted attacks on Conrad's troops. Unfamiliar with Turkish tactics, the crusaders could not come to grips with the fast-moving Seljuk horse archers. Conrad was wounded by arrow fire in one of the clashes. Having lost thousands of soldiers, Conrad returned to Nicea in early November.

King Louis's French army followed the middle route. Louis placed the baggage train in the center of the army, where it was protected by mounted knights in the vanguard and rearguard. A Seljuk force, operating inside Byzantine territory, sprung an ambush in the Meander Valley on January 1, 1148, but the crusaders soundly repulsed the assault.

When the Turks in the floodplain attacked the vanguard as it was crossing the river, the knights in the lead charged out of the water, up the steep bank, and overtook the Turkish horse archers before they could scatter. They succeeded in killing a substantial number of Turks while suffering only minor losses. The successful defense of the French column on the march depended on the vanguard and rearguard staying close to the baggage train to protect it. If the vanguard or rearguard became separated, the Turks could easily exploit the situation by attacking the separated unit and the exposed baggage train.

Having received reliable intelligence that Sultanate of Rum Sultan Masud had assembled a combined Seljuk-Danishmend army on the western frontier of his territory at Konya, Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Komnenos sent messengers to warn King Louis. But after discussing the matter with the other leaders of the crusader army, the

Painting by Jean Baptiste Mauzaisse



Public Domain

The crusaders attempted to march overland to the Holy Land, but the Turkic warriors in Asia Minor harassed them so severely that they had to make the final leg of the journey by sea.

French king decided to continue west to Iconium. The French king may have thought that having defeated the first Seljuk ambush, he could defeat others. A week later the Seljuks struck again.

When the French army was making its way through the high pass next to the 8,400-foot peak of Mount Cadmus, the Turks launched a vigorous attack. The vanguard under Lord Geoffrey de Rancon had not stopped at the top of the pass to await the long baggage train, but instead had crossed to the east side to search for a bivouac. While the baggage train wound its way up the mountain, the king had decided to order the rearguard into camp on the west side of the pass. The Seljuks, who were well-acquainted with the network of trails, attacked the supply train. Louis led his retainers in a spirited counterattack to save the baggage train. Many of the Turks dismounted in the rough terrain, and a sharp melee ensued.

The Seljuks gained the upper hand and drove the baggage train and its defenders, including the French king in his royal blue cloak, into a narrow gorge. Louis became unhorsed, either because his horse tumbled or was killed by Turkic arrows. Alone and surrounded, he used tree roots to climb partway up a cliff and assumed a defensive position on a shelf of rock.

"The enemy climbed after, in order to capture him, and the more distant rabble shot arrows at him," wrote Bishop Odo of Deuil. "His cuirass protected him from the arrows … and he defended the crag with his bloody sword, cutting off the hands and heads of many in the process."

The Turks fighting him, though, believed him to be a lord or high-ranking knight, but were unaware he was the king. With nightfall fast approaching, they left him to plunder donkeys and mules from the baggage train, which were laden with provisions.

This time, there was no question but that the Turks had won the clash, for the French army suffered heavy losses. Up to that point Louis had entrusted command of the vanguard to various high-ranking French lords whom he rotated through the position so that they could share in the honor and glory, but from that point on the French king gave the Knights Templar in his ranks responsibility for leading the vanguard. They instilled fresh discipline on the mounted troops in the vanguard.

Louis continued east. The Turks launched another devastating surprise attack while the crusader column was strung out crossing the headwaters of the Dalaman River. At that point, Louis knew that his best hope for keeping his army intact was to march due south to Antalya, where he hoped to embark aboard Byzantine ships for the Holy Land. He arrived at Antalya with the survivors of his army in late January. The Greeks only had enough ships to transport the royal guard, other knights, and the best-equipped infantry. The other infantry would have to march along the coast of Anatolia to Antioch. Louis and his knights arrived in Antioch on March 19.

After recuperating from his wounds in Constantinople, Conrad embarked with the remnants of his army and newly hired mercenaries from Constantinople on March 7. A storm scattered the ships, though, and the German contingent arrived at different ports in the Holy Land.

Louis arrived in Antioch in late March, where he was a guest of Prince Raymond of Antioch. Raymond, who before his arrival in the Outremer in 1136 had been the Count of Poitiers, was Eleanor of Aquitaine's uncle. After the loss of Antioch to the Seljuk Turks in 1084, the Byzantine emperors were keen to recover it. They had pressured the Franks, to whom they had furnished military support, to return it to them. The Franks had been reluctant to relinquish Antioch. Eager to restore imperial control over Antioch, Emperor John II Comnenus had arrived with a Byzantine army before the walls of the great port-city in 1137. Fighting erupted briefly between the Franks and the Greeks, but John eventually called off his attacks and resorted to trying to find a diplomatic solution to the problem. His successor, Emperor Manuel I, succeeded in compelling Raymond to acknowledge the Byzantine emperor as the rightful sovereign of Antioch.

Raymond was keen for King Louis to either help him recover Edessa or help him take Aleppo from Seljuk Atabeg Nur-al-Din. If this could be done, Raymond would likely become the sovereign ruler of the newly acquired towns and territories. Unfortunately, Nur-al-Din had laid waste to Edessa to prevent it from ever becoming a Frankish stronghold again. He had massacred the Armenians in the city and torn down its remaining walls. Louis had a falling out with Raymond, whom he suspected of having an affair with his wife, and had no intention of assisting Raymond in any military endeavor against the Muslims. Louis left Antioch for Jerusalem in late May.

During this time, Conrad met with King Baldwin in Jerusalem in mid-April, and together they agreed that Damascus, and not Edessa, should be the main objective of the crusade. Since Conrad was the leader of the Second Crusade because of his seniority, it was in his power to make this change. Fortunately for both Conrad and Louis, two additional fleets arrived with crusaders in the late spring. One fleet bore men from southern

France who had taken the cross. Another fleet brought crusaders from England, Flanders, and north Germany.

The armies that fought the Franks during the crusades included Turks, Arabs, and Kurds. The troops consisted of a core of professional warriors drawn from the fiefs of the Seljuk ruling class, known as the Askar. Anur's army was rounded out with the urban militia known as the Ahdath, which consisted of younger members of the merchant and artisan classes. Mounted and well-armored, the Askar warriors fought with lance, shield, and sword. The Ahdath troops—recruited from the lower-classes of Damascus—fought on foot with javelin, sword, sling, and bow. Lastly, there was a very large body of Turcoman, Kurdish, and Arab mounted horse archers. In an urban setting, any of the mounted troops could fight just as well dismounted if necessary. Anur had 7,000 troops at the outset of the battle, but over the course of the first few days an additional 8,000 troops arrived. The reinforcements consisted of Syrian foot archers arriving from the Bekaa Valley and Turcoman mercenaries belonging to Sayf al-Din's Zengid army, who crossed the Nahr Tawra Canal south of Qabun and entered the city through its eastern gates.

Baldwin, Conrad, and Louis, as well as religious officials and their senior lords, gathered at Palmarea near Acre on June 24, 1147, to confirm Damascus as their objective and plot their strategy for capturing the city. Those attending the assembly at Palmarea unanimously agreed to march against Damascus. Baldwin informed Conrad and Louis that he would summon all of the military forces of his kingdom to participate in the expedition. Baldwin's troops included more of the Knights Templar stationed in the Holy Land. Additionally, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the archbishops of Caesarea and Nazareth, and the bishops of Banyas, Beirut, Bethlehem, and Sidon participated with their retinues. Last but not least, seven Frankish lords of the kingdom brought their personal troops with them.

When Anur learned shortly afterwards of the crusader plan to attack Damascus, he hurriedly dispatched messengers in late April to the Zengid rulers Nur al-Din and Sayf al-Din Ghazi, requesting reinforcements in anticipation of a major attack by the Franks on his city. The rival Zengi and Burid dynasties set aside whatever animosities they bore for each other in the face of the Frankish offensive.

The newly arrived crusaders and Baldwin's organic troops totaled 50,000. The great crusader army set out in mid-July with Baldwin leading the vanguard, Louis the center, and Conrad the rearguard. Although the senior Frankish commanders were well aware that the walled fields and orchards of Damascus offered the defenders excellent fighting positions, they nevertheless decided to fight their way through them, reasoning that the irrigated fields would furnish water and food for their horses and men.

The low walls of Damascus in no way rivaled the ancient high walls of Frankish-held cities, such as Acre, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and therefore the crusaders believed that they would easily be able to carry the city by assault without having to undertake a formal siege. Even so, some of the Frankish lords familiar with the defenses of Damascus estimated it might take as long as 15 days to capture the city. The three senior commanders, Conrad, Louis, and Baldwin, all knew that they would not have that much time, because they rightfully predicted that a Zengi army would march to the relief of their fellow Muslims in Damascus. Because they hoped to carry the city by assault, the Frankish leaders of the expedition opted not to bring cumbersome siege equipment with them that would slow their march.

As the crusaders made their way towards the mountain range of Mt. Lebanon west of Damascus, Muslim troops from throughout the Emirate of Damascus assembled in the city. Anur established his headquarters in the citadel adjacent to the north wall of the city. Anur had deployed a combination of Askar and Ahdath troops to cover the main roads leading into the city from the west and south.

In mid-July, the crusader army marched east from Acre to Tiberias. It then marched north through the Jordan Valley and paused for several days at Banyas before crossing the southwestern frontier of the Emirate of Damascus. Once inside enemy territory, the crusaders bivouacked on the night of Friday, July 23, at the village of Kiswa, which was situated on a low ridgeline four miles south of the city.

The following morning, the crusader army marched by the left flank in order to move into

TOP: King Baldwin III of Jerusalem persuaded King Conrad and King Louis in a council of war at Acre to try to capture Damascus instead of Edessa. BOTTOM: The Latin crusaders fought mostly dismounted at Damascus despite their being shown on horseback in this contemporary depiction of the siege.

'Histoire d'outremer,' illuminated manuscript, Acre, c1280.

position to advance on the city from the west. Heavy fighting soon broke out at Rabwa, a key village in the gorge where the Barada River passed beneath Mount Qasioun on its way into the fertile plain surrounding the city. The Muslim forces at this location had erected a series of barricades across the road, behind which were posted rows of archers. Baldwin's troops began slowly and steadily driving back the Damascene troops from their positions behind the barricades. They also attacked in force Muslim archers and spearmen in strong positions in the orchards and walled gardens. Muslim archers in wooden towers added their firepower to the defense of the western approach.

When Anur learned that the Franks had committed themselves to an attack from the west, he ordered Turcoman and Arab reserve forces held inside the city to march to the aid of those already engaged on the west side of the city. In addition, Anur ordered the Muslim commander south of the city to shift his troops to support those already engaged to the west.

Baldwin's troops succeeded in smashing through the Muslim commander's position at Mizzah Jabal by midday. As the Muslims withdrew to establish a new line of defense, the crusader army began to shift from column into several lines of battle. Most of the Frankish knights dismounted to fight on foot since the terrain was not conducive to cavalry operations. Baldwin, reinforced by Louis' troops, assailed a new Muslim position along the Barada River. Heavy fighting occurred as Muslim reinforcements arrived, and the Muslim commanders tried to hold their position against repeated assaults by the heavily armored and well-equipped crusaders. The Frankish knights and sergeants all wore helmets and mail that repelled the light Arab and Turkish arrows.

The Damascene army succeeded in preventing the first two divisions of crusaders from crossing the river, but the arrival of the Germans at the front lines tipped the battle in favor of the crusaders. Conrad's mounted knights and sergeants dismounted and waded into battle with their heavy swords. These fresh troops forced a crossing of the river. Once the Franks had gained a secure foothold on the north bank of the Barada River, the Damascene troops fell back towards the city.

Work detachments consisting of pioneers and volunteer from the military units late in the afternoon of Saturday, July 24, began felling trees from the orchards to construct a field fortification to protect their encampment and their main siege position on the west side of the city. Meanwhile, mounted detachments of crusaders began raiding to the north of the city. One group set fire to the mud-brick and wooden houses in the suburb of Faradis just outside the northern gates. To the east, a sizeable force of crusaders moved into a blocking position at Rabwa in an attempt to stem the flow of Muslim reinforcements to the city from the Bekaa Valley. The blocking force remained largely ineffective throughout the battle, though, because the arriving Syrian archers simply bypassed their position by crossing the high ground north of it.

The intensity of the fighting increased substantially on Sunday, July 25, with fresh Muslim troops arriving at Damascus from the northwest and northeast. During the night, the Ahdath had erected fresh barricades in the streets and alleys nearest the west walls in an effort to delay as long as possible any attempt by the crusaders to storm the city. Anur assembled the bulk of his Askar and Ahdath troops in front of the Great Mosque in the center of the city, where Muslim holy men exhorted the troops to fight a jihad and dislodge the Christians from their positions around the city.

The dejected crusaders returned to Jerusalem following the reverse they suffered at Damascus. The shame at the defeat was so great that the leaders fell to bickering among themselves.

While Anur and the holy men rallied the Muslim warriors, the crusaders began shifting all of their forces, except for those at Rabwa, to the south bank of the Barada River. In so doing, the three Christian kings sought to concentrate their resources for a major assault on the west walls of the city. Baldwin instructed his pioneers to mark out a new base camp on the south bank in the expansive tract of grassland known as the Green Maydan, which was where Muslim cavalry trained for battle. The camp was situated about one-and-a-half miles behind the front lines.

As the crusaders forces on the north bank of the river were in the process of withdrawing to the south bank, Anur's army counterattacked them. The Damascene troops also attacked the crusaders' siege works, which forced the Franks to switch to the defensive in an effort to hold their forward positions. The Franks fought ferociously, inflicting heavy casualties on the Muslims. Several prominent Muslims were slain in the fighting. Two were revered holy men, and the third was the young cavalry commander Nur al Dawlah Shahanshah. He was the older brother of the future Ayyubid Sultan Saladin, who was just 11 years old at the time of the battle.

The crusaders eventually extracted their forces from the northern bank, which allowed them to reinforce their forward positions. By midday, the Damascene army had succeeded in recovering control of the north bank. The fighting see-sawed back and forth in front of Bab al-Jabiya, one of the city's seven ancient gates, which was located in the southwestern corner of the city. While the battle raged, work detachments on both sides felled trees and hauled timber to build defensive barricades. Anur knew that the walls of the city could not withstand a sustained assault, and he issued orders to his subordinates to ensure that the Muslims put new obstacles in the approaches to the walls. The barricades were constructed of "huge, tall beams," wrote William of Tyre, the Jerusalem-born chronicler.

Heavy fighting occurred on Monday, July 26. The number of Muslim reinforcements coming into the city increased substantially. It included not only Arab soldiers from near and far, but also included the vanguard of a relief army sent by Sayf al-Din Ghazi. Rather than going straight into battle, the reinforcements from Mosul entered the city and were directed into battle by local commanders. Having secured the northern bank, Anur's directed his attacks primarily against the Christian siege positions. The Franks dared not leave the protection of their palisades or become separated from their commands because the enraged local militiamen and villagers picked off patrols and guards. "[They] put to flight all of the sentries, killed them, without fear or danger, taking the heads of the enemy they killed and wanting to touch these trophies," wrote Abu Shama, a 13th-century Arab historian.

By this time, the battle had swung in favor of the Muslims. Anur ordered the attacks on the crusader field works to continue on Tuesday, July 26. The leaders of the crusader army learned about this time that a large Zengid army had advanced as far south as Homs, Syria, and would soon arrive at Damascus. Sayf al-Din had led his troops on a 400-mile march from Mosul to assist Anur. Marching southwest through Syria, he had joined forces with his brother, Nur al-Din, who had raised an army of Aleppans.

The combined Zengi army reached Homs, which was 100 miles north of Damascus, on July 24 and was estimated to arrive outside the city in five days. Therefore, it was imperative that the Franks force their way into the city before the Zengis; the addition of their troops would greatly swell the Muslim numbers. From a tactical standpoint, they would be able to maneuver to sever the

Christians' supply line. They would also be able to bypass Damascus and advance on either Acre or Jerusalem, which would force the Franks to raise their siege in order to protect the most precious cities they possessed in the Levant.

The senior leaders of the crusade had known even before the campaign that the south walls of Damascus, which were made of sun-baked brick and mud as opposed to stone, were particularly vulnerable to attack. However, they had deliberately chosen to fight their way through the orchards to the west of the city knowing that this dense agriculture area would feed their army. With their attack against the western gates stalled, they contemplated a shift to the south to strike this weak part of the city's defenses.

King Louis dispatched one of his senior lieutenants, Godfrey de la Roche Vanneau, the Bishop of Langres with the status of a French duke, in the late afternoon of Wednesday, July 27, to conduct a reconnaissance to assess the defenses of the south and southeastern walls. Vanneau reported that the walls were weak. But most importantly, he pointed out that although water could be obtained from one of the canals, there were no orchards or farm fields in that sector with which to feed the army. The senior commanders resolved nevertheless to establish new siege positions to the south since it was clear they could not force their way through to the city from the west.

The following day, July 28, the shift to the east began, but it proved difficult to execute. The Muslims forces continued to assail the army's left flank, and guerilla troops of the Ahdath had begun to cripple the crusader army with relentless attacks on small Frankish supply units that operated behind the lines to supply the troops at the battlefront.

The army had only reached the suburb of Qayniya, about two miles from their base camp at Green Maydan, when the senior commanders terminated the siege and ordered the troops to begin conducting a fighting withdrawal to the frontier. The crusader army began its retrograde movement on Friday, July 29, and that day Muslim forces took possession of the Green Maydan and the abandoned crusader siege works beneath the west walls. Mounted Turcoman troops maintained steady pressure on the crusader army for the next 48 hours as it marched back to the frontier.

The dejected crusaders returned to Jerusalem following the reverse they suffered at Damascus. The shame at the defeat was so great that the leaders fell to bickering among themselves. Conrad leveled charges that could not be proved against the barons of the Kingdom of Jerusalem that they had accepted bribes from the Damascenes to redirect the crusader attack from the west walls to the south walls. Contemporary Latin chronicles repeated this allegation and expanded upon it.

The narrow streets, irrigation channels, and dense orchards in the suburbs of Damascus constricted the movement of the crusaders and subjected them to frequent ambushes.

Public Domain

Deflecting blame was a literary tactic of the chronicles to cover for the military failures of crusader commanders, particularly those of the nobility.

Over the course of the next 10 months, the Seljuks carved up what remained of the Latin County of Edessa. Nur-al-Din and Sultan Masud of Rum each acquired towns west of the Euphrates that had been under Frankish rule.

The two visiting Latin kings from Western Europe did not return home immediately. Conrad tried to rally the crusaders for a fresh attack against the Fatimid Egyptian port of Ascalon, which was 50 miles southeast of Jerusalem. The deep-water anchorage at Ascalon could accommodate a large fleet, and the Egyptian fleet stationed at that location posed a concrete threat to the Genoan, Pisan, and Venetian merchant ships that supplied the Frankish residents of the Levant. Given that the three leaders of the crusade argued as to who was to blame for the debacle at Damascus, Louis and Baldwin were not keen for a similar expedition against Ascalon. Conrad mustered his German troops at Jaffa on the Levantine coast, where he waited for Louis and Baldwin to join him, but they lacked the will for another siege. Therefore, no attack was made on Ascalon.

Conrad departed for home first. He left in September 1148 and arrived in Germany the following spring. Louis remained in the Holy Land, where he traveled extensively but refrained from joining any local offensives. Louis and Queen Eleanor departed in a Sicilian vessel on April 1149 and arrived in France in November.

The upshot of the Second Crusade was that the Sunni Muslim Turkic states to the north and east of the Franks were expanding and their power was increasing, while the Frankish states on the whole were waning in power. This manifested itself in the rise of Sultan Saladin's Ayyubid state, which controlled not only Egypt but Syria. Following Saladin's decisive victory over King Guy of Jerusalem at Hattin in 1187, the sultan captured Jerusalem. The three-year-long Third Crusade that began in 1189 had as its objective the retaking of Jerusalem, but the crusaders of that expedition also were unable to fulfill their difficult mission, and Jerusalem remained in Muslim hands. ■

BOOKS

Tanks continued to play a central role in regional conflicts that sprang up around the globe in the post-Vietnam era.

By Christopher Miskimon

Israel Press Office

Israeli tanks advance on the Golan Heights during the Six-Day War of 1967. The conflict is one of many covered in a new work on armored clashes in the Cold War.

The Six-Day War began on June 5, 1967, with a lightning assault by Israeli armored units and aircraft. The Egyptian Air Force, caught at their airfields, lost 304 planes the first day, granting Israel's pilots free reign over the battlefield. Below them, long columns of tanks and armored personnel carriers struck Egypt's ground forces with equal ferocity across the dusty sands of the Sinai. The Egyptian troops were entrenched. "Massive troop concentrations and strongly fortified positions, some of which had been prepared over the last 20 years," wrote Israeli Maj. Gen. Israel Tal. Both armies were well-equipped with armored vehicles of every description.

Most of the Egyptian's 950 tanks in the Sinai came from their Soviet benefactors. Their armored and mechanized divisions used the T-54/55, a low-slung vehicle with a rounded turret and a 100mm gun. These outfits also had a few PT-76 light amphibious tanks, often used for reconnaissance. The older, World War II-era T-34/85 equipped the Egyptian infantry divisions, furnishing fire support. A handful of heavy Joseph Stalin tanks rounded out their numbers.

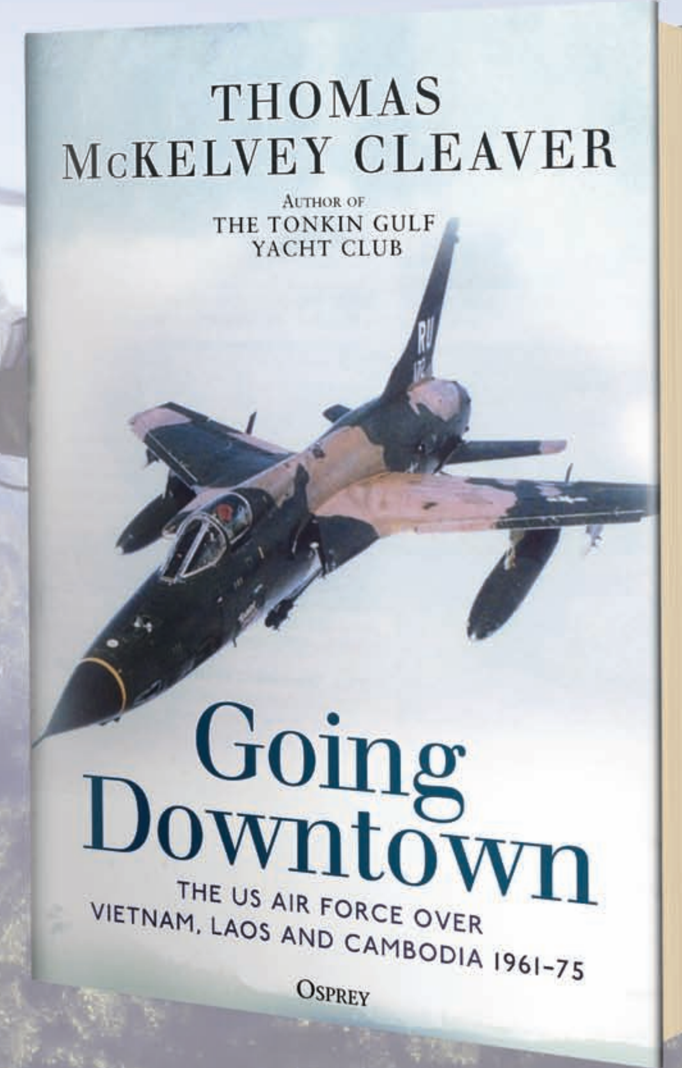
TANK BATTLES OF THE COLD WAR 1948–1991
ANTHONY TUCKER-JONES

The Israeli tank force possessed a more diverse inventory, as they had been forced to acquire their armor from a variety of sources. The armored units used a mix of British-built Centurions and American M48 Pattons as their main battle tanks. Three battalions of the Israeli Army used the light AMX-13, a French design. Mechanized brigades had a battalion of upgraded Sherman tanks to accompany their two battalions of half-track borne infantry. Interestingly, the Egyptians had a Palestinian Division in the Sinai that also had 50 Shermans in support.

As Israeli artillery dropped thousands of rounds on the Egyptian positions, the tankers attacked. "The Centurions met the first 'danger' or defense fire from one of the outposts, and we moved to a higher position from which we could see our forces moving," recalled Lieutenant Yael Dayan, who served in Maj. Gen. Ariel Sharon's division, which attacked Egyptian forces at Abu Agheila. "For a while I felt as though I were watching a game. Tanks dispersed in the area, shells heard and seen, the wireless set like a background running commentary—there was something unreal about it all."

The Centurions became stuck in a minefield as artillery pummeled them. A unit of Shermans made a feint, drawing Egyptian fire to help the Israeli artillery observers. This enabled six Centurions to get into the Egyptian position, where they quickly knocked out 5 T-34/85s and put 15 more to flight. Soon the Egyptian retreat became more general. "Enemy tanks were roaming on the road, along the road, on the sides, in opposite directions," Dayan wrote in his diary. "About 20 of them were destroyed, one-point blank from ten yards, after he

NEW FROM OSPREY PUBLISHING



$30 • Hardcover • 978-1-4728-4876-5

Going Downtown:
The US Air Force over Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, 1961–75

Featuring a wide range of personal accounts and previously untold stories, this fascinating history brings together the full story of the US Air Force's struggle in the skies over Southeast Asia.

"In *Going Downtown* Thomas McKelvey Cleaver provides a rare combination, a macro-micro view of the war in the air. In setting the context of Southeast Asian air operations, the author adroitly combines Vietnam history with some heart-pounding combat episodes."
—Barrett Tillman, author of *Dragon's Jaw: An Epic Story of Courage and Tenacity in Vietnam*

AVAILABLE ON OSPREYPUBLISHING.COM
AND WHEREVER BOOKS ARE SOLD.

GAMES

BROKEN ARROW AIMS FOR PURE RTS GAMEPLAY WITH A MODERN TWIST, AND EXPEDITIONS TAKES US BACK TO ROME!

By Joseph Luster

BROKEN ARROW

Genre: Strategy• Platform: PC • Publisher: Slitherine • Available: Soon

In the world of strategy games, there are those geared more toward casual play and those for long-time tactical players with a keen eye for complexity. Publisher Slitherine specializes in the latter, and one of the latest on the horizon is *Broken Arrow* from developer Steel Balalaika. This large-scale real-time strategy outing gives the genre a modern-warfare spin, offering up over 200 realistic military units and technologies and provides a combination of the tactical gameplay you might expect and a more-involved joint-forces wargame.

Units really are the name of the game with Broken Arrow, as victory almost always comes down to careful planning. Choosing the right combination of units and weapons will go a long way toward guaranteeing an advantage over enemy forces, and this involves effectively diving into the massive amount of units that are split into seven key categories of characteristics.

Those key characteristics include Recon Units, Infantry, Fighting Vehicles, Support, Logistics, Helicopters, and Airstrikes, all of which can be assorted and slotted into your overall army deck. Within each of those categories awaits a bunch of unique units, such as the Infantry's shock troops, special forces, anti-aircraft and anti-tank teams, and more. Logistics, on the other hand, taps into units that improve combat efficiency with the much-needed help of extra ammunition, medical supplies, repairs, and other essential ingredients.

Those who want to dive even deeper into the planning process can customize these units further. Most vehicles and aircraft are compatible with other types of weapon and armor loadouts, so you can choose everything from attached artillery to fuel tanks, countermeasure pods, sensors, and beyond. Special-forces Infantry units are similarly customizable, with the optional ability to implement explosive charges, suppressors, thermal optics, reconnaissance drones, and whatever else you have the resources for at the time.

Whether you want to send your special forces behind enemy lines to get a leg up on the competition, or take your units directly to the battlefield to seize key locations and reinforce your own defenses, there certainly appears to be an applicable strategy waiting for you in *Broken Arrow*. At the time of this writing, Steel Balalaika's game is just listed as "coming soon," but hopefully the full release will be available via Steam by the time this issue is in your hands.

EXPEDITIONS: ROME

Genre: Strategy• Platform: PC • Publisher: THQ Nordic • Available: Now

It's time to explore a very different era of history, because THQ Nordic and developer Logic Artists recently unleashed another in-depth historical strategy outing in the form of *Expeditions: Rome*. The choices you make in your role as a young Legatus will not only shape the future of Rome, but of the world at large, as you step foot into a story of political intrigue wrapped in a tight, turn-based strategy package.

Your journey as the Legatus of your choosing begins in earnest after your father is murdered by an unknown political opponent, forcing you to flee from Rome and join a military campaign with the goal of quelling a Greek rebellion. From there, it's all about gradually increasing your military prowess, advancing combat capabilities, and becoming a leader that is both feared and respected, depending on whom you ask. The politics are complex, and the options for progression are myriad, from taking the position of a ruthless ruler to charming those around you and shaping the fate of your legion in a different way entirely.

Expeditions: Rome is immediately welcoming to all, and outside of the historical trappings of the rest of the main story, you don't have to conform your Legatus to any set template. You can customize everything from gender and class to appearance and skills, lining your character up with your own personal fantasy and style of play. Beyond character creation, though, you'll find a campaign inspired by the echoes of history, with a fully-voiced narrative that has no shortage of drama and surprises. You'll also find more story in each of the five companions with which you adventure, uncovering backstories along the way while leveling them up to your own specifications.

The core journey in *Expeditions* takes players through three war campaigns across Greece, North Africa, and Gaul. Along the way, you'll find plenty of opportunities to make improvements to your warcamp, recruit more legionaries, obtain resources by any means necessary, and conquer and defend new territories to expand your power and influence. Even over the course of one playthrough, you'll find a ton to keep you busy in *Expeditions: Rome*, so this is one worth diving into in full if you're interested in this particular branch of military history. ■

was trodding along for five miles in our own column either pretending he was Israeli or not knowing he wasn't amongst his own Egyptian tanks." A second line of Egyptian defenses soon fell to the Israelis. Although the Israelis lost 19 tanks, they destroyed 60 Egyptian tanks.

The rest of the fighting in the Six-Day War was often just as one-sided. The fighting here proved emblematic of armored warfare across the globe during the various hot conflicts of the Cold War. The United States and its NATO allies were faced off against the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, but both sides were unwilling to risk the chance of nuclear escalation from a direct confrontation. Instead, the two sides fought proxy wars, equipping their clients with their own weapons. This was a theme repeated time and again during the last half of the 20th Century. This theme is also expertly recounted in ***Tank Battles of the Cold War 1948–1991*** (Anthony Tucker-Jones, Pen and Sword Books, South Yorkshire UK, 2021, 233 pp., photographs, appendices, bibliography, index, $43.95, hardcover).

The author does an excellent job summarizing the various conflicts using large numbers of armored vehicles, starting with the Israeli War of Independence through to the battles fought during the breakup of Yugoslavia. The chapters on conflicts lesser-known in the west, such as the Ethiopian Civil War (1974-1991), the Indo-Pakistan War (1971), and the Chadian-Libyan War (1978-1987), are particularly informative, for the author has compiled the details of tank battles of which few in the English-speaking world are aware.

The book has good photo inserts, and a set of appendices provides detailed information on the Soviet bloc and Chinese tanks, which often formed the bulk of armor used in many of the wars of the period. The book also includes a chapter on how the Soviets liberally delivered their tanks to various nation states, several times reconstituting a country's entire tank force. Readers interested in modern tank warfare will find this book of great interest.

Firepower: How Weapons Shaped Warfare (Paul Lockhart, Basic Books, New York NY, 2021, 608 pp., photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $35.00, hardcover)

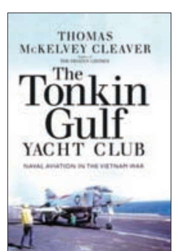
Large blocks of Swiss mercenary pikemen fighting for the French crown advanced steadily on the morning of April 27, 1522, near Bicocca manor four miles north of Milan. The pikemen had not been paid recently, nor had they found any opportunity for plunder as a battle loomed with Spanish-Imperial-Papal forces commanded by Prospero Colonna. Viscount de Lautrec, the French commander of the Swiss mercenaries, reluctantly consented to the attack. He ordered an artillery bombardment to soften the Spanish lines in preparation for the assault by the Swiss pikemen, but the Swiss felt no need for the preliminary bombardment. Shouldering their 18-foot-long shafts, they brushed past the artillerymen and advanced for the kill in a frontal attack on the enemy position.

Colonna had prepared his position well. He placed his cannon, arquebusiers, and landsknechts behind ramparts. He had lavishly equipped many of his troops with the newly introduced arquebus, believing that the gunpowder weapon would mow down the vaunted Swiss pikemen.

His Spanish-Imperial arquebusiers opened fire downing one out of eight Swiss pikemen as they closed the distance, but the pikemen came on, soon crowding into a sunken road. From their ramparts, Colonna's arquebusiers, who were arrayed three ranks deep, fired punishing volleys into their foes, after which German Landsknechts, armed with two-handed swords, waded into the disordered Swiss ranks inflicting additional casualties.

When the fighting ended, 3,000 slain Swiss pikemen littered the field. The rest of the well-disciplined pikemen withdrew in good order. The French departed the next day, conceding control of Milan to the Spanish-Imperial-Papal army.

The relationship between technology and the evolving nature of warfare is the subject of this new book. Scientific advancement allowed new, evermore effective and deadly weapons to enter the battlefield, changing the way soldiers fought and even how societies prepared for war. The author reveals the many ways technology pushed these changes, from the advent of gunpowder weapons to ironclad warships, explosives, automatic weapons, and submarines, to name a few subjects. The narrative is quite readable, and the book is professionally researched. While its overall scope is broad, each topic is given detailed coverage.



The Tonkin Gulf Yacht Club: Naval Aviation in the Vietnam War (Thomas McKelvey Cleaver, Osprey Publishing, Oxford UK, 2021, 400 pp., maps, photographs, bibliography, glossary, index, $30.00, hardcover)

At 2:40 p.m. on August 2, 1964, the USS *Maddox* (DD-731) broadcast a flash radio message reporting several North Vietnamese craft approaching at high speed with the intention to launch torpedo attacks. *Maddox* would fire in self-defense if necessary. A further message went out requesting air support, and the USS *Ticonderoga,* steaming 280

SHORT BURSTS

Cyberspace in Peace and War, Second Edition (Martin C. Libicki, Naval Institute Press, 2021, $60.00, hardcover) The cyber realm has already seen the first attacks of a new type of warfare, one that many do not understand. This updated work delves into the history and tactics of cyber warfare.

Cromwell Against the Scots: The Last Anglo-Scottish War 1650-1652 (John D. Grainger, Pen and Sword, 2021, $39.95, hardcover) Also known as the Third English Civil War, it was actually the last war between England and Scotland as separate states. This revised edition has an added chapter on the war's aftermath.

The U.S. Army Infantryman Vietnam Pocket Manual (Edited by Chris McNab, Casemate Books, 2021, $16.95, hardcover) This handbook draws from numerous field manuals, intelligence analysis documents, and after-action reports to provide insight into the experiences of the combat soldier in Vietnam.

Break in the Chain: Intelligence Ignored (W.R. Baker, Casemate Books, 2021, $34.95, hardcover) The author served as an intelligence analyst in Vietnam during the 1972 North Vietnamese offensive. He provides expert insight on how information predicting the attack was ignored.

The Sino-Soviet Border War of 1969 Volume 2: Confrontation at lake Zhalanashkol August 1969 (Dmitry Ryabushkin and Harold Orenstein, Helion and Company, 2021, $29.95, softcover) From March to August 1969 the Soviet Union and Communist China fought a short but intense war along the Sino-Soviet frontier. This important volume reveals details of the fighting to the western reader, along with numerous photographs.

miles south, sent a flight of four F-8E Crusader fighters, led by Commander James B. Stockdale, while the destroyer USS *Turner Joy* received orders to render assistance.

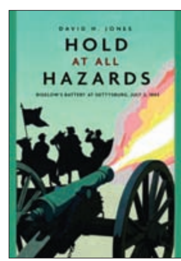
As the North Vietnamese boats approached, *Maddox* fired three warning shots. Minutes later, the ship's guns let loose again, as the boats maneuvered closer, making ineffective attacks. The F-8Es arrived and strafed the boats, damaging all three and leaving one adrift. *Maddox* suffered a single hit from a machine gun round. The two mobile craft retreated; the third managed to restart its engines and limped home. America's air war over Vietnam had begun.

What really happened that day has been the subject of speculation ever since and will likely never be answered to everyone's satisfaction, but the author was a young sailor when his event occurred. He investigated it thoroughly and made it part of his latest book on military aviation. The work uses interviews from pilots on both sides as well as official records, weaving it all together into a good narrative of the naval aviator's experiences in the war, as well as those of their opponents.

Military Reconnaissance: The Eyes and Ears of the Army (Alexander Stilwell, Casemate Books, Havertown PA, 2021, 173 pp., photographs, bibliography, index, $29.95, hardcover)

Brig. Gen. Alfred Terry ordered a reconnaissance in force on June 22, 1876, along the Rosebud River. He gave some leeway for Lt. Col. George Custer, the officer leading the mission, to use his initiative. Custer had several experienced scouts, both white and Native American, in his force. They soon found signs of substantial Native American villages and camps, along with evidence of large pony herds, indicating thousands of Indians in the area. Custer claimed he did not see the signs, and after learning opposing scouts had seen his column's trail made ready to attack. The scouts pleaded with Custer to reconsider. they knew he was badly outnumbered. He refused, divided his command into three smaller columns, and rode to his death soon after.

This is an example of both the need to conduct reconnaissance and the danger of ignoring what it reveals. This new book is full of such examples, along with information about famous scouts and reconnaissance units. Scouting is a vital part of military operations and the authors does an excellent job providing case studies both at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels. The author's own service in the British Army adds the authenticity of first-hand experience to the narrative.



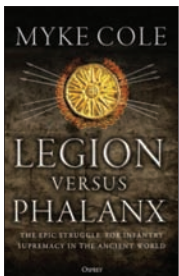
Hold at All Hazards: Bigelow's Battery at Gettysburg, July 2, 1863 (David H. Jones, Casemate Books, Havertown PA, 2021, 262 pp., $22.95, softcover)

Captain John Bigelow has just taken command of the 9th Massachusetts Battery of Light Artillery in early 1863. The unit, which was equipped with six 12-pounder Napoleon smoothbore cannon, had so far spent the entire war as part of Washington's defenses. Training and discipline were poor, and Bigelow set out to correct those shortcomings. He made considerable headway instilling discipline. Bigelow's battery was assigned to Lt. Col. Freeman McGilvery's 1st Volunteer Brigade of the Artillery Reserve of the Army of the Potomac in summer 1863.

The battery arrived at Gettysburg on July 2 when two divisions of Lt. Gen. James Longstreet's I Corps reinforced by one division of the Confederate III Corps attacked the Union left flank arrayed behind Emmitsburg Road. As the Confederates overwhelmed Maj. Gen. Dan Sickles' Union III Corps, Maj. Gen. George Meade dispatched batteries from his Artillery Reserve to help stabilize the crumbling Union line.

Ordered into the line with victory hanging in the balance, the artillerymen of Bigelow's Battery were told they must hold at all hazards against the enemy, until a second gun line could be set up behind them. They fought like veterans, determined to play a significant role in helping stave off defeat.

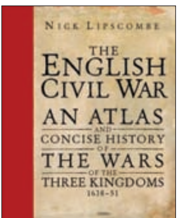
This engaging new book is a work of fiction, but it draws from actual events, and its characters were actual people who served in the 9th Massachusetts Battery. The author used all the historical information he could gather to create a vivid and authentic portrayal of the Battery in action. The result is a novel that reads almost like a history, placing the reader on the battlefield amidst the smoke, shouted orders, and screams of the wounded and dying.



Legion Versus Phalanx: The Epic Struggle for Infantry Supremacy in the Ancient World (Myke Cole, Osprey Books, Oxford UK, 2020, 288 pp., maps, photographs, bibliography, index, glossary, $20.00, softcover)

The Greek Phalanx dominated ancient battlefields for centuries until the Battle of Beneventum in 275 B.C. A deep box formation with tightly packed hoplites with large shields and long spears, the phalanx could be unwieldy but proved difficult to overcome. As warfare continued to evolve, the Roman legion was introduced. The principal weapons of the Roman soldier were javelins and short swords. At first the Roman soldiers also found the phalanx difficult to penetrate. However, the Romans learned from their failures. They adapted and innovated. The Roman legion undoubtedly was a more flexible military organization than the phalanx, but was that really the key to its success on the battlefield, with the Roman legion assuming supremacy for the next six centuries?

The author delves into the transition of dominance between these two famous fighting formations. The writing is lively and engaging, and there is also plenty of interesting information on the weapons, tactics and organization used by both sides. A number of battle studies show how Greeks and Romans fought in practice, putting the author's hypotheses and assertions to the test of historical actions and outcomes.



The English Civil War: An Atlas and Concise History of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms 1639-51 (Nick Lipscombe, Osprey Books, Oxford UK, 2021, 367 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, glossary, notes, bibliography, index, $70.00, hardcover)

The Battle of Newburn Ford fought on August 28, 1640, ended as a victory for the Scottish Covenanters over the English. The Scottish leader Alexander Leslie, with 20,000 infantry 2,000 cavalry and 60 guns defeated a much smaller English army under Lord Conway, which fielded 3,000 infantry, 1,500 cavalry and a single eight-gun battery. The Scots drove inexperienced British troops back across the ford and then crossed it. A British counterattack using cavalry failed, and soon the entire English force was in retreat. Lt. Col. George Monck, the English artillery commander, prevented an even worse disaster through the skillful handling of his guns, which kept the Scots at bay long enough for Conway's forces to fall back. This brought to a conclusion one of the first engagements of the English Civil War, a series of conflicts between rivals in the United Kingdom.

The English Civil War can be difficult to understand and follow, particularly for readers who are not citizens of the United Kingdom. The author admits as much in the first paragraph of the introduction of this book. He then sets out to make the opaqueness of this conflict clear and succeeds in doing so. This large coffee-table book is well-organized with a clear narrative. The maps are excellent, detailed, and simple to follow. An extensive set of appendices informs the reader on the myriad small details of each army's strength and compositions. ■

Visit Camp Wildcat Civil War Battlefield!

Located on the historic
"Wilderness Road"
Laurel County, KY

A beautiful and well-preserved Civil War Battlefield that still has many of the original trenches intact!

DON'T MISS THE REENACTMENT! October 14–16, 2022

London-Laurel County Tourist Commission

Toll Free 1-800-348-0095 · Local 606-878-6900 · www.visitlondonky.com

BRAND NEW FROM CRAIG SHIRLEY!

In the long-awaited follow-up to the widely-praised December 1941, Craig Shirley's* April 1945 *paints a vivid portrait of America—her people, faith, economy, government, and culture.